

**LINGUISTIC RESOURCES IN TRANSITION:
a case study of Finnish people in Belgium**

**Master's Thesis
Jonna Kokko**

**University of Jyväskylä
Department of Languages
English
May 2011**

ERRATA SHEET

Title:

LINGUISTIC RESOURCES IN TRANSITION: a case study of Finnish people in Belgium should be LINGUISTIC RESOURCES IN FLUX: a case study of Finnish people in Belgium

Page 1, Abstract:

the total number of pages should be 112 instead of 113

Page 2, Table of contents:

Subchapter 2.2.1 should be 2.1.1

Subchapter 2.2.2 should be 2.1.2

Subchapter 2.2.3 should be 2.1.3

Page 11:

Subchapter 2.2.1 should be 2.1.1

Page 17:

Subchapter 2.2.2 should be 2.1.2

Page 20:

Subchapter 2.2.3 should be 2.1.3

Tiedekunta – Faculty Humanistinen tiedekunta	Laitos – Department Kielten laitos
Tekijä – Author Jonna Kokko	
Työn nimi – Title LINGUISTIC RESOURCES IN TRANSITION: a case study of Finnish migrants in Belgium	
Oppiaine – Subject englanti	Työn laji – Level Pro gradu -tutkielma
Aika – Month and year Toukokuu 2011	Sivumäärä – Number of pages 113 sivua + 4 liitettä
<p>Tutkielman tarkoituksena oli selvittää suomalaisten Belgiaan muuttaneiden maahanmuuttajien kielirepertuaarien muutoksia ja kielirepertuaarien merkityksiä heille itselleen. Vastaavanlaista tutkimusta, jonka kohteena ovat ekonomisten ja poliittisten keskusalueiden sisäiset muuttajat, ei ole aiemmin tehty monikielisyysnäkökulmasta siten, että kieli ymmärrettäisiin kontekstisidonnaisena kielirepertuaarina, joka heijastaa yksilön elämäkertaa.</p> <p>Tutkimukseen osallistui 8 suomalaista, jotka olivat viettäneet vaihtelevan ajan Belgiassa. Kaikki tutkittavat puhuvat suomen ja englannin kielen lisäksi myös muita lähinnä koulussa opittuja kieliä. Lisäksi kolme tutkittavaa on syntynyt suomenruotsalaisesta perheestä, tosin ruotsi ei ollut kaikissa tapauksissa tutkittavan äidinkieli. Aineisto kerättiin etnografisissa teemahaastatteluisissa Belgiassa, ja analysoitiin laadullisen sisällönanalyysin metodein.</p> <p>Tutkimustuloksista ilmenee, että ympäristön vaikutus kieliresursseihin on huomattava. Tämä näkyy muun muassa tutkittavien kieliresurssien muutoksina, sekä jo olemassa olleiden kieliresurssien arvojen ja merkitysten muuttumisena. Toisaalta myös tutkittavat vaikuttavat heidän lähipiiriinsä kuuluvien paikallisten kieliresursseihin. Haastateltavien kieliresurssit osoittautuivat erittäin dynaamisiksi ja vaihteleviksi. Tämä näkyi joidenkin aikaisempien resurssien merkityksen häviämisestä johtuvana passivoitumisena tutkittavien repertuaareissa. Ympäristön vaikutusten lisäksi kielivalinnat erilaisissa tilanteissa perustuivat usein tietyn resurssin tilannekohtaiseen funktionaalisuuteen tai tutkittavan identiteettiin.</p> <p>Uusia löydöksiä tässä resurssilähtöisessä monikielisyystutkimuksessa ovat muun muassa maahanmuuttajien vaikutus myös yksittäisten paikallisten repertuaareihin. Lisäksi tutkimustuloksissa painottui vuorovaikutuksen merkitys kielivalinnoille. Usein kommunikointikieleksi valikoitui se kieliresurssi, joka näyttäytyi vuorovaikutukseen osallistuvien kielirepertuaareista kaikkein funktionaalisimpana.</p>	
Asiasanat – Keywords sociolinguistics, globalization, mobility, linguistic resources, migration	
Säilytyspaikka – Depository Kielten laitos	
Muita tietoja – Additional information	

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION	5
2 SOCIOLINGUISTICS, GLOBALIZATION AND MULTILINGUALISM.....	11
2.1 Language and globalization	11
2.2.1 Globalization and sociolinguistics	11
2.2.2 Mobility and flow.....	17
2.2.3 Scale, indexical orders and polycentricity	20
2.2 Towards a dynamic view of language knowledge and multilingualism	23
2.3 Earlier ethnographic studies on language and globalization.....	31
3 RESEARCH DESIGN	35
3.1 Research questions.....	35
3.2 Ethnography and grounded theory as the methodological framework	37
3.3 Ethnographic interview	41
3.4 Content analysis	45
3.5 The Data.....	48
4. ANALYSIS	55
4.1 The creative use of resources in multilingual communication.....	57
4.1.1 Linguistic repertoires in new contexts	57
4.1.2 The choice of a resource	62
4.2 English as a problematic resource.....	68
4.2.1 English as an obstacle for learning.....	68
4.2.2 The language choice in family-contexts.....	70
4.2.3 English or Dutch as a second language.....	73
4.3 Dynamic repertoires.....	79
4.3.1 Insufficient linguistic resources	79
4.3.2 Language as a commodity.....	83
4.3.3 Loss of linguistic resources.....	85
4.3.4 Context-dependent values of linguistic resources.....	88
5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION	92
5.1 Repertoire and space	92
5.2 Dynamic repertoires.....	96
5.3 Evaluation	101
5.4 Implications and suggestions for further research	102
BIBLIOGRAPHY	106
APPENDICES	113

Appendix (1) the e-mail to Nordiax.....	113
Appendix (2) the form of consent and background questions	114
Appendix (3) Theme interview structure in English.....	115

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1. Sociolinguistic profiles of the participants.....	56
--	----

1 INTRODUCTION

Globalization and late modernity are best characterized by the terms "mobility" and "flow". Globalization is changing the world into a place that is full of contradictions. The world appears to be getting smaller as cultural, political, economic, and linguistic influences are circulating and landing in remote places from their origins through rapidly developing new media, mass media and ever increasing mobility of people. Yet, at the same time the world is getting more complex. As far as languages are concerned, there are increasing numbers of people who are learning and using varieties of the same most powerful languages of the world, namely, English, Spanish, French, German and Chinese (De Swaan 2001). However, this seemingly increasing homogeneity of people's language repertoires is not leading to simpler forms of communication, although a wider number of people have the possibility to communicate with each other. Instead, as an increasing number of people from a wider range of social and cultural backgrounds are sharing parts of their language repertoires, and becoming aware of each other, the forms of communication, and cultural, political and social life are getting increasingly complex.

The present study aims at contributing to the growing body of research on globalization in general, and the sociolinguistics of globalization in particular. The main areas of language studies in the framework of globalization that are related to the present study are the study of language in contact in migration related contexts, and multilingualism studies. The exact topic of the present study then is the dynamic repertoires of Finnish people in Belgium. In other words, in this case study, my goal is to understand what kinds of transformations can be discerned in the linguistic repertoires of Finnish people who have moved to Belgium as representatives of First World migrants. In ethnographic interviews, eight (8) Finnish people talked about their mobile lives and their changing linguistic repertoires, particularly since moving to Belgium. The data was gathered and analyzed from a perspective that sees language knowledge as *repertoires of linguistic resources* that reflect the biographies of individuals. This study looks at how specific environment(s) define which resources are of value and what kinds of effects it has on the repertoire. On the other

hand, this study aims to understand what the various resources and the changes in the primary resources since migrating to another environment mean to the migrants themselves.

The motivation for this study comes partly from the personal experience of the author. I am a Finnish migrant living in Belgium and since I moved here, I observed that the Finnish population in Belgium is relatively large. According to a web page of The Finnish Association in Belgium, two thirds of the Finnish people in Belgium are members of this association. In 2006 there were around 2500 Finnish members. There are no exact statistics and no demographic research has been made on Finnish people in Belgium, but I experienced that it was not difficult to contact other Finnish people as their networks in Belgium are well organized and institutionalized. There are, for instance, two Finnish Seamen's Missions in Belgium, one in Brussels and one in Antwerp, that organize Finnish cultural events, sell cultural items, and offer Finnish people in Belgium ample opportunities to meet compatriots. Furthermore, as a language student, I observed a possible gap in the literature on this subject as it seems that this type of small-scale and less visible migration has not received proper sociolinguistic attention. It appears that this type of migration has not been studied from the perspective of language resources before.

As mentioned above, the present study builds on the recent sociolinguistic research on language in contact in the context of migration and multilingualism. However, it is different from previous work on two points, namely regarding the direction and scale of migration and the motivations to move. Firstly, the recent sociolinguistic research on mobility of people has often focused on the rather visible and large scale migration from the world peripheries towards the economic and political centers. In these types of flows of people, the motivation to move is frequently the attempt to have better opportunities in life. There are several important studies on immigrant neighborhoods (see, for instance, Vertovec, S. 2006; Blommaert et al. 2005b). Moreover, since sociolinguistic studies of language and migration often have been interested in large scale migration, they can frequently be characterized as diaspora studies (see, for instance, Vertovec, S. 2000 ; Collins, J. And Slembrouck, S. (eds)

2005). More recently many scholars have focused on the newer forms of migration that build on the older migration flows, as many larger cities are characterized by so called 'superdiversity' (Vertovec 2006; Blommaert and Dong 2010). Another significant source of study is constituted by the forms of language use by asylum seekers (see for example, Blommaert 2001; Blommaert and Maryns 2001) .

Contrary to the previous migration related sociolinguistic work that has focused on the large scale mobility from the peripheries towards the center, the present study is interested in the less visible but increasing mobility of people within the center. This type of mobility can be characterized as relatively easy, as moving across the national boundaries, for instance, in the EU has become institutionally very easy and is even encouraged. Moreover, the migration within the center takes place often for other reasons than the search for better opportunities, as the migrants already come from modern welfare states.

It must be emphasized that the present study is not unique in choosing the migration within the world center as the main area of study. There is, for instance, a large body of research that is interested in the processes of language acquisition in situations of living abroad. However, often this work is concerned with mobility of more or less temporary nature, as a significant part of such research focuses on exchange students, students on international internships, or expatriates of international companies (see, for instance, Freed, B. 1995; Konivuori S. 2002; Virkkula 2006; Pellegrino, V. 1998). In contrast to this body of work, the present study is interested in migration within the world center that is more permanent in nature, and more loose and varied regarding the motivations to migrate.

In addition to the work on temporary mobility presented above, there is a large and growing body of research on Global English (see, for instance Brutt-Griffler, J. 2002; Graddol 2006; House, J. 2003). The study of Global English can be seen as one direction within the study of First World multilingualism, although the field at large includes the use of English in other parts of the world as well. Obviously, the English language often constitutes an important resource in the repertoires of First World

migrants. However, it seems that their multilingualism is much more varied than simple "bilingualism" of English and L1. Yet, the more extensive variety of the linguistic repertoires of First World migrants has to a large extent been ignored partly because of the popularity of the research on ELF. Moreover, some scholars have claimed that ELF is mainly used as a language for communication, and not as a language for identification. For instance, a basic argument by House (2003: 560) is that:

Because ELF is not a national language, but a mere tool bereft of collective cultural capital it is a language usable neither for identity marking, nor for a positive ("integrative") disposition toward an L2 group, nor for a desire to become similar to valued members of this L2 group – simply because there is no definable group of ELF speakers. ELF users, then, use ELF as a transactional language for their own communicative purposes and advantages.

Since English constitutes one of the main resources of the multilingual repertoires of a great number of individuals from the world center, one of the sub-goals is to look into this claim. In the context of mobility, it seems that the arguments that deny ELF from being a valid resource for identification may have to be questioned.

One of the reasons for the high levels of multilingualism in the First World might be the conception of increased economic and social opportunities as a result of high proficiency in various languages (Heller, 2010). Individuals are encouraged to study prestige varieties, which are assumed to have a high communication potential and marketable value (see, for instance De Swaan, 2001). In addition to the particular type of migration and multilingualism as the differential topic compared to previous research on multilingualism in the context of migration, the present study adopts a somewhat different view on language as well.

In earlier mobility and multilingualism related studies the view of language competence has often conceived languages as separate countable systems. In fact, this view is still widespread and even if attempts are made towards more realistic models, many contemporary studies still remain biased with monoglot ideal (see, for instance, Otsuji and Pennycook, 2010 or Hall et al., 2006 for more extensive critique). In other words, the conceptions of homogeneous language use across

speakers of a language, the countability of language codes and the measuring of L2/FL competence against a native ideal still remain influential not only in the talk of laymen, but as underlying assumptions of some recent research. However, in the context of globalization and intensification of flows and mobility it has become evident that a more flexible approach to language is needed. In the present study then, I rely on the recent conception of language as dynamic repertoires of various resources, which are in constant flux and continuously adjusting to the changing requirements of the environment. Moreover, multilingual repertoires are seen as truncated and reflective of individuals' biographies (Blommaert et al. 2005a). In other words, resources are seen as inevitably partial and emergent in interaction.

It needs to be emphasized that the concept resources does not merely refer to simple language codes, but rather to specific varieties, styles, genres and other micro-scale language particles, which have a semiotically significant role in communication. Put differently, this study relies on a state-of-the-art approach to language and the world developed in the study of sociolinguistics of globalization. The basic features of this approach include: seeing language as a resource, the space as a significant factor in value-attributions to resources, global context as a larger frame, and the promotion of ethnographic methodology.

The present study is linked to the study of sociolinguistics of globalization on two different levels. Firstly, the phenomenon of mobility of Finnish people to Belgium, is partly caused and defined by globalization. In other words, even though there is no doubt that the migration movement from Finland to Belgium is not a new phenomenon, the general motivations to move can be quite different compared to the era before late modernity. Moreover, the decision to move across borders is made more lightly than before, and individuals more often migrate not only once but repeatedly and without paying much attention to national borders. Secondly, there are features of contemporary migration that are linked to globalization. For instance, the recent mobility is often characterized by intensive connections to the country of origins, connections with people of the same origins in the host country and across borders (transnationally), and the presence of English as a lingua franca.

The organization of the text will proceed from this introduction to Chapter 2 where I will discuss the theoretical framework of the present study. It will be structured around three main topics. Firstly, some of the main directions and concepts of sociolinguistics of globalization will be presented. Secondly, the recent conceptions of language competence and multilingualism are under scrutiny, after which the chapter concludes with a discussion of some recent relevant studies. In Chapter 3, the research design will be presented by a discussion of the research questions and aims, the methods, and the data. The Chapter 4 will give an overview of the analysis. The thesis will be concluded in Chapter 5 with a presentation of the main findings, the general evaluation of the present study, and main implications and suggestions for further research.

2 SOCIOLINGUISTICS, GLOBALIZATION AND MULTILINGUALISM

This chapter will give an overview of the theoretical framework and the main assumptions that underlie the present study. In the first part 2.1 *Language and globalization* I will sketch the main features of sociolinguistics of globalization in three sub-themes: 2.1.1 *Globalization and sociolinguistics*, 2.1.2 *Mobility and flow*, and 2.1.3 *Scale, orders of indexicality and polycentricity*. The section 2.2 *Towards a dynamic view of language knowledge and multilingualism* discusses how multilingualism is approached in the context of globalization and mobility. Lastly, in section 2.3 *Earlier ethnographic studies on language and globalization* I will give an overview of some of the related ethnographic studies.

2.1 Language and globalization

The aim of this section is to give an overview of how language is studied in the context of globalization in the discipline of sociolinguistics. The sub-section 2.2.1 discusses ways to characterize globalization with four main processes of *community interdependence*, *compression of time and space*, *disembedding* and *commodification*. Some recent approaches and studies are presented to exemplify how sociolinguistics is participating in the study of globalization. The second part 2.2.2 then proceeds to discuss the important theoretical constructs of mobility and flow that are two of the most important and salient processes of globalization. I will end this section with an overview of the main tools of sociolinguistics of globalization: *scale, orders of indexicality* and *polycentricity*.

2.1.1 Globalization and sociolinguistics

As mentioned above, this study aims at contributing to the emerging research of sociolinguistics of globalization. Traditionally the field of sociolinguistics has been primarily focused on local phenomena of, for instance, language variation and sociolinguistic basis of inequality (Coupland 2003: 465). However, globalization has

effects both at the macro-level as well as the local, micro-level. In fact, it could be claimed that today it is necessary to study the global effects in order to understand the local ones. Hence, in order to respond to the changed sociolinguistic world and to add globalization to the agenda of sociolinguistics, the methodologies and concepts of the discipline have been under conscious scrutiny during the past decade. Coupland (2003: 466) perceptively identifies two ways in which the field of sociolinguistics is linked to globalization. Firstly, sociolinguistics of globalization studies local phenomena that have 'dimensions' or 'imprints' of globalization and are in this way linked to the larger web of globalization processes (ibid). Secondly, there are new domains and phenomena in the globalizing world that require sociolinguistic attention. Globalization itself is a complex and multidimensional term, and, hence it is necessary to discuss how it is seen in the context of sociolinguistics, and in this particular study.

There is some disagreement among scholars regarding the novelty of the process of globalization. Some take the view of globalization as an age-long process with revolutionary peaks one of which we are currently experiencing (e.g. Blommaert 2010: 14; Blommaert and Dong 2010a; Blommaert and Dong 2007). Consequently, although we experience the rapid material, cultural and social change around us as something extraordinary, it is likely that the experiences of contemporary people were rather similar during the other revolutions in science that gave a push to human social development. For example, Blommaert and Dong (2010a:366) make a comparison between the advent of telegraph, radio and television, and the recent revolutionary developments in communication technology, such as the Internet and mobile technology. Furthermore, Giddens (2002), adopting the sceptical stance of the novelty of globalization process, questions whether it is a matter of a new phenomenon or merely asking new questions about old phenomena.

Unlike scholars who see globalization as a long and old process, others share the view that in the current globalization processes there are some features that make it special and novel compared to the other revolutionary periods in human history (Coupland 2003: 465; Coupland 2010: 2; Appadurai 1996; 27). Although, for

instance, Coupland (2010: 2) acknowledges the fact that globalization is a continuation of long term processes, he argues that it nevertheless is an "indispensable concept, particularly if we take it as shorthand reference to a cluster of changed and still fast changing social arrangements and priorities which are indeed distinctive and (despite opinions to the contrary) *indeed new*." (emphasis in original). Coupland (2010: 4) and Appadurai (1996: 27) observe that since the 80s the change and progress reached a whole new order and scope, and since then the transnational and global mobility has expanded at an unprecedented scale. In the present study I adopt a view similar to Coupland's. However, it seems that the differing views of scholars merely emphasize different dimensions of globalization. For instance, Blommaert and Dong (2010) prefer emphasizing the historical dimension of globalization, while Coupland (2010) focuses on more recent processes and phenomena.

According to Coupland (2003: 467-469), the main processes of globalization can be summarized around the following four processes: *community interdependence, the compression of time and space, disembedding* and *commodification*:

To start with, community interdependence is, in fact, nothing new, but it takes place at a different scale and scope in the globalizing world. These ever increasing interdependencies have various effects on language and society, as language often functions as a medium and marker of new forms of interdependence. For example, economy and politics are two of the most salient domains of increasing interdependencies even at a truly global scale. The recent economic crises in Portugal and the preventive methods from other member states of the EU are examples of both economic and political interdependence. Moreover, the participation of companies in international commerce has led to processes that have effects at a local scale and on language. For instance, multinational companies have transferred most of their manual processes to cheaper countries, which has had social effects on the local communities. This has given rise to the service sector in many welfare states, or 'knowledge economies' in Heller's (2010) terms. On the other hand, there is an increasing number of global phenomena that require international cooperation, such

as ecological problems on a global scale and international terrorism. (Coupland 2003, 2010.)

Compression of time and space is another dimension of globalization that is evident in every layer of society. In a similar vein to Coupland (2010), Robertson (1992) summarizes as one of the key features of globalization the compression of the world and the intensification of consciousness of the world as a whole. This is partly a result of mass media that brings events and phenomena from all over the world to our living rooms (see, for instance. Chouliaraki 2010 on global media reporting). Another significant feature of late modernity, as also Coupland (2010: 3) points out, is the fact that the mobility of people is significantly more extensive than ever before. Not only are more and more people moving across borders to live, but also the tourism has extended to all levels of society as the prices of traveling have decreased. Consequently, in addition to migration studies the study of tourism related topics constitutes a growing field within sociolinguistics (see, for instance Pietikäinen 2010; Jaworski and Thurlow 2010). For instance, there are findings that show that heritage tourism can support the value of the authenticity of language use, and can lead to an upsurge of the value of an indigenous language (see, for instance. Pietikäinen, 2010; Heller, 2010). In addition to the compression of space, time is also compressing as the social change is getting faster, and consequently the experience of time gets more rapid, and fragmented. In conclusion, as an increasing number of people are growing more and more aware of what is happening in remote parts of the world through mass media, migration, traveling, and other forms of mobility, the conception of time and space is being compressed.

Thirdly, disembedding constitutes a significant feature of the contemporary globalizing world, and language is a significant factor in mediating and marking this process. The term means "the lifting out" of the social relations from local contexts and their rearticulation across indefinite tracks of time-space (Giddens 1991: 18). For instance, through various media, styles and bits and pieces of language can travel quite far and become re-embedded in local cultures, communities of practice, and so forth.

A widely known example of disembedding is the cultural influences emanating from the U.S. These influences have often simplistically been termed around a negatively loaded notion of "Americanization". Similarly, there are fears of language endangerment because of the spreading influence of English language (see, for instance. Skuttnab-Kangas 2000, Skuttnab-Kangas and Phillipson, R. 2010, Pool, J. 2010). However, many contemporary scholars have shown that these types of processes are much more complex and very often the styles and other influences are localized and transformed to fit the local context (see, for instance Appadurai 1996; Pennycook 2010). Disembedding is thus a very broad phenomenon of Late modernity as, at the side of material flows and mobility, semiotic signs get disembedded. For instance, a picture that was taken on the other side of the globe can get very different meanings than were originally intended, when brought to another locality. Moreover, as people move across spaces, their linguistic resources and their semiotic potential get re-evaluated in a different locality (Blommaert 2005, 2010.). In popular culture influences are drawn from remote localities, as for instance, in the case of hip hop, which has been a very rich source of sociolinguistic study (see, for instance. Androutsopoulos 2010, Pennycook 2003, 2010)

Lastly, the process of commodification entails the increasing consumerism and commodification of life as characteristics of globalization processes. For instance, Machin and Van Leeuwen (2003, 2010) discuss the circulation of lifestyle identities through a publication of the women's magazine *Cosmopolitan* around the world, and how these identities are adopted in various localities. The commodification of language, then is broadly and perceptively discussed by, for instance, Heller (2010, 2003). She distinguishes some new conditions that the processes of 'new global economy' create for language and language use.

Heller (2010: 349-350) observes three ways in which the new economy affects language. Firstly, the number of people who are in one way or another involved in global economy is sharply increasing. This means that more people are involved in global forms of exchange and communication across social, cultural and linguistic difference. Secondly, through the development of new media the forms of

communication have also increased, which simultaneously has made language use more variable. Thirdly, in particularly First World the work is becoming increasingly languagized and we can talk about 'knowledge economy'. This has led to more and more people regarding language as a commodity. (Heller 2010.)

As Heller (2010: 352) discusses, because of the significance of language skills in many forms of employment and in the world economy in general, people as well as institutions such as states, are concerned about ensuring the optimal linguistic repertoires in the light of opportunities for participation in world economy. For instance, individuals invest considerably to acquire one or more of the world languages (English, Chinese, former colonial languages French and Spanish). These are languages that De Swaan (2001, 2010) identifies as 'supercentral' languages in his constellation of world languages as they connect speakers of central languages (official, national languages), and constitute highest levels of communication potential. Moreover, similarly to Heller (2010: 5), he also points out convincingly that the investments that individuals make on learning languages are not random. In the contrary, De Swaan (2010: 59) makes a fascinating argument how individuals predict and often accurately determine the so called communication potential of a language. Consequently, individuals often invest in the languages that have the highest communication potential in their sub-regions.

Heller (2010) and De Swaan (2001, 2010) both observe that languages are increasingly treated as *goods* in De Swaan's terms, or as *commodities* in Heller's terms. De Swaan (2001: 57) continues to point out that individuals only rarely invest on learning languages that are lower in the hierarchy of languages regarding their communication potential. For instance, it is unlikely that a L1 speaker of a central language would learn a language with a small communication potential (a peripheral language in De Swaan's terms), as often such an effort is economically unproductive.

Obviously, there are language ideologies which often determine which languages are generally regarded economically valuable. For instance, in Finland the traditional languages to be studied at school are Swedish, German, French, Russian, while also

Spanish is becoming increasingly popular. The state wants to make sure that the youth acquires the knowledge and skills that will ensure their productivity as players in the world economy. On the other hand, the parents encourage their children to study those languages that they believe will bring economic success in later life. As Heller (2010: 359) points out, the First World middle class is increasingly interested in multilingualism and it is presumed high value. Put differently, in the First World language is increasingly seen as a commodity and a marketable resource.

Globalization processes generally, and commodification particularly are also making forms of identity construction more complex. For instance, through mass media and mass entertainment, individualism has got new forms in contemporary societies. Commercialism entails the conception that through buying certain clothes and other material items, it is possible to assume particular identities (see Machin and Van Leeuwen, 2010 for a discussion of commercialism and lifestyle identities). The identity options for an individual appear unlimited, and language has a role in presenting and spreading the lifestyles and identity options, as well as in the construction and display of identities. Furthermore, it could be argued that as language forms get disembedded from their natural contexts, their semiotic potential and consequently meanings as identity markers can become quite unpredictable as they enter different orders of meaning making or orders of indexicality.

This section has given an overview of how language and globalization are characterized in recent sociolinguistic work. Moreover, some examples were given about the recent work in the field at large. Let us now turn to discuss the processes of mobility and flow.

2.1.2 Mobility and flow

Although the term mobility has already been touched upon several times above, it needs to be emphasized that, together with the term flow it constitutes two basic elements of globalization. As Blommaert (2003: 611) effectively puts it: "A sociolinguistics of globalization is necessarily a sociolinguistics of mobility". The

study of globalization, indeed, necessarily includes the dimensions of mobility and flow as also several other theorists of globalization observe (e.g. Bartelson 2000; Coupland 2010, 2003; Collins & Schlembrouck 2009; Collins, Schlembrouck & Baynham 2009). To put it simply, globalization entails intensified flows of mobility of people, objects and signs.

Blommaert (2003: 611-617) has two suggestions how mobility and flow should be taken into account in the study of sociolinguistics: *the world system as context* and *second linguistic relativity*. According to Blommaert (2003), in sociolinguistic research the world system should be kept as the larger framework not only in the macro-level studies (e.g. Wallerstein 1983, 2001, Hannerz 1992, 1996; De Swaan 2001, 2010), but also in the study of smaller-scale phenomena. The global system, hence, should be seen as the larger background of the phenomena that we are witnessing and studying at a smaller and more local scope. The world system in Blommaert's theorizing originates from the so called *World System Analysis* (Wallerstein 1997, 2007).

World System Analysis (Wallerstein 1997, 2004) sees the world organized around hierarchically ordered centers, and this view is at the background when observing flows. The world is thus divided into *centers*, *semi-peripheries* and *peripheries*, which are economically dependent on one another. As Blommaert et al. (2005a: 202) point out, a similar division between centers and peripheries takes place in a smaller scope as well. It is possible to observe centers and peripheries, for instance, within geo-political areas such as the EU, states, and cities. In a similar vein, Hannerz (1992, 1996) discusses the flow of cultures into one another and the fact that it is difficult if not impossible to characterize cultures as bounded systems in the age of late modernity. Moreover, similarly to Wallerstein (1997, 2004), Hannerz (1992, 1996) also observes that the cultural flows are not random but determined according to, and around, centers and peripheries.

In Blommaert's (2003) view, it is possible to distinguish two ways in which the World System Analysis helps in understanding mobility. On the one hand, it gives

some explanation to how flows and mobility function. For instance, often the direction of the flows is from the center(s) towards peripheries (for instance, cultural items or innovations) or from peripheries towards the center (immigration or manufactured products). On the other hand, the world system should be kept as the broader context in the analysis of what happens at the micro-level when people, objects and signs move through spaces. An important effect that is becoming very obvious is that the value of linguistic resources changes through movement in space, and one way to understand such processes is to keep the global scale as the larger framework. In other words, as Hymes (1990, 1996) already observed, it is possible to talk about a second linguistic relativity.

Blommaert (2003: 614) summarizes the notion of second linguistic relativity in the following way:

Even if language forms are similar or identical, the way in which they get inserted in social actions may differ significantly, consequently there may be huge differences in what these (similar or identical) forms *do* in real societies.

In other words, when a language form travels, not only in horizontal space but a vertical, stratified space, its function and potential to do things changes. Because of intensified mobility and flow in the globalized world "the presupposability" of the functions of linguistic forms is getting more and more difficult. This has the following two consequences. Firstly, as a language form moves across spaces, it changes its function and meaning. Secondly, social identities and the resources by which they are marked are becoming deterritorialized as for instance various identity options are circulating across borders. According to Blommaert (2003: 614), the function of language forms is "the key to the study of how language actually works in societies", and in order to study these functions he proposes that more ethnographic and micro-level study is needed, although as mentioned above, the global framework should be kept as the larger context. In response to the new complexities of the sociolinguistic word, the following concepts have been developed in order to capture relativity of mobile linguistic forms: *Scale, indexical orders* and *polycentricity*.

2.1.3 Scale, indexical orders and polycentricity

As it has been noted often in recent works of sociolinguistics, the mobility of people and signs do not take place across empty spaces (Blommaert and Dong 2007; Blommaert 2010, Blommaert et al 2005, Collins, Baynham and Slembrouck 2010). Instead, they move through spaces that are filled with "codes, norms and expectations" (Blommaert 2010: 37). Put differently, the spaces are filled with orders of indexicalities, emanating from various centers (polycentricity) and all of this is organized along scales. Hence, a scale can be seen as a metaphor to imagine the vertical make up of spaces, which are layered and stratified. Scale is a concept that originates from the disciplines of history and geography (Swyngedouw 1996; Uitermark 2002). Moreover, it is one of the basic theoretical tools of World System Analysis (Wallerstein 1983, 1997 2001).

Scales are hierarchically ordered, and there are normally various different scales present in one space, or communication event. The hierarchically higher scales are not available for everybody, as there is inequality in the distribution of the linguistic resources that allow the access to the higher scale levels. To capture the presence of various scale levels in a single conversation, Blommaert (2010: 35) talks about *scale jumping* as an individual can jump to a higher scale level within one communication event. At the level of interaction, this can be seen for instance, as a change in the role, as the interlocutor moves from the talk from the role of an equal partner, to talking from the role of an authority. Scale-jumping is, of course, not possible for everybody, but only for those who have the access to higher scale levels and the appropriate repertoires that index those scales.

An individual who moves from one geographical location to another also enters different scales, and more often than not, this means transformations in the functions of language forms that they carry in their linguistic repertoires. For instance, the English spoken by an individual from the world periphery who comes to the center might change its indexicality severely in the new context. For instance, the middle class English from Africa might not be considered as indexical of a middle-class identity in Britain (Blommaert 2010.). However, within geographical mobility it can

be possible to enter scales where the migrant's linguistic repertoire has validity. These would be scales with a translocal scope, and in recent sociolinguistic literature such phenomenon is explained with the notion of TimeSpace.

The dimension of TimeSpace was first introduced by Wallerstein (1983), and later adopted in the toolkit of sociolinguistics of globalization (for instance, Blommaert 2010; Blommaert et al. 2005a; Collins et al. 2009). This dimension entails the different way that each scale orients to time and space (long – short time and translocal – local space). For instance, some scales are highly translocal and also require translocal linguistic resources from individuals operating in that scale. Examples of such scales would include international business and politics where not only the obvious linguistic code that is required would be English but particular forms of English including specialized vocabulary and styles. Moreover, a participation in diasporic networks enables individuals to use resources that would not otherwise be valid in their environment. In conclusion, scales are hierarchically ordered layers of stratified space. They determine the indexical orders of space, which in turn determine the different indexicalities and semiotic meanings of language forms in a particular space and scale.

Silverstein (1993, 2003) already introduced indexicality as the basic source of meaning of linguistic forms. Firstly, Silverstein observes that linguistic forms index meanings rather than have meanings. In other words, without the process of semiosis that takes place socially, a linguistic form does not have any meaning. The meaning of linguistic forms, thus, becomes created socially (norms), as they become correlated with a semantic or pragmatic function. Consequently, the form can be used to evoke and create a particular meaning. A linguistic form can have several meanings according to the context, and hence, they can index different things according to the order of indexicality that they enter. In other words, the meanings of linguistic forms are indexical, while this indexicality is not random but ordered in various orders of indexicality.

Blommaert (2010: 37) characterizes orders of indexicality in following terms:

...clustered and patterned language forms that index specific social personae and roles can be invoked to organize interactional practices (e.g. turns at talk, narrative), and have a prima facie stability that can sometimes be used for typifying or stereotyping.

Indexical order is, in fact, a very similar concept to scale, but while scale is a tool to imagine space, indexical order is a theoretical construct to imagine the contextuality of semiotic potential of language forms, or linguistic resources. Indexical orders are historical and social constructs that determine the meaning of particular registers, styles, genres, and so forth. In other words, indexical orders determine the semiotic potential of linguistic resources.

Indexical orders, on the other hand, are ordered by various centers, and normally there can be several centers at play in one situation or communication event. This phenomenon is called *polycentricity* by Blommaert (2010: 39-41) and is widely adopted in the recent theorizing of sociolinguistics of globalization (see, for instance, Blommaert et al. 2005b). In other words, in a single communication event, an individual has the choice of orienting towards a particular center and this will determine the indexical order that he/she will enter, which in turn has effects in the linguistic resources that are mobilized. For instance, in a class room, a pupil might choose to orient towards a translocal hip hop community, which will have effects in his/her language use that flag a certain identity category. However, in this case he/she could also have oriented towards the center of school authority, which would result in quite different forms of language use, while it would have been more appropriate from the point of view of the teacher. Consequently, indexical orders produce social categories and norms, and "define the dominant lines for senses of belonging, for identities and roles in society" (Blommaert 2010: 6). It is important to note that the function of language forms is different depending on the indexical order that they enter. Hence, the use of "hip-hop" slang gets very different meanings in the context of a class room in comparison with a meeting of friends who orient to this subculture.

As we can see, indexicality and indexical orders are significant from the point of view of identity. Through the use of appropriate registers, styles, genres, vocabulary and other linguistic resources, it is possible to flag belonging to certain social categories. On the other hand, the lack of particular linguistic resources can prevent an individual from entering a certain indexical order, scale and thus social category. Indexical orders, scales and polycentricity are important concepts in making sense of locally situated forms of language use, particularly in the context of mobility. As was already discussed above, the indexicality of particular linguistic resources in one locality can change dramatically when brought to another one with different scales and indexical orders, which redefine the semiotic potential of the linguistic resources of a mobile individual. This is effectively summarized by Blommaert (2010: 22)

linguistic resources move through different orders of indexicality, and every move involves a different set of indexical potentials for the resources. What works well in one context may not work at all in another. The reason is that such orders of indexicality need to be seen as organized in polycentric systems, in which different centers – Bakhtinian 'super-addressees' from which real or perceived norms emanate – co-occur in complex (and often opaque) simultaneous relationships.

This chapter has summarized the main theoretical point of view of the sociolinguistic world in the context of globalization. The following section will present the view of language knowledge and multilingualism that is adopted in the present study.

2.2 Towards a dynamic view of language knowledge and multilingualism

As already mentioned above, the field of sociolinguistics has been forced to review many of its concepts and methodology. This includes the conception of language as in the age of globalization it has proved impossible to maintain the old conceptions of language as a system, which has long traditions in the study of language. For instance, Blommaert (2010: xiv) talks about the necessity of discarding the *Saussurean synchrony*, which he defines as:

A view of sociolinguistic reality in which language is undressed, so to speak, and robbed of the spatial and temporal features that define its occurrence, meaning and function in real social life.

Consequently, Blommaert among others (Coupland (ed.) 2010; Collins, et al. 2009; Hall et al. 2006) emphasizes the importance of taking into account the spatial and temporal situatedness of language use, and the importance of shifting away from a "static, totalized and immobile" image of language while shifting towards a more "dynamic, fragmented, and mobile one" (Blommaert 2010:196-197). As Blommaert (ibid) perceptively puts it, we can talk about a paradigm change, as the new view of the sociolinguistic world deviates quite dramatically from the earlier conceptions. The old conceptions included the ideas of the "native ideal", a homogeneous speaker community, and language as a countable system (notably Chomsky 1965). Now these old conceptions are losing their significance as the sociolinguistic reality is determined by mobility and flow.

Many scholars express criticism towards some recent work on multilingualism, in which language is still seen according to the old conceptions of a synchronized system, characterized by homogeneity across speakers and countability (for instance, Hall et al. 2006; Heller 2010; Otsuji and Pennycook 2010). For instance, in some work on multilingualism or multicompetence, the different language codes are still treated as separate systems that an individual has at his/her disposal (Cook 1991; Pavlenko 2000, 2003; Pavlenko and Jarvis 2002; Cenoz 2003; Porte 2003) As Hall et al. (2006: 222) point out there are some flaws in a lot of recent work on multilingualism. For instance, these works tend to treat L1 and L2 language knowledge as distinct systems. Moreover, they assume a qualitative distinction between multicompetence and monocompetence, and the homogeneity of language knowledge across speakers and contexts. The same assumptions often underlie language teaching and testing (Hall et al. 2006; Heller 2010).

In order to avoid Saussurean synchrony and bring the image of language closer to the sociolinguistic reality of late modernity, many scholars propose the view of language as a set of resources (for instance, Hall et al. 2006; Blommaert 2005, 2010; Heller

2010; Collins et al. 2009). According to Hall et al. (2006: 226) this view sees language as:

dynamic constellations of linguistic resources, the shapes and meanings of which emerge from continual interaction between internal, domain-general cognitive constraints on the one hand, and one's pragmatic pursuits in his or her everyday worlds on the other, that is through language use.

Hence, the view of language as a set of resources emphasizes the multiplicity and variability of language knowledge, as the change in the language use entails a change in the individual's language knowledge. In fact, the high levels of variability across speakers and contexts take place even within one language system as individuals learn different varieties of a single language through experiences of language use in various different contexts. As also Ford et al. (2003: 122) note, language knowledge can be seen as "a set of forms, patterns and practices that have arisen to serve the most recurrent functions that speakers find need to fulfill". Linguistic resources are thus learned not within a bounded unit of speech community, but rather in interaction with various communities of practice.

To clarify what exactly is meant with linguistic resources in this particular study, I will quote Blommaert's (2010: 102) very precise definition:

The resources are concrete accents, language varieties, registers, genres, modalities such as writing – ways of using language in particular communicative settings and spheres of life, including the ideas people have about such ways of using, their language ideologies

It is important to bear in mind that language knowledge is indeed dynamic and in constant adaptation. Consequently, as others have noted, linguistic resources do not only vary throughout the life span, but also according to variables of social identities and contexts, communicative practices (Coupland and Jaworski, 2006; Fitch and Sanders, 2005; Wardhaugh, 2002). In other words, the repertoires of individuals vary both diachronically and synchronically. In this view language knowledge is seen as dynamic and variable, and as a "massive collection of heterogeneous *constructions*, each with affinities to different contexts and in constant structural adaptation to usage" (Bybee and Hopper, 2003: 3 emphasis in original). Similarly, according to

Blommaert (2010: 8) linguistic repertoires reflect individual life trajectories and thus reflect their biographies.

Although the notion of linguistic repertoires and resources that was sketched above is a very useful one, there is yet another way to characterize language that is even more suitable for the study of language in motion. Consequently, for instance, Blommaert (2010) and Blommaert et al. (2005a) talk about *truncated multilingualism, and the agency of space*. As Blommaert (2010: 103) points out, nobody knows a 'language' entirely. Following their life trajectories, individuals add new resources in their linguistic repertoires, but they are never complete, as nobody ever knows everything about a language. In Blommaert's (2010: 23) terms then multilingualism as truncated resources refers to the fact that "repertoires [are] composed of specialized but partially and unevenly developed resources." (Blommaert 2010: 23, see also Blommaert et al. 2005: 197.) This image gets further complicated and emphasized in the context of mobility. As individuals migrate across spaces, it is likely that they will have to adjust linguistically as well as socially, and often they will learn new resources that are inevitable for them to conduct their daily lives. However, their 'new' resources often only develop to the level that is necessary. Often it is not even possible to acquire more complete and fully-developed skills, as there is a lack of varied communicative experiences in different communities of practice.

Truncated multilingualism is the most salient in neighborhoods that are often marked with extreme linguistic diversity, or so called *superdiversity* (Blommaert 2010: 6-11, Vertovec 2006). Blommaert (2010: 6-11; see also Blommaert and Dong 2007) gives an example of such a neighborhood in Ghent, Belgium, where an individual living in an immigrant neighborhood might need some command of Turkish, German, Flemish and English to conduct various chores of their daily life. These resources often remain at a very basic level as the domains in which they are used are very limited.

Moreover, another two features of truncated multilingualism in immigrant neighborhoods are 'stretching' and 'pooling' (Blommaert and Dong 2007). As the

migrant keeps encountering situations where his/her resources are incomplete and barely sufficient, the phenomenon of stretching is likely to appear. This often leads to creative forms of language use, such as mixing, code-mixing, and so forth. Moreover, it is not uncommon that in immigrant communities the members pool their language resources, and this shows as collective work on communicative tasks. In other words, as it is known that an individual in the community is fluent in a needed language skill, and nobody else is as good, his/her help is often asked to complete tasks where that resource is necessary. Moreover, very often children help their parents with tasks that include formal varieties of Dutch, as through the participation in formal education, their formal Dutch skills are often much higher than their parents' (Blommaert and Dong 2007; Blommaert et al. 2005a.). Hence, in the present study, the view of multilingualism is adopted where it is seen as a truncated repertoire of various resources that are often incomplete and adopted in interaction with communities of practice.

In the previous section, the notion of scale was discussed and it was established that particular spaces should not be seen only as static environments or contexts for language use, but instead organized along various scales that organize orders of indexicalities that emanate from various centers. In fact, following Blommaert et al. (2005a), space is an active factor in any communication event, and it is possible to talk about a 'scale-based agentivity' (Blommaert et al. 2005: 212).

In contrast to earlier conceptions of multilingualism and language competence as attributes that people have, Blommaert et al. (2005: 197) reverse this line of thinking and argue quite convincingly that it is, instead, something that "the environment, as structured determinations and interactional emergence, enables and disables." In other words, they claim that space is 'constitutive' and 'agentive' in organizing regimes of language, which define what counts as language in a certain environment (ibid). What follows is that communicative problems of individuals in context of mobility result from how their linguistic repertoires fit local language regimes, organized by scales. Moreover, we can assume that if space is vertically organized according to scales into various orders of indexicality, and linguistic repertoires often

constitute truncated skills in various linguistic codes, this could result into partially functional linguistic resources. In other words, an individual might have adequate linguistic resources in some domains or scales whereas he/she would be left without a voice in others. Hence, in one semiotic interactional context, a particular part of his or her repertoire is high in value, while through entering another scale or space the same resource(s) loses value, while others might become valuable.

The view of the agency of space does not need to be deterministic. Blommaert et al (2005: 203) also acknowledge that individuals are active participants as well. In fact, scales and their hierarchies, value attributions to certain repertoires and so forth are in the first place constructed by people, although at a higher level such historical social constructions are out of reach of an individual. However, in the context of migration, individuals have the capability of investing in their language skills and transforming their repertoires to better fit the local environments. Moreover, it is important to bear in mind that the presence of immigrants has an effect to the local population as well (Blommaert et al 2005: 203). Blommaert et al. (ibid) restrict their discussion on diasporic immigrant populations and they observe that the presence of immigrants often has effects on the local society at an institutional level. However, I would like to add that even an individual immigrant is likely to influence the linguistic repertoires of their immediate social surroundings, as, in an attempt for mutual understanding and smooth communication, the local people are likely to adapt their linguistic repertoires as well. In conclusion, following Blommaert et al. (2005: 203) the space affects mobile individuals at least at the following three levels by determining:

- 1 What people can or cannot do (legitimation and disqualification of behaviors and linguistic forms).
- 2 The value and function of their sociolinguistic repertoires.
- 3 . their identities, both self-constructed (inhabited) and ascribed by others.

Another very recent way to characterize multilingualism in the context of late modernity and mobility is the notion of metrolingualism. It is a new concept that Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) propose as a replacement for the more traditional

concept of multilingualism. The main reason to do so is to step away from the monolingual bias that according to them exists in a lot of recent work on multilingualism, as the word itself emphasizes the existence of two or more separate language systems. Otsuji and Pennycook (2010: 256) summarize their metrolingualism in a following way:

Metrolingualism describes the ways in which people of different and mixed backgrounds use, play with and negotiate identities through language; it does not assume connections between language, culture, ethnicity, nationality or geography, but rather seeks to explore how such relations are produced, resisted, defied or rearranged; its focus is not on language systems but on languages as emergent from contexts of interaction.

Consequently, according to Otsuji and Pennycook (2010), a contemporary language study should then be mainly interested in *language ideologies*, *language practices* and *resources/repertoires*. Hence, language ideologies create the basic lines of senses of belonging, which, however, can be resisted and reconstituted by individuals and groups. Moreover, according to Otsuji and Pennycook (2010: 248) language should not be seen as "an entity used in different contexts but rather an emergent property of various social practices". In other words, they emphasize the fact that the rules of communication, identities, power relations, and so forth, are negotiated in *interaction*. Lastly, like many contemporary scholars of sociolinguistics, they also argue that language knowledge should be seen in terms of resources and repertoires.

The main point of metrolingualism is that, Otsuji and Pennycook (2010: 240) propose a view on language as *emergent from contexts of interaction*. This is a very important point as it allows analyzing and describing highly creative forms of language use that follow the rules of the unique interaction event. (Otsuji and Pennycook 2010). On the other hand, similar propositions have been presented elsewhere quite recently by Jørgensen 2008 and Møller 2008. For instance, Møller (2010: 218) discusses the problems in previous conceptions of multilingualism and some propositions how to tackle them in a following way:

What if the participants do not orient to the juxtaposition of languages in terms of switching? What if they instead orient to a linguistic norm where all available linguistic resources can be used to reach the goals of the speaker? Then it is not adequate to categorise this conversation as bilingual or multilingual, or even as language mixing, because all these terms depend on the separability of linguistic categories. I therefore suggest the term polylingual instead.

Jørgensen proposes a notion of polylingual that, in fact, resembles metrolingualism to a great extent. However, as Otsuji and Pennycook (2010:247) argue, the term polylingual is still problematic because it underlies the countability of languages. In contrast, metrolingualism does not have such connotations, and is in their view a better term.

As Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) observe, there are tensions between fixity and fluidity in society in the age of late modernity. For example, when conducting fluid conversations as in mixing various language codes one might still orient towards a static identification (for instance, cultural, ethnic identity). The same phenomenon was observed by Blackledge and Creese,(2008: 535) as they discuss that "some language users, at least some of the time, hold passionate beliefs about the importance and significance of a particular language to their sense of "identity"". According to Otsuji and Pennycook (2010: 244) fixity and fluidity should not be seen as dichotomous or opposite to each other but rather as "symbiotically (re)constituting each other". In other words, fixity and fluidity exist together and constitute often a site of struggle where the fixed identities and practices are contested or fluid identities and practices questioned because of powerful language ideologies (Otsuji and Pennycook 2010.). In practical terms fixity and fluidity can represent for instance how a person is at the same time using fluid language practices (unconventional language resources) and orientations while negotiating fixed identities that derive from the monoglot ideals and traditional static lines of senses of belonging.

Makoni and Pennycook (2007 in Otsuji and Pennycook 2010: 241) argue that "language is a social, political and historical construct", and they propose that it needs to be "disinvented and reconstituted drawing on the *local knowledge* of what it

means to people in the local context". In other words, the contemporary complex social and linguistic practices require turning the attention to the local phenomena in order to grasp the complex forms of language use and what they mean to their users in contemporary world. Metrolingualism can be a useful notion in the study of sociolinguistic phenomena in the context of mobility, as it allows an alternative meaning to essentialism, exceeds the common ways of framing language, is able to deal with contemporary language practices, and accommodates both fixity and fluidity in mobile language use (Otsuji and Pennycook 2010: 252.).

As we can see, sociolinguistics has come a long way from the conventional static, structuralist view on language, and a more dynamic view of language as resources is becoming accepted as the common view of the discipline. The more recent conceptions of language in the context of mobility propose the notion of truncated multilingualism and the agentivity of space as well as metrolingualism. The present study aims at exploring the possibilities of these notions as tools to understand what happens to the linguistic repertoires of individuals in the context of mobility.

2.3 Earlier ethnographic studies on language and globalization

There is a growing body of research that takes the theoretical stance to language and mobility described above. Some scholars call for more attention to the microscopic shifts and changes that take place in interaction, as they argue that the complexity of linguistic and sociolinguistic repertoires in the context of mobility are most salient there (Blommaert and Dong 2007, 2010; Maryns and Blommaert 2001; Blommaert 2010). In other words, they are interested in minute linguistic variation, or microvariation.

For instance, Blommaert and Dong (2007; 2010a) conducted ethnographic fieldwork in multilingual Beijing in 2006 and an interesting episode took place when a field interview was conducted with a local salesman of dumplings who had migrated to Beijing from the South. Through detailed analysis of the field interview record they could discern shifts and changes in the interviewee's accent and those changes

correlated with changes in the topic. Important findings of this fieldwork and many others that study the details of speech reveal the fine indexical work that individuals do within even one conversation event and even within one language.

As Blommaert and Dong (2007: 17) suggest the shifts in accent "come in a package in which topic and role or identity correlate with accent and style". These shifts on the other hand include orientations in space. A person can speak from different footings and as a different person, depending on slight changes in the accent. Moreover, particularly when people move across space the indexicality that the local people observe can be different than the indexicality that the speaker intends.

Similar microanalysis was conducted by Maryns and Blommaert (2001) in their study of asylum seekers' repertoires. They also observed that the officials who were handling the process were often positioning the migrants according to the scales and indexicalities related to 'monoglot ideal', which made it impossible for them to understand the complex realities according to which the migrants themselves positioned themselves. The term monoglot ideal originates from Silverstein (1996: 285) who defines the term in a following way:

a group of people who, in their implicit sense of the regularities of linguistic usage, are united in adherence to the idea that there exists a functionally differentiated norm for using their language denotatively...the inclusive range of which the best language users are believed to have mastered in the appropriate way.

In other words, monoglot ideal constitutes the language ideologies and constructs that aim at constructing a unity among language, region and culture. Moreover, it entails the conception and attempts towards homogenous language forms across speakers. The data of the microanalytic study by Maryns and Blommaert constitutes a narrative from an asylum seeker in Belgium, and the data was created in an 'interview' between the asylum seeker and the authorities where the migrant was expected to tell his story in detail. In that sense, their study comes quite close to mine. Similar to this study they also analyze data that is created in interaction with

the subjects, and with similar theoretical assumptions and concepts at the background.

Another study that is concerned with mobile resources in migration related contexts was conducted by Blommaert et al. (2005b). They conducted broad ethnographic fieldwork in a 'global neighborhood' in Ghent, Belgium. They applied various methods of gathering the data: recorded field interviews, pictures of interesting sites and objects, and various types of displays of language and identity. Blommaert et al. (2005b) aimed at an understanding about the general processes of migration and multilingualism. Moreover, they were interested in forms of belonging and situated language contact. In other words, a 'global neighborhood' was selected as the unit of analysis. Their main findings include the discovery that in the global neighborhood, Ghent, street shops, local health centers, schools and bars function as 'centers' where different language regimes, or indexicalities are allowed. The patterns of multilingual language use in immigrant neighborhood appear as layered, and often various forms of truncated multilingualism develops as the migrants adapt to the language regimes of various centers in the neighborhood.

As is also summarized in Blommaert and Dong (2007) an individual living in such a neighborhood is likely to need different parts of their truncated repertoire in different situations and contexts (scales). For instance, the Ghent neighborhoods there is often an abundance of Turkish restaurants, newspaper shops, telephone shops, and so forth. A migrant from Nigeria, for instance, would normally not have a chance to speak his home African language in any of these facilities, but often the language repertoire that is needed is patterned and truncated. For instance, telephone shops are often owned by Indian and Pakistanian immigrants, who can speak vernacular English. Consequently, in those contexts the Nigerian immigrant can speak his West-African vernacular of English. On the other hand, in Turkish bakeries or restaurants the only common resource would be an often highly vernacular and partial form of Dutch.

In conclusion, the emerging sociolinguistic research relies more frequently on ethnography as their methodology in the search of understanding the complex

processes regarding language and society in the context of globalization. Moreover, some scholars argue that sociolinguistics of globalization should focus more on the study of microvariation particularly in attempts to understand what happens to resources in the context of mobility (Blommaert and Dong 2007; 2010). In contrast, others are in favor of both micro- and macro-level studies (Collins et al 2009). Blommaert's et al.'s (2005b) study sheds light into the organization of repertoires in the context of a global neighbourhood, while Blommaert and Dong and Blommaert and Maryns (2001) shed light on the global and local micro-level processes that are at play in interaction.

In addition to the type of migration represented by the studies discussed above, there is another type of migration in the globalizing world that does not appear in global neighborhoods and that has not received the attention yet that it in my opinion deserves. To my knowledge there are no other studies made that take a similar theoretical point of view to the study of First World migrants, and my goal is to fill this gap in sociolinguistic research within the framework of globalization. Considering the scope of a Master's thesis it was not possible to conduct a full scale ethnographic research, and I have chosen ethnographic interview as my method of data collection. Finnish people living in Belgium were chosen as a group that is representative of the mobility within the world center. The theoretical constructs and main assumptions of the present study were adapted from the large scale ethnographic studies presented above. Let us now proceed to a closer discussion of the research design.

3 RESEARCH DESIGN

3.1 Research questions

The aim of the present study is to investigate what happens to people's linguistic resources when they move from one country to another within the world center. As Blommaert (2003; 2009; 2010) points out, our repertoires are always a reflection of particular life trajectories. In other words, our current repertoires reflect the various contexts in which we have been operating at different times. Even if one never moves to another country and remains 'monolingual', so to speak, we only know those genres and registers of our native language/mother tongue that are and have been meaningful to us. Another question is, of course, whether we are able to maintain all of the resources that have been meaningful to us once but lose their significance in a new life situation. The point is that nobody knows a language entirely.

As it was mentioned earlier, the dramatically increased mobility of people (as well as ideas, goods, languages, cultural items) in the age of globalization is resulting in more complex and truncated repertoires, and in more complex forms of language contact. As described above it is not only the increasingly widespread forms of human mobility that takes place from the world peripheries to the center as people flee (refugees) or are in the search of better life opportunities (economic migrants). Additionally, the more invisible type of mobility of individuals who move within the core areas of the world system is increasingly common. People are offered and even encouraged to live periods of time abroad, for instance, as exchange students, international interns, expatriates and so forth. The general attitudes towards such mobility say in Europe, are highly positive and many believe that such living abroad experiences can give better economic opportunities because of higher level of multilingualism and multiculturalism that one acquires in return, which seem to have high currency in the world today. In addition, the acquired living abroad experience makes it easier for individuals to make the decision to move abroad again, and the decision to move to another country permanently can be made more lightly. All in all, there are many forms of mobility within the First World that are also affecting the

sociolinguistic repertoires of individuals, and it is important to study the dynamic repertoires of this type of migrants as well.

The main goal of this study is, thus, *to investigate and describe what happens to the linguistic resources of an individual who moves to another country within his/her subregion*. I have divided this main question into the following sub-questions:

1. How do an individual's linguistic resources change in relation to his/her environment(s)?
2. What do the various linguistic resources mean to an individual at different times and in different contexts?

In order to answer the research questions, I conducted eight (8) thematic interviews with Finnish people who have moved to Belgium. The main reason to choose this particular group of people for my study was both personally and theoretically motivated. By the time I began this study, I had lived in Belgium for 1.5 years and observed how living abroad experience affects me as well as other migrants in my surroundings. These experiences were often reflected upon with the sociolinguistic academic knowledge at the background. I was familiar with the resource-based conception of language and I saw a great opportunity to conduct a study with a similar approach with a distinctly bottom-up perspective. Since I knew that there is a moderately large base of Finnish people in Belgium and I had heard of a group called Nordiax conveniently operating in my hometown Ghent, it seemed like an ideal source of participants for my study. Resources and language repertoires are best studied with an ethnographic approach, since deep background knowledge of the subjects' world is necessary in order to fully understand their positions and use of various repertoires. The fact that I share a similar cultural and social background as well as the experience of moving to and living in Belgium gave good grounds to conduct a distinctly ethnographically oriented research.

As it was shown in the previous chapter, the present study aims at filling a gap in the sociolinguistic literature. To my knowledge the linguistic repertoires of First World migrants have not been studied before from a distinctly ethnographic perspective while with the focus on those migrants who move to another country more or less permanently. Consequently, this study has been inspired by recent ethnographic studies on language contact and mobility (for instance, Blommaert et al. 2005a, and 2005b; Blommaert and Dong 2010a; Collins and Slembrouck 2009). However, instead of studying mobility from the world peripheries to the center, the main topic is the mobility within the center. Within the scope of a master's thesis it was not possible to make a full scale ethnographic study. Therefore I have limited the scope to ethnographic semi-structured interviews. In the following sections, I will discuss the methodological approach that combines ethnography with grounded theory in greater detail and I will outline how the interviews were conducted. Furthermore, the analytic method of content analysis will be discussed, followed by an overview of the data.

3.2 Ethnography and grounded theory as the methodological framework

As mentioned above, the present study has a distinctly ethnographic approach and methods are derived from that paradigm. Although all of the conventional methods, such as participant observation and writing field notes, have not been used in the present study, ethnography nevertheless functions as the basic theoretical and methodological point of view. In this section, I will shortly describe how a combination of ethnography and grounded theory is applied as the basic methodological framework of the present study.

Atkinson et al. (2007: 4) state that the ethnographic traditions “are grounded in a commitment to the first-hand experience and exploration of a particular social or cultural setting on the basis of (though not exclusively by) participant observation.” As mentioned above, systematic participant observation does not belong to the data collection methods of the present study. However, the similar origins that I share with

the interviewees and the similar experiences of the trajectory from Finland to Belgium constitutes the wide background knowledge that is needed in order to allow deep understanding of the subjects' various positions and references to their experiential world. In fact, many other definitions of ethnographic approach in one way or another simply emphasize the importance and significance of context in the interpretation of the data (Charmaz and Mitchell 2001; Keating 2001; Blommaert and Dong 2010; Bourdieu 1996; Hymes 1972). Moreover, some scholars characterize ethnography as “stepping into the shoes of the person being studied” (Denzin 1997: 272-273). One of the main principles that makes a study ethnographic is, thus, a fundamentally deep contextual knowledge of the backgrounds of the object(s) of study. Hence, the background knowledge, in this study, originates mainly from the similar backgrounds that the researcher shares with the subjects.

Ethnography relies on constructivist theories and methods. Knowledge is, thus, seen as equal to “knowledge construction” as Blommaert and Dong (2010:10) aptly put it. Ethnography sees the world as immensely complex and filled with “multiple realities” but unlike many other disciplines does not aim at simplifying the complexities of the real life. In other words, ethnography does not aim at finding universal truths but instead tries to explain, interpret and describe the world through relying on theoretical constructions in transparent ways. (Blommaert and Dong 2010.) According to Blommaert and Dong (2010:7-9), this characteristic increases the critical potential of ethnographic research as ethnography aims at seeing the reality behind social constructions and norms, instead of merely describing them. This means that the ethnographers are constantly aiming at seeing through the explicit forms and categorizations of the data and towards the implicit. These categorizations and realities are often hidden to individuals themselves, and also inequalities can be hidden and normalized in society. Therefore the aim of ethnography is to uncover those hidden and implicit patterns of inequality and value ascriptions. In fact, Blommaert and Dong (2010:11) describe ethnography as “counter-hegemony”. They emphasize the potential of ethnography to question the norms and expectations in society, and the role of ethnography in deconstructing imagined and attributed functions and values of sociolinguistic resources. Hence, the aim of critical ethnography is to reveal the attributed functions and values of

sociolinguistic resources and to describe and to discover the real functions and forms in the real word.

The present study does not only build on ethnographic traditions but combines them with grounded theory methods. This type of approach has many advantages as Charmaz and Mitchell (2001) point out. Grounded theory approach brings ethnography towards more theoretical interpretations whereas through features of ethnography grounded theory avoids what Charmaz and Mitchell (2001:160) characterize as "dirty qualitative research". In other words, grounded theory helps ethnographers to avoid merely describing the phenomena and makes them more involve tightly in theoretical work. On the other hand, ethnography helps grounded theory in ensuring a tight link to real life phenomena and detailed contextual understanding of the phenomena.

According to Charmaz and Mitchell (2001:160.), there are some strategies that are common to all varieties of grounded theory research:

- A. Simultaneous data-collection and analysis;
- B. Pursuit of emergent themes through early data analysis;
- C. Inductive construction of abstract categories that explain and synthesize these processes;
- D. Integration of categories into a theoretical framework that specifies causes, conditions and consequences of the process(es)

Another feature that is often emphasized in handbooks of grounded theory is the delayed literature review. This means that in grounded theory research literature review is ideally conducted after completing the analysis independently and creating categories and interpretations purely on the basis of the data. (See, for example; Glaser 1978; 1992; Strauss 1987; Chenitz and Swanson 1986; Strauss and Corbin 1990/1998.) However, all research builds on the previous research done by others and many grounded theorists nowadays acknowledge the significance of the

theoretical background knowledge in formulating the research design and having some primary concepts to work with (Van den Hoonaard 1997). Nevertheless, one of the basic aims of grounded theory is that the codes or categories should emerge from the data and not from applying concepts from earlier work to the data. Therefore, in the analysis of the present study the primary categories were built on observations that naturally emerged from the data. However, those categories were discussed and interpreted in the light of the theoretical framework.

Furthermore, Charmaz and Mitchell (2001:194-165) describe the dynamics between the researcher and the participants, and the emergent data construction. According to them, the data are constructed together with the participants. However, it is the researcher's task to reconstruct codes or categories from the data in a process where the context of the data (the backgrounds of the participants) has an important role. Moreover, the researcher should aim at tapping the implicit and hidden meanings in the data (Charmaz and Mitchell 2001: *ibid.*). In other words, as often is assumed from ethnographic research but even from grounded theory research and qualitative research, the aim of the researcher is not merely to describe the phenomenon, but to interpret and construct new knowledge. To put it differently, the knowledge constructions that result from the dialogue between the researcher and the subjects constitute the data, which are then further processed by the researcher in the light of his/her knowledge of the broader context of the phenomenon and the theoretical framework of the particular study.

In this study, then, I have applied the two approaches of grounded theory and ethnography in a following way. Following the suggestions of grounded theory, the initial data analysis was made without any theoretically based categories apart from the resource-based approach to language. In further data processing, and knowledge construction, the theoretical framework had a significant role. Moreover, most of the literature review was made after the initial data analysis, although this study is at the same time motivated by previous literature and work in the field of language contact in the age of globalization. On the other hand, ethnography is employed mostly in the

data collection methods, while both approaches have affected the general set up of the present study.

3.3 Ethnographic interview

The data of the present study were collected by conducting interviews. This strategy was chosen because the purpose of the present study is to highlight the grassroots level of how individuals resort to various resources from their repertoires and what kinds of meanings these resources have to the individuals themselves. In conversations with the participants it was possible to discuss and construct qualitative data of the dynamics and functions of various linguistic resources from the point of view of the participants themselves. The type of interview that was chosen is best characterized as a theme interview although it has some features of a semi-structured interview. The principles of ethnography function as the broader framework of the interviewing technique, which is why I have termed the interview strategy as *ethnographic interview*.

In theme interviews the interviewer determines the themes on the basis of previous studies and knowledge of the study field. The same themes are presented to all interviewees and the interview flows from theme to theme. (See, for instance, Hirsjärvi and Hurme 2001: 47-48, 66; Eskola and Suoranta 2000:86-87; Blommaert and Dong 2010b:44-49.) Traditionally, in theme interviews the interviewer does not have structured questions, but instead short notes on the themes and some questions to make sure that the conversation does not get blocked. However, as mentioned above, a mix of semi-structured and theme interview was applied in the present study although the emphasis is on the latter. The main motivation to do so was that the themes were very broad and rather complex. Consequently, it seemed necessary to prepare a rather loose list of questions in order to make sure that the conversations will keep flowing even if a more difficult and abstract theme is discussed. Moreover, since I was a beginner as an interviewer, it was important to have some questions prepared in advance in order to avoid the conversations getting blocked. Although, theme interview serves well to explain how the interviews were structured in the

present study, I will shortly discuss the method of ethnographic interview since it serves well to illustrate in more detail how the interviews were structured.

There is increasing awareness of the weaknesses of traditional interviewing methods, and it is becoming evident that interviews that resemble conversation can be a source of much richer qualitative data (Blommaert and Dong 2010b; Briggs 1986; Mishler 1986). For example, Mishler (1986: 122-132) critiques traditional interviewing techniques for being unnatural and for de-contextualizing interviewees from the context of their daily lives. Consequently, in the traditional interview there is often no space for narratives and anecdotes which constitute a significant part of normal conversations and which are often the source of the most valuable data (Mishler (ibid); Blommaert and Dong 2010b:43). In other words, in traditional interviews interviewees are often presented with question answer patterns, which result to de-contextualization, and the data cannot be as varied. In contrast, in less structured ethnographic theme interviews it is possible to avoid the unnaturalness of a structured interview and it makes the co-construction and negotiation of the meanings possible. In fact, many scholars hold the view that in ethnographic interview the knowledge and data is constructed and negotiated in interviews together with the interviewee, which echoes some principles of the combination of ethnographic and grounded theory data collection that were discussed above.

As already stated, in ethnographic interviewing, narratives and anecdotes should be encouraged, and according to Blommaert and Dong (2010b: 56), a story can provide:

..contexts, experiences, motives, fragments of what Bourdieu called 'practical reasons': the way in which people build argumentative constructs out of their socially and culturally conditioned experiences, and how such arguments help them to make sense of their world.

In other words, narratives and anecdotes can give very good cues of how the interviewees see the world themselves. Often narratives can be strong indicators of various positions, to which interviewees orient themselves. In fact, according to many ethnographers, the meta-level of conversations and interviews alike should not be discarded and should be taken into account in the analysis at the very least. For

example, Holstein and Gubrium (1995 in Hayl 2001: 374) emphasize the importance of appropriate and sufficient background knowledge of the “material, cultural, and interpretive circumstances to which respondents might orient”. In other words, interviewing is not only a matter of what is said but also of how it is said (Holstein and Gubrium 1995: 79) This view comes close to Goffman's (1974; 1981) interactional analysis of 'footing' and 'frame', and Blommaert's (2007; 2010) microvariation. In the present study, the meta-level of conversation is occasionally taken into account as cues of the actual meaning of the utterances and what lies between the lines. However, the main focus remains on the content of the interview talk.

Mishler (1986: 122-132) further points out that traditionally the interviewee is disempowered as all the power and authority is held by the interviewer. However, as many contemporary scholars argue, in order to gather authentic and detailed data of respondent's everyday lives and meanings, the researcher should avoid having a large power distance (for instance, Mishler 1986: *ibid*; Blommaert and Dong 2010b: 49-52). Hence, in order to make the co-construction of knowledge possible, the empowerment of the interviewee is necessary. In the present study, the interviews did not contain any discernible power distance between the interviewer and the interviewees. In fact, my role as an interviewer or researcher was not present during most of the interviews, but instead we were discussing the topics from rather similar positions, namely, that of 'a Finnish expatriate living in Belgium'. Only when I was explaining about my research, I was adopting the role of a research student, but those parts of the interview were not important for the study purpose. Moreover, I shared a very similar cultural and social background with my interviewees, and the level of education was in most cases very similar. Consequently, the interviews entailed rich co-operative construction of knowledge together with the interviewees, and because of the high level of the interviewees' education also the more complex and abstract questions were very well received.

As Blommaert and Dong (2010b: 49-52) among others point out, it is important to bear in mind that the interviewer is a part of the interview. For instance, Blommaert

and Dong (ibid.) talk about rapport, which refers to the fact that the personality and biography of the researcher undeniably influence the interaction and production of knowledge during the research project (see also Shostak, 1981; Hayl 2001). Moreover, the researcher's identity and how it is perceived by the interviewee is significant. As Blommaert and Dong (2010b: 49) observe, it can be difficult to diminish the authority that is often ascribed to the researcher simply because of his/her status as a researcher. This and other characteristics of the interviewer influence what the interviewee is willing to tell. In a similar vein, Hayl (2001: 377-378) emphasizes the need of reflexivity. On the one hand, reflexivity entails the above described need for a broad knowledge of the context and the backgrounds of the interviewee. On the other hand, reflexivity refers to acknowledging the influence of the interviewer in the interview, and taking it into account in the analysis. In conclusion, since the researcher is a participant in an interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee, it is important to take this into consideration in the analysis phase and acknowledge the possible effects to the findings.

Hayl (2001) discusses aptly the different tasks that the ethnographer has during 'the interviewing phase' in comparison with 'the interpretation phase'. There is some variation concerning the interpretation of the interviewer's role during the interview. For example, Hayl (2001:371) discusses Kvale's (1996) metaphors of the researcher as a 'traveler' and a 'miner'. This view entails an assumption that the task of a researcher is to search for new knowledge, and to grasp and describe the subjects' world through what they say and from their point of view. However, others also acknowledge the fact that a researcher always carries out a research project with particular goals in mind. In fact, the research project and design are formulated according to the researcher's theoretical backgrounds. (Gubrium and Hosltein 1997.) The present study also adopts this constructivist view on the tasks of the interviewer. Hence, it is assumed that in interviews, knowledge of specific phenomena is co-constructed and negotiated together with the interviewees and the relation is held as equal as possible. However, the researcher prepares the themes or questions and enters the interview situation with a certain theoretical agenda. Moreover, as already mentioned earlier, the data produced in interviews are further processed in the

interpretation process during the analysis phase. In the analysis phase, in turn, new knowledge is again constructed from a purely theoretical point of view.

As this study draws conclusions from only eight Finnish interviewees, one could question its generalizability and validity. However, this study applies the strategy of a case study, which is rather common in ethnographic research. Blommaert and Dong (2010b: 12) point out that ethnography is best characterized as inductive science where empirical evidence is used to formulate theory and not vice versa, as in deductive sciences. Similarly, a case study relies heavily on inductive logic. Schulman (1986 in Blommaert and Dong 2010b: 12) explains the principles of a case study as follows:

A case, properly understood, is not simply a report of an event or incident. To call something a case is to make a theoretical claim – to argue that it is “a case of something”, or to argue that it is an instance of a larger class.

Schulman (ibid.) continues by stating that the generalizability derives from “the theoretical apparatus” of the case study, and that it does not “inhere” in the case. In my opinion, this is linked to the fact that ethnography sees the reality as multidimensional. There can be nearly an unlimited number of possible interpretations of data depending on the angle from which a scholar is looking at it. Hence, the importance of explicating the theoretical stance of a particular study cannot be emphasized enough, since it constitutes the source of the validity and reliability of an ethnographic research. Therefore, the theoretical framework that was described in the previous chapter has functioned as the general framework of this study, and constitutes the foundations of the analysis and findings.

3.4 Content analysis

The method of data analysis of the present study derives from the broad field of content analysis. In this section I will shortly describe how content analysis was understood and applied in this particular study.

Krippendorff (2004: 3) defines content analysis in the following way: “content analysis entails a systematic reading of a body of texts, images, and symbolic matter, not necessarily from an author's or user's perspective.” In other words, content analysis does not mean merely summarizing texts or data, but requires informed interpretation, which should derive from the analyst's theoretically defined context. For example, when analyzing interview data, it is important not to just summarize and categorize what the informants say, but instead make informed inferences of the meanings in relation to the theoretical backgrounds and the research questions. On the other hand, Krippendorff (2004:18) identifies at least three different types of content analysis:

Studies where content is seen as inherent in the text

Studies where content is seen as a property of a source of a text

Studies where content is seen as something that emerges in the process of a researcher analyzing the text

The first two types of content analysis are mainly interested in the content of the text, and, hence, differ significantly from the third type that emphasizes the theoretical context and agenda that guide the analysis. This is in line with Pietilä's (1976: 52-55) description of two types of content analysis. He characterizes all types of research aiming at the description of the content of data as content analysis together with those aiming at the description of phenomena outside the text but that are reflected in the text as content analysis (ibid.). The present study, however, can be characterized in terms of Krippendorff's third type of content analysis. Consequently, the content that is described in the analysis section is a product of a dialectical analytic procedure, where the primary research questions are tested on the data and readjusted after finding out what naturally emerges from the data. Thus, in the whole research process the theory, aims and data all take part in a dialogue that in the end produces the analytic conceptualizations. From this point onwards, I will restrict my discussion on the third type of content analysis, as that is the strategy applied in the data analysis of the present study.

There are a few basic assumptions that underlie content analysis. Firstly, echoing ethnography, it is assumed that texts can have multiple meanings and interpretations depending on the particular context and the position of the reader. When an individual reads a text for a second time, he/she is likely to have different understandings and interpretations of it. Texts are always inherently intertextual and different readers have different positions when reading the text at different times. Moreover, as Krippendorff (2004: 22) aptly puts it, content analysis normally pursues meanings outside of the text and not within a text, although as it was mentioned earlier, the latter type of content analysis is also possible. Thirdly, the importance of elaborating the particular position and theoretical context of the researcher cannot be emphasized enough. Because of the multiple nature of possible interpretations of the texts, it is necessary to clearly construct the framework through which the data is looked at in content analysis. Without a clear framework, the reliability and validity of a study can be questionable. (Krippendorff 2001: 10.)

Krippendorff (2004: 83-85) describes various stages of content analysis, which have been made use of in the present study. As suggested by Krippendorff (*ibid.*), I unitized, recorded/coded and reduced the data in the first stages of the analysis. Firstly, this meant transcribing the recorded spoken interviews into a written mode which makes it easier to analyze. Since the main interest was on the content of the interview talk, the transcription conventions that were applied were rather loose. In other words, I have paid only little attention to the meta-language (pauses, emphasis, loud talk, whisper, and so forth) although it was also taken into account and transcribed when it seemed particularly meaningful. In the Finnish transcription, I have left the individuals' dialects intact and laughter is marked with *hh* or *HH*. In the second stage, the data were analyzed in greater detail in order to construct primary categories of the most interesting and appropriate data in the light of the research aims. In the final stages, I have used the technique that Krippendorff (2004: 103-108) terms thematizing. It needs to be pointed out that the themes were not defined and categorized merely as a representation of the content of the interview talk. The final themes are a product of interpreting the content of speech in relation to the phenomena that it reflects from the experiential world of the interviewees, as well as the theoretical construction of sociolinguistic reality as the context.

In fact, Krippendorff (2004: 103-108) is not entirely pro-thematizing because in his opinion this type of technique entails "finding" themes or textual features that are distributed throughout the whole text. This might pose a challenge to the reliability of the study, because it depends on the individual analyst's abilities whether or not s/he is able to distinguish all the adequate themes across sometimes massive body of data. This is of course a concern that includes most of qualitative research as in the end the findings of a particular study depend on an individual researcher's observations. In the present study, I ensured that the focus was narrow enough to guarantee that only those parts of the data that were appropriate from the light of the aims of research questions were given detailed analytic attention. Unfortunately, this meant ignoring a large body of interesting and rich data that had to be ignored because of the narrow scope of the present study. In conclusion, in the first stage of analysis, I selected those passages and themes that had a link to the purpose and research questions of this study. In the following stage, I analyzed those passages in greater detail, selecting a wide range of smaller themes, which I then operationalized into larger themes. A continuous dialogue with the research questions and, particularly in the final stages, the theoretical framework was kept going.

3.5 The Data

The data of this study comprises eight (8) ethnographic theme interviews that I conducted between October and November 2010. I contacted the interviewees through a group called Nordiax. It is a group for Scandinavian people and people interested in Scandinavia operating in Ghent. I had heard of Nordiax before and had been considering about participating in their activities for personal reasons. I sent an e-mail to Nordiax asking them to post my request for volunteers for an interview on their e-mail list (see Appendix 1). Interestingly, at that point I was still thinking about interviewing Scandinavian people and had not yet decided to confine my study to Finnish people. Nevertheless, only Finnish people volunteered. Before starting this research project I had not participated in the activities organized by Nordiax and, thus, I did not know most of the interviewees in advance. I had only met the first interviewee before through work as she was my colleague. The interviews were conducted at my home, the homes of the interviewees or at a café. This choice was

made in order to ensure a cozy and casual atmosphere. Even though the interviewees were contacted through Nordiax e-mail list, only a few of them were actively participating in Nordiax events. However, they were interested in the Finland related events that are frequently advertised on the Nordiax Facebook page and the e-mail list. Moreover, those interviewees who lived in Ghent or close to Ghent expressed interest in participating in the Nordiax activities and a few of the interviewees were active members of Nordiax. In contrast, some of the participants came from other cities, and, in fact, two of the interviews were conducted in another city, Leuven.

During the interview, the participants were asked to fill in a form that contained questions concerning their background information, and functioned as a consent form (see Appendix 2). The participants were assured of securing their anonymity and for that reason I have used pseudonyms instead of their real names, whereas the interviewer is marked with the abbreviation RI (=Research Interviewer) in the transcriptions. Moreover, I was obliged to leave some interesting data and findings out in order to avoid revealing information that can potentially reveal a participant's identity.

The interviewees were quite a heterogeneous group. The ages ranged from 24 to 43 years old, and there were two males (Matti, Jarmo) while the rest of the participants were female (Henna, Anni, Tiina, Leena, Sanna, Jaana). The length of the interviewees' stay in Belgium by the moment of the interview ranged from a bit more than one year (Henna) to twenty years (Matti), which gave some perspective to the different challenges that a migrant twenty years ago had in comparison with a modern migrant. For instance, the development of new media has made it easier for the modern migrant in the sense that they can rather easily maintain contacts to their country of origins. Moreover, the use of Finnish or Swedish media was widespread, and only made possible by the new media. On the other hand, one could argue that the integration into the local society might remain more superficial today because it is much easier to lead a so called transnational life. In other words, a Finnish person who moves to Belgium today can easily maintain very strong connections to his/her home country and virtually go to Finland simply by opening the computer. This was

not possible in the days twenty years ago. Most of the interviewees had moved to Belgium with their local partners; only two of them had moved to Belgium for work (Henna and Anni), although in both cases they could have found a job just as easily in Finland.

The language knowledge of the participants was already relatively broad when they arrived in Belgium. All of the participants had high proficiency of both written and spoken English. All of the interviewees described having developed fluency in spoken English through previous periods of living abroad. Some of the interviewees had also learned other languages during stay abroad experiences.

Firstly, both Jarmo and Matti had lived and worked previously in Sweden. Jarmo's stay was as long as 7 years, whereas Matti had worked there two summers when he was a high school student. The experiences of living in Sweden had helped them to develop high fluency in vernacular Swedish. Moreover, Jaana had lived in Austria for one year as a high school student and had learned vernacular and written German during her stay. However, this was relatively long ago, and she had not been using German for a while.

Also Anni, Leena and Sanna had studied abroad previously, and that had helped them particularly in becoming fluent in English. Anni had studied in Vietnam before the decision to move to Belgium, after living for a short period in Finland, and according to her that experience constituted the boost for her to become more encouraged to speak English. Leena had already lived in Belgium once before as an exchange student. During that time she had learned some basic Dutch, but most of the communication with others during that time took place in English. Lastly, Sanna had studied in Hawaii for some years before she met her Belgian partner, and eventually moved to Belgium. During her stay, she had acquired very high skills in spoken and written American English. Moreover, Sanna had lived in Russia as a child but had never studied or used the language since. She reported that some of that child language is still left, although dormant. For instance, she is familiar with Cyrillic

alphabet, which would give her great advantage if she would ever decide to start learning Russian.

Henna and Tiina had also lived in other countries before moving to Belgium. Henna had worked and studied in Ireland for a few years before moving to Belgium and naturally her English skills had got better during that time. Tiina had lived in several other countries before settling down in Belgium with her Belgian husband. Her first experience of living abroad took place in Denmark where she also met her husband. After that they had lived in Belgium for a short time after which they moved to Africa to work as volunteers. From Africa they moved to Ireland for some years, after which they moved back to Belgium. After the interview Tiina moved to Finland with her family.

In addition to the languages that the interviewees had acquired or improved during their stay abroad experiences, all of them had studied several languages at school. In Finland, everybody is obliged to study English and Swedish, but additionally all of the interviewees had studied some optional languages. Jaana, Sanna, Matti, Henna and Anni had studied German at school, while Leena, Jarmo and Jaana had studied French. The German and French skills were in most of the cases deemed as very basic by the interviewees. For instance, Matti said that he felt that his German skills had never really become 'alive' and the skills that he had were sort of 'dead' because of the lack of opportunities to use the language in authentic environments.

It was quite fascinating to notice that many of the interviewees did not even report some of their language knowledge when asked to list them in the form with backgrounds information. However, during the interviews it became evident that their repertoires are, in fact, wider than they reported. The linguistic resources that were left out of the list were often the ones that were considered the least functional or useful or the ones of such a high functionality that they were taken for granted. Nevertheless, it became evident in the interviews that also the incomplete resources were used in some contexts. This shows the superior value of ethnographic interviews in comparison with structured interviews or questionnaires.

Another surprising feature of the interviewees that I only discovered in the interviews was that many of them were bilingual or had contacts with the Finland-Swedish bilingual population of Finland. Jarmo, Henna and Leena come from bilingual families, and, for instance, the mother tongue of Jarmo and Henna is (currently) Swedish. In Jarmo's case it was fascinating that his mother tongue had changed from Finnish as the mother tongue of his youth to Swedish after his 7 years stay in Sweden. Henna, on the other hand, comes from a family where Swedish is the main language, and she had only learned Finnish as a second language. It must be pointed out, though, that even in her family there are different degrees to which the family members speak Swedish or Finnish. Leena, on the other hand, comes from a family where Finnish was the main language and she had learned Swedish as a foreign language at school. However, she mentioned that her familiarity with Swedish compared to many other Finnish L1 speakers in Finland might have been an advantage in her Swedish studies, and she evaluated that her Swedish skills were quite fluent before arriving in Belgium. Lastly, even though Tiina comes from a Finland-Swedish extended family, Finnish was always the main language of the family. Still, she reported that when she was a child she could understand Swedish fluently but never learned to speak the language properly.

As we can see there are quite significant differences between the interviewees in terms of the length of their stay in Belgium and the motivations of moving among other variables. Admittedly, it might have been advisable to further select interviewees who share something more than just a nationality and a loose connection to Nordiax. One possible choice could have been to limit the scope of the study only to those Finnish migrants who live in Belgium with their local partners. They emerged from the data as a relatively coherent group and they shared a great deal of similar experiences. For example, through their stronger connections to the local society they seem to encounter situations where Dutch is needed more often than the others. For example, they regularly take part in family dinners with the family of the local partner. It is a very widespread tradition in Flanders that the family gathers for a dinner at the parents' house on Sundays. In contrast, it seems that the interviewees without a local partner encounter situations where Dutch is

necessary relatively rarely, but all of them have still chosen to study it. In fact, all of the participants have taken courses in Dutch.

Although the interviewees constitute a very heterogeneous group, the high variety among the interviewees also turned out to be a strength as it was possible to make some primary comparisons between the different subgroups. Those observations, of course, need to be confirmed in future research because the group of interviewees in the present study is too small to make reliable comparisons within the group. Moreover, regardless of the differences among the respondents, there was still a great deal of similar responses that allowed making conclusions about the effects of a more or less permanent move of a Finnish individual to Belgium on their language repertoires and identities.

Another possible drawback of the interviews was the fact that it turned out impossible to discuss the concept of resources directly with the interviewees. It was in the end unavoidable to restrict most of the conversations to the topic of 'languages' as systems. Consequently, regardless of my genuine attempts to discuss different varieties of language, such discussions turned out slightly unnatural and unproductive. On the other hand, talking about dialects did not seem to pose any problems. All in all, although the knowledge constructions with the interviewees remained to a large extent at the level of 'language' as a system, in the analysis, in turn, I have reconstructed the data taking into account the more complex and multiple view of language as a set of resources. Hence, the processes of grounded theory and content analysis were followed in order to 'lift' the analysis to a higher level than to simply descriptive narrative of the subjects' lives as they see it.

The general flow of the interviews was very casual and resembled a normal conversation. Even though I had prepared a list of questions to give some guidelines to the interviews (see Appendix 3), the list was followed only loosely and I mainly referred to it in order to make sure and check that we have covered all the themes and the most important questions. The interview questions were constructed in a diachronic, narrative structure. In other words, as I was aiming to rich and casual

conversations, it seemed like the most natural option to let the interviewees tell their story diachronically. Consequently, the main themes of the interview structure included *Moving to Belgium*, *Assimilation*, *Process of assimilation and language repertoires*, *Contacts to Finnish culture and language* and *Contacts to Belgian society and culture*. The question list was also sent to the interviewees in advance in order to activate the thinking process already since many of the questions and themes were rather complex. Only the first interviewee, with whom I conducted the pilot interview, did not receive the list in advance, which might explain the fact that the first interview was also considerably shorter in time than the other interviews.

Most of the interviews were from 2 to 3 hours in length, whereas the first interview lasted only approximately one hour. In addition to the fact that the first interviewee did not receive the questions in advance another explanation for the shorter length might be that the interviewee's mother tongue is Swedish. This might have made it more challenging to fully understand some of the questions which were presented in Finnish and were quite complex. Moreover, the first interview turned out to resemble a more traditional question-answer interview, although that was not the purpose. One reason might be that as an inexperienced interviewer I was not able to formulate the questions in a way that would elicit the most from the interviewee. In addition, I was not yet familiar with my own questions and how exactly to formulate them in a clear way, and consequently, I had to refer to my list frequently. As Blommaert and Dong describe (2010b: 43-56) the use of a list of questions and reading the questions from a paper creates an unnatural feeling to the interview and diminishes the atmosphere of a casual conversation. In the other interviews, I had already memorized the themes and needed to check the list of questions only rarely. Moreover, sending the questions in advance seemed to make it easier to discuss the more complex themes. After the pilot interview, I made only very few small changes to the questions. Despite the shorter length of the first interview, it still yielded important and interesting data, which is why it is also included in the analysis.

This chapter has shown the research design of the present study. In the following chapter I will discuss the main results of the analysis.

4. ANALYSIS

In this chapter, I will discuss the data analysis where I focused on the themes related to my research questions: the dynamic and context dependent linguistic resources of Finnish migrants in Belgium, and the meanings of the linguistic resources to the participants themselves. The main themes that emerged from the data are 4.1 The creative use of resources in multilingual communication, 4.2 English as a problematic resource and 4.3 Repertoires reflecting the current need. Below, the main themes are divided into smaller categories. Consequently, 4.1 discusses *Linguistic repertoires in new contexts*, and *The choice of a resource* according to principles of efficiency and identification. Section 4.2. is then divided into three smaller categories: *English as an obstacle for learning*, *The language choice in family-context*, and *English or Flemish as a second language*. Lastly, section 4.3. had four sub-themes which are: *Insufficient linguistic resources*, *Language as a commodity*, *Loss of linguistic resources*, and *The context-dependent values of linguistic resources*. As a reminder of the main characteristics of each participant, a table is provided below with demographic information, description of main linguistic resources, reasons to move, and previous experiences of living abroad.

Table 1. Sociolinguistic profiles of the participants. The languages that were not listed by the interviewee, but are included in his/her repertoire according to the interview data in brackets.

Pseudonym	Sex	Age	Finnish-Swedish minority	Previous stay abroad experience	Language knowledge	Motivations to move
ANNI	Female	31	No	Vietnam	English, Swedish, French, Dutch, German	Work
TIINA	Female	27	Yes	Denmark, Belgium, Ireland, Africa	English, Dutch, (Swedish)	Partner
HENNA	Female	26	Yes	Ireland	Swedish (mother tongue), English, Finnish, Dutch, Norwegian, Danish, German	Work
LEENA	Female	24	Yes	Belgium	Flemish, French, Swedish, English	Partner
JARMO	Male	42	Yes	U.S., Sweden	Finnish, English, Dutch, (Swedish mother tongue)	Partner
SANNA	Female	32	No	Hawaii	English, Flemish, Swedish, Russian, German, (Danish, Norwegian)	Partner
MATTI	Male	43	No	Sweden	Dutch, English, Swedish, German, French	Partner
MINNA	Female	34	No	Austria	English, German, Swedish, French	Partner

4.1 The creative use of resources in multilingual communication

The creative use of multilingual resources is the topic of the first section. Firstly, I will discuss how migrants often creatively rely on their repertoires as a whole in order to manage challenging communication events. Moreover, the stretching of their truncated multilingual repertoires to meet the new requirements of the environment will be discussed. Secondly, I will show how language choices are often guided by rather complex motivations, which are summarized according to the principles of efficiency and identification.

4.1.1 Linguistic repertoires in new contexts

All of the interviewees report that they have had support from already existing linguistic resources especially in the beginning of their stay in Belgium when trying to understand the local language, Dutch. Most of the interviewees relied at least on Swedish, even if their current Swedish skills would have been minimal, and English. Moreover, those who had studied German at school found it very helpful in interpreting Dutch.

(1)

RI: Mutta jos sulla tulee jotain vaikka kirjeitä, virallisia kirjeitä tai jotain flaamilaisia tekstejä niin pystytsä niitä ymmärtämään kuitenkin tai tarviitsä apua?

Anni: no kyl mä aika hyvin ymmärrän englannin ja ruotsin perusteella ne mitä mulle on tullu koska sehän se kirjoitettu hollanti siinä on monet sanat tosi samanlaisia ku ruotsissa tai englannissa tai sitte must tuntuu et se saksa on vähän siel taustalla et se auttaa myös joskus että et muistaa jonku sanan saksaks ja sit se on aika sama mut tota kyl sit jotain tapauksia on ollu että et me ollaan sit viety sinne töihin sille meidän kolleegalle niinku jotain papereita et se on sit tarkemmin sanonu taikka varmistanu et mitä se on mitä siin on mutta aika pitkälle on kyllä niinku pärjänny

Anni is the only exception among the interviewees who has not studied Dutch at all even though she lives in Leuven, which still belongs to the Flemish-speaking area. However, she has more connections to Wallonia, which is the French-speaking area in Belgium and for Anni it made more sense to invest in French. Although she has

not acquired Dutch through formal education she is able to understand and to some extent speak Dutch. In the above extract she explains how she relies on other linguistic resources in order to use her limited Dutch.

The appropriateness and sufficiency of a language resource is often also context-dependent. For instance, even though Anni sometimes needs help with the interpretation of official bureaucratic written texts, she has learned to cope with informal and highly patterned simple exchanges in Dutch. However, she admits that longer exchanges would not be possible. Even though she might be able to understand the question that is presented to her, her Dutch resources would be insufficient to reply.

(2)

Anni: joo ja kyl mä niinku hollantia saatan ymmärtää niinku koko keskustelun niinku joskus ku mä kuuntelen jotain muita mut se riippuu just siitä mitä ne sattuu puhuu et jos ne sattuu puhuu semmosta et jos se keskustelu sattuu olee semmosta että ne sanat sattuu olemaan samoja ku ruotsissa tai englannissa ni sit mä ymmärrän sen mutta en sit välttämättä muuten tuntuu että vähän niinku ymmärtäs sitä ja sitte joskus ku ihmiset tulee kysyy jotain ni sit ymmärtää sen kysymyksen mut sit ei osaa niinku vastata et sit

The language repertoires of mobile individuals are often stretched as a result of the requirements of the environment. Blommaert and Dong (2007: 13) observe a similar process:

Migrants are often confronted with situations in which the language and communicative requirements stretch their repertoires, and in which complex patterns of shifting and mixing occur.

The data showed several occasions of stretching and the very complex and creative mobilization of individuals' truncated repertoires that result. Leena, for instance, reported several occasions of stretching because of her work as a dance teacher which challenged her frequently to adjust her linguistic repertoire to the demands of the new situations.

(3)

Leena: sielä [työpaikalla] mä puhuin englantia sen mun työnantajan sen kontaktihenkilön kanssa mut sitte oppilaitten kanssa niinku ranskaa ja englantia ja vähän kaikkii kieliä ja sit joutu joskus saksaa en ees osaa saksaa mut yritin vähän jotai saksaks mut tota vähän niinku flaamin kautta yrittää koska siis mul oli esimerkiks yks semmonen oppilas joka on saksalainen eikä osaa ranskaa eikä englantia mut sitte yleensä se menee niin et mä puhun aina jollekki toiselle lapselle joka ymmärtää ranskaa ja se kääntää sitte ja

Leena had to start speaking Dutch very soon after her move to Belgium because she needs it for her work as a dance teacher. Moreover, Leena has tried to teach in German, a language she has never studied before, through purely relying on her knowledge of Dutch which is a new resource that she has added since moving to Belgium.

Learning basic Dutch has given many interviewees enough knowledge to use it in the interpretation of quite structured and relatively simple forms of other similar languages. For instance, the knowledge of Swedish and Dutch helps in understanding German.

(4)

RI: ja ehkä sit jos on jotain opasteita tai tämmösii ni niit ehkä saattaa alitajuisesti lukee

Jarmo: joo kyl tietysti sanoisin että siinä mä varmaa no mä pystyn kyl tajuamaa ja sama on saksassa ku mä nyt käyn saksassa ni mä just sen hollannin ja ruotsin kielen kautta pystyn järkimää mitä se tarkoittaa ja pystyn suurinpiirtein järkimää mitä ihmiset sanoo kuhan ne sanoo sen jollain tapaa selvästi

Jarmo has never studied German before, but since he started to learn Dutch, he is able to understand German if the interlocutor speaks clearly and slowly enough. Consequently, through learning Dutch, Jarmo has gained an unsuspected new resource, German. Although he would not be able to produce a lot of talk or writing in German himself, he has some basic tools to understand it.

All of the interviewees agree that their linguistic resources in other languages have been of considerable help in interpreting and learning Dutch and still continue to be.

(5)

Jaana: mä muistan esimerkiks sen että mun miehen ni äiti rupes mulle siitä hetkestä lähtien ku mä tänne muutin ni se rupes puhumaan mulle flaamia --- oli se [saksa] oli oikeestaa sellanen silta flaamin kielee että mä olin tosi tyytyväinen siitä et sitä aluks osas että se oli niinku autto ymmärtämises hirveen paljon ja tavallaa jos tuli se tilanne et oli pakko puhua sitte sai niinku puhuttuu sillä lailla et ku täytti vaa niitä aukkoja saksan sanoilla ihmiset yleensä ymmärs että en mä siitä ees ottanu hirveesti painetta kuhan nyt jotenki sai ees niinku esimerkiks [anopin] kanssa mä puhuin mä olin sillee et en mä pysty flaamiks täs nyt puhuu ni mä sanoin sit flaamiks ja saksaks ja se oli niinku tavallaan semmonen yhdistelmä joka toimi ihan hyvin

In this excerpt, Jaana describes how she talked a mixture of German and Dutch, in the beginning of her stay in Belgium. In order to keep the communication flowing despite gaps in her vocabulary in Dutch, she filled those deficiencies with German words. Moreover, it is highly likely that in the beginning she was relying heavily on German grammar to give structure to her speech. From the beginning her mother-in-law only addressed her in Dutch, and consequently her repertoire was stretched as she was forced to start speaking Dutch with very limited knowledge of the language. Some scholars have termed this type of language mixing 'interlanguage' (for instance, Cook 1991, 2003; Selinker 1972). However, it seems that the resource-based view suits better to describe such phenomena: it better captures how individuals mobilize their linguistic resources in creative ways in an attempt to cope with communicative situations that sometimes stretch their repertoires heavily. Moreover, it needs to be pointed out that German is one of the official languages in Belgium, although not as visible as Dutch and French. It can be assumed that many Belgians, especially Flemish people have some familiarity with German, if not through studying the language, then simply because of the similarity of the two languages. In other words, mixing Dutch with German seems to be a highly efficient strategy in the first stages of learning Dutch.

None of the couples that participated in this study come originally from the same country, and all of them use English in communication with one another to a smaller or larger extent. This will be discussed in more detail in the following section. However, it needs to be pointed out already that even if the main code of

communication for these couples is English the other shared resources are also being made used in situations in which a certain word comes faster to mind in another language.

(6)

RI: Nii et sä teijän yhteinen kieli on englantti

Jarmo: englantti joo tottakai siis ku hän opiskelee suomee ja ruotsii ja ja mä opiskelen hollannin kieltä ni tottakai meil aina on vähän niinku käytetään mitä tahansa sanastoo mut jos jotain pitää keskustella niin englanniks se on ku se on ainoo kieli mis ollaa samal tasolla

English is the main language in the communication between Jarmo and his Flemish partner but now that both of them are studying each other's languages they have a broader selection of resources to rely on. If one of them, for example, does not remember a word in English, s/he can say it in one of the three other languages that both of them share as resources to some extent: Finnish, Swedish and Dutch. Moreover, it is arguable that the other shared resources can be mobilized for a range of other purposes, such as humor, tender expressions, display of language ability, and so forth.

In conclusion, linguistic repertoires as a whole are mobilized in order to manage challenging communication events. Migrants often are encountered by requirements from the environment that stretch their repertoires (Blommaert and Dong 2007:13). Such occasions often result in creative use of language where different resources are mixed. Moreover, the data showed that sometimes choice between different language codes is made more or less consciously according to the potential of the linguistic resource in terms of efficiency or for identification.

4.1.2 The choice of a resource

The participants rely on their various resources according to the situation, and these choices are not always made only according to available language skills as such. There are two main categories that organize language choices: efficiency and identity.

Very often the choice had to be made between English or Dutch. As we will see in the following section, Flemish people have often very high proficiency in English, and as mentioned above, all of the interviewees had already reached a very high level of spoken and written English before their arrival in Belgium. Often the Finnish migrants would prefer English in situations where they think that understanding is particularly important.

(7)

Leena: ja sitte mulla on semmonen vähän niinku tilitoimist--siellä puhun kans aina englantia mul on semmonen henkilökohtanen tota ei nyt avustaja mut semmonen joka niinku kontaktihenkilö joka pitää mun papereista huolta ni sen kanssa tuntuu niin tärkeeltä asialta et on pakko puhua englantia et tää menee vähän että mitä tärkeemmästä asiasta on kysymys ni sitä enemmän haluaa puhua sitä ihan varmintä kieltä

Leena chooses to speak English when understanding is essential, and the topic might be slightly more complicated. However, she also says that sometimes it is better to speak Dutch depending on the level of English skills of the interlocutor. If the local interlocutor's English skills are lower than her Dutch then she prefers to speak Dutch, because the latter choice is more efficient and there is less risk of misunderstanding. Also other interviewees reported similar rationalities behind the choice of language. For example, both Sanna and Leena say that they always speak English with their doctor because in that context understanding is essential.

Similarly to the example 5 in the previous section where Jaana tells about mixing German and Dutch in order to keep communication flowing, it is very common to mix English and Dutch in conversations to reach understanding. Most of the

interviewees have initially started communicating with the locals in English as the only possible common code when they had not yet learned Dutch. However, all of the interviewees have studied a local language (most of them Dutch, apart from Anni who studied French). After taking some courses, they have put considerable efforts in trying to start communicating with the locals solely in Dutch. However, particularly with local friends and family who they meet often, creative patterns of communication appear with different levels of combining English and Dutch:

(8)

Tiina: tunnen aika paljon paikallisia ja liian usein puhutaan englantia kyllä. Mut kyl mä enenevissä määrin yritän puhua flaamia paikallisten kanssa. Ja tossa just matkalla mietin et nykyää mä puhun aika paljon semmosta flaami-englannin sekotusta et aina silloin kun vähänki epäilyttää sanonks mä nyt ihan oikeen ni sanoo helposti englanniks ja muuten yrittää puhua flaamiks jos vaan pystyn

RI: joo ehkä toi on joku sellai kehitysvaihe siinet miten sen kielen oppii

Tiina: nii se on vaan jotenki helpompaa jos yrittää ihan puhtaasti flaamilla ni ei sitä vaan jaksa keskittyä miettii täysillä koko aika kaikkia sanoja se on jotenki eri lailla jotuu keskittymään puhumaan kuitenkin sit sitä saa sanottuu asiansa huomattavasti helpommin ku tietää että kaikki ymmärtää sua kuitenkin hyvin.

As mentioned above, with those people who the migrants meet relatively often, they have had time to adjust to each other's' linguistic repertoires. This can result in rather creative communicative patterns. For instance, in the following excerpt, Sanna describes how she has adapted to understand Dutch while the interlocutor has adapted to understand English. Furthermore, some of Sanna's friends who want to practice English insist on speaking English.

(9)

Sanna: joo on ja sit ne jotka niinku tietää et ne pystyy sitä puhuu ja haluaa harjotella ni ne puhuu mun kaa aina englantia ja sit on käyny niin et ku ne tietää et mun niinku flaamin tason ni mä puhun vastaan niille englanniks mut ne puhuu mulle flaamiks

In the above excerpt, Sanna explains that it is not uncommon that she speaks English to some of her local friends and they reply in Dutch. Understanding a second or foreign language is easier and more efficient than producing it. In a similar vein Jarmo also describes that nowadays he can follow the Dutch discussions held on the family dinners of his Flemish partner's family more or less fluently but he would still participate in the discussion by speaking English. He has adapted to understand Dutch while the others have adapted to understand English and even to speak more English. This also illustrates that it is not only the migrants who are adapting to the requirements of the local environments, but also the local people in their immediate social circle adapt to the special social contexts created by the presence of the migrant. This phenomenon is also mentioned by Blommaert et al. (2005b) although they restrict their discussion on the institutional effects of the migrants.

In the previous two examples we have seen how the interviewees gradually increase the amount of Dutch that they speak according to their growing proficiency. Sometimes the efficiency principle can lead to switching to a completely different language code when the linguistic resources of the interlocutors change and another language becomes more favorable in regards with efficiency.

(10)

RI: puhutaaks sen kans flaamii vai

Jaana: no itseasiassa joo me alussa puhuttii englantia ja sä [viittaa partneriinsa] oot puhunu aina ranskaa useinmiten ja sitte mun takia niinku käännettii kieli englanniks ja nyt sitte tää on hän opiskellu tääl gentissä et hän on niinku tämmönen ranskan kielinen joka on tosi motivoitunu ollu myös oppimaa flaamin nii ja puhuukii ihan hyvin flaamia ni nyt meillä on sitte yhteinen kieli tai kieli mitä puhutaan on flaami

Above, Jaana describes the changing common language of the group that constitutes herself with limited and uneasy skills in French, her husband who speaks fluent French and a Wallonian friend whose mother tongue is French. The group meets relatively often and has casual relations with each other. As Jaana explains, she has often not been willing to speak French because it feels like going backwards in the sense that she has already had to struggle in the early stages of learning Dutch.

Consequently, earlier the group had chosen to speak English with each other while Jaana's husband still continued to speak French when only addressing the Wallonian friend. However, since both Jaana and the friend studied Dutch they later on switched the common language of the group to Dutch. This excerpt well exemplifies the tendency to search for the most efficient channel of communication for the group at each time. The most efficient language for communication among a group depends on the configuration of the linguistic resources of its members.

In addition to efficiency also identity has an important role in language choices. For instance, in an attempt to express a certain identity, the proficiency in some languages is not adequate and the choice is made to speak another language that allows the individual to express the preferred social role.

(11)

RI: nii et sä et haluu puhuu flaamii kaikis tilanteissa

Sanna: en aina koska just varsinki se että joutuu niinku ---niini mul on sillee että joittenki kavereitten kanssa mä en tiedä mistä se niinku johtuu ...M:n [her boyfriend] kavereit kollegoitten kans esimerkiks mä puhun aina flaamia mut joillekki mä puhun englantia se on jotenki ehkä niin että jos niinkun jos mul on yks semmonen tosi tosi hyvä belgialainen tyttöystävä jonka kans me puhutaan paljon ja nopeesti ---niinni me puhutaan paljon ja niinkun sillee et se puhuu kans tosi hyvää englantia ja näin ni jotenki mä en mä en pysty puhuu sen kans flaamia vaan sen takii ku must tuntuu jotenki et mä kuulostan niin idiootilta ja sen kans mä en haluu kuulostaa idiootilta vaikka se tietää että mä niinkun olen ihan fiksu ihminen ja näin et se on vaan että niinku mutta tota mä en tiedä se on mulla niinku päässä semmonen oma että jos mä haluan tehdä hyvän vaikutuksen niin mä puhun englantia ja jos sillei oo niin kauheesti väliä ni sitte mä puhun flaamia

In this excerpt, Sanna describes the dual motivations to speak Dutch with some of the friends of her Flemish partner, and English with others. In communication with a friend that she talks about in the excerpt, the reason to speak English is both motivated by efficiency- and identity-related reasons. The English proficiency of the friend is very high, and hence, it is more efficient to interact in that language. However, there is also another identity-based motivation as Sanna mentions that she does not want to seem stupid in the presence of this friend. It is not the first time that

she explains about choosing English because of not being able to sound convincing in Dutch.

Language choice can also be motivated by resisting power relations:

(12)

Sanna: esimerkiks mun entisessä työpaikassa mul oli yks puolalainen pomo joka puhu tosi tosi hyvää flaamia se on flaamin kanssa naimisissa mut se on myöskin se puhuu täydellistä saksaa koska se on asunu saksassa ja se siitä niinku oppi sen tosi helposti niin sit se [pomo] se kysy multa et puhutaaks meki sitte flaamia keskenään että ni mä en voinu koska mä tiesin että se on niinku niin paljon heikompaa ku hänen flaaminsa ni sit se et se on mun pomo ni mä en haluu vaikuttaa idiootilta mun pomon edessä ni mä en ikinä puhunu sitä ni sit mä otin kans siitä itelleni ihan hirveen kynnyksen et mä en ikinä niinku en vahingossaka jääny kiinni siitä et mä puhun flaamia et kukaan ei tienny et kuin huonosti mä puhun mut silti mä tein mejän flaaminkieliset käännökset että siis sillee no molempii suuntii flaamista englantii ja englannista flaami

As we can see in the above excerpt, language can function to express power difference. Since Sanna is already at a lower level in the hierarchy compared to her boss, she does not want to further emphasize the hierarchical order between them by speaking a language in which she feels less in control and even stupid.

The previous two excerpts illustrate that most of the participants use Dutch only for communication and not identification. For instance, House (2003) makes this kind of a division in her discussion about English as a Lingua Franca. However, in contrast to House's argument the data show quite clearly that the participants use English for identification while their L2 Dutch is normally only used for communication. For some reason English has become a resource that has enough variability and potential to be used for identification while often Dutch has not developed to the same level. The topic of switching between Dutch and English will be further discussed below. The use of English for identification and Dutch for communication is aptly summarized in Jaana's excerpt below where she talks about how she and her partner have gradually increased Dutch in communication among the family, although she normally speaks Finnish when addressing the children.

(13)

Jaana: nii sillee mä luulen et siinä pistees me nyt aletaa olee et on se vähän outoo vielä mut kyl se niiinku alkaa joluontevammalt tuntuu et sitäki puhuu keskenään sitte mut aika paljon vielä riippuu kyllä asioista että niinku sellasii käytännönaoita on helpompi puhuu flaamiks mutta sitte jotain pohdintoja ja semmosii isompia asioita on sitte ilman muuta englanniks kyllä ehkä se tulee sillee säilymäkii aina ei siinä sitte mitää että se on jos me ruokapöydäs puhutaa flaamia vaikka sitte ku lapset on menny nukkumaan ni jos pitää miettiä jotain että no jotain isompia asioita ni sitte englantni ni se voi olla ihan tarpeeks hyvä seki että ei siin tarvi välttämättä

For those interviewees who have Belgian partners Jaana, Jarmo, Sanna, Leena and Tiina it has been a matter of discussion whether or not to switch from English, the original language of the couple, to Dutch. Matti's case is slightly different as he started speaking Dutch very fast after his arrival because it was necessary in order to become a fully-fledged member of society. For instance, during that time it was essential to know the local language in order to study or have an employment. In twenty years things have changed and in contemporary Flanders it is possible to manage with limited knowledge of the local language. I will continue the discussion in the following section where the topic of English as a problematic resource is under scrutiny. Let us first summarize the main findings of this section.

This chapter has shown that the migrants often rely on their repertoires in creative ways in order to manage challenging communicative events. As Blommaert and Dong (2007: 13) discuss linguistic repertoires of migrants are often stretched as a result of the requirements of the environment. The data illustrate well how the occasions of stretching often result in highly creative mobilization of various linguistic resources. Moreover, there are various reasons for making particular language choices in interaction, and often there are complex reasons for choosing one language instead of another. The main motivations can be summarized with the terms efficiency and identification. In other words, often a linguistic resource is chosen which appears as the most efficient in the light of the configuration of the repertoires of the participants. This configuration might change as the repertoires of the members of a group are changing, which can result in switching to another more efficient pattern of language use. Another fascinating finding is that not only migrants are adjusting their linguistic repertoires to meet the challenges of the

environment. Additionally, the repertoires of the local people in their social network often adjust to the presence of the migrant. Moreover, House's (2003) division between language for communication and language for identification is very useful here. House, in fact claims that often English as a lingua franca is not used as a language for identification, and most often the languages that do get used for identification are L1 or L2. However, the data show clearly that the languages for identification of Finnish migrants in Belgium are often their mother tongue (L1) and English (FL or ELF), and less often Dutch (L2).

4.2 English as a problematic resource

As already mentioned earlier, all of the interviewees have a very high level of knowledge in English, both as a formal and literary skill (school English) and a practical skill (learned through practice). In Flanders, the local population generally has a high proficiency in English, and it has been relatively easy for the interviewees to get started with their lives, as the language does not pose many problems in the initial phase. In this section, I will discuss how English can be an obstacle for learning Dutch as it in many cases constitutes the most efficient resource in communication with the locals. Secondly, I will discuss how the participants are extending the conscious efforts to adopt Dutch through adopting it as the matrix language of the family. However, as we will see, it has in most cases been rather challenging to make this language shift. Thirdly, it will be shown how English is used in a wide variety of domains, and in a practical sense it is more important than Finnish or any other language. Moreover, the fact that English is becoming very close to the participants' mother tongues in their repertoires will be discussed. Lastly, I will show how L1 still maintains its special status in the participants' repertoires.

4.2.1 English as an obstacle for learning

Because of the local people's high proficiency in English, it is not easy to learn spoken Dutch. As it was discussed above, there seems to be a tendency to prefer the linguistic resource that is the most efficient in the light of the repertoires of the

participants in interaction. Consequently it requires conscious effort to speak a language that is weaker while there is another more comfortable language available.

(14)

Anni: sit joskus se vähän vähän jarruttaa must tuntuu se englannin hyvä osaaminen puolin ja toisin et et mäki oon vähän semmonen et mä toivosin et mä oisin enemmän semmonen että et yrittäs vaan et mieluummin sit aina puhuu sitä kieltä mikä on niinku vahva

As Anni's excerpt illustrates, English becomes a problem in combination with the high proficiency of the local people, as it would be most efficient for both parties to communicate in English. Henna has made exactly the same observation:

(15)

RI: miten arvoisit omaa kielitaitoa ja sopeutumista verrattuna muihin maahanmuuttajaryhmiin

Henna: mm no se on just paha ku kaikki osaa englantii täällä ni jotenki se motivaatio opiskella sitä flaamia niin on pienempi ku ehkä maahanmuuttaja joka ei osaa englantia

It is not always the migrant who makes the choice regarding which language is used in the communication with the locals. A few of the interviewees illustrated how a friendly local might switch to English as soon as they notice that the interlocutor speaks broken Dutch. Of course, we can assume that the switch would not always be only motivated by friendliness and politeness, but also, for instance, by the pursuit of efficiency or even frustration if the communication in Dutch turns out to be too slow and laborious.

(16)

Sanna: se on muuten niin hirveen rasittavaa vieläkin kun no nyt sitä ei oo tullu vähään aikaan koska mä oon ollu tosi jääräpäisesti mut pitkää aikaa oli sillee et must tuntu et mä en ikinä saa harjotella ku mä rupeen puhuu flaamia ja sitte ku ne kuulee et on aksentti ni ne vaihtaa heti englanttiin koska ne on ystävällisiä ni sitte tulee semmonen niinku no en minä tässä nyt yksinkä rupee mongertamaa huonoa flaamia että vaiheeta sitte nii sit mä oon nyt muutaman kerran tehny sillee et ku ne vaihtaa tai ne on sillee et jos sun on vaikee ni voidaan ihan hyvin puhuuu englantia

ni mä oon sillee et niinniin mutta minä en saa muuten ikinä harjoitella puhutaan nyt vaan nii se täytyy vaa pysyä tiukkana siinä mutta se oli tosi vähän rasittavaa aina ensin

In the excerpt above, Sanna describes the frustration that was caused by not being given the chance to practice Dutch, as the locals would often switch to English in order to ease the communication. As Sanna points out, it would be rather strange for the migrant to continue struggling after the interlocutor has already switched to an easier or more efficient language. As discussed above, the tendency towards efficiency in communication is a theme that emerged from the data quite strongly. If there already is a shared linguistic resource that represents the most efficient resource in the light of the interlocutors' linguistic repertoires, it requires considerable effort to still continue to use the less functional resource. However, if one wishes to learn the language, it is necessary to make that extra effort. In fact, many of the participants who have a Flemish partner have made a conscious decision to start speaking Dutch among each other.

4.2.2 The language choice in family-contexts

Surprisingly many of the interviewees with a partner have made the conscious decision to start speaking Dutch at home. In most cases this means aiming at adopting Dutch as the main language of the family (Tiina, Sanna, Jaana), although all of the participants with children are raising them bilingual. In other words, if the partner is Flemish, they would aim at having Dutch as the main language of the family while speaking Finnish when addressing the children directly. Similarly, Anni has a Norwegian husband, and she has recently started to study Swedish with the goal of being able to speak Norwegian one day. The main motivation to switch English to Dutch as a family language (or other L1 of the partner) seems to be the attempt to simplify the language patterns of the family and to learn the language.

(17)

Jaana: mutta mun mielestä sit taas yks asia on se et ku on lapset ni mä en halua sit liian monta kieltä sotkea ja toinen asia on se että mä haluisin nyt ku mä oon täällä niin kauan ollu et must tuntuu et mä haluisin tosiaan sen flaamin oppia sillä lailla et mä

voin mikä hetki tahansa ruveta puhuu sitä ja mä pärjään sillä et mä saan sen niinku tosi hyväks

Jaana also makes the observation that she had become more fluent in Dutch since their children were born and the domains where she needs Dutch became more varied. However, changing the common language from the familiar English to Dutch that represents a 'new resource' to the couple, has not been a painless process and, in fact, none of the interviewees have entirely succeeded in it so far. The only exception is Matti who had to start speaking Dutch in most of the social domains early on.

The obvious reason why it is difficult to give up English is losing the efficiency, as discussed above. Another reason that came up from all of the interviews is the habit. The couples have started their relationships in English and have spoken English with each other for several years, which of course make it difficult and strange to abruptly start speaking another language with each other.

(18)

Jarmo: no ku englantti on ollu meidän kieli vuodesta 2005 niin kyl se voi olla vaikee et me muutettais se mut toisaalta mun harjottelun takii mä opiskelen tosiaan kolmatta vuotta nyt Helsingissä tota peruskurssii niin tota niin kyllä joskus on puhuu hollantii kyl mä ymmärrän niinku paremmin mut mun sanavarasto ei oo mitenkää hirveen mairitteleva

Jarmo is one of the exceptions who have not considered giving up English in communication with his partner, and he, in fact, names two reasons for not wanting to switch to Dutch. Firstly, he explains that since they have been speaking English with each other for five years it would feel unnatural to change that now. Secondly, in his opinion his proficiency in Dutch is too low, especially in terms of vocabulary, and they could not have any decent conversation with each other in that language code. In addition to Jarmo, the other interviewees had similar conceptions about why it is difficult to change the language.

On the other hand, many of the participants refer to the profound connection between language and identity. Starting to speak another language with one's partner would mean, to some extent, that the couple has to learn to know each other again.

(19)

Jaana: must tuntuu et englannistaki jossain vaiheessa muodostu semmonen tai on ruvennu muodostuu semmost niinku omaa englantii et se ei oo mejän kummankaa oma kieli mut sitte siin on ne tietyt sanat mitä kumpikaa ei tiedä ni ne täytetään sit jollain joko suomen tai flaamin sanoil pitkä me puhuttii itseasias semmost sitte niinku et puhuttii englantii kyl mut sitte ku oli jotain sanoi ku ei vaa niinku jaksanu miettii tai ei tienny englanniks ni sitte pistettii suomen sana tai flaamin sana et sit ne tavallaa vakiintu siihen kieleen et siit tuli semmonen oma kieli sitte siitä englannista mis oli myös niinku vaikutteita muualta mutta se on tavallaa sitä oppii tuntee toisen tavallaa sitte uudestaan jos on niinku eri tai pitää ruveta opettelee uudestaa vähä eri kielellä sillai (hh)

As Jaana describes above, during all those years that she and her partner have known each other, they have developed their own particular way of speaking with each other. Their language is English in its basic form, but it is spiced up with influences from Finnish and Dutch which are included in each of their linguistic repertoires. As Jaana describes it, switching to Dutch means that to some extent they have to learn to know each other again. This shows that people make a strong connection between the way of speaking and an individual's personality. Changing the language (or even a way of speaking within one language) makes a difference in the way in which the person appears and what kind of identity he/she assumes or is ascribed. Jaana has to learn to know her husband in terms of how he sounds like, how he makes jokes and so on in Dutch, and at the same time she has to find her own way to express herself towards her husband in Dutch. Arguably, this might also be connected to the cultural identity; English as a lingua franca makes it easier to operate at a culturally neutral space whereas through speaking the mother tongue of either of the interlocutors necessarily drags the cultural indexicalities along in the communication.

Lastly, some of the participants pointed out that maintaining English as the main language among the couples was motivated by maintaining equality. For instance, Jaana's partner was less willing to give up English than Jaana as they are already

living in his home country and Jaana's position is in that sense already more challenging. In other words, she has to rely on her husband in things that she might not understand about the culture, society or the language. Switching to his mother tongue Dutch would take one more area of comfort away from her.

(20)

Jaana: joo se on jännä juttu itseasiassa niin että minä haluaisin sitä enemmän mutta mun mies sanoo koko ajan --- että että et hänen mielestä niinku tavallaan tilanne ois reilumpi sillä lail et ku mä olen täällä jo niinku ulkomailla hänel joskus tulee niin tää et mä oon tääl ulkomailla ja mun pitää puhuu sun kieltä ja yyy (hh) ni sit se sanoo et se ois varmaa helpompi meille et puhuttas vaa englantii et sul et niinku me oltais tasaväkisii siinä et mä en tavallaa oo niinku sit heikommas mmas asemas varsinkii jos puhutaa jostain niinku parisuhdeasioist tai elämän muista isoista asioista et niinku hänen mielest se ois parempi et me pysyttäis siinä englannissa mutta mun mielestä sit taas yks asia on se et ku on lapset ni mä en halua sit liian monta kieltä sotkea ja toinen asia on se että mä haluisin nyt ku mä oon täällä niin kauan ollu et must tuntuu et mä haluisin tosiaan sen flaamin oppia sillä lailla et mä voin mikä hetki tahansa ruveta puhuu sitä ja mä pärjään sillä et mä saan sen niinku tosi hyväks

As we can see, the participants are investing a lot in improving their Dutch skills, and even introducing Dutch as the main family language instead of English. However, it is quite challenging to change a language that one has shared for a long time in a relationship and in most cases English has still remained the main language for identification among the couples. In fact, many interviewees reported that English is becoming a very important resource, even more important than Finnish although Finnish always keeps its special status as a mother tongue.

4.2.3 English or Dutch as a second language

It is striking how many of the interviewees describe that they feel that English is getting very close to the mother tongue in their repertoires. Many even state that currently speaking English is easier than speaking Finnish because of their present life situation where English is used much more frequently than Finnish.

(21)

Sanna: siis mä just mietin sitä yks päivä et mul on englanti on mulle niinku tosi lähellä suomee et se on niin et et englanti on mulle siis niinku tosi paljon tunnekieli et en mä tiedä kumpi on enemmän tunnekieli mut niinku englanti on tosi rakas tai siis semmonen et se on lähellä mun sydäntä että siis en mä sitä sano että mä puhun sitä täydellisesti tai näin mut se että mä oon niin sinut sen kanssa

In the same way as Sanna describes above, the others also explained that English is not only as functional a language as Finnish but it is also a very dear language to them. Several of the interviewees reported that English has become somehow their own language; they feel at ease and at home when using English. It has also become a language of emotions because it is still the main common language with their partner. The easiness of English is further illustrated in the following excerpt from Jaana:

(22)

Jaana: jossain mielessähän se englanti on semmonen niinku tuo semmosta comfort niinku semmosta se on semmonen ihana helppoo ja voi antaa puheen soljuu niinku aika samallalailla ku suomeks ja ajatuksen juosta et ei tarvii sitä kieltä siin pohtii puhua

Matti is the only one of the interviewees who reports that Dutch has become a second language in his repertoire. Matti has lived in Belgium for twenty years and his experience of integrating must have been quite different. At the time of his arrival, he did not have all the new media at his disposal and he knew almost no other Finnish people in his surroundings. Consequently, he has been forced to integrate more actively since he had no other languages at his disposal to use instead of his mother tongue. I have no information about how common it was at that time for Belgians to speak English, but it is certain that twenty years ago the mobility of people, ideas and even languages was not at the same level as today. While a Finnish person moving to Belgium today feels pressure to learn the language even if the locals are very used to and willing to speak English, there must have been even more pressure at earlier times. It is possible that this explains why Matti seems linguistically the most integrated of all of the interviewees. Of course, he has lived in Belgium for a much longer period than the others but I believe that the time is not the only explanation.

Furthermore, Matti's relationship to his mother tongue Finnish has changed. He no longer has many contacts to Finland; most of the contact is through one Finnish friend with whom he keeps contact regularly. However, Matti still reads Finnish books and sometimes watches Finnish TV-programs on the Internet. He, for example, reports that he likes reading books in Finnish, but that he has a different point of view to Finnish now. The language feels sounds and looks 'fresh' but he normally never has problems understanding it. On the other hand, it seems that he has lost some of the easiness to speak Finnish because he is not certain about how it sounds like when he speaks it. During the interview I did not notice anything strange about his Finnish but as the extract below explicates, he is not always sure if he speaks correctly.

(23)

RI: onks se vieläki sulle tärkeätä et sä vähän välil ees pääset puhuu suomee

Matti: no ei se sillai niinku tota se on muuttunu sillai että kyl mä suomen kieltä osaan vielä kyllä hyvinkin ainaki omasta mielestä (hh) en tiedä

RI: HH en huomaa mitää omituista

Matti: mitää omituista HH mutta mm mun tuo hollannin kielen taito on nyt ehkä niin hyvä minun mielestä omasta mielestä et se on aivan samalla tasolla suomen kielen kanssa että monesti ajattelee hollanniksi näkee unia hollanniksi että se suomi niinkun tavallaan vähän vähän ehkä omassa lajissaan mutta ei mitenkää niinku hallitse enää sillai että

RI: nii mut se on kuitenkin edelleen tärkeä kieli

Matti: no kyllä se on äidinkieli kumminki että onhan se tietysti jossain määrin ehkä se semmonen turvallisin perusta jotenki HH aina ollu ni

Many of the interviewees take it for granted that they have high proficiency in English, to such an extent that they forget to mention the language when asked which languages they speak. For instance, Matti did not consider mentioning his English

skills in particular. Currently, Matti rarely needs his English skills. He himself mentions that sometimes he uses English at work if that is the only common language with the interlocutor and he also uses it when travelling. However, compared to the presence of English in the repertoires of the other interviewees, in Matti's case, English as a resource has undeniably a very different significance. Nevertheless, Matti thinks that his English is only growing and improving. He can still listen to the language a lot in all possible media because in Belgium the programs have subtitles and there are a lot of television programs and movies from English-speaking countries.

(24)

Matti: juu englanninkieli se on juu se on ihan tuota tavallaa niinku vaa kasvanu jossain määrin lisää ja lisää että se on sitä on ihana tavallaan kuulla teeveessä ja maistella sitä kieltä omassa suussa uudestaan . mä oon aina tykänny englanninkielestä myös se vaikuttaa tietysti siihen kyllä se on varmasti vain parantunu

In addition to communication with the partner and invariably with local people, many of the interviewees need English at their work (Jarmo, Sanna, Leena, Jaana, and Henna). Particularly to Jarmo, English seems to be the language resource that is used across a wide range of domains and it has been an important language in his life for longer than ten years.

(25)

Jarmo: se on englanti et sanotaa et vuodesta 99 mä vast mä mietin just tota ku mä tulin tänne eli vuodest 99 mun pääkieli on ollu englanti et töissä se on vaan englantii koska mä oon ennen ollu kielen kaa jollain tapaa mm nii englanti mejän firmas on kuitenkin pääkieli ja ku yleensäkkä ku mä oon niiden kanssa tai meidän ruottalaisten kans ni heidän kans mun ruotsii hirveest mut kaikki muu on englannin kieltä ja mun pomoni on saksalainen mut mä en osaa saksaa ku pari sanaa joku ich bin in Berlin tai mitä ni en mä mitää muuta eli englantii se on mun pääkieli me puhutaan kotonaki englantii että

Jarmo says that since 1999 English has been his main language at work. He is working for an international American company and most of the work-related communication takes place in English. In several parts of our interview, Jarmo mentioned that his Finnish skills are deteriorating especially now that he lives in Belgium. He comes from a bilingual family where he used to speak Swedish with his

Finnish-Swedish mother and Finnish with his brothers and father. However, only after moving to Sweden his Swedish skills improved and currently he speaks Swedish with most of his family except for his father. Consequently, the only domain where he regularly speaks Finnish is with his father on the phone. Jarmo's case is very interesting because it seems that Swedish and English have become more important resources to him than Finnish.

Some of the participants have only few domains where they use Finnish. Firstly, Matti keeps contacts to Finland only through one friend and most of his social networks are Flemish. Moreover, Tiina lives in Bruges where the Finnish population is non-existing, and she does not know any Finnish people in Bruges. Consequently, she had very few chances to speak Finnish with anybody before the birth of her children. Hence, English has taken the position of the main language in her life. In fact, both Tiina and Jaana report that their Finnish has become somewhat easier after they got children. Since they are raising the children bilingual they always speak Finnish to them. However, speaking to a child is very different from speaking to an adult and especially Tiina reports some rustiness in her Finnish skills.

(26)

Tiina: Joooo no sikäli kyl nyt lasten kanssa puhun suomee mutta mm jos mä asuisin jäätäs ihan virallisesti pysymään Belgiaan ni varmasti vähemmän ja vähemmän no kyl varmasti lasten kanssa aina ku menis Suomeen mä huomaan sen ihan selvästi et mä puhun huomattavasti vähemmän puhun suomee sit ku mä meen Suomee ni mul on usein sanat ihan hukassa tai ku joutuu puhuu suomee ku se ei tuu ihan niin luontevasti ollenkaan ikäänku helpompi puhuu englantii ku suomee melkein

Although in most of the participants' repertoires English has become in some sense more important than Finnish, they still use Finnish language regularly through the new media by making calls to Finland through Skype, using Facebook, e-mails, and so forth. Moreover, all of the interviewees use Finnish media, such as on-line newspapers, Finnish TV through Katsomo or Areena, net radio, and so forth, on the Internet. Moreover, Finnish language still maintains its special status as a mother tongue. This is well illustrated in the following extract from Anni.

(27)

Anni: ei mua niinku muuten sillee haittaa se et meidän äidinkielet ei oo samat mutta mutta suomen kieli on niin ihana kieli ja varsinki niinku suomalainen musiikki ja laulujen lyriikat ja runollisuus on niinku semmosta mitä mä haluisin jakaa hänen kanssa ja myös ulkomaalaisten ystävien taikka muun maalaisten ystävien kanssa ja sitä mä en pysty jakamaan ei oo mitään mahdollisuutta kääntää jotain a.v. Yrjänän laulujen tekstejä että et niistä ei voi sit puhua muitten ku suomenkielisten kanssa et se mua niinku joskus harmittaa ja se et pystyis niinku näyttää kuinka hieno kieli suomi on ja sitä ei sit niinku pysty

This section has shown how English often constitutes a very useful but partly problematic resource in Finnish migrants' repertoires. Firstly, to some extent it is an obstacle for learning the local language Dutch because of the high proficiency of the local people in English and the efficiency principle on the other hand. Consequently, it requires conscious effort to keep pushing and speaking in Dutch while there is a more comfortable and functional language available. However, mostly English constitutes a very important and dear language to the participants. It is a language that is used for identification in addition to the mother tongue. English is also used in a wide range of domains and often in practical sense it is more important than Finnish in the participants' current environment. However, Finnish is maintained through strong transnational connections to Finland by the use of the new media. Moreover, the participants travel to Finland regularly and seek the company of other Finnish people in Belgium. Moreover, they express the deep importance of Finnish language, and how it will always keep its special status as their mother tongue. For instance, no other language has such a long history as part of their repertoires and nor such a deep culturally indexical potential.

In the following section, I will show that the participants' linguistic repertoires are in constant adjustment to the requirements of the changing environments. Moreover, I will show some motivations why Dutch still is important to the migrants living in Belgium. It is an interesting question as in the late modern world one could assume that in a modern country it is possible to manage just with English. Furthermore, as I have shown in this section, English is used in a wide range of domains. So why do the participants anyway invest considerably in learning Dutch?

4.3 Dynamic repertoires

In this section, I will show how the linguistic repertoires of the participants are dynamic and in constant adaptation to the requirements of the environment. Firstly, it will be discussed how the new resources are often acquired because of the need that arises in certain domains. In contrast, it seems that acquiring new resources that are, in fact, not necessary for the individual, requires a great deal of effort compared to learning new resources that appear necessary. Secondly, I will discuss how individuals often consider languages as commodities (Heller 2010) and invest considerably in new resources that they deem as valuable. Thirdly, the topic of losing resources is discussed, since some resources that are not necessary in the new environment can be lost through the adaptation to the context. The last topic of this section is the context dependent value of resources, and some examples are given of the new values of the individual's resources in some domains in Belgium compared to in Finland.

4.3.1 Insufficient linguistic resources

As described above, English was and still remains a very significant resource to the interviewees. However, almost all of the interviewees have made considerable investments in the local language. In a globalizing world where English is a high-currency resource and in the context of a country wherein the interviewees can manage with English in most environments, there are obviously still plenty of good reasons for the migrant to learn the local language.

(28)

Jarmo: mä ajattelin et jos mä asun täs maassa niin mä haluan oppii sen kielen ja siitä syystä et pitäis olla helppo oppii täs maassa ja toiseksee tää elämä voisi olla helpompaa jos osaa sen kielen . tottakai nyt mä otan täs hirveesti vastuuta [partnerin] vastuulle koska hän on belgialainen eli jos tarvii soittaa vakuutusyhtiöön tai tarvii tehdä sitä sun tätä byrokratiaa niin hänhän ne tekee et mun ois mahdotonta jos se että vie auton katsastukseen se onnistuu koska ei paljoo tarvi puhua mut jos joku alkaa läpättämään jotain teknistä sanastoo ni menee täysin ohi eli kyl ihan vaan sitä että mä nyt asun täällä niin mä nään sen itseasiassa jaa mulle itsestäänselvyytenä et mä haluan oppii sen kielen

As Jarmo describes above, he wants to learn the language because of his principle that if he lives in a country it is part of the deal to also speak the language. Furthermore, it makes him feel weak and dependent when he cannot understand everything and he cannot take care of everything. Many of the participants with a local partner had to rely on their partner in taking care of official things before learning Dutch. Moreover, they often needed help from their partner in interpreting the meaning of the numerous letters that one gets from various government institutions especially in the beginning.

All of those interviewees who have a Flemish partner had experienced being excluded in groups where all the others were Belgian, and most often those situations would take place during family dinners with the local partner's family. Also Henna, who does not have a local partner, had similar experiences during dinners with friends, when most of the others were Dutch speakers.

(30)

RI: minkälaisia rajoituksia koet omissa kielitaidoissa ja miten se vaikuttaa eri tilanteissa

Henna: no esimerkiks illallisella just ku mä sanoin et jos kaikki kaikilla on flaami äidinkieleks ni ku ne puhuu keskenään et ei voi osallistua siihen keskusteluun ni se on rajotus ja jos kattoo esimerkiks uutiset televisiosta ni ei ymmärrä et

In fact, for most of the participants with a Flemish partner the frustration of being left without a voice in communication with the partner's family or friends seems to be the most important boost to start learning Dutch.

(31)

Jaana: tää oli alussa että se ku mä en ymmärtäny niitä et kyl must alus tuntu se mun varmaan ensimmäiselle flaamin kurssille mä ilmottauduin sinne suomee mä muistan sillälaililla nii mä olin täälä jotain pari viikkoo kesällä viettämäs ja mua rupes ottaa päähän et tääl mä vaa tuntitolkul istun jossai pöydässä ja en ymmärrä mitää mitä ne puhuu koska sä ehkä tiedät se keskustelu voi vähän aikaa olla englantii mut sit se muuttuu kuitneki flaamiks ja sit on ei mä en jaksa tätä enää

On the other hand, some interviewees state that their Dutch skills are not developing because they do not have that many domains where they absolutely need language:

(32)

Jarmo: jos ois pakotettu puhumaan ku nyt ku mä oon istunu kurssilla---kolme vuotta täällä

Jarmo's life situation does not provide him with many chances to practice Dutch. Jarmo works for an international American company at an office that is located in Cologne, Germany. He works from home and travels a lot. Simply put, the contexts where he needs Dutch are limited to his Dutch classes once a week, outside home, or when visiting his partner's family, and for reading official letters. In the end, the occasions where Jarmo needs Dutch are rather few and that makes the learning not only more challenging but he also has to put more effort to learn the language because the need only arises very occasionally. Moreover, as De Swaan (2001) observes, most often people invest in languages that are higher in the hierarchical order of world languages. Because of his work Jarmo is traveling a lot and, as mentioned above, he has lived in another country for a significant number of years. Moreover, he discusses about the possibility of him and his partner moving to another country at some point. All of this speaks in favor of a rather cosmopolitan identity where the world is his playground. Consequently, Dutch might not appear as a particularly valuable resource for him, as on a larger scale it does not have very high communication potential.

Another domain where learning the local language is important is work.

(33)

Sanna: työn kanssa oli vähän sitte ku just oli valmistunu ja sit ku ei puhunu kieltä ja no varsinki ku mä en (epäselvää) ni ei se niinku ei voi saada sen alan töitä ei ilman kielitaitoo että siinä niinku eurooppaan tota peruskirja niini tota sitte sit se oli vähän masentavaa ku joutu ottaa niinku kaikkii paskaduuneja periaatteessa sillee kaikkihan täälä joutuu niinku ellei käy tosi hyvä hyvä säkä nii mutta tota et se vähän silleen kismitti ja se oli jotenki muokannu must tuntuu tätä niinku en mä tiä koko sitä olemista vähäsen tai sillee ett joutu lähtee periaattees ihan uusille urille mutta tota

As Sanna describes above, when she moved to Belgium she could not find a job in her own field because of the insufficient proficiency in Dutch. It always depends on the job as well, but in some fields the knowledge of the local language is more important than in others. Also Matti has had a somewhat similar experience. He wanted to continue his studies that were left unfinished in Finland at the local university. However, he had to drop it because the studies took place in Dutch and he could not reach the required level fast enough.

Furthermore, in order to improve her chances in the job market Jaana is investing a lot in learning Dutch. By far she has been working at an international company, and in her job she needs Swedish and Finnish. However, currently she would like to have more options and the possibility to apply for local jobs where Dutch is needed as well. This, on the other hand, might pose a new problem because Belgium is a multilingual country. The three official languages in Belgium are Dutch, French and German, but in business only Dutch and French are often required. It has been somewhat disappointing to some of the interviewees to realize in various contexts that in Belgium it is, in fact, not enough to learn one of the major languages. In order to have all the opportunities available and to be able to fluently pass any communication event, one needs the knowledge of both Dutch and French.

(34)

Jaana: ei oikeestaan työn puolesta mun mielestä ei koska siel tosiaan niin kaikki mahdolliset meil oli näit kehityskeskusteluja ja kaikkii niinku tehti englanniks että enemmän musta tuntu joskus että belgialaiset niinku joilla oli vähän heikompi se englanti ni ne pähkäili sen kanssa ja niitä harmitti et niinku kaikki pitää tehdä englanniks koska se oli tosi niinku tosi paljon kaikki englanniks mut sit semmosessa muussa sosiaalisissa kanssakäymisessä mikä siin tavallaan siel oli ensinnäkii nää leirit et oli flaaminkieliset aika paljon yhdessä kävi niinku lounastunnilla yhdessä syömässä ja muuta sitte ranskankieliset yhdessä ja sit HH minä ja muutama muu ulkomaalainen jotka sitte oltii niinku ei kuuluttu kumpaankaa leirii tavallaa että must tuntu et siinä tosi helposti niinku näitten kielten mukaa niinku jakautu se ja sillälaila must tuntu et mä en ikinä ihan niinku siihen työyhteisöön silleen päässy sisään niinku et pysy semmoses tavallaa pienessä marginaaliryhmässä sielä koska se oli kuitenkin aika belgialainen paikka joka mulle oli ihan alussa mä muistan pettymys ku mä luulin olin ymmärtäny että siel olis ollu niinku tosi kansainvälistä et niinku lähes kaikki jostai eri maista muttta muttta suurin osa sielä oli belgialaisii

Moreover, even at international environments local languages are often needed in the unofficial domains. For instance, in the previous extract Jaana discusses the disappointment of discovering that most of the employees of the multinational company where she used to work were Belgian. Moreover, although the official company language was English, in unofficial contexts the employees talked French or Dutch. This led to some degree of marginalization, as she could only with a small group of other foreign employees communicate without a problem.

4.3.2 Language as a commodity

As it was already touched upon above, the participants often make conscious investments in languages. For instance, in previous examples we could see that they have chosen to start speaking Dutch at home partly because of the conception that it will make it easier and faster to learn the language. Moreover, investing in Dutch can be motivated by the attempt to increase opportunities on the local job market. Without appropriate proficiency in Dutch, work opportunities are only limited to international companies which are the only work places where their multilingual repertoires excluding Dutch are appropriate. Making conscious decisions and investments regarding linguistic repertoires mirrors Heller's (2010) conception of language as a commodity. It is indeed shown very clearly in the data that many individuals treat linguistic resources as commodities that are acquired on the basis of their assumed value and potential of economic exchange in the region. In other words, as formulated by De Swaan (2001, 2010), linguistic resources have communication potential according to the number of people that can understand it in a particular sub-region in the world. The data seems to support the view that individuals make more or less conscious evaluations about the communication potential as well as about the value of the particular resources in those domains that they are willing to operate. These estimations and evaluations are at the background when individuals make decisions regarding the investments to their language resources and repertoires.

It was already discussed above that Anni has chosen to learn French instead of Dutch even though she lives in a city located in Flanders which is Dutch speaking. In the interview it became quite clear that one of the main motivations was to increase her opportunities in working life.

(35)

RI: Mut sä et oo sitä [hollantia] opiskellu

Anni: en. Et mä tosiaan silloin aluks harkitsin kyllä hollantia koska mä täällä asuin ja niin mutta mä sitte päädyin siihen ranskaan just sen takia ku se työpaikka oli tuolla wallonian puolella ja siellä sitte tehtiin aika selväks että jos haluu niinku yletä mihinkää ni sitä pitää ranskaa osata

Anni's work is located in Wallonian and it was soon clear to her that as long as she keeps her current position in the Nordic team, she can manage with her current repertoire, although echoing Jaana above she also mentioned that the unofficial communication in the company was often in French. However, if she wants to get promoted to a management position, French skills are necessary. Consequently she has invested considerably in acquiring French.

Similarly to Anni, Leena also wants to learn French in order to increase her professionalism as a dance teacher, as in her work she discovered that the French skills can be a great advantage.

– (36)

Leena: nyt kyl tuntuu et siis mul oli samanikänen ryhmä flaaminkielinen ryhmä neljävuotiaita ja sit oli --- se ranskankielinen ryhmä neljävuotiaita nii no siihen ehkä vaikuttaa muutki asiat mutta must tuntuu et sen kielen takia ne tunnit meni siel ranskankielisesillä puolella ihan päin persettä kun taas flaamin puolella ei ollu mitää ongelmia ni sitte tuli semmonen et mun on ihan pakko nyt petrata sitä ranskaaki että pystyy niinku oikeesti opettaa

–

Leena had studied French and already possessed basic skills. However, in one of the schools she had to teach a class of French-speaking four-year-old dance pupils and

she noticed that the classes were not going as well as her other classes. She was less successful in keeping the control in French compared to, for instance, Dutch. Consequently, she decided to invest in French in order to broaden her professionalism and perhaps even increase her career prospects.

All the participants indicate the use of various strategies to improve languages which they deem important and valuable. For instance, they read books and news papers in the target language, they watch TV-programs, and they take courses, and so forth.

(37)

Sanna: metro lehtee lukenu aina ku käyny brusselsis töissä ni se on kyllä tosi hyvä ja sitte ku sen kerran pystyy lukee kokonaa läpi sillee oho wau mut ihan alussa ni mä aika mä olin varmaa neljännellä kurssilla ku mä luin ekaa kertaa niinku flaami kirjan flaamin kielisen kirjan se oli ihan siitä ku mä tunsin sen kirjailijan mut nyt se olis mielenkiintosta lukee taas uudelleen koska silloin mä ymmärsin ehkä joku kolkyt prosenttia siitä et sillee niin tota mut mä silti mä luin sen kokonaa että tota ni nyt se ois mielenkiintost lukee uudelle

For instance, in the above extract Sanna explains that in addition to taking courses in Dutch, she was also investing in learning the language through regularly reading a newspaper called Metro and reading books. Similarly, other participants actively search for domains of language immersions in order to learn the local language faster.

4.3.3 Loss of linguistic resources

Many of the interviewees were surprised and disappointed after having lost some of their previous linguistic resources since they moved to Belgium. Especially those resources that are linguistically close to Dutch were often lost, but it is possible that they will return when needed again.

(38)

Sanna: siis en mä sitä sano että mä puhun sitä täydellisesti tai näin mut se että mä oon niin sinut sen kanssa siis silleen että mullakin on paljon sellasii sanontoja jota mä

käytän jotka on väärin ja sitte niinku nyt varsinki mua ärsyttää se ku mul on tosi vähän semmosia natiivi englantii puhuvia kavereita mä haluisin niitä enemmän sen takii et must tuntuu et mun englanti menee tosi huonoks ku kaikki puhuu ihan mitä sattuu ihan vaa sikski et se on kaikille toinen kieli nii sitte se jotenki tarttuu ja se ei ikinä kehity enää et se menee vaan sit toisee suuntaa et siks mä nautin siit ihan hirveesti sit ku mul on jotain amerikkalaisia tai englantilaisia kavereita ni ku niitten kans tapaa ni mä nautin siit ihan hirveesti ku vaa kuuntelee niitten puhetta ja

Sanna's comment above is very interesting and she is the only one who is as concerned for her English skills. I assume that the reason is that, as she mentioned in another point of the interview, English has long been a very special resource for her. She studied several years in Hawaii and during those years English became a very important language to her. According to her, many have said that she has almost a native-like American accent. Because of her previous high proficiency in English, the current most efficient and valuable variety of English, namely, English as a lingua franca seems like a step backwards for Sanna. The above excerpt shows two different things about language resources. Firstly, it illustrates that language resources are dynamic and in constant adaptation to the currently required and most valuable forms in the specific space. Secondly, the native varieties are not always the most functional, and when an individual once has managed to acquire a language as a L2 speaker, in a different location that variety might not be the most ideal in terms of efficient communication. Moreover, it might not be easy to artificially keep the language form that one has once acquired if that variety is not supported by the requirements of the environment.

The interviewees not only experienced the loss of language varieties but also language codes in a broader sense:

(39)

Leena: no mulla on sama ruotsin kanssa et mä olin tosi hyvä ruotsissa lukiossa itseasias mun äiti on suomenruotsalainen mut me ei olla puhuttu ruotsia kotona et se on mulleikki niinku vieras kieli mut kuitenkin et se on ehkä vähän niinku tullu äidinmaidossa et se ruotsi ei tunnu mulle mitenkä oudolta se kieli niiin sitte osasin siis aika hyvin ruotsia mut nyt mä en pysty enää yhtään puhumaan koska ne menee aina ihan sekasin ne sanat ymmärrän kyllä ruotsia mutta en niinku jotenki saa niitä enää niitä oikeita sanoja sinne tulemaa ne tulee flaamiks kaikki

Leena among others has lost one of her resources because of learning Dutch. Swedish was a great advantage in learning Dutch but, ironically, through learning Dutch she has lost Swedish as one of her active resources although written forms might not have suffered as much as the spoken language. Many of the interviewees report that when trying to speak Swedish (or German), they only remember Dutch. It appears that when an individual acquires a new resource, it is possible that another similar resource will suffer particularly if the environment does not support it. I have a rather similar experience regarding my own resources but, interestingly, I have not lost those resources that are in active use although similar to Dutch. For instance, my Swedish has only improved since my arrival in Belgium because I need it in my daily work. On the other hand, my German used to be relatively fluent when I moved to Belgium, but now it has been substituted by Dutch, and whenever I try to speak it, I start speaking an awkward mix of both two languages. In other words, it seems evident that some of the resources can be at least temporarily lost.

(40)

Jaana: just sen itävaltavuoden jälkee ni se (Saksa) on ollu sen takii tosi vahva et jossain vaiheessa mä puhuin sitä paremmin melkein ku englantiaki et se oli mun niinku se ykköskieli ja se oli tavallaan autto siin flaamii alus mut nythän se on sitte jääny niinku hiipunu flaamin myöta ja nyt tuntuu että se on mä just tossa yhtenä päivänä sanoin F:lle et se on hurja että ne kielet on niin lähellä toisiaa et aluks siit oli niinku apuu mut nyt must tuntuu et se sekottaa iha hirveesti et nyt flaami sujuu mut mun on tosi vaikee puhuu saksaa et yleensä ku oppii kieli ni siinä tavallaa lisää kielitaitoo mut nyt

As Jaana puts it in the excerpt above, it can be quite disappointing to lose a language. As she describes it, when learning a new language, one thinks that one is gaining a new resource in one's repertoire. However, it can feel as if the new language is taking over a previous, similar resource. Fortunately, I do not believe that the previous resources are completely lost but, instead, the passive knowledge of the lost resource remains dormant in the repertoire, waiting to be activated. In fact, that is exactly what happened to some of the interviewees' resources after their arrival in Belgium. Although many of them had not used some of the languages in their repertoires for years (Swedish, German), these languages functioned somewhere at the background and were a tremendous help in acquiring the new language, Dutch. There is,

however, to my knowledge no research on what happens with the lost resources, and thus, it will be left for the future research.

4.3.4 Context-dependent values of linguistic resources

Half of the interviewees work or have worked in an international company and they have got their job partly because of their language profile. Being able to speak Finnish and Swedish is valuable in Belgium and those languages have helped the interviewees to find white collar jobs. Unlike many other migrants, they did not have to go much lower in their social status because of not having appropriate language skills in Belgium. They can speak English as well as special languages – Finnish and Swedish – that are rather rare in Belgium, and it gives them better possibilities when applying for jobs where Finnish and Swedish are required.

As Anni mentions below, Finnish or Swedish alone are not as valuable but together they offer the best value as a package of two Nordic languages. The reason for this is that there are many international companies in Belgium that have business in the Nordic market. It seems that in the world, Finland is often put in the same package with the other Nordic countries and if one accepts a job where Finnish is needed, the company will be likely to have connections to other Nordic countries as well and knowledge of at least Swedish will be required.

(41)

Anni: mut sit nyt myöhemmin täällä olen huomannu et kyllä itse asiassa se suomi ja ruotsi on aika hyvä valtti ja ja niinku Brysselin ulkopuolella Belgiassa et tääl on kuitenkin aika paljon semmosia yrityksiä jotka tarvii ihmisiä jotka puhuu eri kieliä. ja ja niinku siinä mielessähän no jos niinku mietitään suomi ruotsi vastaan ranska et kumpi on isompi valtti niin ni onhan se tietysti niin että jos sä osaat ranskaa niin sul on sit niinku hirveesti työpaikkoja mitä sä voit hakee mutta sit niihin hakee myös niinku kuus tuhatta muuta ihmistä. Mutta sit jos sä osaat suomee niin sul on vähemmän paikkoja mitä sä voit sen perusteella hakea mut sit hakijoita on myös niinku vaan kourallinen et sun mahdollisuudet on ihan eri niinku saada oikeesti se paikka. Ja sit mä olen huomannu kyl just et niihin paikkoihin mihin etsitään suomen kielist henkilöä niin niil on sitte muutenki kytköksiä muihin pohjoismaihin et silloin se ruotsi katotaan kyllä myöskin just eduks. Ja tää mun uus työpaikka mihin mä oon nyt menossa, se on tota kansainvälisen yrityksen talousosastolla Mechelenissä ja he haki myös suomenkielentaitosta henkilöö niin he sano kans niinku ihan suoraan et ku mä sit cv:ssä ilmoitin et suomi on äidinkieli

ja englantia puhun sujuvasti ja ranskaks ja ruotsiks pystyn myös kommunikoimaan niin se talousosaston päällikkö niin sit siin mejän keskustelussa sano ihan suoraan et tää ranskan kielen taito ei oo sulle tääl mikään etu mutta ruotsin kielen taito on et et siitä niinku tulee pisteitä.

In other words, through a basic knowledge of Swedish, some of the interviewees not only get a job, but they end up in a context where new forms of Swedish are needed. Consequently they add new varieties of Swedish to their linguistic repertoires.

Moreover, it is not rare that a speaker of Finnish and Swedish is expected to broaden his/her repertoire to cover forms of Danish and Norwegian as well.

(42)

Sanna: kyllä mä niinku kyl mä olin aina se meillä töissä jota juu kyllä meillä on norjan ja tanskankielitaitoisia ihmisiä no aha nyt just tänää tuli kysymys et voisinks mä tehdä niitä käännöksiä ja sit voisinks mä analysoida joitain niinku siis mä olin niinku [työpaikka] ---ni sitte täytyy lukee niit ruotsinkielisii juttuja ja joskus norjaa ja näitä mutta mä mieluummin siis ruotsi kyl menee sillee mut norjaa ja tanskaa ni siin menis ikä ja terveys jos niit täytyis niinku enemmän et se on lähinnä jotain et voitko kattoo puhutaanko tässä siitä ja siitä asiasta ni sit sen ymmärtää

As Sanna describes in the above extract if Danish and Norwegian is used an approximate understanding is sufficient. Hence, it is not rare that a Finnish migrant who moves to Belgium and works at an international company, and uses Finnish and Swedish in his/her work also stretches his/her repertoire to include limited forms of Danish and Norwegian as well.

Many of the interviewees who use Swedish in their work in Belgium also seem slightly surprised that their Swedish could be of some practical use. They had learned the language mainly at school and had never used it in an authentic context. Consequently, Swedish has existed passively in their repertoires but only in Belgium the value of the resource has suddenly increased and their skills have become useful.

(43)

Sanna: mun ruotsi on hämäläisruotsia mut nyt seki on muuten jännä et sit belgiaan tultua ni en ikinä kuvitellu et mä joutuisin ruotsia käytää mut oon mä tehny sitte ku just tänää tuli kysyttiin että voitko tehdä suomen ja ruotsin käännöksiä ni kyllä se niinku taittuu jos on tiettyjä apuja

On the other hand, in Finland there is much more availability of Swedish-speaking people. It is possible that the Swedish skills of the interviewees would not be regarded as high in Finland. However, in Belgium the Finnish migrants can have the opportunity to improve their Swedish and acquire even forms of Danish and Norwegian.

Lastly, it was fascinating to notice that regional dialects of the participants' mother tongues have maintained their value in the context of Belgium. In the following extract, Sanna is trying to guess where I come from in Finland.

(44)

Sanna: mitä hei tota saanks mä kysyy et mistä sä oot kotosin koska mä voin heittää omat arvaukseni

RI: heitä vaa

Sanna: siis sä oot kans jostain helsingin liepeiltä

RI: lahesta tai nastolasta mistä sä oot kotosin

It appears that when meeting other Finnish people in Belgium the varieties and indexicality Finnish varieties indicate is just as important as in Finland. In fact, it could be argued that the Finnish dialects get even different meanings abroad. This would be a fascinating topic for future research.

I have attempted to show in this section, that linguistic repertoires are dynamic and in constant adaptation to the requirements of the environment. Particularly in the context of mobility the changes in the repertoire can be more rapid and salient. Some

reasons for learning the local language Dutch were presented: empowerment, having a voice in communication with the locals, and the improvement of work opportunities. Secondly, it is evident in the data that individuals often consider languages as commodities, as was observed by, for instance, Heller (2010) and De Swaan (2001). In other words, individuals make conscious decisions regarding their linguistic repertoires, and make considerable investments in adding new resources that they consider of high value. It has been shown that in the adaptation to the environment and new situations, individuals do not only add new resources but some resources might deteriorate when there is no need for them. Moreover, echoing Blommaert's observations (2003; 2005; 2010) the value of resources is also context dependent, and consequently, some of the participants' resources have gained in value after moving to Belgium. Furthermore, although the contexts where the regional dialects of the participants' mother tongues are limited to different kinds of contexts than in Finland, they have still kept their significance and importance. In fact, it could be argued that the significance of dialects is even higher abroad, as they might gain particular value in a context where one hears them more rarely.

5. DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The first sections of this chapter will summarize the main findings, which are divided in two categories, *5.1 Repertoire and space*, and *5.2 Dynamic repertoires*. After discussing the findings, I will address the evaluation of the research project as a whole in *5.3. Evaluation*. I will conclude with presenting some implications of the present study, and suggestions for further research in *5.4. Implications and suggestions for future research*.

5.1 Repertoire and space

The main aim of this study was to map any changes in the linguistic repertoires of Finnish migrants in Belgium, and to aim at a fuller understanding of the processes and dynamics behind those changes. The main assumptions about the social reality in the context of contemporary mobility derive from Blommaert's (2010) and others' (for instance, Collins et al. 2009, Coupland 2010) conceptions. The three basic assumptions were: first, the conception of language knowledge as a set of mobile resources constructed through various experiences through an individual's life and reflecting the individual's biography (Blommaert 2005, 2010; Hall et al. 2006). Secondly, a view of multilingualism that was adopted in the present study was multilingualism as truncated repertoires (Blommaert et al. 2005; Blommaert 2010). Finally, the notion of scale and space as significant determinants of the value of a repertoire was adopted (Blommaert 2010; Blommaert et al. 2005; Blommaert and Dong 2007; Collins et al 2009). These three conceptions underlie also the notion of 'second functional relativity', which summarizes the fact that the value and meaning of a linguistic form, and a resource, are context-dependent. Consequently, very often the value and meaning change when a resource is migrates to another location, space or scale (Blommaert 2003; Blommaert et al. 2005a). In the light of these assumptions, I will discuss the findings regarding how the interviewees described the effects of the particular situations and locations on their linguistic repertoires.

The data support the context dependence of the value and functionality of specific resources. As discussed in previous literature (for instance, Blommaert et al. 2005a), the functionality of resources is not only dependent of the particular geographical or horizontal location, but also ranges across various scales and layers of society. The proficiency in English among the local people in the cities of Flanders is generally very high, and it would therefore be easy but simplifying to assume that a migrant can easily manage with just English across contexts. In fact, this was not the case, as shown by the interviews. The main findings, then, regarding the situatedness of resources can be divided in four sub-categories: domains where Dutch was necessary, redefinitions of linguistic resources, new meanings of linguistic resources, and language as a commodity.

Most frequent contexts where the subjects found themselves without a voice were in family meetings with the family of the local partner. Although in many instances most members of the Flemish families could speak fluent English, the language of the general conversation was mostly Dutch. Particularly in the beginning without any knowledge of Dutch the migrant was often left without a voice. In other words, his/her linguistic resources were in some domains discredited (Blommaert et al. 2005a: 210-212). In most cases these kinds of experiences were the source of determination and motivation to invest in learning Dutch. Moreover, although English is a very valid and useful resource in many scales in the central areas in Belgium, it can be assumed that in the peripheries it might have less currency (De Swaan 2001). This, however, was not discussed in the interviews as all of interviewees mainly operate in the center areas of Belgium.

Another context that in many cases redefined the migrants' repertoires was working life. The workplaces of those interviewees who worked or had worked in Belgium were almost invariably international companies or companies with international operations. This led to a wide range of redefinitions of interviewees' repertoires.

Firstly, English language was in many cases the main language in communication across departments of the workplace and hierarchies. Thus, the migrant would speak

English with his/her boss, with colleagues from other departments, and sometimes also with customers. However, even working in a multinational company did not always ensure the functionality of English language across various situations at the workplace. For instance, Jaana described how she was, in fact, forced to mainly socialize with the other migrant colleagues in English because the Dutch-speaking colleagues were not always willing to use English in casual lunch or coffee break conversations. On the other hand, the French-speaking Wallonian colleagues would have had difficulties doing so with their often limited English skills. This reflects the different scales and different validities of languages in those scales in workplace communication. For instance, often the official communication in international companies in Belgium, seem to be English. However, in more casual domains, the local languages have more validity.

Secondly, a very important finding regarding the changing value of resources according to the context is the high value of Nordic languages in Belgium. Most of the interviewees who were working at international companies had been hired for their positions because of their knowledge of both Finnish and Swedish. As many of them were initially very surprised of having any use of their Swedish resources, it seems likely that in a Finnish context (or in other Nordic countries) their Swedish resources would indeed not be useful because of the large availability of people with much wider knowledge of Swedish. However, in a Belgian context Swedish skills, particularly in combination with Finnish, are not only highly exotic, but extremely valuable.

Moreover, working in a position where Finnish and Swedish are needed on a daily basis offered many interviewees a possibility to improve their skills in those languages, and even in other Nordic languages such as Norwegian and Danish. Being hired for a job where a Finnish-speaking migrant not only needs Swedish in his/her daily work, but even Danish and Norwegian stretched their resources and forced them to broaden the linguistic resources to accommodate some limited resources in Danish and Norwegian. This shows that there can be very surprising new resources that a migrant acquires in a new environment; resources that do not fit the 'monoglot'

ideal about the combination of one language and one nation. Because of the mobility and flow, as well as other features of globalization, one can encounter language varieties in places where they would traditionally not be expected.

In relation to working life there were also some institutional restrictions that, on the one hand, gave the interviewees the motivation to learn Dutch. This represented inequality in the job market. Many interviewees recognized that without learning adequate Dutch they would not be successful in applying for 'normal' jobs at companies that do not have an international orientation. This obviously sounds reasonable, but a further problem from a migrant's point of view in Belgium is the fact that the country is multilingual. Consequently, in particularly business-related jobs high skills and fluency in Dutch and French are required.

Thirdly, fascinatingly different varieties of Finnish language remained of great importance in certain areas of the migrants' lives. The interviewees took part in transnational communication flows in Finnish. The main domains where Finnish language was important were in transnational communication with Finnish friends and family through new communication media (Skype, Facebook, e-mails etc.), using Finnish media (on-line newspapers, on-line TV such as Katsomo and Areena, web radio), and in meeting other Finnish people in Belgium. Consequently, it was interesting to notice that the Finnish accents maintained their significance in the Belgian context. For instance, when meeting Finnish people in Belgium, the regional dialect could become very important in expressing one's regional identity and sense of belonging. In other words, when talking with other Finnish people, one could speak from the footing of Finland, and express the distant regional identity. This could also be seen as a scale jump from the purely local context to the transnational scale of Finnish people in Belgium (Blommaert et al. 2005; Blommaert 2010).

Moreover, some reported that various regional dialects were used in bonding with people with same origins, as a humorous resource, and in determining and ascribing other's regional identities. Furthermore, it seems that hearing regional dialects in abroad contexts can have a special meaning in comparison with purely national

contexts. Regional dialects mediate a general Finnishness and can be used to indicate senses of belonging. The particular meanings of Finnish dialects to the Finnish migrants in Belgium was, however, not under a conscious scrutiny in the present study, and more research is needed in this area in order to find out how the meanings of regional dialects in migrants' L1 can get different meanings compared to the Finnish context.

Lastly, the data supported the notion of the increasing conceptions of language as a commodity (Heller 2010; De Swaan 2001, 2010). The migrants were quick to observe which resources are important and valuable in their new environment. Therefore, a great deal of effort was invested in acquiring those resources. For instance, a lot was invested in acquiring particularly vernacular varieties of Dutch, as well as the prestige varieties (standard Dutch). Interestingly, for many it seemed more challenging to acquire fluency in vernacular varieties, which reflects the traditional emphasis on written language in language teaching in Finland that the participants had experienced. Because of the ideology of language learning through mainly formal education, the participants had also taken courses in Dutch relying on the conception that the authentic forms of language use can be acquired through formal education (Heller 2010). After noticing that it is not the case, they started investing in other types of language learning such as introducing Dutch as the family language, insisting on speaking Dutch with the local people, reading and using other local media.

5.2 Dynamic repertoires

In the above theme, I showed that a change in location and domain creates new requirements on the individuals' linguistic repertoires and that can lead to a change in the repertoire. Moreover, the value of linguistic resources changes according to the space and the scale that they enter (Blommaert et al. 2005; Blommaert 2010; Blommaert and Dong 2007; Collins et al. 2009). In other words, not only horizontal movement can create new requirements, but also entering different domains and scales can have an effect on which language forms are viewed as appropriate. The topic of this section also takes into account and discusses the context-dependence of

language resources. However, my aim is to emphasize the fact that linguistic repertoires are dynamic and in constant adaptation to the requirements of the environment. The purpose in this section is, thus, to illustrate the various forms of this dynamic nature of linguistic repertoires.

As it was discussed in Chapter 2, the present study sees language as a set of language forms and practices that arise from interaction in communities of practice, and according to the requirements from the particular environments and contexts wherein individuals operate (Blommaert et al. 2005; Ford et al. 2003; Hall et al. 2006). The migrants' repertoires are in constant adjustment to the requirements of the environment. The repertoires reflect their life situations, trajectories, and their own values and expectations from the future. Firstly, I will discuss some motivations behind the choice of linguistic resources in situations where several possible resources could be an option. Secondly, I will move on to discuss how the individual's repertoires were forced to grow or change in instances of stretching (Blommaert and Dong 2007: 13). Thirdly, I will illustrate how the dynamic nature of linguistic repertoires also includes the loss of resources that are no longer needed in the domains in which an individual is participating.

Some occasions which favor the use of particular resources while others were discredited were discussed above. However, in some situations an individual can have a choice between various resources that could be valid in that particular occasion, and in the light of the data it seems that these decisions are not made randomly. In other words, the choice of a particular linguistic resource instead of another one was often made according to two different principles, efficiency and identification.

The data speak very strongly in favor of efficiency in multilingual communication. The interviewees in this study had experienced communication situations with people with a range of possible linguistic repertoires. Very often, particularly in communication with the people who were not close, the most efficient language was chosen. The choice depended on the particular configuration of the interlocutors'

repertoires and on the language codes that stood out as the most efficient in that combination of linguistic resources. In contrast, in communication with socially close others, often a preferred language code was a language for identification.

In the case of the efficiency principle guiding the language choice, it was particularly interesting to notice that in linguistically mixed groups that meet regularly the preferred language code might change according to the configuration of the repertoires of its members. For instance, if the repertoires of some of the members are in flux because of studying a language, living in another country, and so forth, the language code that appears as most the most efficient might change. Consequently, a group might switch to another linguistic resource if that resource becomes most efficient taking into account all the linguistic repertoires of the members of the group.

Language choice was also strongly motivated by identification at three different levels: power relations, ability to express a certain identity, and the interrelatedness of language and identity. First, as shown above, language can function as a vehicle of power, particularly in situations where the individual has underdeveloped skills in the resource regarding the needed identity. For instance, at a work place one might want to choose a resource where one has the best skills in expressing a professional identity and some level of authority. On the other hand, English as a lingua franca is often seen as a neutral code because none of the participants in the conversation speaks the language as a mother tongue.

Secondly, following House's (2003) terminology, the most common division between English and Dutch was the use of English for identification and Dutch for communication. In many of the interviews it emerged that expressing different social identities was not always simple in Dutch, and for that reason English was often the preferred language code in which identity or personality was. On the other hand, when the content of speech and practicalities were the main topic, Dutch did not pose as many problems. Moreover, it could be argued that in some instances the choice between these two languages was made in order to negotiate and resist certain

identities. For instance, the migrant might prefer to speak in English because the use of broken Dutch might emphasize his/her migrant identity in conversations with the locals. On the other hand, the exact same motivation can be used to speak Dutch, because the use of English unavoidably indexes an identity of being a foreigner in a Flemish context where the majority of the people speak Dutch.

The third and the last category where identity played an important role was the fact that language seems to be strongly attached to personal identity. When learning to know somebody well, one also learns this person as a speaker of a certain language, and if that language changes, it seems that the person's personality is unavoidably seen from a slightly different perspective. For instance, the interviewees had always spoken English with their partners, and some of them reported that it seemed as if they had to learn to know the each other again, to some extent, would they change to Dutch language. All of them agreed that it felt strange and demanding to switch to another language than the one that they were used to speak with a particular person. This in fact reflects the idea that language should be seen as resources that express different indexical meanings and have different semiotic potentials (Blommaert 2005; Silverstein 2003). In that light it makes sense that switching from a system of resources to another inevitably entails switching to different system of meaning making and semiotics.

The second main category that illustrates the dynamic nature of linguistic repertoires was the stretching of the migrants' truncated repertoires (Blommaert et al. 2005a). Consequently, the stretching can result in all kinds of variations of language mixing, and this, in fact, illustrates that people in real life do not treat languages as separate systems but indeed as resources that can be used in highly creative ways. The main goal for communication is to run as smoothly as possible, and the means to do so is not as important. As we saw in the analysis section, it is common to use a highly mixed language particularly in the beginning, if there is a similar language that can be used as the matrix for the attempts of communication in the 'new' code. Echoing Blommaert and Dong (2007: 13), it seems that this type of mixing is particularly common in instances where the repertoires are stretched, whereas when an individual

has the possibility to take his/her time to learn a language , he/she would often follow the path of formal language teaching where different language codes are kept strictly apart.

Moreover, in communication with close friends and family with different language repertoires, the linguistic repertoires of all of the members of the group adjust to the new situation created by the presence of the migrant. This can result into highly creative patterns of language use. For instance, it is not uncommon to find highly fluent and functional communication patterns where each of the participants speaks a language that he/she feels most comfortable speaking. In other words, the migrant has adapted to understand Dutch while the interlocutor has adapted to understand English, and the migrant speaks English while the interlocutor speaks Dutch. Moreover, varieties of language codes that both interlocutors have in their repertoires although as different degrees of proficiencies can be used for borrowing. This can represent all kinds of meanings to the friends group or a couple. As we saw above in the example from Jaana, this kind of language mixing can constitute the basis for a construction of a unique language pattern that is only shared within the members of a particular group. For instance, spicing up English with borrowed items from the mother tongues of the couple represents an example of such formation of a unique language form that indexes the partner hood or belonging to a group. In this study it was not possible to delve deeper in the study of such processes because of methodological restrictions, but that would certainly be a fascinating topic for future research.

Perhaps the most important finding was that a linguistic repertoire is indeed not static, but instead, constantly changing to meet the current challenges and requirements of the environment and the new situations where an individual ends up. Those resources that are not needed in the main domains of a person's life are very difficult to learn and it is a challenge to bring these languages to high levels of fluency. For instance, the data indicate that those migrants who needed the local language in wider range of domains, and who had large number of local people in their social network, learned Dutch quicker and fuller. This is in line with Hall et al.

(2006) among others, as they argued that the frequency of experiences of using a language across domains increases the level of language knowledge. Although my data were not large enough to make anything else but educated guesses concerning language learning it, indeed, seems that if a migrant does not have enough authentic contexts where knowledge of the target language is essential, the learning is different and more superficial.

Moreover, repertoires are not necessarily growing when a new resource is added, but in case of a lack of need or function in the individual's particular life situation, resources can become passive and less useful parts of the individual's truncated repertoire. The data show that, in addition to the relatively minor resources that one has used in rather marginal contexts, this can even include the more significant resources such as the mother tongue. None of the subjects of the present study has suffered from extensive loss of their mother tongues, but the data indicate that an individual can even lose fluency in his/her mother tongue when he/she lives for an extended period of time in a context where that resource is not needed. However, it is highly likely that the resources that become passive in one's repertoire are not lost forever, but, instead, they would be again activated when an individual moves to an environment or starts operating in a scale where that repertoire is required.

In these two chapters, I have summarized the main findings of the present study. Next, I will evaluate the present study, after which I will discuss the main implications in the light of previous research and give suggestions for future research.

5.3 Evaluation

The main limitation of the present study derives from the methodology. In particular, interview as a data collection method raised some primary concerns, as the main object of study was linguistic resources, which in itself suggests the 'small bits' of languages and the changes in use at the micro-level (Blommaert and Maryns 2001; Blommaert and Dong 2007, 2010a). As I have mentioned above, it was of course

impossible to discuss resources as such directly with the participants. In the end, the interviews proved to be a source for very rich data on the use of various resources in the everyday lives of the Finnish migrants. Moreover, they provided fascinating information about the processes behind the changes in individuals' resources. However, I do think that a study with a broader scale of ethnographic methods would have provided even richer data, and could have shed light on the micro-level processes as well. In other words, if the scope of this study would not have been restricted in terms of time and the conventional requirements of a Master's thesis, I would have combined research interviews with other ethnographic methods such as participant observation and field notes. Moreover, it would have been an interesting source of micro-level data on variable language resources to study some communication events with the tools provided by, for instance, conversation analysis.

Another source of concern was the choice of the participants for the study. The participants of the research interviews represent a rather heterogeneous group regarding the length of their stay in Belgium, the motivations to move, and involvement in the local society through initial contact persons. Although the heterogeneity of the participants served to give more varied data with various points of view, I do think that in addition to the main group of participants that constitute the migrants with local partners, there were too few of the 'other' type of migrants to make valid comparisons. In other words, it might have been advisable to either restrict the participants to those who are more similar with each other, the ones with Belgian partners, or to extend the number of the other type of participants in the study. Concerning the restrictions in the scope of the present study, the former choice would have been the most suitable.

5.4 Implications and suggestions for further research

One of the main findings of this study is that in a changed environment, individuals can often make use of a wide selection of their existing resources, even if none of the languages that are represented in their repertoire has direct validity in the environment. The migrants in this study mobilized, for instance, their knowledge of

Swedish, German and English in interpreting and learning Flemish. This finding gives support for a view that none of the resources in an individual's repertoire are useless but can become essential in changed circumstances. In other words, it is never useless or a waste of time to learn a language. This is important to bear in mind in, for example, the Finnish context in which there has been discussion on the usefulness of the study of Swedish for a very long time. This study gives plenty of support for the advantages of studying Swedish. Firstly, Swedish represents a perfect gateway in learning many other Germanic languages, such as Dutch, German, Norwegian, Danish, and even English. Moreover, as we have seen, Finnish is a minority language in the context of the Nordic countries, which still is culturally, economically and politically unified. Furthermore, at least in European business market Finland is seen as part of the Nordic countries. Consequently, if Finnish language would for one or the other reason represent a valuable resource for a Finnish person living abroad, it is highly likely that at least Swedish language would also be required, and often limited forms of Danish and Norwegian too.

Similarly with others (Hall et al. 2006; Ford et al. 2003), this study also supports the view that language learning naturally takes place in activities, and languages and language varieties are learned in the context of communities of practice. Individuals have an instinctive understanding of a 'dead' language and a 'living' language in their repertoires. People instinctively make a difference between the artificial standard language that they often experience as problematic particularly in spoken communication, and the natural language that occurs in 'normal' and authentic situations of language use. It is necessary to ask why language teaching and testing still to a large extent continues to base its methods on the old assumptions of language competence. It needs to be added that there will always be need for standard languages, but it is important to extend language teaching to accommodate the conceptions of language knowledge as resources.

Another point that is represented in this research regards the space as a determining factor in the value and functionality of resources (Blommaert et al. 2005a; Collins et al. 2009; Blommaert and Dong 2007, 2010a). This study has given considerable

support for such a view, but there is more to the features and dynamics of multilingual communication. Based on the findings, it seems that when individuals with different collections of truncated multilingual resources meet and communicate, one of the factors in determining which resources are important is the specific combination of the linguistic resources in that particular communication event. In a mobile world, thus, all kinds of combinations of linguistic resources in a particular communication event can occur, and this point of view of the instantaneous re-evaluations of the repertoires is also worth studying. In other words, the present study gives support for the new direction in multilingualism research that emphasizes the language use as emergent in interaction (Otsuji and Pennycook 2010).

Blommaert et al. (2005a) mention that migrants also have an impact on the linguistic resources of their environment but this line of thought is left at a superficial level and it mainly includes the institutional effects of large groups of immigrants. However, the present study gives indications for the assumptions that a migrant can have important effects on the linguistic repertoires of the local people who belong to their social network. In the search for the best resources to secure a smooth and fluent communication among locals and migrants, it is not rare that sometimes also the local's linguistic repertoire is stretched. For instance, right after the arrival to Belgium a Finnish migrant does not usually speak Dutch and the only common resource is English. A Flemish individual who is not comfortable speaking English, in turn, is obliged to speak English because it often is still the most efficient and functional resource that is available. As a result his/her linguistic resources in English get stretched and he/she extends his/her linguistic resources in English. The influence of the presence of a migrant on the local people's repertoires at the grassroots level has not received enough attention. Consequently, it seems that more research is needed in that sector.

This study has shown clearly that in contrast to some arguments concerning the use of English for identification (House 2003), in fact, English as a lingua franca seems to be widely used for that purpose. It seems that the participants of this study are trying to simulate their learning path that they went through when learning English in terms of learning Dutch. However, many of them acknowledge that English remains

as a language that is closer to their mother tongue than Dutch in their repertoires. This is rather surprising because after all they are living in a broadly Dutch-speaking environment. Although based on the data and the findings, I can only speculate the possible reasons for this, it seems that globalization and the increased flows, interdependencies, new media, and so forth, might offer some explanations. For instance, nobody else but Matti who had arrived in Belgium 20 years ago when the use of new media was not as widespread reported that Dutch had become his second language. Finding out about forms of transnational belonging and participation in transnational networks by the migrants, and the patterns of language use that they create constitutes a fascinating area for future study.

In the present study, I have only managed to scratch the surface of the changes in Finnish migrant's repertoires after moving to Belgium. The same goes for the particular meanings that the resources have to the migrants themselves. Nevertheless, this study gives a good basis for a larger scale ethnographic study that can delve deeper in the study of both micro- and macro-levels in the study of First World migrants and their dynamic linguistic repertoires. Furthermore, by using a wider range of ethnographic methods it will be possible to obtain a better view of how the migrants use their various resources when operating at different scales and domains.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Androutsopoulos, J. 2010: Multilingualism, Ethnicity and Genre in Germany's Migrant Hip Hop. In M. Terkourafi, (Ed.), *The languages of Global Hip hop*. London: Continuum, c 2010, 19-43

Appadurai, A. 1996. *Modernity at Large: Cultural Dimensions of Globalization*. Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press.

Atkinson et al. 2007. *Handbook of Ethnography*. Trowbridge, Wiltshire: The Cromwell Press Ltd.

Bartelson, J. 2000. *Three concepts of globalization*. *International Sociology* 15(2): 180-96.

Blackledge, A. & Creese, A. 2008: *Contesting 'language' as 'heritage': Negotiation of identities in late modernity*. *Applied Linguistics*, 29(4), 533-554.

Blommaert, J. 2001. Investigating narrative inequality: Analyzing African asylum seekers' stories in Belgium. *Discourse & Society* 12, 413-449.

Blommaert, J. 2003: *Sociolinguistics of Globalization*. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 2/4 2003 607-623.

Blommaert, J. 2005. *Discourse: A critical Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blommaert, J. 2010. *The Sociolinguistics of Globalization*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Blommaert, J. and Dong, J. 2007. *Language and Movement in Space*. Language and Diversity. Working Paper 1 (University of Jyväskylä and University of Tilburg).

Blommaert, J. and Dong, J. 2010a: Language and movement in space. In N. Coupland (ed.), *The Handbook of Language and Globalization*. Blackwell Publishing Ltd. West Sussex, 366-386.

Blommaert, J. and Dong, J. 2010b. *Ethnographic Fieldwork. A Beginner's Guide*. Multilingual Matters. Short Run Press Ltd.

Blommaert, J., Collins, J. & Slembrouck, S. 2005a. Spaces of multilingualism. *Language & Communication* 25: 197-216

Blommaert, J., Collins, J. & Slembrouck, S. 2005b. Polycentricity and interactional regimes in 'global neighborhoods'. *Ethnography* 6(2): 205-235.

Blommaert J. and Maryns, K. 2001. Stylistic and thematic shifting as a narrative resource: Assessing asylum seekers' repertoires. *Multilingua* 20/1, 61-84.

- Bourdieu 1996. 'Understanding', *Theory, Culture and Society*, 13 (2): 17-37.
- Briggs, Charles L. 1986: *Learning How to Ask: A Sociolinguistic Appraisal of the Role of the Interview in Social Science Research*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brutt-Griffler, J. 2002. *World English. A Study of its Development*. Clevedon, U.K.:Multilingual Matters.
- Bybee, J. and Hopper, P. (eds) 2001. *Frequency and the Emergence of Linguistic Structure*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Charmaz, K. and Mitchell, R. G. 2001. Grounded Theory in Ethnography. *Handbook of Ethnography*. Trowbridge, Wiltshire: The Cromwell Press Ltd. 160-174.
- Cenoz, J. 2003. The intercultural style hypothesis: L1 and L2 interaction in requesting behaviour. In V. Cook (ed.): *Effects of the Second Language on the First*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Chenitz, W. Carol and Swanson, Janice M. (eds.) 1986. *From Practice to Grounded Theory: Qualitative Research in Nursing*. Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley.
- Chomsky, N. 1965. *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Chouliaraki, L. 2010: Global representations of distant suffering. In N. Coupland, *Handbook of Language and Globalization*, Blackwell Publishing Ltd. West Sussex, 608-624
- Collins, J., S. Slembrouck and M. Baynham (eds.). 2009. *Globalization and language in contact*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group.
- Collins, J., S. Slembrouck and M. Baynham. Introduction to *Globalization and language in contact*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 1-19.
- Collins, J. and Slembrouck, S. 2009. Goffman and globalization. In J. Collins, S. Slembrouck and M. Baynham, *Globalization and language in contact*. London: Continuum International Publishing Group, 19-41.
- Cook, V. 1991. The poverty-of-the-stimulus argument and multicompetence. *Language Learning* 42/4: 557-91.
- Coupland, Nikolas 2003: Introduction: Sociolinguistics and globalisation. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7/4, 2003: 465-472.
- Coupland, Nikolas 2010: Introduction. *Handbook of Language and Globalization*. Blackwell Publishing Ltd. West Sussex: 1-26
- Coupland, N. & Jaworski, A. 2006. *The New Sociolinguistics Reader*. Houndmills, UK: Palgrave.

- De Swaan Abram 2001. *Words of the world: the global language system*. Cambridge: Polity press.
- De Swaan, Abram 2010. Language Systems. *Handbook of Language and Globalization*. West Sussex: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 56-76
- Denzin, N. 1997. *Interpretive Ethnography: Ethnographic Practices for the 21st Century*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Eskola, J. & Suoranta, J. 2000: *Johdatus laadulliseen tutkimukseen*. Tampere: Vastapaino.
- Finnish Seamen's Mission. <http://www.merimieskirkko.be> (2 May 2011).
- Firth, Alan. 1996: The discursive accomplishment of normality. On 'lingua franca' English and Conversation Analysis. *Journal of Pragmatics* 26: 237-260.
- Fitch, K. & Sanders, R. 2005. *Handbook of Language and Social Interaction*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Ford, C., Fox, B. & Thompson, S. 2003. Social interaction and grammar. In Tomasello, M. (ed.): *The New Psychology of Language*, Volume 2. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Freed F. B. 1995. *Second Language Acquisition in A study Abroad Context*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Giddens, Anthony 1991. *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Cambridge, U.K.: Polity.
- Glaser, Barney G 1978. *Theoretical Sensitivity*. Mill Valley, CA: The Sociology Press.
- Glaser, Barney G. 1992. *Basics of Grounded Theory Analysis: Emergence vs. Forcing*. Mill Valley, CA: The Sociology Press.
- Goffman, E. 1974. *Frame Analysis. An Essay on the Organisation of Experience*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Goffman, E. 1981. *Forms of Talk*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
- Graddol, D. 2006. *English Next: Why Global English might mean the end of 'English as a foreign language'*. London: British Council.
- Gubrium, Jaber and Holstein, James A. 1997: *The New Language of Qualitative Method*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gumperz J. & Hymes, D. 1972. *Directions in Sociolinguistics*. New York: Holt, Rinehart, Winston, Inc.

- Hall, J. K. H., A. Cheng and M. T. Carlson. 2006. Reconceptualizing Multicompetence as a Theory of Language Knowledge. *Applied Linguistics* 27/2, 220-240.
- Hannerz, U. 1992. *Cultural Complexity: Studies in the Social Organization of Meaning*. New York: Columbia University Press.
- Hannerz, U. 1996. *Transnational Connections*. London: Routledge.
- Hayl, B. S. 2001. Ethnographic Interviewing. In Atkinson et al. (eds.), *Handbook of ethnography*. Trowbridge, Wiltshire: The Cromwell Press Ltd., 369-383.
- Heller, M. 2003. Globalization, the new economy, and the commodification of language and identity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7/4, 2003: 473-492.
- Heller, M. 2010. Language as Resource in the Globalized New Economy. In N. Coupland, *Handbook of Language and Globalization*. Blackwell Publishing Ltd. West Sussex. 349-365.
- Hirsjärvi, S. And Hurme, H. 2001: *Tutkimushaastattelu. Teemahaastattelun teoria ja käytäntö*. Helsinki: Helsinki University Press.
- Holstein, J, and Gubrium, J. 1995. *The Active Interview*. Thousand Oaks CA: Sage.
- House, J. 2003. English as a lingua franca: A threat to multilingualism? *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7/4, 556-578.
- Hymes, D. Models of the interaction of language and social life. In Gumperz, J. and Hymes, D. (eds.), *Directions in Sociolinguistics: The Ethnography of Communication*: 35-71. New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston. 35-71
- Jaworski, A. and Thurlow, C. 2010: Language and the Globalizing Habitus of Tourism: Toward a Sociolinguistics of Fleeting Relationships. In N. Coupland, *Handbook of Language and Globalization*, Blackwell Publishing Ltd. West Sussex, 255-286
- Johnstone, Barbara 2010. Indexing the Local. *Handbook of Language and Globalization*. Blackwell Publishing Ltd. West Sussex. 386-405
- Jørgensen, J.N. 2008. Polylingual languaging around and among children and adolescents. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 5(3), 161-176.
- Keating, Elizabeth 2001. *The Ethnography of Communication*. In Atkinson et al. (eds), *Handbook of Ethnography*. Trowbridge, Wiltshire: The Cromwell Press Ltd, 285-301.
- Konivuori, S. 2002. *Adjustment of Finnish Expatriates in Britain with special reference to communicative competence. A case study*. ProGradu Thesis. University of Jyväskylä. (8 August 2010) <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi:jyu-2002886749>. X

- Krippendorff, K. 2004. *Content Analysis. An Introduction to Its Methodology*. Sage Publications, Inc. Thousand Oak. California.
- Kvale, Steinar 1996. *InterViews: An Introduction to Qualitative Research Interviewing*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Machin, D. And Van Leeuwen, T. 2003. Global schemas and local discourses in Cosmopolitan. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7/4, 2003: 493-512.
- Machin, David & Van Leeuwen, Theo 2010. Global Media and the Regime of Lifestyle. In N. Coupland (ed.), *Handbook of Language and Globalization*, Blackwell Publishing Ltd. West Sussex, 625-643.
- MacWhinney (ed.) 1999: *The Emergence of Language*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Mishler, E. G. 1986. *Research Interviewing: Context and Narrative*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Møller, J.S. 2008. Polylingual performance among Turkish-Danes in late-modern Copenhagen. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 5(3), 217-236.
- Nordiax 2010: <http://nordiax.wordpress.com/> (21 July 2010)
- Otsuji, E. and Pennycook, A. 2010. Metrolingualism: fixity, fluidity and language in flux. *International Journal of Multilingualism*. Vol. 7, No. 3, August 2010, 240-254.
- Pavlenko, A. 2000. L2 influence on L1 in late bilingualism. *Issues in Applied Linguistics* 11/2: 175-205.
- Pavlenko, A. 2003. "I feel clumsy speaking Russian": L2 influence on L1 in narratives of Russian L2 users of English. In V. Cook (ed): *Effects of the Second Language on the First*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Pavlenko, A. and Jarvis, S. 2002. Bidirectional transfer. *Applied Linguistics* 23: 190-214.
- Pellegrino, V. 1998. Student perspectives on language learning in a study abroad context. *Frontiers: The Interdisciplinary Journal of Study Abroad*. [online], 4, (26 August 2010) http://www.frontiersjournal.com/issues/vol4/vol4-04_Pellegrino.htm
- Pennycook, A. 2003. Global Englishes, Rip Slyme, and performativity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7/4, 513-533.
- Pennycook, A. 2010. Popular Cultures, Popular Languages, and Global Identities. In N. Coupland, *Handbook of Language and Globalization*, Blackwell Publishing Ltd. West Sussex, 592-607

- Pietikäinen, S. 2010: Sámi language mobility: scales and discourses of multilingualism in a polycentric environment. *International Journal of sociology of language* 202, 79-101
- Pietilä, V. 1976. *Sisällön erittely*. Helsinki: Oy Gaudeamus Ab.
- Pool, J. 2010. Panlingual globalization. In N. Coupland, *Handbook of Language and Globalization*, Blackwell Publishing Ltd, West Sussex, 142-161
- Porte, G. 2003. English from a distance: Code-mixing and blending in the L1 output of long-term resident overseas EFL teachers'. In V. Cook (ed.): *Effects of the Second Language on the First*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Robertson, R. 1992. *Globalisation: Social Theory and Global Culture*. London: Sage. X
- Seidlhofer, B. 2001: Closing the conceptual gap: The case for a description of English as a lingua franca. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 11: 133-158
- Selinker, L. 1972. 'Interlanguage'. *IRAL* 10: 219-31.
- Shostak, M. 1981. *Nisa: The Life and words of a !Kung Woman*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Silverman, David 2010. *Doing Qualitative Research*. SAGE Publication Ltd. London.
- Silverstein, M. 1996. Monoglot 'standard' in America: standardization and metaphors of linguistic hegemony. In Brenneis, D. And Macaulay, R. (eds.) *The Matrix of Language: Contemporary Linguistic Anthropology*, 284-306. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Silverstein, M. 2003. Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life. *Language and Communication* 23: 193-229.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. 2000: *Linguistic Genocide in Education – or Worldwide Diversity and Human Rights?* Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Skutnabb-Kangas, T. & Phillipson, R. 2010: The Global politics of Language: Markets, Maintenance, Marginalization, or Murder? In N. Coupland, *Handbook of Language and Globalization*, Blackwell Publishing Ltd. West Sussex, 77-100
- Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. A. 1990/1998: *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques* (2nd edn 1998). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.
- Swyngedouw, E. 1996. Reconstructing citizenship, the re-scaling of the State and the new authoritarianism: closing the Belgian mines. *Urban Studies* 33(8): 1499-1521.
- The Finnish Association 2011. <http://www.suomi-klubi.com> (2 May 2011).

Uitermark, J. 2002. Re-scaling, 'scale fragmentation' and the regulation of antagonistic relationships. *Progress in Human Geography* 26(6): 743-765.

Van den Hoonaard, Will C. 1997: *Working with Sensitizing Concepts*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Vertovec, S. 2000. *The Hindu Diaspora: Comparative patterns*. London & New York: Routledge.

Vertovec, S. 2006: The emergence of super-diversity in Britain. Centre on Migration, Policy and Society, Working Paper 25 (Oxford University).

Virkkula, Tiina. 2006. *Stay abroad and foreign language users' identity construction*. ProGradu Thesis. University of Jyväskylä. (15 August 2010) <http://urn.fi/URN:NBN:fi:ju-2006600>.

Wallerstein, Immanuel 1983. *Historical Capitalism*. London: Verso.

Wallerstein, Immanuel 1997. The time of space and the space of time: The future of social science. [Http://fbc.binghamton.edu/iwtynesi.htm](http://fbc.binghamton.edu/iwtynesi.htm).

Wallerstein, Immanuel 2001. *Unthinking Social Science* (second edition). Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: Temple University Press.

Wardhaugh, R. 2002. *Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell.

APPENDICES

Appendix (1) the e-mail to Nordiax

Hi,

I m a 28 years old Finnish student of languages currently working in Gent. I have already lived in town since the April 2009 and ever since I heard of Nordiax I was thinking about joining the group. In addition to my wish to get to know you I would also like to invite you to help me in gathering data for a research project. I am conducting a study on Scandinavian people living in Belgium, the working title currently is "Identities and linguistic resources in transition: the case of Scandinavian immigrants in Belgium". The data will be gathered through short interviews (c.a. 45min) on your experiences of living in Belgium, the special emphasis will be on identity and linguistic resources. I am interested to hear your story of moving to and living in Belgium. The interviews are also handled completely confidentially and anonymous. I am the only one who will have access to the full data.

If you are willing to participate or in case of any further questions please contact me through e-mail: xxx or through the phone xxx.

Thank you for your attention and I am looking forward to hearing from you soon!

Appendix (2) the form of consent and background questions

Aika/paikka:

Nimi:

Ikä:

Mistä kotoisin:

Työtilanne:

Perhetilanne:

Opinnot Suomessa/Belgiassa/ muualla:

Harrastukset:

Äidinkieli:

Muut kielet vahvimasta heikoimpaan. Listaa myös kielet joista osaat vain jonkin osa-alueen:

Haastattelumateriaaleja tullaan käyttämään vain tähän yksittäiseen tutkimukseen (ProGradu –tutkielma). Uusi lupa mahdollisiin jatkotutkimuksiin kysytään erikseen. Osallistujien anonymiteetti turvataan.

Hyväksyn yllä olevat ehdot:

Allekirjoitus

Appendix (3) Theme interview structure in English

MOVING TO BELGIUM

- Why did you move to Belgium?
- Previous experiences of living abroad?
- Do you think previous experience was important in moving to Belgium?
- Did you know the length of the stay in advance? Temporary or more permanent stay?
- Which languages did you already know?
- How much did you know about Belgium in advance?
- General feelings?
- How long have you lived in Belgium? Any plans of moving somewhere else?

ASSIMILATION

- How do you think your assimilation to Belgium has gone?
- Was there anything that helped/ made it more difficult?
- How did your language skills in different languages help/ slow down assimilation?
- Have your language resources been enough or are there situations where you needed help from others? Examples?
- How would you evaluate your own language skills and integration to Belgian society compared to other migrant groups?
- Would you do anything differently now?

PROCESS OF ASSIMILATION AND LANGUAGE REPERTOIRES

- Have you learned new languages since moving to Belgium? Why? How?
- Have you made use of new languages in your repertoire since moving to Belgium? Why? How?
- What kind of vocabulary have you learned?
- Which types of contexts? (Hobbies, work, media etc.)
- Has the value and usefulness of some languages changed since you moved to Belgium?
- Has some language(s) lost their value since coming to Belgium?
- Which languages do you use every day/ week? Describe the contexts?
- How did the contexts of the use of certain languages change since moving to Belgium?
- How does it feel to speak different languages? Examples?
- Do you have a language (s) of emotions?
- How do the others evaluate your language skills?
- Are there some languages that you understand without knowing the language very well?
- Would you like to learn some new languages or better languages that you already know? Why

CONTACTS TO THE FINNISH CULTURE AND LANGUAGE

- How do you keep contacts to your own language and culture?
- How often to you keep contact to your family and friends in Finland?
- Which communication media?
- How often do you visit Finland?

- Do you use Finnish media?
- Do you know other Finnish people in Belgium? Do you meet them regularly? Why?
- Which languages are used in these meetings?
- Do you know other migrants?
- Which language(s) do you normally use with them?
- How would you categorize yourself in connection with Belgian society: (migrant, Belgian, Belgian-Finnish, European etc.)
- Does it depend on the context? Who you talk with? Where you are?
- Do you keep up some kind of Finnish lifestyle and cultural traditions?
- What does Finnishness and Finnish traditions mean to you?
- Has your conception of Finland and Finnishness changed since you moved to Belgium?
- How does the Finnish lifestyle differ from the Belgian lifestyle in your opinion?

CONTACTS TO BELGIAN SOCIETY AND CULTURE

- Do you know Belgian people who you meet regularly?
- Do you have local friends/ relatives?
- In what kinds of situations do you normally meet?
- Which language do you normally use in the communication with the local people?
- Does it depend on the context or the person? How?
- How does the communication with the locals normally go?

- What kind of communicators the Belgians are in your opinion?
- Have you noticed differences in the communication of Flemish and Wallonian people?
- Has anything changed in communication with the locals?
- What kind of Flemish are you most familiar with (written language, dialect, spoken language)
- What kinds of restrictions do you experience in you language knowledge?
- Is that context dependent?
- How does Belgian and Finnish culture differ from each other in your opinion?
- How about compared to other countries where you have lived?
- How much do you think you participate in Belgian culture/society?
- Do you use the local media?
- Have you adopted some Belgian habits and traditions?
- Do you think you have become Belgianized? In whose opinion?
- Does the language have anything to do with this?

Appendix (4) Interview excerpts in English

(1)

RI: How about if you get receive some letters, official letters or some Flemish texts, can you understand them or do you need help?

Anni: Well i understand quite well on the basis of English and Swedish I understand quite well those letters that I've received in because in written Dutch many words are similar to Swedish or English or then I think the German also influences at the background it also helps if I remember a word in German and then it's quite similar but well there are some occasions that we have then taken it to work to that colleague of ours you know some papers so that he's told more accurately or confirmed what it is but generally we've managed quite well

(2)

Anni: yes and I might understand Dutch like the whole conversations sometimes I listen to some others but it depends on what they happen to speak so if they happen to speak sort of so if the conversation happens to be such that the words happen to be same as in Swedish or English then I understand but not necessarily otherwise it feels a bit like I understand and then sometimes when people come to ask something then I understand the question but cannot reply so--

(3)

Leena: ... there [at the workplace] I speak English with my employer and the contact person but then with the pupils French and English and a bit of all languages and then sometimes I had to speak German although I can't speak German but I tried a bit something in German but well a bit like through Flemish one tries because I for example had a pupil who was German and can't speak French or English but then normally it goes like this that I speak to another kid who understands French and they translate then and..

(4)

RI: and maybe if there's some sign posts or something like that then maybe you subconsciously read...

Jarmo: yeah yes of course I would say that I probably well I can understand and it's the same with German when I go to Germany then I exactly through Dutch and Swedish I can make sense of what it means and I can approximately make sense of what people say as long as they say it somehow clearly

(5)

Jaana: --- I remember for example that my mother-in-law started speaking Flemish to me from the moment I moved here --- it [German] was actually kind of a bridge to the Flemish language and I was really pleased in the beginning that I could speak it it kind of helped in understanding a lot and sort of if there was a situation that one had to speak then I could speak in a way that I just filled the gaps with German words and normally they understood so I didn't take a lot of pressure as long as I could somehow at least you know for example with my mother-in-law I speak I was really like I can't speak

Flemish now so I just said it in Flemish and German and it was kind of a combination that worked well

(6)

RI: so the common language between you is English

Jarmo: yes English of course well because she studies Finnish and Swedish and and I study Dutch so of course we always we kind of use all kinds of vocabulary but if we have to discuss something it's in English it's like because it's the only language where we are at an equal level...

(79)

Leena: ...and then I have a sort of accountancy office ... ther I also always speak English I have a sort of personal well not really an assistant but somebody who kind of a contact person who takes care of my papers so with him/her it feel that it's such an important issue that I have to speak English so it goes like that the more important thing is at issue the more I want to speak the most secure language...

(8)

Tiina: ... I know quite a few locals and way too often we speak English yes but to and increasing extent I try to speak Flemish with the locals and just now during the trip I was wondering that nowadays I speak quite a lot a sort of mixture of Flemish-English so that always if I hesitate even a bit about if I say something correctly then I easily say it in English and otherwise I try to speak Flemish if I just can

RI: Yeah and maybe that's some kind of a development phase in learning the language

Tiina: yeah it's just somehow easier if I try to speak purely Flemish then it's just impossible to concentrate fully all the time all the words it is somehow in a different way you have to concentrate speaking anyway then you also get your point expressed easier when you know that everybody understands you well anyway

(9)

Sanna: yes and then those who you know that they can speak it and want to practice so they speak English with me and then it has happened that when they know my Flemish skills then I speak reply in English but they speak Flemish to me

(10)

RI: so you speak Flemish with him or

Jaana: well actually yes in the beginning we spoke English an you [husband] have always spoken French mostly and then because of me the language was switched to English and now then he's studied here in Ghet I mean he's a French speaker who's been really motivated to learn Flemish so and

speaks quite good Flemish too so now we have a common language or the language that we speak is Flemish

(11)

RI: so you don't want to speak Flemish in every situation

Sanna: no because especially that you have to kind of --- so with me it's kind so that with some friends I don't know why ---M's [her boyfriend] friend- colleagues I for example always speak Flemish but with some I speak English and it's kind of maybe so that if I I have one very very good Belgian girlfriend with whom we always speak a lot and fast... so we speak a lot and sort of she also speaks really good English and so so somehow I can't I can't speak Flemish with her just because I feel somehow that I sound like such an idiot and with her I don't want to sound like an idiot even though she knows that I'm a quite smart person and so It's just but well I don't know it's kind of in my head the kind of my own that if I want to make a good impression then I speak English and if it doesn't matter that much then I speak Flemish

(12)

Sanna ---for example in my previous work place I had a Polish boss who speaks really really good Flemish and she's married to a Flemish person but she also speaks perfect German because she's lived in Germany and she she sort of learned it really easily and the she [the boss] she asked me that should we also speak Flemish to each other so then I just couldn't because I knew that it's like my Flemish is so much weaker than her Flemish then there was that that she's my boss so I don't want to seem like an idiot in front of my boss so I never spoke it so then I even made it a huge threshold to me that I would never ever would be caught speaking Flemish so that nobody knew how badly I spoke but even so I did our Flemish translations so well to both directions from Flemish to English and English to Flemish

(13)

Jaana: ---so I think that we are in the stage that it is still a bit weird but it starts to feel a bit more natural to speak it among each other but it still depends quite a lot on the topic so it is easier to speak about practical things in Flemish but then some contemplations and the like bigger things it is definitely easier to speak in English yes and maybe it will always stay like that it doesn't matter so if we speak Flemish at the dinner table and when the kids have went to bed and we have to think about something well some bigger things then that would be in English it could be good enough like that so it's not necessary---

(14)

Anni: ---and then I think it slows down the learning a bit that both have good skills in English because I'm also a bit that kind of person I'd wish that I'd be more like that I'd just try but one always prefers that language which is strong

(15)

RI: how would you evaluate your own language proficiency and integration in comparison with other groups of migrants

Henna: mm.. well it's a problem that everybody here speaks English so somehow the motivation to study the Flemish language is smaller than maybe with those migrants who cannot speak English

(16)

Sanna: --- by the way it's really annoying that still well now it hasn't happened in a while because I've been really stubborn but for a long time it happened that I felt that I never had the chance to practice because when I start speaking Flemish and then they hear the there's an accent then they switch to English because they are friendly so then you get the feeling that well I'm not going to mumble my bad Flemish alone so fine let's switch then so now I've started say that when they switch or they're like if it's difficult to you we can speak English no problem I've started saying that yes yes but I never have the chance to practice so let's just speak so that's how it is you just have to stay tough there but it was really quite annoying always in the beginning

(17)

Jaana: but I think that's again one thing that when there's the kids so I don't want to have too many languages confusing and another thing is that I'd like to learn now that I've been here already such a long time that I think I'd really like to learn Flemish properly so that I could at any moment start speaking it and manage with it so that I could get the skill really high

(18)

Jarmo: well . Because English has been our language since 2005 so it can be quite difficult that we would change it but on the other hand because of my practicing so I study my third year now at Hellikaai a basic course so well yes sometimes when speaking Dutch I understand better but my vocabulary is not particularly flattering

(19)

Jaana: --- I think that English has at some point become a sort of or it has started to become a kind of our own English so that it's not the language of neither of us but then there's certain words that neither of us knows so they are filled with either Finnish or Flemish words and for a long time we actually spoke a kind of we like spoke English yes but when there were some words of when you just didn't feel like thinking or didn't know what it's in English we used a Finnish word or a Flemish word and then it kind of stabilized in the language and so it became a sort of a language of our own from English where there's also influences from elsewhere but it was kind of so you learn to know the other person kind of anew if there's a different or you have to start learning again a bit in a new language i a way (hh)

(20)

Jaana: yes it's a funny thing actually well that I would like it more but my husband says all the time (F) says that in his opinion it would be more fair sort of now that I'm here already kind of abroad he sometimes gets so this that I'm here abroad and I have to speak your language and yyyy (hh) so he says that it would be probably easier for us if we would just speak English so that you that we would be kind of equal there so that I would not sort of be in a weaker position especially if we speak about something like about the relationship things or other big things about life so he kind of thinks that it would be better that we would keep English but I think on the other hand that one thing is that now that we have kids so I don't want to mix too many languages and another thing is that I'd like to now that I've been here for such a long time so I feel that I'd really like to learn Flemish so well that I can start speaking it at any moment and that I can manage with it so that I get the skill like really good

(21)

Sanna: so I just thought about it the other day that my English is like really close to Finnish to me and it's so that that English is like really a lot a language of emotions to me so I don't know which is more of a language of emotions but so English really dear or sort of the kind of language that it's close to my heart so or I'm not saying that I speak it perfectly or so but it's like that i'm really ok with it

(22)

Jaana: somehow English is kind of it brings kind of comfort you know it's nice and easy and you can let the speech flow pretty much in the same way as in Finnish and let the thoughts flow that you don't need to think about the language

(23)

RI: is it still important to you that you at least sometimes get to speak Finnish

Matti: well it is in a way that well it's changed kind of that I can still speak Finnish even quite well at least in my opinion (hh) . I don't know

RI: (hh) I don't notice anything weird

Matti: anything weird (hh) but mm my Dutch skills is now maybe so high in my opinion that it is just at the same level with Finnish language so I often think in Dutch and have dreams in Dutch and that the Finnish is kind of a bit a bit in its own category but it doesn't like dominate anymore so

RI: ok but so it's still an important language

Matti: well yes it's the mother tongue after all so of course it is to some degree maybe it's the kind of safest ground somehow (hh) always have been so

(24)

Matti: yees English it's yeah it's kind of it's only grown to some degree more and more so that it's it has always been nice to kind of hear it in the tv and taste the language in your own mouth again . I've always like English language so that also affects it that yes I'm sure it's only got better

(25)

Jarmo: it has English so let's say that since year 99 I I just thought about it when I was coming here so since year 99 my main language has been English so at work it's only English because I have previously been with language mm so English in our company is anyway the main language an when in any case when I deal with them or with our Swedish customers so with them my a lot of Swedish but everything else is English alngauge and my boss is German but I cna't speak German more than a

few words like ich bin in Berlin or the like so nothing else so English it's my main language because we also speak English at home so

(26)

Tiina: yeeees well in that sense that now with children I speak Finnish but mm if I'd live we'd stay officially stayed in Belgium so probably less and less well definitely with children and always when I'd go to Finland I notice it really clearly that I speak a lot less when I speak Finnish then when I go to Finland I often have the words completely lost and when you have to speak Finnish it then it doesn't flow at all that naturally it's in a way almost easier to speak English than Finnish

(27)

Anni: I don't mind that we have different mother tongues but but Finnish language is so beautiful and especially Finnish music and the lyrics of the songs and the poetry it's like kind of something that I'd like to share with him and also with foreign friends or friends from other countries and I can't share it there is not chance to translate for example lyrics of songs from A.V. Yrjänä so then you can't speak about it with others but Finnish-speaking people so I'm sometimes a bit sorry about that and if I could like show how beautiful language Finnish is and you just can't

(28)

Jarmo: I thought that if I live in this country I want to learn the language and for that reason that it should be easy to learn in this country and for another thing the life could be easier if you know the language. Of course now I take a lot of responsibility on [girlfriend's] shoulders because she's Belgian and if it's necessary to call to the insurance company or this or that needs to be taken care of byrocratically so she's the one who does it it would be impossible to me already that i take the car for a check it works out because you don't have to speak a lot but if somebody starts babbling some technical vocabulary i can't understand so I want to do it because now I live here and to me it's self-evident that I want to learn the language

(29)

RI: --- what kinds of restriction do you experience in your language competence and how does that affect in different situations

Henna: well for example when having a dinner like I just said so if everybody else has Flemish some mother tongue and when they speak with each other you can't take part in the conversation so that's a restriction and if you watch for example news in the television you can't understand so

(30)

Jaana: it was at first because I didn't understand them so in the beginning I felt that I think on the first Flemish course I enrolled to Finland I remember that I was here like a few weeks in the summer and I was getting annoyed that here I sit at a table and I don't understand anything that they're talking because you maybe know that the conversation might be in English for a while but then it anyway switches to Flemish and well I couldn't take it anymore

(31)

Jarmo: if I would have been forced to speak so now that I have sat at the courses --- for three years here for example or four

(32)

Sanna: with the work it was a bit like you had just finished your school and you didn't speak the language and well especially when I didn't (unclear) so no you couldn't get work at that branch not without language knowledge so there is something in European basic law so well it was a bit depressing when you had to take all kinds of shitty jobs well in principle everybody has to so if you're not really lucky but well it was a bit annoying and it was somehow I think it has shaped a bit how it is to be here or you know that you had to go to completely different directions in working life but

(33)

Jaana: not really not at work I think no because there everything we had for example development discussions and everything was like done in English so I felt more sometimes that Belgians like those who had a bit weaker English so they had to put more thought in it and they were annoyed that like everything has to be done in English because it was really like a lot everything in English but then in other kinds of social interaction that was taking place there so there were for example there different 'camps' so there were the Flemish speakers who spent a lot of time together and had like lunch breaks together and so on and then there were the French together and the (hh) me and a couple of other foreigners who didn't kind of belong to neither of the camps and I think that this division happened easily along the languages and so I felt that I never really got in the working community so in a way you just stayed in a small marginal group there because it was in the end quite a Belgian place which in the beginning I remember was a disappointment to me because I thought I had understood that it would've been like really international there and like everybody from some different countries butt but most of them were Belgian

(34)

RI: but so you haven't studied it [Dutch]

Anni: No I indeed in the beginning considered Dutch because I live here and so but I ended up studying French just because at the work place in the Wallonian side they made it clear that if I want to proceed in my career then I have to be able to speak French

(35)

Leena: ---now it feels that so I had a group of same age of 4 year-olds in Flemish and then there was at --- a French group of 4 year-olds so well there might be other things that influenced but I think that because of the language the classes at the French side went bad when in the Flemish side there were no problems at all so then I got this that I really have to better my French as well so that I can really properly teach

(36)

Sanna: I've read Metro news paper when was working in Brussels so that was really good and when you once manage to read it through then it's like wow but right in the beginning I was quite I was probably at the fourth class when I first time read a Flemish book and it was because I new that writer

but now it would be interesting to read it again because that time I understood perhaps about thirty per cent so so but anyway I read it completely and so now it would be interesting to read it again

(37)

Sanna: --- so I'm not saying I speak it perfectly or so but the fact that I'm so ok with that or so and I also have a lot of sayings that I use and that are wrong and then like especially now it's annoying to me that I have really few kind of native English speakers as friends and I'd like to have more of them because I feel that my English is getting really bad when everybody speaks whatever also because it is the second language to everybody so then it kind of infects and it never develops anymore so it just oges just to the other direction so that's why I really enjoy when I have some American or English friends so when I meet them I really enjoy just listening to their speech

(38)

Leena:..well I had the same with Swedish that I was really good at Swedish at the high school actually my mum is Finnish-Swedish but we never spoke Swedish at home so it is a foreign language to me too but anyway maybe it had some in the blood a bit so the Swedish doesn't feel like a weird language to me in any ways sooooo my Swedish skills were quite good but now I cannot speak it anymore at all because they always get mixed the words I understand Swedish but I somehow can't get thow right words to come out they all come out in Flemish

(39)

Jaana: --- just because of the year in Austria i (German) has been really strong so at one point I almost spoke it better than English so it was like my first language and it kind of helped with the Flemish at first but now it 's been left behind and faded because of the Flemish and now it feels that it is I just told F. The other day that it is amazing that the languages are so close to each other that at first it was like helpful but now I think it confuses really a lot that now Flemish is going well but it is really difficult to me to speak German so normally when you learn a new language then your language knowledge kind of grows but now

(40)

Anni: but now later I've noticed that actually Finnish and Swedish are quite a good asset here and and like outside Brussels in Belgium so there's anyway quite a lot of that kinds of companies that need people who speak different languages. and and like in that sense well if we think about Finnish Swedish against French and which is a bigger asset so of course if you know French you have a lot of jobs that you can apply but then there will be six thousand other people also applying but if you can speak Finnish then you have less jobs that you can apply because of that but then there will be much fewer applicants and your chances to get the job for real are completely different and I've also noticed that for those places where they are searching a Finnish speaking person so they have then also other connections to other Nordic countries so then they will see Swedish as an advantage as well and this new work place where I m going now is an economy department of an international company in Mechelen and they were also searching a Finnish speaking person and they said also that like quite straight when I announced in my CV that Finnish is my mother tongue and I speak English fluently and in French and Swedish I can communicate too so during our discussion the head of the economy department said quite straightforward that the French skill is no advantage for you here but Swedish skills are so that you get points for that

(41)

Sanna: – yes at work I was always the one who like yes we have speakers of Norwegian and Danish so ok just today I got a question if I could make those translations and if I could analyse some like so I

was working at [workplace] --- so then I have to read those Swedish things and sometimes Norwegian and so but I prefer Swedish I like manage but Norwegian and Danish it would take ages if I would have to like more detailed it's more about being asked to look if they speak about this or that topic then I understand

(42)

Sanna: my Swedish is Tavastian Swedish [Tavastia = a region in Finland] but it's also quite funny that since I came to Belgium I never thought that I would end up using Swedish but but I've made for example today they asked if I could make Finnish and Swedish translations so it kind of works out if there are certain tools

(43)

Sanna: but hey can I ask where are you from because I could make my own guess

RI: go ahead

Sanna: so you also come from near Helsinki

RI: I come from Lahti or Nastola [near Helsinki] where do you com