INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS' LANGUAGE USE AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS ENGLISH AND FINNISH

Master's thesis

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract

Vaihto-opiskelu on kasvattanut suosiotaan sekä maailmanlaajuisesti että Suomessa erityisesti korkea-asteen opiskelijoiden keskuudessa. Suomi kohdemaana on hyvä esimerkki siitä, ettei nykyään pääsyy ulkomailla opiskeluun ole välttämättä kohdemaan kielen oppiminen, sillä maahan tullaan yleensä ilman paikallisten kielten osaamista ja opinnot suoritetaan englanniksi.

Tämän tutkielman tarkoituksena oli kuvata, miten kansainväliset vaihto- ja tutkinto-opiskelijat käyttävät englantia, suomea ja muita osaamiaan kieliä Suomessa oleskelunsa aikana. Tarkemmin ottaen pyrittiin selvittämään, missä konteksteissa, mitä varten, keiden kanssa, kuinka usein ja kuinka onnistuneesti kansainväliset opiskelijat käyttävät eri kieliä. Työ pyrki myös kartoittamaan kansainvälisten opiskelijoiden kieliasenteita suomea ja englantia kohtaan ja pohtimaan asenteiden yhteyttä kyseisten kielten käyttöön ja oppimiseen. Se tarjoaa myös uuden näkökulman keskusteluun englannin kielen asemasta Suomessa.

Kyseessä on syväluotaava tapaustutkimus, sillä osallistujia oli kahdeksan. Aineisto kerättiin kyselylomakkeilla ja puolistrukturoiduilla haastatteluilla. Tutkielman metodologia yhdistää elementtejä sekä laadullisista että määrällisistä menetelmistä, eli toisin sanoen se hyödyntää monimenetelmäisyyttä. Pääpaino on kvalitatiivisella, kuvailevalla teema-analyysillä, jonka lomassa on dialogisesti hyödynnetty numeerista aineistoa.

Tulokset osoittivat, että kansainvälisten opiskelijoiden kielten käytössä oli huomattavia eroja. Yleisesti ottaen he opiskelivat englanniksi, käyttivät englantia erityisesti muiden vaihto-opiskelijoiden kanssa ja tilanteissa, joissa suomen kielen taito oli riittämätön. Suomen kielen käytössä puolestaan oli enemmän vaihtelua. Suomea osallistujat käyttivät esimerkiksi suomalaisten tuttavien kanssa, työelämässä, integroituakseen yhteiskuntaan, kohteliaisuussyistä, huumorin välineenä, ja helpottaakseen elämäänsä Suomessa. Osa ei käyttänyt suomea lainkaan, mutta sen osaaminen olisi kuitenkin tärkeää, jos opiskelija haluaa tulevaisuudessa työllistyä Suomessa. Kielitaitoon tulisi kiinnittää huomiota jo opinnoissa.

Asiasanat – Keywords
Study abroad, Finland, Finnish, English, language use, language attitudes, thematic analysis, mixed methods, sociolinguistics

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1 INTRODUCTION

Study abroad has gained more and more popularity, especially among students in higher education. Ever since students have gone abroad for study purposes, the linguistic outcomes and personal growth during the time spent abroad have been in the focus of researchers' interest, as well. Over the years, however, the nature of study abroad has changed notably, leading to a broadened definition of study abroad experiences including anything from a whole academic year abroad to short language immersion programs or even volunteer work in a foreign country (Trentman 2013: 457). In addition, study abroad programs are nowadays offered also outside the traditional destinations such as the United States or United Kingdom for learners of English, France for the learners of French, or Germany for learners of German, which has led to changes in the reasons why students choose to participate in study abroad programs. Language learning and immersion to the host culture are no longer necessarily the main interests of students deciding to go study abroad. Finland is a case in point, as few international students come here to learn the local language but to improve their English and develop intercultural awareness on a general level. The growing importance of English in the globalized world in general and as a language of education and academia in particular can be seen in the wide variety of study abroad programs on offer in destinations where the majority language is not English, such as Finland.

International students, both degree and exchange students altogether, are the second biggest group of immigrants coming to Finland and, therefore, form an important minority that is worth studying. Their integration into the Finnish culture would be an asset to both themselves and the local population. Firstly, even basic language skills in the local language and awareness of cultural differences would help international students to feel more at home in the foreign country and help them overcome problems in every-day life and, thus, make the most of their time abroad. Secondly, Finland will need workforce from abroad, and international students who already have some command of the Finnish language and cultural knowledge would be a potential group of future immigrants, benefiting the country with different educational and linguistic backgrounds. Positive experiences in the host country and even a low proficiency in the target language might attract international students to come back and be integrated into the Finnish society in the future. Unfortunately, the Finnish language has a reputation as

one of the most difficult languages to learn (Latomaa 1998), and the possibilities to use it outside Finland are often considered very limited. This kind of perception of Finnish might prevent international students from trying to learn and use the language, especially during a short stay. Language choices in communicational situations are usually made based on practicality, but also attitudes towards languages might affect choices in everyday encounters. In addition, the perceptions about the roles of the different languages in the Finnish society, especially the national languages Finnish and Swedish and the increasingly important English language, play undoubtedly an important part in international students' language choices and learning goals during their study abroad period.

Research on study abroad experiences is a rather new topic area, and has been the interest of various fields such as sociolinguistics, applied linguistics, psychology and intercultural communication. Firstly, sociolinguists have conducted research, for example, on the impact of globalization on the nature of study abroad programs (Johnstone, d'Ambrosio and Yakoboski 2010; Gürüz 2011), and world-wide and local trends of language use and learning in study abroad contexts (Dewey, Bown and Eggett 2012; Trentman 2013). Secondly, in the field of applied linguistics, researchers have concentrated on language learning outcomes in study abroad (Freed 1993, 1995, 2008; Llanes 2011), aimed at defining factors contributing to successful language learning during study abroad (Magnan and Back 2007; Isabelli-García 2006), and conducted comparative studies on language learning in study abroad, at home, and CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) settings (Pérez-Vidal 2011; Serrano 2010). Thirdly, in psychology, the focus has largely been on personal development and cognitive processes during international experiences in foreign cultures (Lewis and Niesenbaum 2005; Bell 2009). Lastly, the rather new field of research, intercultural communication, has taken a look at adaptation to a new culture (Bennett 2004; Peng 2011) and communication practices between members of different cultures (Hirai 2011; Levin 2001; Natarova 2011). In general, the research on study abroad experiences has gained notably in popularity from the early 1990s onward. Regardless of different perspectives, the majority of researchers on the field seem to underline the importance of local, up-to-date research, combined with understanding of global trends.

Finland as a study abroad setting is interesting from the point of view that few international students aim at learning the local language and instead study in English.

The linguistic situation in Finland has been studied earlier from the point of view of Finnish people but not much from the point of view of foreigners[1]. Research on the roles of Finnish and English in Finland has been conducted especially in recent decades, when English has strengthened its status. Worth mentioning is, for example, the national survey on the use of English in Finland by Leppänen et al. (2011), that gives a broad picture on the contexts where Finnish people use English. An earlier book *Kolmas kotimainen* (edited by Leppänen, Nikula and Kääntä 2008) also concentrates on the use of English in the Finnish society and offers insights into different contexts of language use for instance in media, education and working life. Leppänen and Nikula (2008: 10) point out that in that point the topic had been relatively unpopular in previous linguistic research, even though there had already been heated debates for example in the media about the language issue. In general, research has shown that Finns use English for varied purposes. Three different contact situation prototypes between English and Finnish have been identified by Leppänen and Nikula (2008: 22-24): 1. situations where only English is used, 2. bilingual situations where English and Finnish are used in code-switching, and 3.situations where the use of Finnish is dominant but where some elements of English are mixed into the Finnish language. The roles of English and Finnish have also been researched in specific contexts, for example working life (Nokelainen 2013) or universities (Saarinen 2012).

As demonstrated above, there has been a fair amount of previous research on exchange experiences and on the roles of English and Finnish in Finland, but few studies have combined these two and concentrated on foreigners' language use in our country. Even though research on similar topics has been conducted (for case studies see Malessa 2011; Rönkä 2013; Nokelainen 2013) it is crucial to keep on updating the information since, as mentioned above, the nature of study abroad is under constant change. Moreover, study abroad experiences have a great deal of variation depending on not only students' individual differences but also different geographical locations and cultural settings, and hence, local knowledge and looking at the topic from different perspectives is crucially important.

[1] The term 'foreigner' is used in the present study to refer to people coming from outside of Finland, including for example immigrants, visitors, exchange students and foreign nationals residing in Finland temporarily. The term is used in a neutral, non-discriminatory sense.

The purpose of the present study is to produce qualitative information on the variety of language skills, language use in daily life and language attitudes that exchange students in Finland have. It would be interesting to know whether English has gained such an important role in the Finnish society that foreigners can cope in daily life without using much Finnish, as for example Nokelainen's study (2013) implies. The study is also interested in finding out what kind of influences language attitudes can have on international students' language choices in different situations and on their language learning goals. Qualitative studies on perceptions and attitudes are important, because they help us understand the underlying values behind people's choices and behavior and define concrete factors that contribute to language choices and, in the bigger picture, to the roles of languages in specific societies.

To sum up, the main focus of the study is on understanding the perspective and experiences of international students as language users in Finland, but it also aims at providing a new perspective on the roles of Finnish and English in Finland. Previous studies on language use and attitudes in the Finnish context have mainly focused on Finnish people's language use or their attitudes towards separate languages and foreign language learning. Hence, deepening the understanding of international students' perspectives on and attitudes towards Finnish and English could help to add a new dimension to the knowledge of the current linguistic situation in Finland. In more detail, international students' language use and attitudes will be examined using the following research questions as a starting point:

1. In what contexts do international students use English and Finnish (and other languages) in Finland?
    - 1.1 For what purposes, with whom and how successfully do they use the languages?
    - 1.2 In what proportions do they need English and Finnish in their daily life?
    - 1.3 How are attitudes towards English and Finnish reflected in the language choices?

These research questions will be approached from a qualitative perspective combined to some extent with features of quantitative research methods.

The present study can provide some new information and insights into the topic and, therefore, be useful for people who work with exchange students or design language training for foreigners. In a broader sense, understanding of international students'

language use and attitudes would also be useful for people working with immigrants or for anyone who is connected to them, for example colleagues at an international workplace or teachers and fellow students at educational institutions. Hence, the present study has practical value in addition to providing new perspectives for research on the field.

This research report describes the purpose of the study, explains how it was conducted, provides results to the aforementioned research questions and examines, how this new information relates to previous knowledge on the topic. First, previous research on similar topics will be described in Sections 2-5 in order to situate the study within the fields of study abroad experiences, foreigners' language use in Finland, language attitudes and, in a broader sense, in the sociolinguistic research of the globalized era. Second, Section 6 concentrates on the methodology used in conducting the present study. Third, Sections 7-8 introduce and analyze the results, which will be discussed in a broader context in Section 9. Finally, Section 10 ends the report with concluding remarks on the study's relevance and implications.

2 STUDY ABROAD EXPERIENCES

The present study aims at providing information on international students' experiences of language use in Finland. This specific topic is important, because student exchange is growing in popularity worldwide and a semester or year abroad can be a challenging but all the more life-changing and rewarding event on the individual level. Study abroad experiences form a dynamic and versatile area of study. In the following sections, two different perspectives will be taken on the topic. First, in 2.1 I will give an overview of the previous research on study abroad experiences all over the world. Second, Section 2.2 will take a closer look at study abroad programs in Finland today.

2.1 Previous Research on Study Abroad Experiences

Study abroad (SA) has been a topic of research ever since exchange programs have existed. The earliest studies date back to the 1920's and are mostly small-scale case studies (see for example Coleman 1925; Kunze 1929; and Ray 1920). However, the majority of research on SA is from the recent decades, especially from the 1990s on,

when SA programs started to gain more popularity among higher education students. Throughout the years, researchers have been mainly interested in factors contributing to individual language learning outcomes and students' personal development during the study abroad experience (SAE). As Churchill and DuFon (2006: 1), who provide a concise overview on the recent research on SA, mention, SA is a "potentially rich and complex" area of study for researchers. In my understanding, this can refer to not only the constantly changing nature of SA programs and the great individual differences in SAEs, but also to the fact that the topic can be approached from so many different perspectives and using theories from various disciplines. In this section, I first introduce some of the most common topics in SA research and then move on to present some of the findings and finally conclude with analyzing the contemporary and future trends and discussing problematic issues that came up during the information search.

A great deal of studies on SA have concentrated on language learning during the study abroad experience, especially in the field of applied linguistics. Dewey et al. (2012: 112) report on a vast increase in research on language learning in SA settings in the past two decades. For example, there have been plenty of case studies, which compare language learning outcomes, attitudes and motivation to L2 learning in different contexts: formal education in the home country, CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) and study abroad settings. Churchill and DuFon (2006: 2) confirm my own observation that, in general, studies on SAEs focus on the processes of acquiring specific linguistic features of the target language in specific settings. For example, some studies focus on one of the four areas of language skills (reading, writing, speaking or listening), whereas others concentrate on the students' development in using a specific grammatical item. Therefore, the results can rarely be generalized. To sum up, studies on SA and language learning are seldom overall assessments of the improvement of the SA student's language skills. However, studies seem to have a rather good balance between learner perceptions of their experiences or judgments made by native speakers and objective assessment of language skills development using standardized tests (for examples see Dewey et al. 2012: 116-117).

Some sociolinguistic and pragmatic studies have also been conducted on the process of acquiring pragmatic and cultural knowledge during SA, for example on such issues as politeness patterns or behaving in service situations. The use of ethnographic data has been common in the research on pragmatic abilities, and the topics in this area are

usually “routines, register, terms of address, and speech acts” (Churchill and DuFon 2006: 9). Some studies (for instance Isabelli-García 2006; Dewey et al. 2011; Levin 2001) have also concentrated on the social life and social networks of exchange students, and, therefore, highlighted the importance of cultural and language learning outside the classroom.

In the field of intercultural communication (ICC), SAEs have been studied with a focus on the development of intercultural awareness or on the interactions of international students with members of the host culture and what opportunities and challenges these situations pose. Some other topics have been cultural adaptation and shift from ethnocentrism to understanding and appreciation of difference (Bennett 2004). Intercultural communication, per se, is a diverse discipline, which, according to Piller (2012), applies theory and methodology from other disciplines such as psychology, ethnology and linguistics, only to mention a few. Themes in ICC that can be related to student exchange are, for example, culture shock and the development of intercultural competence. Both of these have been found to have great variation between individuals, since the individual’s former experiences and personality traits have an impact on how they experience culture shock and how they develop intercultural competence (Bennett 2004). To what extent intercultural competence can be learnt is a controversial issue in ICC, but surely SAEs can be one contributor to the development.

As stated in Section 1, obtaining better language skills is no more the only reason for students to participate in SA programs. Therefore, researchers with a background in social sciences or psychology have taken a look at SAEs and individual development in general, and tried to establish links, for example, between the SAE and changes in the perceptions of identity (Jackson 2008). Another popular topic has been the many benefits of a SA program to an individual. All in all, there has also been a good amount of research on the development of other skills than language skills during SA.

After introducing the main topics in previous SA research, I move on to present some of the findings of recent studies, starting with linguistics research. The findings of the linguistic studies are varied, but the majority of research provides a great deal of evidence on linguistic gain during SA. Different findings might result from great individual differences in pre-departure training offered to the exchange student, the cultural context and the program design (Churchill and DuFon 2006: 1). Isabelli-García

(2006: 232) also mentions that inconsistencies in SA research may also result from differences in the time students spend abroad and focusing on different types of interaction between SA learners and native speakers. In short, the research on linguistic gain during SA seems to suggest that even short SA programs can lead to improvement in language proficiency but longer programs are naturally more likely to result in more notable gains. Churchill and DuFon (2006: 26) summarize the main findings of SA research and conclude that there is usually development in at least some areas of language skills even during short sojourns, but long programs lead more likely to better gains especially in pragmatics, fluency and pronunciation. However, they go on to state that a native-like proficiency is hardly ever achieved even after a long stay abroad. It is, however, questionable, if native-like fluency is or should be the goal of foreign language learning in the first place. There are controversial views among language professionals and learners alike about what such terms as ‘fluency’ and ‘competence’ mean. For most SA students, it is arguably more important to have sufficient language skills in order to survive in the host culture than sound native-like. In addition, individuals might have different emphases on the areas of language skills they wish to enhance during their stay abroad. According to Trentman (2013: 457), a common belief that study abroad undoubtedly enhances L2 fluency has been challenged by recent research on the field. Isabelli-García (2006: 231), on one hand, also argues that SA learners do not automatically become fluent in the target language only by residing in a particular country, but on the other hand, confirms Churchill and DuFon’s observation that there is vast evidence of improvement of language skills in most SA programs, especially in oral proficiency.

In more detail, the different language skills develop differently during SA. Churchill and DuFon, (2006: 2-9) deal with the findings of the different skill areas separately, and the following description in this paragraph is a summary of their observations. Firstly, literacy skills development is underrepresented in research, which reflects the common assumption that the expectations of linguistic gain during SA are usually more on the oral proficiency. However, the findings have been consistently positive and suggest improvement not only in literacy skills, but also in reader confidence. Secondly, the development of listening comprehension skills has not attracted much interest either, but the findings available seem to suggest a small-scale development. Thirdly, speaking is a better-researched topic within SA studies than the other skill areas. In fact, the majority of research concentrates on different aspects of speaking skills. Even short

stays have been reported to have positive effects on the oral proficiency development, and especially the improvement of fluency has been notable in almost all programs. It has to be kept in mind that there are, once again, differences in the learning processes and outcomes on the individual level. Furthermore, studies on pronunciation have produced inconsistent findings. Fourthly, research has not found much evidence for improved command of grammar during or after SA. The understanding of grammar has been mainly studied among L2 learners of Spanish or French and focused on the use of separate linguistic features, for example certain grammatical forms, so conclusions on the overall development of grammatical knowledge are difficult to draw. To sum up, these examples of findings demonstrate how different skill areas develop at a varying pace and that individual differences must always be taken into account when analyzing and comparing the findings.

The findings further suggest that the acquisition of pragmatic abilities is more effective in SA settings than in traditional at home language courses. In research reviewed by Churchill and DuFon (2006: 13), SA students made notable progress in some pragmatic areas but all in all, their behavior remained different from the natives. However, they (ibid., p. 14) argue that researchers have had different views on whether or not it is necessary for SA students to fully conform to the conventions of the host culture. Questions about identity come to play here, and every individual has to find a balance between conforming to the host culture and maintaining aspects of their own culture. The main goal in obtaining pragmatic knowledge should be to be able to behave in a way in the foreign culture that one does not offend the locals and can manage everyday situations politely. Just as a native-like language proficiency is not necessarily the goal of foreign language learning, it might also be enough to get a grasp of pragmatic knowledge but not give up one's own cultural habits completely in the new environment. Research seems to suggest that this is exactly what happens for most SA students.

Comparative studies have offered mixed results on the benefits of an SA program in comparison to at home language courses. For example, Freed et al. (2004) contest the common belief that language learning is at its most effective in the target language cultural setting and argue that at home intensive programs can produce as good or even sometimes better results than SA. Churchill and DuFon (2006: 5-7) support this claim by stating that the learning context does not predict certain gains but the intensity of the

learning and contact to the target language do. They also remind that comparison between language learning in SA and at home settings is difficult and might produce different findings due to differences in starting levels and program design. It can surely be difficult or almost impossible to find two similar learner groups, with the same amount of previous formal instruction and similar proficiency at the beginning of the study, for comparative studies in order to get directly comparable results.

So far, the previous research on SAEs and language learning abroad has been introduced. Next I will introduce two current trends that give a picture of where SA research is heading. Firstly and most importantly, one of the very recent trends in SA research has been to focus on individual differences (Churchill and DuFon 2006: 14). The central themes have been especially motivation to L2 learning and the use of learning strategies, and how these vary between individual SA students. For an example of a recent study on individual differences, see Benson (2012). One of the reasons for the shift of focus from generalizations to individual differences is that measuring the development of language skills (a complex task in itself) and indicating the influence that SA programs have on the process is difficult and, as a result, individual gains are almost impossible to predict (Trentman 2013: 459). Secondly, another rather new focus has been program (structural) variables, which attracts increasing interest as a research topic, because the program design can affect learners' social networks and the possibilities of meeting native speakers and, therefore, facilitate language learning (Churchill and DuFon 2006: 22). The research topics in the structural variables can be, for example, program length and different arrangements like support services, housing and free-time activities provided for the SA students. It seems obvious and predictable that research on the differences in individual SAEs and program designs is becoming more and more pervasive in the field of SA research, since the majority of studies highlight the importance of taking these differences into account. Churchill and DuFon (2006: 15) especially highlight the importance of length of stay and initial language skills in forming the SAE, to which I could also add the different linguistic and cultural backgrounds of SA students together with the host culture variables. Study on individual differences is important, as it can provide interesting information on the factors contributing to the often reported differences in language learning success and deepen the understanding of reasons why individuals experience SA in so many ways.

In the study abroad research literature, there seem to be a few biases and gaps. Firstly, most research seems to concentrate on countries where the language of tuition and the language of the host country are the same, which is not the case in a large amount of today's SA programs. For example the context of the present study, Finland, falls out of this category, as exchange students most often participate in English-medium courses, while the dominant language in the environment is Finnish[2]. A similar setting is for example Egypt, where Trentman (2013) conducted her study on the use of English and Arabic among exchange students. Secondly, some researchers can be described as ignorant to the complexity and broadness of SAEs. It is often assumed that the foreign language to be learnt during SA is English and the exchange destination is one of the English-speaking countries. Another example is, on the reverse side, the bias on research on destinations where native English-speakers usually go to study abroad, for instance French-speaking or Spanish-speaking countries[3]. Thus, these biases show in the search results in a way that most studies on SA seem to be about languages that native English-speakers study as foreign languages, e.g. Spanish, French, German, and Chinese, or about foreigners' experiences in English-speaking countries. This observation is confirmed by Trentman (2013: 457), who states that despite the changes in the nature and broadness of SA programs today, study in the field still concentrates on the traditional destinations.

In conclusion, Churchill and DuFon (2006: 26-27) state that SA is a popular but a rather new topic in research, and its complexities are only starting to reveal themselves. To sum up, the main findings, even though controversial, have been on the language use and linguistic gains in SA contexts and the researchers are starting to concentrate more and more on individual differences and what they result from. A great deal of research has been done in the field but many questions still remain unanswered. As SA programs cannot predict certain gains, the focus is shifting to identifying particular experiences and types of interaction that can be proved to have an impact on learning (Trentman 2013: 459). In addition, researchers consistently call for context-specific studies that could be compared with one another. It is clear that different destinations and cultural settings pose different challenges in terms of language learning for the SA students.

[2] There are regions and towns in Finland where the majority language is Swedish, but this is not the case in any of the university cities.

[3] These biases can, however, result from the way the information search was done: the most common English-language linguistics databases were used in addition to some Finnish databases. Using either English or Finnish as the search language surely excludes a certain amount of studies written in different languages in different locations.

Therefore, researchers should be sensitive to this issue and take into account how culture can shape the language learning experience in a certain setting. The present study aims, for its own behalf, at providing new information on the life and experiences of SA students in a particular context. It can serve as a background for further studies on language learning in SA, since it offers an insight into different individuals' contexts of language use and attitudes towards languages.

2.2 Study Abroad Programs in Finland

Study abroad programs have been "a central element" of higher education in Europe from the early 1990s on (Coleman 2006: 9). Also in Finland, their popularity has been steadily growing (Garam 2013: 10). According to Saarinen (2012: 164), international programs have two functions: offering the possibility for non-Finnish speakers to study in Finland and giving valuable international experience for native Finnish students. Reasons for participating in student exchange can be many, varying from learning foreign languages and getting to know a new culture to gaining academic experience in the own study field in another country in order to improve one's employment opportunities in the future (Garam and Ritvanen 2003: 19). Exchange organizations make it easy for students to apply and prepare for an exchange period abroad. The most well-known organization in Europe is the Erasmus program, established in 1987 (Rönkä 2013), but there are plenty of others that offer placement assistance in the Northern countries, in Europe, or world-wide, for example ISEP, North-South-South, Nordplus, FIRST and North2North. In addition, universities and universities of applied sciences have bilateral agreements with other universities, and individual students can also arrange a study place in a foreign university on their own initial.

Internationalization in the Finnish higher education context is a rather well-researched area (Saarinen 2012: 161). In addition to research, each university's own International Office produces and updates information on study abroad possibilities and internationalization in the home university, and the national organization CIMO (the Centre for International Mobility) publishes reviews on various topics related to internationalization (see Garam 2001, 2004 and 2013).

In 2012, Finland received 9,665 incoming international students, of which 5,287 studied in universities and 3,828 in universities of applied sciences (Garam 2013: 4). 81 % of incoming students, the clear majority, come from European countries and 72.1 % had applied via the Erasmus program (Garam 2013: 8). The biggest nationality groups are German, French and Spanish (Garam 2013: 23). The possibility to study in English is one of the main reasons for international students to choose to apply for studies in Finland (Garam 2001). Furthermore, studying in Finland has the asset of being free of charge, since Finnish higher education institutes do not have tuition fees. Finland is usually regarded as a beautiful and well-organized country by exchange students, and the study opportunities are assessed as good (Garam 2001).

In the context of the present study, the University of Jyväskylä, there are over 400 incoming international students annually, while the number of outgoing exchange students and interns is around 500 (Garam 2013: 12). There are both Master's and Doctoral programs offered in English in a variety of faculties, but the majority of international students are exchange students who usually stay for one or two semesters.

From the point of view of language skills, SA students usually only need to have a command of English when coming to study in the Finnish universities. There are no requirements of Finnish language skills when applying to study in Finland. Studies can be completed in English and the responsibility of ensuring a sufficient level of English for academic studies is on the home university of each incoming student. The Finnish universities do not test the English level, and in reality, there is great variation in the language skills of exchange students from different backgrounds. Since many people come to Finland to learn or improve their English, it is assumed that there is no real 'need' to learn Finnish. However, a great deal of international students are interested in the local language and culture at least to some extent and are allowed to choose courses in the Finnish language if they wish.

3 THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION IN FINLAND

Finland is considered a relatively homogenous country in linguistic terms, but officially it has the status of a bilingual country, the two national languages being Finnish and Swedish (Saarinen 2012: 158). This fairly monolingual country is a rather exceptional

case in the multilingual world, which makes it an interesting setting for the study of languages. The latest statistics by Statistics Finland (21 March 2014) show that the population is approximately 5,450,000, out of which the amount of Finnish as a mother tongue speakers is 4,869,362 (89.3 %) and Swedish-speakers 290 910 (5.3 %). According to Saarinen (2012: 169), the national languages have the strongest legal status, and other languages spoken in Finland are categorized into three groups. First, the three Sami languages, with 1,930 speakers (Statistics Finland 2013) have been granted a special status guaranteeing the linguistic and cultural rights of the speaker communities of Inari, Northern and Skolt Sami. Second, the Romani and Sign languages have particular rights based on the Constitution, although their speakers/ signers are few. Third, all other languages are mentioned in the Constitution by having a right to "develop their language and culture", which can be interpreted in various ways (Saarinen 2012: 169). In 2013, there were about 80 languages with a mother tongue speaker community of more than 100 and the biggest minority language groups were Russian, Estonian, Somali and English (with about 15,500 native speakers in Finland) (Statistics Finland 2013). It has to be mentioned that the statistics have been criticized (Kytölä 2013: 104; Saarinen 2012: 170) for not taking into account bilinguals, as a person can register only one language as their mother tongue in Finland. However, the statistics give an overview of the linguistic situation in Finland and the approximate numerical relations between speaker communities.

3.1 Roles of Finnish and English in the Finnish Society in the 2000's

As described above in Section 3, Finnish is the majority language in Finland and has the most mother tongue speakers alongside with a strong legal status. Finnish is, first and foremost, the language of Finland: it is spoken or studied widely nowhere else than in Finland, although it is a notable minority language in Sweden and Norway, for example, and it can be studied in over 100 universities in the world. However, in Finland it has a dominant status, even though Swedish has the same legal rights based on the Constitution. Hakulinen et al. (2009: 12) regard the status of Finnish as high, because it is used in all areas of life including literature, education, research and media. However, Finnish has a rather short history as a national language and there have long been concerns for its status and vitality (Hakulinen et al. 2009; Kytölä 2013: 106-107). One aspect that has strengthened its status in recent decades has been its recognition as one

of the official languages of the European Union since 1995, when Finland decided to join the EU (Hakulinen et al. 2009: 31).

In comparison to the very much locally used Finnish language, English is globally acknowledged as a world language, a lingua franca for international communication and it is generally used as the language of science, which has been partly criticized but also appraised. For example, Montgomery (2004: 1334, as quoted by Coleman 2006: 4), states that the positive sides of the dominance of English is that it enhances mobility and makes it possible to share and exchange information world-wide. Today, the role of English is under change: it has been losing its connection to the traditional English-speaking countries as its 'ownership' has been renegotiated (Leppänen and Nikula 2008: 13) and it is becoming more and more associated with a global culture and seen as "the language of the world" (Dörnyei, Csizér and Németh 2006: 8-9). In the global context, the shift in the status of English happens usually from the expanding to the outer circle, based on Kachru's (1986: 128) model of the use of English in the world, where the inner circle countries are the traditional English-speaking countries such as The United Kingdom, USA and Australia, the outer circle consists of countries where English is not the native language of the majority but has an official or otherwise high status, and the expanding circle refers to countries where English has no official role but is, nevertheless, widely used as a lingua franca. Based on this model, in other words, the status of English usually changes from a 'foreign language' to a language that has social and even official functions in a given community (Coleman 2006: 2). Finland can be regarded as one of those countries where the shift in the role of English is under change.

The importance of English is salient in the Finnish society in various areas of life. Not only is it used widely in the universities but also in everyday life, like in youth cultures, computer-mediated communication and advertising (Leppänen et al. 2011). Typical examples of how English is visible in the Finnish language landscape are names of companies and products such as *Robert's Coffee* or *take away* (Hakulinen et al. 2009: 192). Sometimes it is referred to as "the third domestic language" (Leppänen and Nikula 2008), which describes its increasingly important role in Finland well. The dominance of English as the most popular foreign language at schools started in the 1960's (Hakulinen et al. 2009: 76), meaning that most Finns living in the 21st century have learned it at school. Nowadays, its importance is growing especially in working life and in the academic world (Leppänen and Nikula 2008: 21). It is an interesting fact to note

that English is not only used with foreigners but also among native Finnish speakers for different functions (Nikula and Leppänen 2008: 423). Hakulinen et al. (2009: 77) also point out that the English used in Finland is not a unified language form, but has many variations. For example, the lingua franca of science is very different from the English used within youth cultures or the English used in international companies.

When comparing the roles of Finnish and English in Finland, it is clear that they have very different functions but are also to some extent 'competing' on the same fields. Leppänen and Nikula (2008: 12) emphasize that the spread of English in Finland is part of a global phenomenon. Everywhere in the world, the role of English as a world language triggers heated debate and controversial opinions. According to Dörnyei, Csizér and Németh (2006: 7-8), even scholars have very differing views on the impact of globalization on the roles of languages in the world. Some regard it a pity that the linguistic diversity is diminished whereas some see it as a natural, ecological development, since there is undoubtedly a need for a global lingua franca language. English has been described, for example, as a "tool for international communication" or a threat to other languages in the form of "linguistic imperialism" (Leppänen and Nikula 2008: 13-14), whereas some researchers see the growth of English as naturally-occurring "language evolution" or even as "positive development" (Coleman 2006: 2). Many linguists (Coleman 2006; Hakulinen et al. 2009) argue that the rapid and uncontrolled spread of English poses a threat to the world's minority languages, and Coleman (2006: 1) even refers to it as "a killer language". This view is contrasted in the Finnish context by Nikula and Leppänen (2008: 426), who state that English seems to be a linguistic resource that is used alongside Finnish and, therefore, it is not threatening the Finnish language. This view is confirmed also by the results of the survey by Leppänen et al. (2011). Linguistic purists, on the contrary, are worried about the deteriorating impact of English on the Finnish language norms, for example in the form of the increasing use of loan words from English or applying the English grammar into Finnish sentences and structures. Overall, the role of English as a world language and its effect on the Finnish linguistic situation has provoked a great deal of discussion in Finland lately (Leppänen and Nikula 2008: 9). For example in the media, the roles of English and Finnish in higher education have been under discussion (Vähäsarja 2013; Mykkänen 2013).

The debate on the roles of languages in the Finnish society is connected to issues of identity, cultural heritage and values. On one hand, the Finnish language is seen as an important constituent of the Finnish national identity and the concern for its status is a crucial matter for most Finns. On the other hand, English can also be used to signal aspects of a certain identity or status. According to Nikula and Leppänen (2008: 423), using English often relates to constructing a certain identity, for example that of expertise, or signaling group membership. Moreover, the quick adoption of English into the Finnish society can be explained by the willingness of the nation to identify with the West instead of the East nowadays, as English is regarded as a symbol of Western values and modern way of life (Leppänen and Nikula 2008: 21).

Referring to the target group of the present study, foreigners in Finland do not usually know much Finnish when entering the country. It is much more likely that they have some proficiency in English, so one might assume that they, at least at first, try to cope with English in the Finnish society. Even though studying Finnish can be appealing for some as something 'exotic', the language is usually described as difficult to learn due to its peculiar structures and vocabulary that are different from for example Romance or Germanic languages. Especially people who only spend a limited time in Finland, like exchange students, do not necessarily bother to learn the demanding language. The often heard reason for this is: "Why invest so much time and effort in learning Finnish if you can cope using English?". One of the aims of the present study is, hence, to take a look at foreigners' language use and attitudes and try to find out, whether international students actually perceive the role of English in Finland so strong that there is no need really for them to learn and even try to use Finnish.

In summary, the roles of English and Finnish in Finland are under change. While some people see the dominance of English as a threat, others regard it as a useful tool for internationalization, cooperation and development. The debate on the language issue has its roots in ideologies and perceptions of identity, power and culture. Finnish has still a relatively stable and strong status in the global scale, but the concern over the decrease of its status and the narrowing opportunities to use Finnish has increased in recent decades due to the increasingly important role of English.

3.2 Languages of Higher Education in Finland

The two national languages of Finland, Finnish and Swedish, have been granted a legal status in higher education (HE). The language of universities has mostly been Finnish until the late 1990s. Only two universities are Swedish-speaking and six bilingual with both Finnish and Swedish programs on offer. In history, the language of Finnish universities, and therefore the language of education and science, has varied from Latin via Swedish and to some extent even Russian to the present (rather settled) situation where Finnish and Swedish are the official primary languages of higher education. (Saarinen 2010: 159-161).

Even though either Finnish or Swedish (or both) is the primary language of higher education institutions in Finland, the University Law allows universities to offer programs and courses in foreign languages, but only under the condition that teaching in foreign languages does not pose a threat to the national languages as the main means of education and research (Saarinen 2012: 164). Hakulinen et al. (2009: 102) state that the law leaves a great deal of space for interpretations, as it does not exactly prohibit teaching in English but does not encourage for it either. Nowadays, all Finnish universities offer English-medium teaching (Coleman 2006: 6). In fact, Finland ranks second among European countries in the amount of universities offering programs in foreign languages, practically always in English, in relation to the amount of higher education programs in total (Wächter and Maiworm 2008; and Garam 2009, as quoted by Saarinen 2012).

The growing popularity of SA programs has (had) an effect on the language policy in higher education. Lehikoinen (2004: 46, as quoted by Coleman 2006: 8) states that Finland is the second choice for exchange students who fail to get a study place in England and, therefore, refers to Finland as “Little England”. According to Saarinen (2012: 165-166), the enormous popularity of English-speaking countries in SA programs leads to inequality and a growing pressure for non-English-speaking countries, such as Finland, to offer international programs in English in order to be able to compete on the international market with the English-speaking countries. Coleman (2006: 5) shares this view by stating that countries whose language is not commonly taught abroad are compelled to offer programs in a foreign language (English), if they wish to participate in bilateral exchange. He goes on to argue that the benefits of

offering English-language programs include higher prestige, increased funding and improving the employability of domestic graduates. He further adds (ibid., p. 9) that countries whose national languages are rarely taught abroad are leading the phenomenon called the ‘Englishization’ of higher education.

The role of Finnish and Swedish in Finnish higher education is still relatively strong. This is clear when comparing the status and use of these languages to the linguistic situation in many other countries of the world. Hakulinen et al. (2009: 97-98) admit that English has undoubtedly a dominant role as a lingua franca of science but emphasize that Finnish has national and regional importance as a language of science, and it is not in the periphery like 98 % of the world’s languages.

Saarinen (2012) claims that internationalization has become a common policy in every Finnish higher education institute and, hence, language is nowadays an invisible issue. For example, it is assumed that all university students have a high proficiency in English, and overall, the central role of English in Finnish higher education is taken for granted. This may result from practical issues, for example the fact that most research literature is nowadays in English, but certainly language policies, whether public or covert, have an impact on the growing importance of English in higher education. Coleman (2006: 4) discusses the complex relationship between English and higher education, where both influence each other, as follows: “While the global status of English impels its adoption in HE, the adoption of English in HE further advances its global influence.”

In conclusion, the issue of choosing the language of instruction in higher education is linked to language politics. Legislation partly governs the use of languages in universities, but there is room for freedom to offer education in foreign languages, often only in English. Offering English-medium programs is a double-edged sword: on one hand, it increases internationalization of Finnish universities but, on the other hand, it poses a threat to the status of the national languages Finnish and Swedish as languages of science and education.

3.3 Previous Research on Foreigners' Language Use and Learning in the Finnish Context

Globally, there has been increasing amounts of SA research on how host culture and program design can affect possibilities to use the target language and, hence, access to language learning situations. It has been found out, for instance, that females confront more obstacles that are based on the host culture practices and culture-specific norms (Trentman 2013; Brecht, Davidson and Ginsberg 1995). Therefore, knowledge on the particular SA context is important in order to define how it facilitates or mitigates contact to members of the host culture. According to Churchill and DuFon (2006: 20-22), a common finding in SA studies is that international students feel that the host culture rejects them or at least that the relationships are very shallow. They also point out that students have different perceptions on and reactions to the rejection: some experience disappointment, while others put even more effort into constructing relationships. Finally, they conclude that SA students must take initiatives and be persistent in using a certain language if they wish to speak it in certain contexts, since there can be notable differences in the amount and way native speakers make initiatives, which often relate to aspects of the (communication) culture of the specific country.

Language use and L2 learning in SA are complex issues, and only residing in a specific country might not guarantee a frequent use of the target language. Dewey et al. (2012: 112) emphasize the complexity of the factors that contribute to language use during SA and list some of the factors: time spent in the host country, pre-departure proficiency level, personality, language learning motivation, etc. Language use can also be closely linked to access to native speakers, as international students commonly tend to use English as a lingua franca among themselves. In Trentman's study (2013: 466), SA students in Egypt found it hard to get access to native speakers of Arabic, because they were judged as foreigners by the local people due to their appearances, and therefore labeled as speakers of other languages (in practice usually English). Hence, they were directed to use English by the environment and in order to practice Arabic they had to be persistent in using it themselves. Even in a broader context, Coleman (2006: 7) identifies the "lack of cultural integration of international students" as one of the many problems caused by the dominant role of English particularly in higher education and in the world in general. Integration, and consequently also the increase in opportunities to use the target language, could be enhanced, for example, by constructing broad social

networks, where SA students would confront different people and meet with larger groups where there is more variation in the discussion topics (Isabellli-García 2006).

After a quick review on language use in SA contexts and factors that affect it, we move on to take a closer look at the context of Finland. Foreigners' language use in Finland has been studied in many different contexts, but one comprehensive study on the topic seems to be lacking. However, there have been plenty of small-scale studies, such as Master's theses, on the field, especially in the 21st century. The focus has been on, for example, on the role of English in the integration of refugees into education and working life (Jalava 2011), foreigners' perceptions on the roles of English and Finnish in the Finnish academic working life (Nokelainen 2013), intercultural communication experiences of international students (Natarova 2011; Hirai 2011) and multilingualism as experienced by young immigrants in Finland (Salo 2008). Some studies have concentrated on the perceptions of a specific nationality, for example Hirai's (20110) thesis on Japanese students and an article by Latomaa (1998) on the experiences on bilingualism of US immigrants in Helsinki.

The Centre for International Mobility (CIMO) has also provided several overviews and statistics on different aspects of international students' experiences in Finland over the past few decades. For example, Garam's (2001) report summarizes international exchange students' experiences in Finland. The most interesting findings of her survey study are that the vast majority of exchange students studied in English in Finland, but a fourth of the participants did some of their studies in Finnish or Swedish, or at least attempted to. Her participants reported taking Finnish language courses in order to survive in everyday life and the language was seen as a tool for getting to know the host culture. The majority of students come to Finland with no previous knowledge of the official languages, but almost everyone improved their language skills during the exchange. Only a tenth reported not having learned the local languages at all. Most international students had language-related problems during their stay, but they were mostly relatively small problems. In addition, exchange students integrated better into the community of international students than into the Finnish student culture, perhaps because they have a great deal of common activities organized for them and they often attend courses that are in English. The lack of contact with Finnish students was often seen as one of the major failures in the whole exchange experience. (Garam 2001: 22-25).

There have been some previous studies on foreigner's language use and language attitudes in the context of Jyväskylä, which is also the setting of the present study. For example, Malessa (2011) studied Finnish as a second language learners at the University of Jyväskylä, who mainly happened to be international students, and their use of English and Finnish in her Master's thesis. She found out that the subjects of her study had increased the use of English during their time in Finland compared to the situation in their home countries. The use of English was a natural choice in almost all areas of life and especially in the university context, where English was reported to be "indispensable" (ibid., p. 47). The use of English was reported to have an influence on the learning process of Finnish, mainly because of the eagerness of Finnish people to practice English with foreigners, which was seen as detrimental to the participants' learning of Finnish. The author criticizes this kind of behavior by the majority community, since it notably decreases the foreigners' opportunities to practice and enhance their Finnish. Another example is a rather recent Master's thesis by Rönkä (2013), in which the writer focuses on exchange students' English language use and development during the exchange semester. She compares the role of English in the students' home countries, in this case Italy, Portugal and Spain, to its role in Finland, as well as describes the participants' attitudes towards learning foreign languages. The findings suggest that back home English was not regarded as an important school subject, but in SA all the participants had learning English as one of their main goals. An optional English language course was considered very useful, as it offered opportunities to practice English and meet new people in the beginning of the stay in Finland. In fact, the type of social networks played a major role in language choices. SA students with a low proficiency in English or a lack of confidence to use it stuck more easily to groups consisting of people of the same nationality and were, hence, reported to use their national language more than English, whereas in friend groups of SA students of mixed nationalities, English was used as a lingua franca. However, all participants reported on improvement in their English skills during the SA according to their own estimation. (Rönkä 2013, 78-81).

Foreigners' language learning and especially Finnish as a foreign language teaching have interested researchers, as well. Example studies on the topic are for example Garam (2004) and Suvanne (2011). Both articles review the current state of Finnish teaching offered to international students and suggest ways to improve Finnish (and Swedish) language teaching policies. For instance, Garam (2004: 5) highlights the

differences in the needs and requirements of exchange and degree students and demands that Finnish language teaching should be targeted to both groups in different ways. Therefore, there is demand for both lower-level and advanced courses.

In Finnish universities, SA students are offered a wide variety of language courses to choose from. They can easily access Finnish as a foreign language courses on different levels, but there are also English language courses specifically designed for international students. In the University of Jyväskylä, it is common for SA students to study at least a beginners' level Finnish course called 'Survival Finnish' or 'Finnish 1'. English courses are also highly recommended to international students by the host university but it is up to the individual student whether they want to include it in their study program. It would seem natural, since many SA students come to Finland to improve their English skills.

It is important to study SA students' language use because of its possible connection to language learning and to the exchange experience as a whole. Contact with native speakers is considered crucial in language learning, especially by SA students themselves, and it is the most important factor that differentiates SA settings from language learning in at home settings. However, the connection between language contact and language gain is unclear, since researchers disagree on the issue (Trentman 2013: 459). A certain amount of contact, just like residing in a specific country (as discussed in Section 2.1), does not predict a certain degree of language learning success, but it is clearly one component among others in the language learning process. Especially in the Finnish context, the SA student's own language choices and learning goals play a major role in learning either Finnish or English, or in some cases both.

4 SOCIOLINGUISTIC PERSPECTIVES TO LANGUAGE(S) AND GLOBALIZATION

Sociolinguistics, the field of linguistics that deals with language in social contexts, forms an important backdrop for the present study. Increasing mobility, of which the growing popularity of exchange programs and international travel are good examples, and the interconnectedness of societies poses new challenges to sociolinguistic research. The current scope of globalization forces us to re-evaluate our understanding of

language and society, and consequently also the forms of human communication and local and global norms of interaction. Many researchers (for example Coupland 2010: 1; Mufwene 2010: 31) agree that globalization as a phenomenon is not new, but the term is a rather recent one and its scope today is something that the world has never experienced before (Blommaert 2010: 16). In addition to the most obvious impacts of globalization, such as the interdependence of economies, globalization also affects the linguistic situation in the world significantly, since new hierarchies between languages are formed and re-negotiated. Certain languages, especially English, gain more power, and, therefore, some others lose importance (Dörnyei, Csizér and Németh 2006: 6-7). These new hierarchies between languages and varieties are connected to the re-ordering of power relations between language users. The complex relationships between language, competence and power in the global era can be approached by redefining the understanding of linguistic competence and the concept of language based on the terms 'linguistic resources' and 'repertoires'. In the globalized world, there are winners and losers, as some linguistics resources are of more value and prestige in the global market than others (Blommaert 2010: 3-4). Recently, there has been a vast increase in literature on globalization and language, which Coupland (2010: 6) explains with the need to better understand new "socio-cultural arrangements" in a world where *mobility* and *flow* are increasing (italics in the original).

This section presents some of the key issues discussed in the sociolinguistic research field. As the field is multifaceted and deals with complex issues, some of which the researchers on the field do not seem to find consensus on, only themes that are somewhat relevant to the topic of the present study are chosen to be introduced here. Such topics are the hierarchies between languages and growing mobility and its effect on language practices and linguistic research. Other important topics, multilingualism and conceptual discussion around languages and linguistic resources, will be introduced separately in the following Sections 4.1 and 4.2.

First of all, the hierarchies of languages in the global era is one of the central themes in the present study, as it is closely associated with the roles of Finnish, English and other languages in the geographical context of Finland as a nation state. In the past, the rise of English as a world language was fuelled by colonization and the emergence of the United States as a superpower. Nowadays, English can be labeled as a *hypercentral language*, based on 'the global language system' theory by De Swaan (2001: 2-4, as

cited in Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson 2010: 103-104). In this system, languages are categorized according to their value in the international market. According to De Swaan's model, all languages of the world are connected because of multilingual speakers and there is a strict hierarchy between all languages. The most influential languages are connected to several other languages through multilinguals, for example in the case of English. In De Swaan's model, the *hypercentral* English is followed by *super-central languages* in the ranking, which are Arabic, Chinese, French, German, Hindi, Japanese, Malay, Portuguese, Russian, Spanish and Swahili. In the third rank are the *central languages*, and the *peripheral languages* form the last category. According to Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (2010: 104-105), the number of non-native speakers of a language is important in defining how central a language is, because connections between languages are based on the non-native languages in people's repertoires. The number of native speakers also implies how widely used a language is, but by comparing for example Hindi or Mandarin Chinese to English, it is clear that the difference in these world languages is that English is frequently used for international communication, whereas the others are not. Assessing the centrality of a language can therefore be informed by the number of second-language learners. Since English is studied as a foreign language all over the world, it is directly connected to numerous other languages in the world, whereas other languages are usually connected to other languages indirectly. The role of English as *the* world language is taken for self-evident in the present study, but it has to be acknowledged that its status can be contested by looking at hierarchy of world languages through different criteria. Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (2010: 103, 111-112) list different criteria for a world language: for example, a lingua franca that extends over several languages, the number of individual speakers, the number of institutions where the language is used, how frequently communication in the language takes place, the geographical distance and diversity of other languages connected to the world language through multilingual individuals, and the official status of a language, for example in the UN. Different ranking systems of world languages result from these different criteria. The flip side of the spread of the world languages is the endangerment of numerous minority languages, an issue which has attracted the attention of the minority language speakers and linguists alike. Sociologists of language have been interested in the vitality of languages and such phenomena as language death and attrition (Coupland 2010: 8).

As mentioned above, the growing mobility of people and languages has also been a central theme in recent sociolinguist research. Blommaert (2010: 6) states that migration has been seen in the past as a permanent change of living environment, with immigrants trying to adjust their linguistic repertoires and ways of living to the host culture. Therefore, most studies of those times have concentrated on rather isolated and stable immigrant groups in Western societies, especially on certain ethnic groups living in a specific location (Blommaert and Dong 2007: 6-7). However, nowadays migration can often also be temporary, for example in the case of exchange students or expatriates, people who are assigned to work abroad for a fixed amount of time. According to Blommaert and Dong (2007: 7) there was a notable increase in mobility and a change in the nature of migration in the 1990's, which led to more diversity in societies, even characterized as 'super-diversity' by some researchers (for instance Blackledge and Creese 2010). Blommaert and Dong (2007) go on to state that today, migration does not mean total separation from the country of origin in a way it used to, since keeping contact with the home country and thus maintaining the native language is possible (and common). Communicating with family and friends back home and following the media of the home country are nowadays easier due to the wide access of modern technology such as the Internet (Blommaert 2010: 9).

After briefly discussing the hierarchies of languages and the mobility of people and languages, the next sections will concentrate on multilingualism (4.1) and the issue of languages versus linguistic resources (4.2). As an introduction it could be stated that the sociolinguistic view to multilingualism, according to Wei (2008: 13), is that it is a set of socially constructed practices and that multilingual individuals are regarded as social actors. When it comes to linguistic resources, Blommaert (2010: 28) defines the sociolinguistic approach to the topic by stating that sociolinguistics concentrates on the complexity of resources and how they are applied into everyday use, instead of focusing on abstract language. In the following sections, these two themes will be discussed in more detail.

4.1 Multilingualism

The term multilingualism, often also referred to as bilingualism or plurilingualism, has two dimensions. It can be used to refer to the multilingualism of a community, on one

hand, or the multilingualism of an individual, on the other hand (Hakulinen et al. 2009: 53). Multilingualism can mean not only the use of multiple languages but also the use of different styles and registers (Hymes 1996: 211). In this section, I first define individual and societal multilingualism and then move on to discuss multilingualism in the EU, how multilingualism is experienced, and the multilingual nature of SA student communities. Research on multilingualism has expanded in recent decades, and involves several disciplines, such as education, sociolinguistics and neurolinguistics. The present study focuses mostly on the sociolinguistic perspective.

On the individual level, most people in the world are multilingual. They have either acquired two or more languages growing up in a multilingual environment or learned languages in formal instruction in childhood or later on in life. There are different definitions of a multilingual individual depending on how we define proficiency in a language. The definition is not clear, because even the definition of linguistic competence is a controversial topic. For example, Hakulinen et al. (2009: 88) argue that knowing a language should mean competence to use the language instead of labeling people into categories of native speakers and non-native speakers. This description emphasizes that a language can be learned and that a native-speaker-like proficiency should not necessarily be the goal of learning. Therefore, this definition offers a more realistic goal of language learning for example for adult immigrants.

Moving on to discuss the definition of societal multilingualism, it has to be stated that multilingualism is rather a rule than an exception in human societies, since only a small minority of peoples or nations in the world is monolingual (Tokuhama-Espinosa 2003: 10). In fact, multilingualism is by no means a recent issue as speaker communities have assumedly always been in contact with each other and used more than one language or at least different registers and varieties within the community. Nowadays, the sociolinguistic situation of the world is under constant change, which is also reflected in smaller units such as nation states. Societal multilingualism can be affected for example by language policy and education. Decisions about the statuses of languages in a given community often reflect the attitudes and ideologies of the people, or at least of those in power.

Multilingualism is promoted and protected by the European Union, of which Finland is a member. As Coleman (2006: 1) puts it: “Individual plurilingualism and societal

multilingualism are the principles which underpin the language policies of both the European Union and the Council of Europe --". SA programs can be regarded as one means of supporting and creating multilingualism, since one of the goals of student exchange is usually language learning and improvement in intercultural competence. A concrete example of how the EU supports multilingualism via student mobility is the Erasmus program that offers funding for European higher education students willing to go study abroad for a semester or two in another European country. Therefore, protecting multilingualism has led to concrete and positive results. However, De Swaan (2010: 71) argues that the policies of EU that aim(ed) at promoting diversity of languages and cultures, for example the language teaching policy, increased trade and other forms of cooperation between the member countries, have in practice only led to the increasing use and power of English in the EU.

Some researchers focusing on multilingualism have been interested in the experiences of multilingual people: on how they perceive their use of different languages and their identity as multilinguals (Salo 2008: 5). Multilingualism affects individuals and their daily lives in various ways. According to Blommaert, Leppänen and Spotti (2012: 1), sociolinguists agree that multilingualism is profoundly a positive issue to both societies and individuals but the authors remind that it has real effects on people in terms of inequality. Inequality has been a popular research topic, whereas the individual experiences have perhaps had less attention in the research field. For example, Gunesh (2003: 219) states that there has been considerably little research on multilinguals and identity. However, it has been found out that people perceive their 'multilingual self' differently depending on their personality and language learning history. Assumedly the values of the surrounding society also have an impact on how people evaluate the languages in their repertoires. Therefore, the study of individual and societal multilingualism can never be fully separated.

Lastly, multilingualism is a salient feature in groups of SA students. A high amount of different nationalities and languages are represented among SA students, as they come from all over the world, also in the context of Finnish universities. Many students speak some other language as their native language than Finnish, the majority language in Finland, or English, the language of studies during the exchange. To sum up, the international students in Finland are with no doubt multilingual as individuals as well as part of a multilingual and culturally heterogeneous community.

4.2 Languages versus Linguistic Resources

Traditionally, linguists have used the term ‘language’ to refer to a separate, standardized form that can be differentiated from other ‘languages’. However, contemporary sociolinguists, including for example Blommaert (2010: 4) and Makoni and Pennycook (2007: 1-2) who follow Hymes’s thinking (retrospectively collected in Hymes 1996), question the term language as a fixed unit. They argue that languages have been invented on an ideological and institutional basis (Blommaert 2010: 102; Makoni and Pennycook 2007: 1-2). Instead, the term *linguistic resources* could be used to refer to ‘pieces’ of language. Linguistic resources are, in short, items and features that are used for communication but cannot necessarily be traced to belong to any particular language or only to one particular language alone (Kytölä 2013: 91). According to Blommaert (2010: 102), resources are specific and concrete bits of language that can be linguistic, communicative or semiotic in nature. Resources can be for example accents, varieties, registers, genres, or modalities like speaking or writing (ibid.).

The linguistic resources that a person has form a *repertoire*, “a set of ways of speaking” in Hymes’s (1996: 33) words. Blommaert (2010: 106) points out that even a minimal and receptive form of knowing a language can be seen as part of a person’s repertoire. Blommaert (2010: 134) goes on to state that the languages in one’s repertoire get re-ordered when entering a new environment, in a way that the languages get different, specialized functions. Hence, some resources which might seem useless in a specific environment can be important for the individual in some other contexts.

The terms ‘resource’ and ‘repertoire’ have come to be used in the sociolinguistic research of the globalized era instead of the term ‘language’ because of the problems involved in the concept of language as a separate and stable entity. Several researchers have criticized the use of the term for various reasons. Firstly, Makoni and Pennycook (2007: 3) argue that languages have been invented out of social, cultural and political reasons, for example to serve the ideology of nationalism. They do not exist as separate entities in the environment, but this view of languages has had real, observable influences on the world. Similarly, Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (2010: 78-79) claim that the concept of ‘a language’ has often been linked to political aspirations, for example the rash division of Serbocroat into Croatian and Serbian in the Balkan. Therefore, it has been observed how one language can turn into several languages

purely out of political reasons. This kind of phenomena has led some researchers to think that ‘a language’ is not entirely a linguistic category. They point out, however, that even researchers still use the concept because “we cannot in practice manage without the term.” (ibid.). Secondly, the stable nature of languages has long been questioned. For instance, Blommaert (2010: 17) criticizes previous researchers for treating languages as separate items that are not affected by social phenomena. Coupland (2010: 11) points out the impact of globalization to languages as follows: “It can be argued that, under globalization, languages are evolving and spreading less and less as coherent uniform linguistic systems.” In addition, a linear connection of ‘a language’ to ‘a people’ (Blommaert and Rampton 2011: 4) or to a certain cultural identity (Blommaert et al. 2012: 3) has been questioned.

At the beginning of the project, it was unclear whether the analysis of the data should be based on the definition of linguistic resources or focus on languages as distinct units. The first one is the latest trend in today’s sociolinguistic research, but the latter one suits better the aims of the study. Firstly, it was assumed that the majority of participants would have a clear distinction between languages in their mind, and it was therefore thought to be easier to obtain information on their language use by using a concept that the informants were already familiar with. Secondly, the starting point of the whole study was to assume that languages are to some extent separate entities, the use of which can be observed and reported on. Lastly, the comparative part of the study requires that languages can be labeled and named. However, the present study takes into account the restrictions of using the term language and also pays attention to *code-switching*, the use of multiple languages in communication, as a normal feature of multilingual interaction.

5 LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

Language attitudes, one of the central terms used in the present study, are interesting from the point of view of language learning motivation and how they affect behavior in social contexts. The purpose of the study is to look at the connection between the participants’ language attitudes and language use, or first of all, whether such a connection can be distinguished. It is assumed that a positive attitude towards a language and its speakers results in a positive attitude towards learning the language

and, therefore, high motivation and investment of effort and time in the learning process. Motivation to learning the language can further affect the use of the target language in question, since a motivated learner is more likely to seek opportunities to practice the language also on their free time and not only in the classroom. This kind of language learning outside the classroom is especially important in SA contexts, where students confront possibilities to use the language in their everyday lives, but using the target language (instead of English) often depends on the individual learner's level of motivation and activeness. The concept of language attitudes is relevant for the present study, because it can help to understand individual differences in international students' language use and perhaps, in further studies, the differences in language learning results. In this section, the definition of attitudes will be clarified in 5.1, previous research on language attitudes and attitudes in general will be summarized in 5.2, and the influence of attitudes to language learning will be spelled out in 5.3.

5.1 Definition of Language Attitudes

The definition of attitude stems from social psychology (Malessa 2011: 15), and one of the most influential researchers in the field in terms of linguistics is Howard Gardner. Therefore, the definition used in the present study is mainly based on Gardner's work. He defines attitude as "*an evaluative reaction to some referent or attitude object, inferred on the basis of the individual's beliefs or opinions about the referent*" (Gardner 1985: 9, italics in the original), but emphasizes that the term is complex and there are many possible alternative definitions. Other alternative definitions are, for instance "a learned disposition to think, feel and behave toward a person (or object) in a particular way" by Allport (1954, a direct citation from Garrett 2010: 19), or "affect for or against a psychological object" by Thurstone (1931, a direct citation from Garrett 2010: 19). The former one seems to pay attention to the different ways in which attitudes can be demonstrated, and the latter one emphasizes the polarity between positive and negative evaluation of the object. Moreover, Garrett (2010: 22) adds to the definition that many researchers agree that attitudes are not innate but, instead, learned in social interaction, referring to the process of how attitudes are formed. All in all, these examples show that the definition of attitude depends partly on what aspects of it the researcher underlines.

In order to understand attitudes, it needs to be defined what they are composed of. Garrett (2010: 23) suggests that the components that are generally agreed on among attitude researchers are cognition, affect and behavior. Moreover, different factors, such as the learner's mother tongue (Baker 1992, as quoted by Llurda 2009: 124) and the extent and nature of formal language instruction (Huguet and Llurda 2001, as quoted by Llurda 2009: 124), can influence the type and strength of attitudes. Dörnyei, Csizér and Németh (2006), who conducted a large survey among teenagers on motivation to learn English, German, French, Italian and Russian in Hungary also point out the importance of school instruction, but further add personal features such as gender and geographical location as factors that modify language attitudes (ibid., p. 55). They also confirm earlier research findings by stating that there is a relationship between access or contact to language and attitude, since they found out that students who were learning a particular language had better attitudes and motivation than the ones who were not (ibid., pp. 68-70) (see also 5.3 for a critical point of view on the claim). In addition, they focused on how intercultural contact, in this case mainly contact to tourists, influenced the participants' attitudes. The findings were surprising, suggesting that contact with tourists does in fact not improve attitudes towards languages and other cultures (ibid., p. 118).

Language attitude is a broad term and consists of different aspects. Gardner (1985: 7) distinguishes three types of language attitudes: 1. attitudes towards a language community, which include many factors such as attitudes to outgroups and foreign languages in general, and can be related to, for example, authoritarianism or ethnocentrism, 2. attitudes towards a language, which can include attitudes towards language learning, or towards specific aspects of the language such as speaking it, how it sounds or what its structure is like, and 3. attitudes related to the learning situation, such as how the teacher or the course is perceived. The latter type can be very influential in learning, especially when the classroom is the only situation where the learner is in contact with the target language, but perhaps less so in study abroad settings where learning takes place also or even predominantly outside the classroom. Moreover, part of Gardner's definition is that attitudes can differ in how general or specific they are (Gardner 1985: 9). For example, attitudes towards foreign languages are general in nature, whereas attitudes towards a specific language such as English or Finnish are specific.

In the case of English, it has to be noted that attitudes towards members of the L2 community can be affected by globalization (Dörnyei, Csizér and Németh 2006: 92). As described in more detail in Section 3.1, the English language is no longer associated with or owned by a certain nationality. Therefore, the speaker community of English is nowadays not necessarily seen as consisting of native speakers but the other L2 speakers. This might be true in the case of SA students, who often form groups of different nationalities and use English as a lingua franca. English can be seen primarily as the language of this international group of friends or of the wider student community, of which they are part during their studies. Another example of how globalization has influenced language attitudes is that the attitudes towards English are often very different from the attitudes towards other foreign languages due to the dominant role of English in the world. For example in Hungary, similarly to Finland, English is considered the one and only world language and there is a significant gap between the attitudes towards Global English and other foreign languages, and, as a result, young people's motivation to learn other languages than English has dropped in recent years (Dörnyei, Csizér and Németh 2006: 49).

Language attitudes, or attitudes in general, are closely related to some other psychological terms, such as *habits*, *beliefs*, *values*, *opinions*, *social stereotypes*, and *ideologies* (Garrett 2010: 30). The relation to at least opinions and beliefs are also visible in Gardner's (1985) definition of attitudes, which was cited in the beginning of this section. Garrett (2010: 30-35) attempts to differentiate between the similar terms by defining them in comparison to attitudes. First, *habits* are defined as learned constructs like attitudes but they differ from attitudes in that they refer first and foremost to behavior, whereas attitudes are primarily in the mind of an individual (ibid., p. 30). Second, *values* are defined as "more global and general than attitudes" (Oskamp 1977, as cited in Garrett 2010: 31), but values can contribute to the formation of attitudes. Third, the way *beliefs* differ from attitudes is that they might not be affective in nature, but are, in fact, "the cognitive component of attitudes" (Garrett 2010: 31). Fourth, attitudes and *opinions* are often used interchangeably in everyday speech (Baker 1992: 14, as cited in Garrett 2010: 32), but opinions are often articulated, and they might not reflect the underlying attitudes (Garrett 2010: 32). Fifth, the term *social stereotypes* refers to the exaggeration of similarities among people in one social group and differences between groups. The connection to language attitudes is that the use of a certain language variety or accent triggers assumptions of the speaker's membership of

a certain social group in the mind of the hearer. As described in Section 5.2, for example stereotypes of a nationality are closely linked to attitudes towards the language they speak. Finally, the concept of *language ideology* consists of values attained to languages and varieties. According to Garrett (2010: 34), attitudes can be influenced by strong language ideologies. All of the related terms dealt with in this paragraph are sometimes used interchangeably, so it is important to pay attention to how their definitions differ from the one of language attitude.

In the present study, the definition of attitudes is based mainly on the one provided by Gardner (1985), who is a pioneer in the field of affective factors in language learning. Following Gardner's distinction, the present study focuses on attitudes that are socially instead of educationally relevant. In other words, the focus is on attitudes towards the language itself and the target language community rather than attitudes towards the course, teaching material or the teacher, since the participants of the study come from so many different backgrounds, including their former language learning experience, and some of them might not even be learning the target languages, Finnish and English, in formal contexts at the time of conducting the study. In detail, the focus of the present study will be on the attitudes towards specific languages (in this case Finnish and English) and to some extent attitudes towards the cultural group related to the language (in the present study mainly Finnish-speaking Finnish people and the lingua franca English-speaking community and/or native English speakers). The study examines mainly explicitly expressed attitudes and articulated opinions, following the tradition of the direct approach in language attitude research, so it has to be kept in mind that they might not represent the attitudes which are demonstrated in behavior in social situations.

5.2 Previous Research on Language Attitudes

Research on language attitudes has been closely linked to the research on language learning motivation in the field of second language acquisition because of their connection to each other and further to language learning outcomes. Another illustration of the importance of attitudes is their impact on social interaction between individuals and groups of people, which, in turn, has been the focus of language attitude research in social sciences and sociolinguistics. An influential name in language attitude research in the field of applied linguistics has been Gardner, whose definition is used in the

theoretical framework of the present study (see Section 5.1). According to Gardner (1985: 39), research on language attitudes and learning motivation before his contributions to the field has been of two kinds: some studies have concentrated on a few attitude types and how they correlate with certain language skills, while others have taken into account a wider variety of attitudes and the complexity of the correlations to the learning process. Gardner's own theory seems to be based on the latter, as it acknowledges and illustrates the complex relationship between different aspects of attitudes, motivation and behavior. This is definitely an asset, since attitudes are a complex psychological concept and conclusions on their impact on behavior cannot be drawn too hastily, keeping in mind that various other variables affect human behavior as well. In addition to the one provided by Gardner, alternative approaches to study language attitudes have been plenty, and they will be introduced later on in this section. First, I will define what is meant by studying attitudes towards language(s). Second, the main approaches and methodology in language attitude research will be introduced. Third, the research done on attitudes in relation to the contexts of study abroad and Finland will be reviewed. Finally, the section will conclude with a summary of previous research and an overview of the difficulties faced by researchers when dealing with attitudes.

In general, language attitudes have been researched with a focus on separate languages, such as English or French, or language varieties, for example different accents and regional dialects of English. Some studies have concentrated on how people perceive, for instance, speakers of French and English in Canada (Lambert et al. 1960) or Welsh English and RP English in Wales (Price, Fluck and Giles 1983). This kind of societal studies can reveal attitudes that affect people's behavior towards certain groups or even can limit or enhance one's opportunities in life, for example employment opportunities. Whether consciously or not, people infer information about other people's background based on the language they use or the way they speak a certain language, for example in a particular accent. Therefore, attitudes to languages and accents are related to social classes and cultural groups, and quite often to stereotypical representations of these communities. Garrett (2010: 9) comments that associations between social groups and varieties of language are common. He goes on to state (ibid., p. 13) that such features as an accent can be a clue of the person's background, but notes that conclusions based on language use can also be misleading, as accents can be trained and learned at various stages of life.

The methodology used in studying attitudes has been varying. There are three broad approaches used in the field: the direct approach, the indirect approach (also known as the matched guise technique) and societal treatment studies (also referred to as contact analysis) (Garrett 2010: 37), all of which can be justified but also criticized. The most thorough picture could be perhaps obtained by using multiple methods that complement each other (for an example study, see Price et al. 1983), but it is often not possible, because it requires a great deal of resources (Garrett 2010: 201). In the following paragraphs, the three main approaches will be examined in more detail with comments on their advantages and limitations.

The direct approach utilizes questionnaires or interviews that contain direct questions related to a language and are then often interpreted using thematic analysis (Garrett 2010: 37). This method resembles the one used in the present study. One of the principles within the direct approach is that participants are encouraged to express their opinions explicitly (Garrett 2010: 39). The main criticism towards this approach is that it ignores the nature of attitudes, which are often described as deeply-rooted in the mind and sometimes even hidden or unconscious. Sometimes, a phenomenon called *the social desirability bias* comes to play, which refers to the people's tendency to tell the researcher what they think is socially appropriate instead of their true opinions and perceptions (Garrett 2010: 44). This tendency can be reduced to some extent by anonymity (ibid., p. 45), which is often used in questionnaires and interviews, the most common methods within the direct approach. Besides these methods, worth mentioning (and in fact also interesting due to its geographical context) is an exceptional example of a study with a direct approach to attitude research, a social constructionist study on attitudes to English in Finland by Hyrkstedt and Kalaja (1998), where participants were asked to write a response to a letter to the editor about the English language in Finland. Either a negative or a positive attitude was detected from the texts, and the findings suggest a positive attitude being more common among the writers. Despite the great variety of methods used within the direct approach, the main idea is to make the participants aware of the purpose of the study, unlike in the indirect approach, which will be introduced next.

The indirect approach uses more subtle and sometimes even deceptive techniques to obtain information about attitudes (Garrett 2010: 41). The most common method within this approach is the *matched guise* study, where participants listen to the same speaker

speaking different languages or with different accents and are then asked to evaluate the speaker, not the language or the variety. The participants are not supposed to be aware that the samples are produced by the same person, and the true nature of the experiment is revealed only afterwards. The method was developed in the 1950's and has ever since been the dominant method in language attitude research, even though it has attracted criticism for being unethical (Garrett 2010: 59). In addition, the scales have been criticized for the limited number of options and the lack of participants' freedom to justify and explain their answers (Kalaja 1999, as cited by Kansikas 2002: 21). I could add that the matched guise probably serves better the purpose of studying varieties than separate languages, as one speaker rarely can produce an authentic-sounding sample of many different (foreign) languages. However, the matched guise technique attempts to reveal the unspoken, true attitudes of people, which is of value as an idea but which may be an unrealistic goal.

The third broad approach to the study of attitudes consists of societal treatment studies. They can be, for example, identifying attitudes in media texts, books, cartoons etc. by using discourse analysis or text analysis (Garrett 2010: 46). The approach includes also observational and ethnographic studies and studies of sources in the public domain, for instance advertisements or linguistic landscapes in general (Garrett 2010: 142). The societal treatment approach builds on the idea that language attitudes are demonstrated in texts and in the environment, and, by studying the language use in public, some of the attitudes that are prevalent in the society can be made salient. This approach has been criticized for involving too much interpretation from the researchers' part (Valppu 2013: 29) and, consequently, for offering only one interpretation of the data set, which might, in reality, include various points of view by the same speaker (Hyrkstedt 1997: 84).

The majority of research data on people's attitudes has been gathered using questionnaires based on Likert-type scales but other methods may be useful as well (Gardner 1985: 6). Some researchers have experimented with alternative ways of acquiring knowledge on attitudes. Firstly, Isabelli-García (2006), for example, interviewed her participants about their experiences of living in the host culture and then collected negative and positive comments on the target language or host culture. By counting the total number of negative comments in relation to the positive ones, she interpreted the participant's attitude to be either predominantly negative or positive. Her

approach could be criticized for drawing conclusions based on too limited a sample but it is, nevertheless, an example of a different method used in the language attitude research. Secondly, another example of a different approach is a folk linguistic approach that attempts to find out about laypersons' attitudes towards languages and their speakers by asking the participants to invent keywords to refer to different languages and cultural groups and then interpreting what the keywords reveal about underlying attitudes (a well-known example is Preston 1989).

The attitude aspect has also been researched in relation to SA and language learning, but there has not been an extensive amount of research on the topic yet. One example is the above mentioned study by Isabelli-García (2006) that concentrates on how extralinguistic factors such as motivation, contact with members of the host culture, and attitudes towards the foreign culture contribute to language learning. Her study proves a connection between language learning motivation, attitude to the host culture and the social networks that students form during SA (ibid., p. 254). However, she emphasizes the complexity of the relationship between these factors.

In the Finnish context, the focus of research on language attitudes has been on native Finnish-speakers' attitudes to English and foreign languages in general. An example worth mentioning is the national survey by Leppänen et al. (2011), where Finnish people's attitudes towards English were found to be positive in general, however, with some socio-demographic variation. For example, the results of the survey show that English is regarded as important for international communication by the majority of respondents (ibid. p. 85) and that English skills are generally considered valuable, especially for young people and people in working life (ibid., p. 90). Language attitudes have been studied in Finland from the 1990's onwards (Malessa 2011: 18), but before the national survey there has been surprisingly little interest in the topic (Leppänen and Nikula 2008: 10). Most studies about learners' attitudes concentrate on university students, although there have been some studies on high school students as well (Malessa 2011: 18). For example, Kansikas (2002) aimed at finding out about Finnish high school students' attitudes towards various foreign languages in her Master's thesis, and her findings demonstrate that language attitudes are closely related in people's minds to the stereotypes of different nationalities, which, in fact, confirms Garrett's (2010: 16) observation that attitudes to language are difficult to distinguish from attitudes to social groups.

In conclusion, researchers in the field of language attitudes have been interested in people's attitudes towards separate languages and language varieties in a variety of contexts and, further, how these can be detected from behavior and, for example, from cultural products such as media texts. Despite the great amount of research on attitudes, especially the relationship between attitudes and behavior is still unclear. One of the central questions to think about when researching attitudes is, according to Gardner (1985: 39): attitudes to what? This should be clarified in order to make visible, what exactly the object of study is, and to enhance understanding of the whole phenomenon. The difficulty of researching attitudes stems from the fact that they are psychological constructs that may or may not be explicitly expressed or converted into behavior. In addition, people may not even be conscious of the attitudes they possess and convey through their speech and actions, and it is, hence, usually difficult to estimate to what extent people are able to reflect on their own attitudes (Garrett 2010: 1, 31). This difficulty should be taken into account when drawing conclusions on research data, whichever method is used.

5.3 Influence of Attitudes to Language Learning

Language proficiency is by no means acquired automatically, and there are great differences in the individual outcomes. This can, according to Gardner (1985: 1-2), result from affective variables. Ellis (1994: 208, as quoted by Malessa 2011: 10) points out that Gardner was one of the first researchers in the field who emphasized the role of language attitudes as a component of motivation and their impact on learning outcomes. It has been found out that especially attitudes towards the target language and host culture affect L2 learning (Gardner and Lambert 1972, as quoted by Isabelli-García 2006: 233). In Gardner's theory of motivation, attitudes are part of integrative motivation. In his own words, motivation is a "combination of effort plus desire to achieve the goal of learning the language plus favorable attitudes toward learning the language" (Gardner 1985: 10). Similarly, Dörnyei, Csizér and Németh (2006: 9-10) define language attitudes as an important part of L2 motivation. In fact, attitudes and motivation are more relevant in learning a foreign language than they are for example in learning other school subjects (Gardner 1985: 42).

Some attitudes have more relevance in terms of how much they affect behavior (Gardner 1985: 41). The ones that affect motivation are important in terms of language

learning. For example, attitudes towards the language itself generally link to achievement in learning it more than attitudes towards the language community (ibid.). Gardner (1985: 47-50) goes on to emphasize that, even though there is variation in research findings, attitudes towards learning the language and interest in foreign languages in general seem to correlate with language learning success the most consistently. Also the learner's evaluation of the course has significant correlation with learning, while one of the least relevant attitude measures is attitude to the teacher. All in all, the relationship between attitudes and behavior is a key issue in the field of attitude research (Garrett 2010: 25), and researchers have been attempting to distinguish the types of attitudes that do affect behavior.

The influence of attitudes to language learning success is not clear-cut. A positive attitude towards a language and therefore, high motivation to learn it, does not alone necessarily predict language learning success, as there are other factors that play a role in the learning process, as well. Other explanations for great individual differences in language learning outcomes can be aptitude, which is often seen as pure intelligence, and personality variables such as self-confidence or level of anxiety (Gardner 1985: 16-38). Moreover, one factor that affects learner motivation can also be the environment, for example the opportunity to meet and talk to speakers of the target language or to study the language in formal instruction. According to Gardner (1985: 46), studies on how exposure to a language affects attitudes have produced contradicting results: the longer a person studies the language seems to correlate with a positive attitude, but this might be due to the fact that the ones that have developed a more negative attitude drop easily out of the course.

In the context of the present study, the assumption is that international students' language attitudes may correlate with their language learning goals and the frequency of using the target language(s). This can be reflected, for example, in the way that a great deal of foreign students aim at improving their English skills while in Finland. These students assumedly put a higher value on learning English than Finnish, and therefore, also their motivation to learn and willingness to put effort into using English is higher. However, some students may have developed an interest in the Finnish language and regard it important in their personal lives and crucial for the integration into the host society. This kind of attitude to the local language and community can be turned into language learning motivation towards the Finnish language. Churchill and Dufon (2006:

15) discuss the relation between motivation and willingness to communicate in study abroad contexts and conclude that pre-departure motivation has an effect on the SAE and, respectively, the SAE can affect learner motivation. They also state that being active in seeking opportunities to communicate with native speakers of the target language can be seen as facilitating L2 acquisition, but high motivation prior to departure does not seem to guarantee integration to the host culture. In the context of SA in Finland, it is important to keep in mind that the incoming students have very differing aims and hopes for their exchange period. Therefore, it is crucial to clarify with each individual student what we mean by language learning motivation in the Finnish context: motivation to learn English or Finnish, or both? There can also be differences in what is understood by integration, as some students might aim at integrating into the host society, whereas others might pursue to be part of the international student community and that way develop their intercultural competence.

6 THE PRESENT STUDY

After introducing previous research done in the field of SA, on the roles of languages in Finland and on language attitudes, and defining the key concepts and terms, I move on to describe the set-up, that is, the purpose and methodology of the present study in the following sections. First, Section 6.1 will clarify the theoretical and analytic perspectives of the study. Second, in Section 6.2 the aims and purposes of the study will be spelled out. Third, the methods of data collection and the participants of the study will be introduced in 6.3 and, finally, the methods of analyzing the data will be explained in 6.4.

6.1 Theoretical and Analytic Perspectives

As already mentioned in the previous sections, study abroad experiences and international students' language use can be approached from many different perspectives and studied using the terminology and methodology of various fields, depending on the focus and aim of the study. In the present study, the perspective and theoretical background are mainly from sociolinguistics, because it focuses on language use in social settings. However, theories and points of view from other fields such as

second language acquisition research and psychology, for example in terms of language attitudes, are used as an addition when considered relevant to the research aims.

When it comes to research methodology design, the present study draws from both qualitative and quantitative approaches. However, the main emphasis is on the qualitative methods, since the study is a small-scale case study and focuses on in-depth analysis of phenomena related to language use in the SA context. In other words, the aim is to describe and interpret international students' experiences and perceptions. Both qualitative and quantitative data were collected simultaneously, but the actual analysis of the collected data relies heavily on descriptive methods, more specifically on thematic analysis.

6.2 Aims

The present study concentrates mainly on international students' language use, while it also deals with explanations to the language choices and attitudes towards Finnish and English. Therefore, one broad research question, which focuses on the context types where English and Finnish are used, has been created to serve as a starting point, whereas the three more detailed sub-questions define more clearly and precisely the points of view taken in the study:

1. In what contexts do international students use English and Finnish (and other languages) in Finland?
    - 1.1 For what purposes, with whom and how successfully do they use the languages?
    - 1.2 In what proportions do they need English and Finnish in their daily life?
    - 1.3 How are attitudes towards English and Finnish reflected in the language choices?

The present study is a case study as most previous studies in the field, partly due to the context-specific nature of SA programs. General information that can be applied to all international students in different geographical locations is difficult to produce, especially in a limited time frame provided for a Master's thesis. The study aims at offering insights and describing some phenomena in a specific context, instead of

aiming at giving a broad picture of the linguistic situation of exchange students in general. In other words, the aim is to do more in-depth qualitative analysis about a few participants than gather quantitative information on a large, representative group. Concentrating on student perceptions can be criticized, but their importance is clear when evaluating how successful a study abroad experience has been. The criticism comes from the fact that self-reported data might not represent real-life behavior, but offers mere subjective estimations of reality. As Cortinovis (2011: 94) explains: "When relying on speakers' self-reports on language use, the researcher must allow for a certain degree of convergence towards the assumed research aims, the community's norms, etc. -- Most self-reports collected through direct questioning do not necessarily correspond to reality but rather reflect what respondents think is appropriate in that circumstance and, further, what they want researchers to believe about them." Therefore, she suggests a critical approach to self-reported data, which will be applied in interpreting the data of the present study. Similarly, Trentman (2013: 462) reminds researchers to take individual differences into account when analyzing perceptions by mentioning that "self-reported data reflect students' differing perceptions about their actual language use". However, this is not necessarily only a disadvantage, because the present study is, in fact, interested in the various ways people perceive their language use and how they explain their choices.

6.3 Participants and Data Collection

A great deal of methodological approaches have been taken to collect data on study abroad experiences and language learning within the SA context. For example, the methods of data collection have varied from pre- and post-proficiency tests to questionnaires, interviews, participant observation and self-reports such as diaries. The present study combines two methods: numerical questionnaire data and in-depth interviews.

The data collection was conducted in March 2014, since by that time the international students arriving in January had resided in Finland long enough to have gathered various experiences on using English and Finnish in the Finnish context. The data consists of questionnaires and semi-structured interviews (see Appendices 1 and 2). Questionnaires were used to obtain background knowledge of the participants, e.g. their

country of origin, native language, language of education, sex, age, major of studies, the time spent in Finland at the time of the data collection, previous language learning experience and, in addition, some numerical data on their weekly and daily language use which was useful in analyzing the interview data. The next stage of the data collection was conducting the interviews, which are semi-structured in nature due to the freedom that this choice offers for the participants to express their opinions and share their experiences.

The participants of the study consist of eight volunteers that were invited for an individual interview via the ESN (Erasmus Student Network) mailing list and the ESN Facebook group for international students in Jyväskylä. A larger number of participants would have given a broader picture and a great deal of individual perspectives but a small number allows for a deeper and more detailed analysis. In addition, interviews require quite a bit of time and effort to organize and transcribe, so eight was considered a reasonable number. In choosing the participants, the country of origin was not considered a relevant criterion, because the aim of the study is to understand the perspectives of foreigners in general, and not the perspectives of a certain nationality. As great individual differences in SAEs are commonly reported by researchers, it would seem irrelevant to try and gather a homogenous group of participants, for example of SA students from the same country, as there would still be notable variation within that group. The only criterion was that the SA students come from outside of Finland, which means they have a different point of view than native Finnish people. Table 1 below illustrates the backgrounds of the participants. As can be seen in the questionnaire (Appendix 1), participants were given the choice of giving anonymous information, using a nickname or appearing in the study with their own name. All options were used.

Table 1. Participants

Name /nickname /code	**Country of origin**	**Age**	**Sex**	**Major subject**	**Exchange status**	**Length of stay in Finland (approximately)**	**Mother tongue(s)**
Sausau (nickname)	China	23	M	Corporate environmental management	Master ‘s student	2.5 years	Mandarin Chinese
Christian (anonymous)	France	35	M	Music therapy	Doctoral student	5.5 years	German, French
Nadine (anonymous)	Germany	25	F	Development and international cooperation	Master ‘s student	1.5 years	German
David (own name)	China	27	M	Linguistics	Bilateral exchange	4 months	Mandarin Chinese
Miltos (own name)	Greece	26	M	Music therapy	Master’s student	3 years	Greek
Martine (own name)	The Nether-lands	21	F	English language	Erasmus exchange	7 months	Dutch
Ulrike (nickname)	Germany	26	F	Education	Master ‘s student	6 years	German
Victor (own name)	France	23	M	English language	Master’s student	2 years	French

The data collection was conducted, in more detail, at the University of Jyväskylä, which lies in Central Finland and hosts several hundreds of exchange and degree students annually. The participants were asked to fill out the questionnaire before the interview, and the actual interview parts varied from approximately 20 to 50 minutes in length, depending on each individual participant. The language used in the interviews was English, as no knowledge of Finnish was required in order to participate in the study. The interviews were recorded and transcribed for analysis in order to enhance reliability. The transcripts were produced carefully but with main focus on content. For example, the occasional interviewer’s comments, such as ‘Yes’ and ‘I see’ were partly left out of the transcripts in order to make the text easier to read and to give more salience to the interviewees’ descriptions and narratives. The transcripts do not contain descriptions of, for example, prosodic features, pauses or multimodal aspects such as facial expressions or use of space. The only aspect that was considered relevant for the

analysis was laughter (indicated in brackets), since it can notably change the tone and therefore also the interpretation of the meaning of an expression. Moreover, the occasionally occurring Finnish words and expressions are translated into English and some clarifications are given in brackets. The decision of transcribing only the interviewees' turns in a clear and concise manner was made, because the analysis focuses on the content, on what was said, instead of aiming at carrying out a deeper conversational analysis. All in all, the data consists of eight completed 11-page questionnaires and 36 pages of written transcript data.

The questionnaire, and to some extent the interview design as well, are partly based on Freed et al.'s (2004) Language Contact Profile (LCP). The LCP can be used for self-assessment of a SA student's language use and contact with native speakers during the SA program. It is widely used by researchers and, hence, allows for comparisons between research results in different contexts. The original LCP consists of a pre-test (Test 1) for acquiring background information on each individual student's language skills, previous education and language learning experience, and a post-test (Test 2) for gathering data on the student's language use during the exchange. In Test 2, students are asked to estimate the number of hours they spend using each language on a weekly and daily basis. In the present study, the two tests are combined, as the aim of the study is not to get information on the language use throughout the SA program, but to get an insight into the linguistic situation of the students at one point during their exchange or stay in Finland. Gathering data on two different phases of the exchange, in the beginning and at the end, is not considered important as the language learning aspect is outside the scope of the present study. In other words, the present study aims at obtaining knowledge of the participants' linguistic backgrounds, language attitudes and especially at providing a snapshot of the students' language use at a certain time, whereas it does not aim at collecting data on language learning outcomes. The LCP was only used as a guideline and, therefore, a modified version to fit the purposes of the present study was created. Modified versions of the test have been used also by, for example, Trentman (2013) in her study about the use of English and Arabic in Egypt and Dewey et al. (2012) in their study on Japanese language use of American exchange students in Japan. It is a widely-used test in research on language use in SA settings and it has been developed by experienced researchers on the field. In addition, it has been combined with interview methods, for example in Trentman's study.

As mentioned above, the LCP questionnaire is designed to be used in several contexts and for different purposes, and, therefore, it was formatted to serve the purpose of the present study. In more detail, some questions were omitted and others added in order to get relevant information in the context at hand. First of all, the pre- and post-tests were combined, since the data collection was to be conducted at one occasion only. Secondly, separate sets of exactly the same questions were created for the English and Finnish languages for the purpose of getting detailed and comparable information on the international students' use of both of these languages. Thirdly, the background section was shortened by omitting detailed questions for example about previous experiences abroad and educational background, since the study's focus is not to analyze how the connection of these factors to the language choices. Also some of the summative questions in the language use parts were omitted, since the more detailed questions were considered more relevant. For example, a very broad question "How much time did you spend *communicating* in the language?" was omitted, because it was seen as difficult to answer and also because the questionnaire was supposed to serve as a means of acquiring precise information on language use. However, a similar question was added to the interview, where the participants were asked to describe their language use in their own words. Fourthly, separate sections for speaking, reading, listening and writing were formed for clarity. In each section, informants are first asked to estimate the time they spent within the past one month, overall, in speaking, for example, which is followed by more detailed questions about language use in different contexts or with different types of people. All in all, the questionnaire was edited and updated to fit the geographical context and the time of the present study.

In the questionnaire, informants were given three options of how they wanted their information to appear in the final report of the study. The options were participating with their own name, using a self-selected nickname or giving totally anonymous information. In the first case, only the first name of the student is used and, for those who chose anonymity, a code was created in order to be able to refer to their answers in the analysis. An arbitrary name, some common name in the participant's country of origin, was chosen as a code for the anonymous participants in order to keep the text coherent and reader-friendly. Making anonymity optional was a decision based on the nature of the topic of the study, which was not considered a particularly sensitive or personal one. However, it was clear that no one would be imposed to give information in their real name. It was assumed that some participants might find sharing their

thoughts a positive experience and would like to get some sort of credit for their contribution, whereas others might not want other people to be able to identify them in the study results but still might like to be able to trace their own responses themselves, in which situation they had the option of using a nickname. The option of anonymity was given for those who wanted to protect their privacy. Actually, full anonymity, which means that even the researcher cannot identify the participants (Ogden 2008: 17), was not possible because of the interview situations. Also the responses include a fair amount of biographical information. Therefore, a partial anonymity with attention to absolute confidentiality was employed when handling the data provided by those who chose anonymity. So, ethical considerations about anonymity and credit were taken into consideration before conducting the data collection.

Contrary to the questionnaire, no already existing format was used in designing the interview plan (Appendix 2). However, the research questions and the theoretical background were used as guidelines in deciding what types of questions to use. For example, the definition of different components of language attitudes, such as attitudes towards the language and attitudes towards the speaker community, was used to create the questions about attitudes. The interviews were semi-structured, so the plan served as a plot but not as a strict guideline. It consisted of five broad themes: 1. participant's own description of their use of English and Finnish, 2. language learning goals during SA, 3.confidence in speaking and success in communicating, 4. use of other languages, and 5. language attitudes. Each student was also asked to briefly introduce themselves in the beginning, and at the end they had a chance to complement their answers or add anything relevant that had been left unsaid. As the study is mainly a qualitative one and focuses on the experiences of the participants, a fair amount of freedom was given to the participants to express their own opinions and introduce topics also outside the original interview plan. This principle was indicated at the beginning of each interview.

The type of interview should be chosen based on the research questions (Barlow 2010: 496). In this case, some of the research questions (especially 1.2 and to some extent 1.) are very specific and can be answered using a quantitative approach. However, the questions related to perceptions on successful language use (1.1) and language attitudes (1.3) suggest a qualitative approach, which was realized through interviews. The interview type that suits the aims of the study the best is a semi-structured interview, because it allows for a certain amount of freedom for participants to introduce new

topics and talk about their experiences but also ensures that the conversation produces answers to the original research questions (Barlow 2010: 495-6). In comparison, a structured interview would give the interviewees few opportunities to introduce topics on their own initiative. An unstructured interview might, then again, lead to conversation topics that are irrelevant as regards the purposes of the study. A semi-structured interview takes also into account the roles of the interviewer and interviewees, because I consider myself an out-group member of the SA students and therefore, I might not be aware of all aspects of their life. Thus, I wanted to leave some space for them to talk about their life (and language use in it) as they perceive it and not based on what I assumed it to be like. For example, there were assumed to be some types of language use situations that I might not have thought of before the interviews, and naturally I wanted to include these in the analysis, too.

Combining a numerical questionnaire with individual semi-structured interviews means combining quantitative and qualitative methods in the study. I came to this conclusion based on previous studies made on similar topics (especially Trentman 2013) and by analyzing the methodology used in them. I paid particularly attention to what kind of information was produced by using different methods. Firstly, quantitative data gave an overall image of the phenomenon and gave answers to questions such as how many hours the students spend weekly reading, writing, speaking or listening to a certain language. Secondly, qualitative methods were used to get deeper into the phenomenon at hand, for example by interviewing students about their experiences on using the target language and feelings related to these situations. To sum up, numerical data can give concrete information on the language use and qualitative data can help to understand the language choices and factors that contribute to them, such as language attitudes. As Freed (1995: 28) puts it: “The integration of quantitative and qualitative research design and analysis, which permits descriptive interpretation of results, has been shown to enhance our understanding of language learning that takes place in a study abroad context.” This type of use of *multiple methods*, or in other words *methodological triangulation* (term originally from Denzin 1978, cited by Cox 2008: 223), can give the broadest possible picture of the research topic and lead to a representation of the real-life phenomenon that is as “true” and versatile as possible (Cox 2008: 222-223). Moreover, the use of multiple methods diminishes the role of one approach and therefore also the possibility of too subjective interpretations based on

limited data. Using multiple methods is one way of enhancing the reliability and validity of a study (Guest, McQueen and Namey 2012: 99).

6.4 Methods of Analysis

The main method of analysis used in the present study is *thematic analysis*. As the themes that emerged from the interview data serve as a basis for categorizing the results, the numerical data was used to clarify observations based on the interview data. In other words, the two different data sets were utilized to describe the same phenomena but to highlight different aspects of each theme. On using quantitative data as part of a qualitative case study, Korzilius (2010: 764) states: "In combination with the analysis of qualitative data, quantitative data become part of the iteration processes of data collection and data analysis --. Numerical data are collected, analyzed, and interpreted as though they are textual information to which informants and researchers give meaning." In fact, this represents the way the numerical data was used in the analysis process, as part of the descriptions of the participants' language use. Therefore, the weighting of the analysis was heavily on the qualitative data set and, overall, the analysis process followed a *concurrent design*, which means that qualitative and quantitative data are collected as independent data sets but merged in the analysis phase (Guest et al. 2012: 192-193).

For the qualitative part of the study, the interviews were analyzed using descriptive content analysis. In more detail, a thematic analysis was carried out in order to find commonly occurring themes in the interviews. Thematic analysis aims at finding patterns in the data that are relevant to the research questions and that help describing the main contents of the data in a systematic way. In this case, the themes were labeled under three broader umbrella themes: 1. contexts of use, 2. perceptions and experiences on using the languages, and 3. language attitudes. Firstly, the choice of context types as one of the themes was natural, since it is clearly linked to the main research question. The most common contexts of language use were rather easily identified from the data, although there were great differences in the responses. Secondly, the category 'perceptions and experiences on using the languages' contains different kinds of themes that emerged from the descriptions of experiences and explanations to the language choices. It includes topics such as confidence in speaking and possible problems in

communicating. Thirdly, language attitudes are dealt with separately. First of all, either positive, neutral or negative attitudes were interpreted from the interview data and then these themes were complemented with more detailed descriptions of the attitude types. In addition, some factors contributing to international students' language choices in general were analyzed (see Section 9) in order to deepen the understanding of language choices in specific contexts.

The themes were decided on after a preliminary reading of the transcribed interview data and the statistics produced from the questionnaire data, however, with less emphasis on the latter one. Thus, the analysis was data-driven, in other words inductive. The inductive approach is more common than the deductive one in thematic analysis (Lapadat 2010: 927). Even though the theoretical background might have created some assumptions of what might emerge from the data, the themes were not decided on beforehand but only after the data collection. This goes hand in hand with the choice of giving the participants some freedom to introduce their own topics and ideas in the semi-structured interviews. The freedom would only have had nominal value instead of real significance in determining the contents of the analysis, if the themes were already chosen prior to hearing the participants' own views. The thematic analysis was carried out in three different phases. First, potentially interesting and relevant sections from the transcripts were underlined, marked and coded. Then the codes were changed into more detailed themes, and the transcripts were close-read once more to find more support for the chosen themes. The last phase was to look for tendencies in the numerical data and combining them with the themes. The themes were mainly selected based on their frequency in the interview data, but some rarer themes were also chosen because of their importance in describing the variety of responses and perceptions among the participants. In the questionnaire data, striking aspects such as very frequent use, no use at all or notable variation in the language use in some specific context were searched and highlighted. The quality and reliability of the thematic analysis was enhanced by taking notes after each interview, during transcribing and preliminary reading of the transcripts and by reflecting on the observations and decisions on a regular basis. Since the data was easy to handle manually, no qualitative analysis software was considered necessary for conducting the analysis.

The quantitative part of the study consists of the questionnaire data. The data obtained from the questionnaires contains the participants' own estimations of their language use.

In the questionnaire, they were asked to estimate the hours spent daily and weekly on different activities outside the classroom, for example writing e-mails in the target language or speaking the language in a certain context within the past month. The activities listed in the questionnaires were categorized into the four ways of using a language: speaking, listening, reading and writing, which was useful for getting an overall picture of the responses. After the data collections, all the answers were organized into arrays (see Appendix 3 for all answers), which was helpful in making sense of the overall numerical data and for noticing patterns and differences in the participants' estimations. In addition, modes, the most typical answers, were counted to get a grasp on the average estimations and to better describe the statistics. As the number of participants is so low, the numerical data is not to be generalized to represent a larger group, but its function is to serve as a tool for illustrating individual differences in the international students' language use in an accurate way.

The study has also features of comparative study, because it compares the use of and attitudes towards Finnish and English. However, the comparative part has only a minor role in the big picture. Comparison focuses on the proportions of use of English and Finnish and, to some extent, on the differences and similarities in the typical context types identified from the data. A more detailed description of the comparison can be found in Section 7.3. No comparison between group labels, for example between men and women or different age groups, was considered relevant in such a case-study.

In conclusion, the quantitative and qualitative data and methods of analysis are together supposed to give a broad picture of the research topic. Combining aspects of two types of methods has the advantage that they complement each other, as the strengths of one approach compensate for the other one's weaknesses (Guest et al. 2012: 188). The main emphasis of the study is on qualitative analysis but a certain amount of quantitative data was considered useful. The numerical data is of a limited group and is not intended to be generalized but to serve the purposes of the case study by helping in analyzing the qualitative data and by providing more accurate knowledge on the participants' language use than could have been gathered by only using the interviews. All in all, the focus is not only on the language use per se but also on the interpretations the participants offer for their choices and behavior.

7 INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS' LANGUAGE USE

(1) I need English to complete my studies and I need Finnish to make my life here better. (Sausau)

In the preceding extract, participant Sausau summarizes his perception on the roles of English and Finnish in his life in Finland. This view was shared by many of the participants and therefore it gives a good image of the big picture, but, when going deeper from the surface into the in-depth analysis, notable variation in the participants' language use emerged from the data. The results of the data analysis will be presented in this section and the following section on language attitudes.

Before moving on to the results of the thematic analysis, the participants will be introduced briefly, as suggested by Guest et al. (2012: 253). Background information on them can be found in Table 1 in Section 6.3, but, in addition to that very brief introduction, it is perhaps useful at this stage to describe their situation in life in a few words. As already mentioned in the methods section, there were eight subjects, whose age ranged from 21 to 35. Five of the participants were men and three women. Both degree and exchange students were represented. The participants come from very different cultural and linguistic backgrounds, and their goals regarding language learning and future career were different, too. The following descriptions summarize each participant's background and language learning goals.

The first participant, Sausau (see Table 1 in Section 6.3, which clarifies the use of real names, nicknames and codes in referring to the participants), is a Chinese Master's student who had already once been to Finland as an exchange student. He is determined to learn Finnish and uses it frequently with his Finnish friendship family. In the future he wishes to work in an environmental company that cooperates between Finland and his home country. Sausau would like to improve his skills in both English and Finnish.

Christian is a French-German bilingual and a Doctoral student of music therapy. He has been to Finland as an exchange student and finished his Master's degree in the country as well. Between that time and the present, he has worked in Germany and Italy. He reported being satisfied with his English skills and interested in learning the Finnish language, but actually uses it rather little in his daily life.

Nadine is a Master's student, who is soon finishing her degree program in development and international cooperation. She comes from Germany but has also lived in England and, therefore, speaks excellent English. She has been to holidays in Finland when she was younger, but did not know much Finnish before coming to Finland to study. After her studies, she is not sure what she would like to do, but staying in Finland would be one option. Therefore, she is trying to learn Finnish.

David is staying in Finland only for one semester as an exchange student. He lives and studies in Australia, so he uses English usually as his main language, although he comes originally from China and his native language is Mandarin Chinese. At his home university, David studies speech and hearing sciences, which in his own words is "half linguistics, half cognitive science". In Finland he is taking psychology courses and some language courses on Finnish and German.

Miltos comes from Greece and is doing a Master's degree in music therapy in Finland. He has managed in Finland without using much Finnish and is not planning to study it in the future either, since he is going back home soon. Staying in Finland does not seem to be an option for him.

Martine is an English major from the Netherlands. She became interested in the Finnish culture and language, when she found a Finnish pen pal online and visited the friend in Finland. She studied the language independently online at home and now she is an exchange student at the University of Jyväskylä. She is planning to stay after her exchange as a visiting student and then further as a Master's student.

Ulrike is a German, who has lived in Finland for 6 years already. She has finished her Bachelor's degree and worked in a day care, and is now studying a Master' degree in the Department of Education. She has a Finnish boyfriend and would like to stay with him in Finland and find employment. Therefore, she is using Finnish daily and trying to improve her language skills for the working life.

Victor is studying a Master's degree in the Department of Languages and he comes from France. He lives together with his Finnish girlfriend, whom he met during his Erasmus exchange in Jyväskylä. Victor is studying Finnish and would perhaps like to work as a translator or in an international company in Finland after his studies.

These brief introductions are supposed to serve as a background for better understanding each participant's point of view and the thematic analysis that will follow. All in all, some of the ways of using a particular language can be explained by the language learning goals and future plans. Especially on those cases where the student wishes to stay in Finland after finishing his/her studies, like for example Ulrike and Martine, the personal goals seem to affect the frequency of use of Finnish. On the other hand, for example Miltos is returning home and not planning to have much contact with the Finnish language there, which seems to affect his rather non-existent use of Finnish. However, these types of connections are not always clear, as will be discussed in more detail in Section 8.3.

In the following subsections, the participants' uses of English (7.1) and Finnish (7.2) will be first described separately, with a focus on typical context types and purposes of use, and descriptions of the participants' perceptions and experiences on using these languages. Then the roles of English and Finnish will be compared (7.3), and after that, the use of other languages will spelled out only briefly (7.4), since it is not exactly the focus of the present study. However, the topic will be dealt with briefly in order to give an overall picture of the participants' language use. The questionnaire and interview data are analyzed together, because the categorization of all of the data content is made according to themes, and both the numerical and qualitative data help in illustrating different aspects of each theme.

7.1 Uses of English

The uses of English will be introduced first. Overall, all participants had a good knowledge of English and were using it almost on a daily basis in studies and outside the classroom. The research questions that are answered here, and for the Finnish language part in Section 7.2, are the main research question number 1 about the contexts of use and the sub-question 1.1 about the purposes of use and experiences on dealing with communicational situations in the language in question. The commonly-occurring context types are spelled out in 7.1.1 and experiences on using English in Finland are described in 7.1.2. Both sections are based on the thematic analysis.

7.1.1 Typical Contexts and Purposes for Use

In this chapter, the findings concerning the participants' use of English in different contexts will be presented. The analyzed context types give an overall picture of where, how, with whom and for what purposes international students use English during their stay in Finland. The main themes that were identified out of the questionnaire and interview data as typical or representative of the international students' English use are:

1. English for studies,
2. English as a lingua franca in the international student community,
3. English in extended conversations,
4. English as a language for media and entertainment, and
5. English as essential for survival in daily life.

The most salient and typical context of English use reported by almost all participants was their **studies at the university**. Out of the 8 participants, 6 were enrolled in an international Master's or Doctoral degree program, while only 2 were participating in an exchange program (see Table 1 in Section 6.3). Actually, both of these types of exchange students usually study in English, but in some Master's degree programs a compulsory Finnish course might be included. According to Garam (2004), this variation results from the policy that language requirements in some professions are strictly regulated by the Finnish law, for example medical doctors and nurses, whereas some program providers can define their own requirements for international students. Some students study the Finnish language out of their own interest, but English usually functions as the main instructional language of at least the major subject studies. Participant Christian, a former Master's student and a Doctoral student now, describes why the use of English in his music therapy studies feels natural for him:

> (2) My Master's here was in English, all the Phd students at Musica (Department of Music), they come from all around the world, really, I mean, there are a few Finns there, too, but we all speak in English together, and all our work is written and published in English, so it's just normal. (Christian)

Apart from the courses instructed mainly in English, the participants experienced the university context also outside the classroom as an international environment, where the English language plays a major role. As Saarinen (2012) describes it, English seems to be so natural in the university environment that its presence in the context has become an invisible issue (see Section 3.2). The participants' perceptions go hand in hand with

Saarinen's observation that university students, both Finns and foreigners, are with no exceptions assumed to have a good knowledge of English. The university context might even give international students a false sense of security, a feeling of getting by in English everywhere and with everyone, while the situation might be different in other contexts and geographical locations. As one of the participants, Victor, explains:

(3) I think I'm hanging out a lot at the university and with the university people, so I believe that everybody, everybody without exceptions speaks English well and whenever I meet somebody who doesn't speak English, I'm like: "Who are you? Like, you look Finnish, but you don't speak English?" (Victor)

Also the questionnaire data implies that the use of English for study-related situations is frequent. For example, the participants estimated their amount of use of English for reading considerably higher than Finnish. Everyone except Martine reported reading in English for several hours every day, as can be seen in the following Table 2. It has to be noted that the reading section may also include other types of reading on free time than study-related reading.

Table 2. Reading in English (Question 5)

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	7	7	7	7	7	5	7	7	7
Hours per day	3	3	4+	2	4+	2	4+	2	2; 4+

In addition to reading, the participants spent typically some hours on most days on writing study-related texts in English, as Table 3 below shows.

Table 3. Writing study-related texts in English (Question 7a)

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	5	4	7	2	7	2	5	3	2; 5; 7
Hours per day	2	2	2	3	4+	0-1	4+	0-1	2

The differences in the participants' estimations in the preceding categories can be partly explained by their stage of studies. For example, Miltos was writing his Master's thesis at the moment of data collection, which of course means that he spent several hours (more than 4) every day on writing, whereas Martine explained that she was unable to schedule some of her major subject (English) studies into her study plan for the current semester and, therefore, took more courses on Finnish, which implies that a great deal of her homework is also in Finnish. The study plan perhaps also affects the amount of time used for speaking in English about study-related subjects. Consequently, English

was reported to be used for discussing classroom-related work or group work in varying amounts, as Table 4 shows. However, the use of English for this activity is overall rather frequent.

Table 4. Discussing classroom-related work in English (Question 4a)

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	3	3	3	1	2	2	5	3	3
Hours per day	0-1	2	0-1	0-1	2	0-1	2	0-1	0-1

Another typical context of English use in the participants' lives in Finland is the use of the world language as **a lingua franca in the international student community**. All participants reported having other international students or foreigners living in Finland in their social networks, and most often they were other non-native speakers of English. The English language seems to have an established role within the international circles, even though the group in question often has versatile language skills, which means they might have other common languages that they could deploy in communication with each other as well. In fact, Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (2010: 117) state that it is natural to choose the most widely-known language for communication in order to not exclude any participants from the conversation. David illustrates this observation of choosing English over others as the main language of communication:

(4) Here most people speak English quite well and they speak English to each other, even if they are, say, seven Germans and one Dutch person, who can also speak German, they would speak English with each other. (David)

It is also noteworthy that even within the frames of a Finnish language course international students might still choose to communicate in English together, as Martine points out:

(5) Also when I talk to other exchange students or other foreign people, you know, 'cos there's also a language course that I'm taking, it's "Finnish 4", so there, when class is over, actually we talk to some people in English then. (Martine)

The statistics related to the theme support the observations based on the interview data. Table 5 demonstrates how frequently English was used in communication with English-speaking friends, either native or second language speakers.

Table 5. Speaking English with friends who are native or fluent English speakers (Question 3b)

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	3	6	7	6	4	0	2	7	6; 7
Hours per day	0-1	2	2	2	2	0	0-1	4+	2

The responses reflect the differences in the participants' social networks. Those who have more contact with local people (Sausau, Martine, Ulrike) tend to use English less with their friends, whereas those whose friends consist mainly of other foreigners use English frequently. It also seems to depend to some extend on the international students' own choices which language they speak with friends. For example, Martine did not use English for communicating with friends because they had agreed that their common language is Finnish, so that they get to practice and improve their Finnish skills.

The third theme is related to the fact that English is often used by foreigners in Finland out of practical reasons. In other words, it is used to enable successful communication when Finnish skills are not (yet) good enough for **extended conversations** and for discussing complicated or profound topics. Even though some informants, especially Martine, Sausau and Ulrike, try to use Finnish in their daily life as much as possible, using English is sometimes necessary simply because they find it too difficult to express themselves in Finnish. All participants mentioned experiencing difficulties when trying to communicate in Finnish, in which cases they usually switch to English. In the following extract, Martine talks about her experiences on using Finnish with her friends:

(6) I try to use as much as Finnish as possible, but yeah, it's not really that good, so I kind of switch to English when I don't know how to say things, so it's kind of mixed actually. -- For example when I'm talking with some friends and we are having some discussion in Finnish, and then I want to say something more complex and then I kind of switch. (Martine)

Similarly, Sausau pointed out the lack of specific vocabulary in Finnish as a cause for switching to English occasionally. In fact, most participants talked about events where they started a conversation in Finnish and then had to switch to English, when the discussion turned into more specific and detailed topics. David describes a visit to the pharmacy as an example of such situations:

(7) Sometimes when I go to a shop, I say a greeting in Finnish and then switch to English, if the task is complex. For example, if I go to the pharmacy, I could say I'm searching for heartburn tablets in Finnish, and then when they start explaining all the different kinds of products to me I would say sorry. And then, well, switch to English. (David)

The frequent use of English in extended conversations with friends and flatmates is also visible in the questionnaire data, as Table 6 below shows.

Table 6. Use of English for extended conversations with flatmates, friends or acquaintances in the student housing area (Question 4d)

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike*	Victor	MODE
Days per week	2	5	5	5	1	3	no reply	7	5
Hours per day	2	0-1	3	2	0-1	3	no reply	4+	0-1; 2; 3

*Not applicable perhaps, because Ulrike lives alone in an apartment.

The participants' answers to the question on extended conversations shows that they use English for this purpose in varying amounts, but overall quite often (mode 5 days per week), and more than they use Finnish for the same purpose on average (mode 0 days per week). In the statistics it is especially interesting that Martine reported using rather little English for other purposes but notably more for this category, for extended conversations. Martine explained that she always tries to use Finnish when she can in order to make the most of her stay in terms of learning the local language. On the contrary, knowing that their Finnish skills would not be adequate for discussing certain topics, some participants had given up trying to communicate complex ideas in Finnish and, instead, had started to use English already from the beginning of conversations in certain contexts. For example, Christian explains that he wants to be sure his message is conveyed and correctly understood when discussing important matters:

(8) If it's very important and specific, I don't even try in Finnish. If I go to the bank, I don't even try, because I want to be sure I'm understood. (Christian)

For the same reason, for making sure she understands and is understood by others, Nadine often uses English, in which she is much more fluent than in Finnish, when talking about complex topics:

(9) With little things I try to be polite and at least start in Finnish, you know, say hello and the very small sentences, but then I would have to tell them that sorry I can't speak any more, 'cos even if I kind of knew the sentence, if it was a really delicate subject that I, something more complex that I try to tell someone, I would revert back to English, because I'm not sure if I could actually get the exact meaning. (Nadine)

In addition to using English for extended conversations because of the complexity of topic, English can function as a back-up plan when the speaker is lacking some expression or needs to clarify how to say something in the weaker language. For instance, Victor, who lives with his Finnish girlfriend, reports using English to discuss

metalinguistic issues when the couple is trying to communicate in each other's mother tongues:

> (10) I would say that my level (of Finnish) is actually not good enough for me to interact with for example my girlfriend in Finnish, so I am trying to, we are trying, each, she is learning French and I'm learning Finnish, to get to speak more French and more Finnish. I think we could have a small discussion in both our respective mother tongues, but it would still take a lot of use of English to know, ok, what word is that, what gender is that, how do you say that sentence. (Victor)

Like Nadine and Victor, many participants reported trying to use Finnish when initiating conversations with local people. On the contrary, Miltos had given up trying to use Finnish at first after noticing that every time he had to switch to English at some point anyway, no matter what the topic was. He had studied Finnish but stopped using it for good since the end of the one compulsory course. As his Finnish skills got weaker, he had realized it is easier to only use English. In the interview, he describes an event in which he was purchasing stamps at the post office and, after a successful start, the more specific follow-up questions on the type of stamps made him feel frustrated:

> (11) And then I thought what's the point to even start the conversation (in Finnish), if I can't continue it. And then, from then I just decided not to use Finnish. (Miltos)

As can be interpreted from the extract above, Miltos's experience on not getting by in Finnish despite all his efforts made him change his language behavior. Also Nadine describes the lack of Finnish skills, rather than the reluctance to use it, as the reason for choosing to use English in most conversations and as a factor that creates a feeling of group membership among international students:

> (12) Actually that's something that connects you, if you're an English speaker here, because you are an English speaker not because you fancy speaking English, but rather 'cos you don't speak Finnish. (Nadine)

All in all, English could be interpreted to be an easy and safe choice for communicating, which explains its frequent use for extended conversations.

The fourth common theme identified from the data is the consumption of different kinds of media and activities related to the use of communication technologies. As English-language **media and entertainment** are so popular, wide-spread and easy to access, English plays a major role in the media consumption in the participants' daily lives. While in Finland, they use English especially for surfing the Internet, listening to music

and radio, and watching movies and videos. The following table depicts the participants' estimations of their use of English in reading e-mail and web pages.

Table 7. Reading e-mail and web pages in English (Question 5c)

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Hours per day	3	0-1	2	2	4+	2	2	4+	2

Based on Table 7, all participants use English online daily and typically 2 hours per day, which is quite a big proportion out of the day. It is clear that the use of Internet has increased in the recent decades and still nowadays most of the content is available in English. Keeping that in mind, the results are by no means surprising, but the theme media has to be noted since it is so visible in everyday life of the participants. Another illustration of the frequent use of English for media consumption is derived from the listening part of the questionnaire (Tables 8-10 below):

Table 8. Listening to English-language TV and radio (Question 6a)

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	6	7	7	3	3	2	1	4	3; 7
Hours per day	0-1	0-1	4+	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	2	0-1

Table 9. Watching movies in English (Question 6b)

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	6	3	7	1	7	6	4	7	7
Hours per day	2	2	2	2	2	2	0-1	4+	2

Table 10. Listening to English-language songs (Question 6c)

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	6	7	7	2	7	4	7	5	7
Hours per day	2	2	4+	0-1	2	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1

As can be seen in the three tables, the participants consumed English-language media in different forms in varying amounts but by adding these categories up together we see that they spent overall a considerable amount of time listening to English. Some participants mentioned finding it useful that English-language TV-shows and movies are not dubbed but subtitled in Finland, enabling them to use multiple languages at the same time. For example, Christian explains that usually in movies (when watching an originally English-language movie) he listens to the spoken English, reads the Finnish subtitles and, as a native German speaker, he might even sometimes glance at the Swedish ones to make sense of what is going on in the film. This example implies that

in fact many languages can be used at the same time, even if the participants reported using mostly English for watching movies, for example. However, English still seems to be the dominant language of media and it is also considered the most suitable language for that role by some participants, like Martine:

(13) I actually read mostly in English also when I read novels or something, I like English more, I prefer also to watch English movies and everything, so it's basically the best language for media stuff and everything. (Martine)

David also finds it difficult to imagine that Finnish could ever compete with English in terms of cultural exports, since British and American cultural products such as movies are so wide-spread in today's world. This trend is noticeable in the media consumption behavior of the participants of the present study.

Lastly, English is seen as **a language for survival** in daily life in Finland by some participants. However, these participants form a minority, since most informants reported trying to use Finnish as much as possible. This polarization can be explained by the differences in the participants' level of Finnish skills. For example, Christian says:

(14) English is absolutely vital for my survivor [sic], and my work and everything I do. Finnish is not. (Christian)

Christian's view is shared by David and Miltos. David describes English as his "main functional language" and Miltos compares the language to a residence permit in the following way:

(15) It's like if I don't have English language, I can't live here actually, I can't study, I can't live, I can't communicate. It's like my permit ticket here, I know English so I can come here, otherwise I couldn't come. (Miltos)

As described earlier, Miltos had got frustrated with trying to use Finnish in communication. Therefore, he uses English nowadays even for brief exchanges:

(16) I tried in the very beginning to use some "Mitä tämä maksaa?" (What does this cost?) or something like this, kiitos (thank you), and very very few stuff. But then I stopped using them as well. So I say thank you or… I use English for also the small phrases. And the last months I find myself using also English in greetings, instead of say moi (hi) or terve (hello) I say hi or hello. (Miltos)

In summary, the thematic analysis of the context types of the participants' English use introduced five different categories: English for studies at the university, English used as a lingua franca in the international student community, use of English in extended conversations due to better skills in the English language than Finnish, English as a language for consuming media and entertainment, and English as an essential tool for survival in daily life during the stay in Finland. After describing these themes, I move on to present the results of how the participants perceived communicational situations in English and what kind of experiences they had encountered when using the world language in Finland.

7.1.2 Perceptions and Experiences of Using English in Finland

Based on the thematic analysis on the context types where English is used by international students, it can be stated that English is seen as an easy tool for communication. It is, for some, almost like a 'backup' language, even if the person tries to use Finnish as much as possible. Since there are notable differences in the contexts of use and learning goals related to English, also the experiences on using it vary.

First of all, all participants were certain that they had not confronted any major **problems** when communicating in English in Finland. They reported that communication has almost always been successful, despite small difficulties in communication resulting mainly from different levels of English. For instance, David describes in the following extract his experiences on communicating in English with Finnish people, whose levels of English are different. The extract can be interpreted to highlight the fact that problems in communicating have only been of minor importance to him.

> (17) They (Finns) often speak quite good English. -- Then there are I think the middle tier, they do speak English but with a very strong Finnish influence, and it's not highly fluent. But you can still exchange ideas, important ideas, quite clearly. -- And then there might be those people who just really have little English. And then they might be able to give you the most basic thing, if you ask for something, but, then you can order pizza, but if you want to order with a different base it can be difficult. (David)

Secondly, the participants estimated their **confidence** in speaking English very good in general, and usually better than when trying to communicate in Finnish. It was stated clearly in the interviews, for example like in these extracts from Christian and Nadine:

(18) In English I'm very confident. (Christian)

(19) I feel very confident speaking English. (Nadine)

In the interviews, one considerably salient theme regarding the experiences on using English in Finland was the great **variety in the ways of speaking** English, which is of course a global phenomenon. Some participants, like Sausau, referred to the theme as many different *Englishes*, a term also used by some sociolinguists (for example Mufwene 2010). People originating from different countries were reported to have varying levels of language skills, which sometimes posed difficulties in communication. For example Nadine, who went to boarding school in Britain and speaks very fluent English herself, experienced this problem:

(20) You've got these cultural differences, of course, since people from different countries have different levels of English they can use, which can make conversation sometimes difficult, because you may have the level that you can make really nuanced sentences but they might not understand it, so that's the thing. (Nadine)

Ulrike mentions the difficulty of communicating with people from very different linguistic backgrounds, as well:

(21) Yeah difficulties, it's sometimes hard to, especially now we have a few students from China and with them it's sometimes hard because I think their English level is different. (Ulrike)

However, the international student community, consisting of mainly second language speakers of English, seems to have its own ways and rules of communicating. It could be characterized as a mix of different influences, but somehow people adapt to each other's way of speaking and establish mutual understanding. Surprisingly, L2 speakers of English were described as better communicators than native speakers, who sometimes struggle to "find a middle ground" with people speaking differently than themselves. Christian talks about this observation:

(22) I've noticed one very funny thing in that when you spend a lot of time with these, say, second language speakers of English, we all get along very easily, we all understand each other quite clearly and here comes a native speaker who has never spoken to a non-native English speaker. And for this person it's very hard to understand, because the person often doesn't make any effort. He or she speaks just like at home, and then, actually, it turns out to be very difficult for all the Europeans who are like: "ok…?". So I don't know, who is right who is wrong, should we speak like him or should we be able to understand him or her actually, or is it for him to realize that in this world there are more than just native speakers, there are actually a bigger group of non-native speakers. -- And somehow we all understand, I have spoken also with many Erasmus students, like exchange students, if you speak to, these guys communicate much better with each other, Czech students, Spanish students, who speak English in a funny way but they would still

> get along, the communication would be clearer than if they speak to an American with a very heavy accent and doesn't really understand that they have to find a middle ground here in communication. I mean you would expect everyone to go that way 100% and you wouldn't come 50% here and they would come 50% there. (Christian)

Variety was also experienced in the levels of Finnish English-speakers. Communicating in English with local people was generally seen as easy and successful, but sometimes problems were caused by the interlocutor's very low proficiency or their complete lack of English skills. Christian, when answering a question about whether he can communicate successfully in English, describes the role of the communication partner:

> (23) Yes, yes, usually I can. But it also depends on the recipient, the person I'm communicating with, right? It's not just up to me, the successful communication. (Christian)

Nadine regards Finnish people as speakers of English similar to other second language speakers, and therefore the experiences on communicating with them have also been similar:

> (24) I'm not always convinced people get the exact message. They understand the general thing but not the exact tiny bit that I'm trying to convey. But that's with every non-native speaker. (Nadine)

Two different perceptions on the use of English in Finland were detected from the transcripts: some considered it **possible to survive in Finland entirely in English**, whereas others **wanted to learn Finnish** as well and found it strange if a foreigner stays in Finland for years without bothering to learn the local language at all. The first view was reported especially by Christian, Nadine and Miltos. Christian compared his experiences in Finland to a period when he lived in Italy and was forced to learn Italian quickly, since he could not have survived using English only. He also points out the role of English in Finland as one of the reasons why he has not learned Finnish:

> (25) I don't have to use it (Finnish), I can avoid using it. -- Finland has this particularity that you can avoid using it, because English is so widely-spoken here. It's quite rare if you look at other European countries, you know, you cannot do that like. So in that sense it's kind of very unique situation here for foreigners, for exchange students, or for you know. (Christian)

Also Nadine compares living in Finland to other countries, in her case France:

> (26) I think Finland is a bit of a special case when it comes to languages, I mean it's quite difficult to get to know Finnish because there's not much around even in Finland. -- And you really can get away with English everywhere. So it's different coming to Finland than it would be, 'cos I've also spent some time in France, which is completely different, there's no English. -- But you can

> get away perfectly well (in English in Finland), at least to a certain extent, I'm not sure I would go looking for a job but living here you could get away with English easily. (Nadine)

Even though the Christian and Nadine talk about Finland as a "special case" in terms of the linguistic situation regarding English, it is in fact not the only country where one could get by in English so easily. Compared to, for example, Italy and France, it might be very different but there are other countries where English is approximately equally widely-spoken and understood, for example the Netherlands, the other Nordic countries and the Baltic countries. Therefore, international students might experience the role of English in Finland differently depending on their previous experiences on using it in other countries.

As stated earlier, some international students aspire to learn Finnish and do not want to use English extensively in their daily lives, even though it would be possible to survive in English. Especially those interviewees, who aimed at staying longer in Finland, considered it weird if foreigners do not even try to communicate in the local language. Such views were reported by for example Martine and Ulrike:

> (27) Well, when people have been living here for longer time and they are always only communicating in English, then I kind of, I'm like Finnish is nicer, because we are in Finland now, so I'm always a bit dubious about that actually. (Martine)

> (28) And it's sometimes so when I'm meeting for example friends of him (Finnish boyfriend) and then there's someone who doesn't speak Finnish so then we have to go to English, and I sometimes feel that this is more kind of like unnatural, and in a way I have to say it's annoying sometimes also, because I have a few friends who live longer in Finland, also like the same time as me maybe, and they don't know so much, and then it's a bit like, I feel like, it feels sometimes a bit like, unnatural, or how should I say, unnatural, or not good. When I for example hang out then we speak Finnish, and then we have to switch to English, because there is some person who doesn't. (Ulrike)

All in all, international students who participated in the study seem to use English with great confidence and few problems. Variety in the ways of speaking is tolerated and seen as a natural feature of communication especially in the social groups of international students. In addition, two different perceptions appeared in the interview data: being able to survive in Finland by using only English, and attempting to learn and use the local language despite the easiness of using mainly English. The choice between these two ways of language use seems to be highly on the individual, since the environment poses little pressure to learn Finnish.

7.2 Uses of Finnish

The uses of Finnish among international students seem to be very varied: in fact, Finnish is used for a greater variety of purposes than English and in differing amounts. It could be stated that there are two different groups of Finnish users: those who try to use it as often as possible and those who do not use it much or at all. In the following sections, the contexts of Finnish use are clarified in 7.2.1, and Section 7.2.2 describes the participants' experiences and perceptions on communicating in Finnish. Similarly to the English part, the sections are organized based on the themes found in the data.

7.2.1 Typical Contexts and Purposes for Use

There was notably more variation in the contexts of Finnish use among the participants than in their uses of English. Therefore, more themes were selected to represent this variety. Consequently, not all themes apply to all participants, but some were chosen to illustrate somehow exceptional use of the language. The main themes of the Finnish use are:

1. Finnish in brief exchanges
2. Exposure to Finnish with little active use
3. Speaking Finnish with Finnish acquaintances
4. Using Finnish in order to get to know the host culture
5. Using Finnish out of politeness
6. Finnish for humor
7. Finnish for work or future career
8. Finnish as a means of making life in Finland easier

Firstly, Finnish is most commonly used by international students for **brief exchanges**, such as service situations and greetings. These kinds of communicational situations are characterized by short duration, use of phrases and a routine-like structure. For some, this is the only context where they use Finnish, for example for David and Nadine:

(29) I use Finnish for very simple things like ordering. -- I don't think I use it anywhere else apart from very superficially like saying "have a nice weekend" or "hei" (hello). (David)

(30) Speaking, yeah obviously, the small phrases that you just use in Finnish, that I can do. Speaking longer sentences, I'm too scared really, because every time I come up with a sentence and then I say it and people ask me something back and I'm lost again, so yeah, that doesn't work too well yet. (Nadine)

The statistics also show that Finnish is used rather often in brief exchanges:

Table 11. Using Finnish for superficial or brief exchanges (Question 4c)

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	5	7	1	3	1	5	3	7	1; 3: 5; 7
Hours per day	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1

Table 12. Using Finnish for service situations (Question 3f)

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	3	4	1	4	0	5	6	7	4
Hours per day	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1

Table 13. Using Finnish to obtain directions or information (Question 4b)

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	5	5	0	5	1	4	2	7	5
Hours per day	0-1	0-1	0	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1

Brief exchanges are possible even with a rather low proficiency in the language, which might be the main reason why it is one of the most common ways of using Finnish. International students tend to have a lower proficiency in Finnish than in English, and combined with a rather low confidence to use the language, as is illustrated in Nadine's extract above (nr. 30), it makes the use of Finnish for more extended conversations difficult or even impossible. Brief exchanges such as communication in service situations, buying a train ticket, and asking the flatmate how they are doing usually follow a 'script', which can make it easier to guess what the other person is asking or replying even without understanding every single word of the conversation. David, who had managed to order a taxi over the phone entirely in Finnish with his beginner-level Finnish skills, describes how he has noticed this phenomenon in his own Finnish use:

(31) Yeah, because you know the script and what is going to happen when you order a taxi, it's like ordering at the restaurant. At first it was more difficult like, they would ask these things in a sequence, like would you like to have it here or take away or would you like the receipt. And then after a few exchanges I kind of remembered the sequence so it's always the things and it's easier to pick up the key words, and then if they say something else like would you like to have a toy with that, suddenly it's just difficult. (David)

Then he goes on to contemplate whether using a language in very strictly-patterned exchanges can be labelled as really communicating in that language:

(32) I wouldn't say I'm using Finnish in communication at all, like having a discussion about like universe and everything. It's mostly following a very rigid script that I have rehearsed before. It's not very typical of language use, you could just show them a card, you know, in these situations: "I want a hamburger". That's pretty much it. (David)

The second theme that illustrates the participants' use of Finnish is **exposure to the language without using it actively**. When it comes to listening to Finnish, it is obvious that all participants listen to Finnish on a daily basis, as can be seen in Table 14 below. This is obvious, since Finnish is the dominant language in the environment (excluding such contexts as the university and the international student community described in Section 7.1). What the data does not reveal is whether the listening is active (trying to make sense of what is said) or passive (hearing Finnish without understanding much).

Table 14. Listening to Finnish (Question 6)

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	7	5	7	6	7	7	7	7	7
Hours per day	4+	0-1	2	0-1	0-1	3	2	0-1	0-1

Because about half of the participants reported having rather little knowledge of the Finnish language, one might assume that at least some passive listening is included in the results. Therefore, it could be stated that these participants are exposed to Finnish but there is actually rather little active use of it. The interview data confirms this assumption. In the following extracts, Christian, Nadine and Miltos explain their experiences on listening to Finnish:

(33) I use Finnish actually quite little in an active way, but I'm exposed to it. I hear people, I read things, and I understand most of it. -- But I never really use it on a daily basis. (Christian)

(34) I hear a lot of Finnish obviously, you can't escape that. (Nadine)

(35) You can't avoid listening to Finnish because Finnish people are around, but I couldn't understand not even ten percent of what they say. (Miltos)

Foreigners are of course also exposed to written Finnish in the environment. For instance, some announcements, advertisements, menus and other informative texts in the public places might not be available in English at all, so they have to use the resources that are available. In these cases foreigners try to get the information they need even with a low proficiency in Finnish. Miltos mentions in the interview that the lack of English in the environment had in fact increased his motivation to study Finnish in the beginning.

(36) Yes, it was nice in the first two three months to learn some words in Finnish, because I would… And this was the only small motivation that I had, I want to know what the signs are saying and where can I find toilet, information desk, tickets. And lots of the time I didn't see English, I see only Finnish signs, so I want to at least have a clue of what it might mean. (Miltos)

Also in the questionnaire data, the participants' estimations on reading in Finnish (see Table 15) were notably higher than their use of Finnish for other purposes. That could be explained by the dominance of the Finnish language in the surrounding linguistic landscape, since the frequent use of Finnish for reading does not seem to result from better language skills in reading than speaking. In fact, reading and writing skills in Finnish were estimated as the least developed skill areas in the background section of the questionnaire by the majority of the participants and were mentioned as the most difficult part in learning Finnish by for example Ulrike.

Table 15. Reading in Finnish (Question 5b)

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	6	2	7	5	0	6	2	4	2; 6
Hours per day	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0	0-1	0-1	2	0-1

As explained in Section 2.1, today's researchers (for example Trentman 2013 and Isabelli- García 2006) argue that it is unclear whether having contact to a language, only being exposed to it without active processing, leads to improvement in language proficiency. Even though some gains in the target language can perhaps be expected from a study abroad period, people do not automatically learn the language, which seems to be the case of those participants of the present study who reported being exposed to Finnish but not really learning it.

One important context of Finnish use is communicating **with Finnish acquaintances.** Contact to local people seems to have a crucial influence on the frequency of using and effectiveness of learning Finnish. Most informants had Finnish people in their social networks. They were either friends, flatmates, a Finnish friendship family organized by the university or a boyfriend or girlfriend. These types of contacts can be interpreted to have an influence on the Finnish use, since speaking Finnish with other foreigners was not reported often. As Ulrike mentioned in extract number 28, international students often revert to using English if even one person in the group is a non-Finnish speaker.

Learning and using Finnish with a local acquaintance can trigger feelings of making progress in learning, which further builds confidence. Martine describes this kind of positive experiences with her friendship family:

(37) I notice that it goes a lot better and so, I'm all the time really happy when I kind of accomplish something in Finnish. When I go to, I have this friendship family and when I spoke Finnish for the whole weekend or something I'm just really happy about that even though, of course I still want my Finnish to be better but yeah, I'm happy. (Martine)

In her case, contact to Finnish people sparked the interest in the country and the Finnish language in the first place. She had a Finnish pen pal when she was still living back in her home country, the Netherlands, and after a visit to Oulu to see the pen pal she decided to start learning the language and become an exchange student or, in her own words, an "undercover immigrant". A similar experience was reported by Sausau, whose contact to the children in his friendship family was a starting point in his Finnish learning career:

(38) I had one friendship family and in the family they have two children. One of them in that year they are six and eight years old in that time and we still have connection. Even the year when I was in China I was, I have every week one hour Skype connection, only talking Finnish, because those kids want to teach me how to speak Finnish. Of course they don't know how to speak English in that stage. (Sausau)

Those who have a Finnish boyfriend or girlfriend, Ulrike and Victor, had spoken English in the beginning of their relationships but were trying to increase the use of Finnish, because they found it good practice and more natural than speaking English, a foreign language for both, as Ulrike explains:

(39) I feel it's nicer to speak, to use at least the mother tongue of one person for example with my boyfriend that… With English is for both of us a foreign language, so it's nicer that at least he can, he is able to use a language naturally and then I also learn more than when we both speak some wrong English. (Ulrike)

Finnish skills were reported useful also for communicating with the Finnish partner's family:

(40) It's (speaking Finnish) mostly with Finnish people, my girlfriend and girlfriend's parents. (Victor)

The fact that the frequency of speaking Finnish seems to depend heavily on the type of social networks and access to native speakers can be noticed by comparing the

statistical data to what the participants told about their friend groups in the interview. Table 16 below shows how much the participants used Finnish with friends:

Table 16. Speaking Finnish with friends (Question 3b)

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	4	4	1	2	0	4	7	7	4
Hours per day	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0	2	4+	2	0-1

Those who reported speaking Finnish more than the others, Martine, Ulrike and Victor, all have contact to native speakers of Finnish and try to speak Finnish also with other non-natives. Also participants Sausau and Christian reported having either a Finnish friendship family or friends, which can be seen in the rather frequent use of Finnish among friends. On the other hand, Nadine, David and Miltos had not become so acquainted with locals, so they also used Finnish quite little in their friend groups. The correlation of using Finnish frequently and the scope and type of social networks seems to exist based on the data. Similar results were found in Isabelli-García's study (2006), where SA students' development in language skills seemed to be connected to the broadness of social networks in the host country. However, use of Finnish with friends also depends on the level of language skills and own determination to use it. For example, Nadine has a Finnish friendship family, but uses rather rarely Finnish with them because of her self-reported low proficiency in the language.

One important purpose for using Finnish, as reported by some participants, is **getting to know the host culture** better. Most international students would like to get to know Finnish people and feel more integrated into the Finnish society. Some participants perceive the use of Finnish instead of English helpful for achieving these goals. Sausau said he tries to use mainly Finnish, because he wants to "feel more close to the local people" and "feel welcome" in the host country. Even David, who had started learning Finnish recently, tried to use some words he knew in conversations with Finns, as he explains:

(41) And there are some other situations, maybe subconsciously I was hoping it could improve the bonding, if I use some more native words. (David)

Speaking Finnish might also be related to questions of identity. Using the local language might make foreigners feel more integrated rather than always playing the part of an outsider. For example, Martine, who wishes to stay longer in Finland, explains:

(42) When I go to a shop, I then really don't want to be this foreign person all the time, like: "Well do you sell this and that?". I kind of try to speak Finnish then. (Martine)

The fifth theme that characterizes international students' use of Finnish is using it out of **politeness**. Some participants tried to use Finnish with Finns, because they considered it more polite than expecting Finns to speak a foreign language with them. Sausau has experienced that Finnish people appreciate the effort that foreigners put into learning and using Finnish:

(43) I think here in Finland Finnish people will appreciate it if you speak Finnish to them. (Sausau)

Nadine mentions politeness several times in her interview:

(44) I do try to learn Finnish and I do try to be polite to people, I'm not assuming everyone speaks English. -- I try to be polite and at least start in Finnish. -- It's obviously a polite thing to do. (Nadine)

Finnish can also be used for fun, or to create **humor**. The use of Finnish in a humorous way was actually only reported by two participants, Christian and Victor, but the theme was included because it shows a different perspective to Finnish language use. Christian usually communicates in English with his Finnish friends, but might occasionally drop a Finnish word in between to create amusement. Christian talks about his use of Finnish as an ice-breaker:

(45) I mainly use it to amuse my Finnish friends, to make them laugh, yeah, then I say something in Finnish and the way I say it plus the mistakes and whatever makes it funny. For me it's like a humor thing (laughs) than saying something serious in Finnish, I'm sorry. -- I like to crack jokes and I know, if I say something in Finnish to a Finnish friend, especially when she doesn't expect it, then you know it's very funny. (Christian)

Victor reported using multiple languages with his Finnish girlfriend, English being the main language of communication, but says that trying to use Finnish is actually not very serious:

(46) Well we try it more as a joke. (Victor)

This category, use of Finnish in order to create humor, might seem like it is of little importance, but actually it can have an effect on people's relations, since it brings new

nuances to interaction and creates a new kind of atmosphere among the people involved in the conversation. For example in the case of Christian, who has numerous Finnish and international friends, creating humor though the use of Finnish could be regarded as a feature of his communication style. Using the target language in a humorous way could be perhaps characterized as an asset in establishing friendships and also in acquiring contact to locals.

Moving on from humor to the seventh theme, Finnish is seen as important for later **career**, if one wishes to stay in Finland after studies. Finnish skills might also be an advantage in the employment market in the home country. Only one of the participants, Ulrike, had already worked in Finland in Finnish, but many were considering the option and Victor was going to start working soon after the time of data collection. Ulrike complains in the interview that the Finnish classes that she had taken were not supportive regarding working life. However, she was glad to be able to use Finnish so much daily at work despite all the difficulties in the beginning, because she felt like she was improving her language skills notably. She would like to work in Finland again after her Master's studies, and was trying to improve her writing skills in preparation for working life. Ulrike, Martine, Victor and perhaps also Nadine and Christian were planning to stay in Finland. Some were not certain if they would like to stay and work in Finland but they are learning the language, because they want to keep that option open, as Nadine explains:

(47) Since I don't know where I want to work later, I'm also having that aspect in my mind all the time, so that maybe it would be nice to be on a level that I could technically work in Finland, if I wanted to. (Nadine)

Victor was aiming at a career in interpreting or in an international company, in which cases his Finnish skills would be an asset:

(48) I would like to maybe become, so getting a job in Finnish --. One of my goals would be to be an interpreter, which would be a good thing, so for that point it would be a good thing to learn Finnish. (Victor)

(49) So it would be an international company, and some people might say that English is needed, well I speak English, but also it's important to know the native speakers', the official language of the country, because they have a tendency, I think that people prefer to use their native language even though they would be really good at English, this is not really the point. At some point they might be bored or I don't know why. -- I will definitely try my best to keep Finnish as an asset in my work life, so being fluent maybe. (Victor)

At least one participant was hoping to be able to use Finnish at work in the home country. Sausau was planning to work in a Chinese company that is in cooperation with Finland, and for this purpose he is learning Finnish:

(50) I feel like, in my career, in the future, I probably do something cooperate between Finland and China, in that way if I can speak or have a good Finnish language skills then it will be a very good advantage for me. -- I need Finnish in the future, it would benefiting me, as an advantage. (Sausau)

English alone is not considered enough for surviving in working life in Finland. Finnish skills are also needed, but many international students fear that their language skills might not be good enough. Studying Finnish has proven difficult and time-consuming for many, which might change the future plans, like Ulrike illustrates:

(51) I think from the living conditions it's attractive for many people, but then always comes the language. (Ulrike)

However, Ulrike and Victor are good examples of how one can learn Finnish and be employed in Finland, so this option should not be regarded as impossible.

Learning Finnish as an international student is not only beneficial when applying for work but also in daily life. Most participants described how their knowledge of Finnish **makes living in Finland easier**. As mentioned above in the paragraph on being exposed to Finnish in the environment, not all information is available in English. Therefore, Finnish skills help to understand the environment and survive in daily life. Miltos, who learned Finnish in the beginning in order to be able to read signs and announcements, says:

(52) I find it useful to learn some Finnish words or some very basic stuff, so I can, not feel so lost in the country. (Miltos)

Some participants also found it easier to handle some situations in Finnish, even though using English might be possible. For example, they had experienced getting better service in Finnish than in English.

(53) And I feel also that it's easier in Finland when you speak Finnish, for example just when you call to, let's say, call to Kela (Finnish social security) and there's always this waiting line and I feel like it goes quicker and everything, and the services are easier to get in Finnish than in English. (Ulrike)

In the extract above, Ulrike explains that she chooses to use Finnish in certain situations in order to run errands more easily and quickly.

In conclusion, this section has described the contexts and purposes of using Finnish, which turned out to be numerous and more versatile than the uses of English. The next section moves on, once again, to deepen the understanding of international student's Finnish use by introducing themes connected to experiences and perceptions.

7.2.2 Perceptions and Experiences of Using Finnish in Finland

Compared to English, communicating in Finnish seems to cause more **challenges** to the participants. Successful communication is not always easily achieved in Finnish, but the message gets across if there's the chance to switch to English. For instance, Christian explains:

> (54) It depends what you call difficulty, because if I have the option to switch, then the difficulty disappears. I make it disappear. Without improving my Finnish skills (laughs). So if it's about communication per se, there's no problem for me. If we talk about doing it in Finnish, then there's a problem actually. (Christian)

Even Ulrike, who reported using Finnish often and had used the language in working life and with her boyfriend and friends, expressed that she was happy to have English as a backup language:

> (55) For me it's maybe also good that there's, when I speak with someone in Finnish I could switch to English and the person would understand. (Ulrike)

Usually the factors that caused the international students difficulties when trying to communicate in Finnish were dialects and accents. In general, the colloquial forms of many Finnish words can be very different from the written equivalents, which also caused problems. Some comments from the interview transcripts that support the observation are the following:

> (56) I always feel when people are talking and they are talking fast and especially the difference between spoken and written Finnish. (Nadine)

> (57) I think in Finnish language, people emphasize the colloquial expressions a lot more and then it's quite difficult. (David)

(58) Because there's so much dialects, I wasn't really used to that, that everyone speaks in their own way. -- Everyone uses different dialect and the "puhekieli" (colloquial Finnish) is completely different from what you read. And that was something I had to adapt to. (Martine)

Problems in understanding or delivering an idea could also sometimes result from pronunciation problems, fast pace of the other speaker and some similarly-sounding word forms, which can be easily mixed with some other word with a very different meaning. Many participants experienced difficulties in memorizing and recognizing new words in Finnish, since they have no associations to other already existing language skills. Especially the European students are often speakers of Indo-European languages such as French, German or Spanish, and they might know other languages mainly from the same language group. Finnish belongs to the group of Finno-Ugrian languages, whose majority of vocabulary differs notably from, for example, the Indo-European languages. The aforementioned difficulties were reported by Martine and Victor, for example:

(59) The thing with the pronunciation and everything, there are just few things that I can never get right. (Martine)

(60) I'd say (the problem is) not being able to understand whenever they start speaking really fast, the normal level or pace. -- And also, yeah maybe pronunciation sometimes in English or I guess in Finnish as well. Pronouncing a word I think is right and there's a stress but I don't put right and people don't understand and they have to, I have to repeat five times. (Victor)

Confidence in speaking Finnish was overall estimated low. Many of the participants placed their level of confidence in English very high, but in Finnish quite the opposite:

(61) In English I'm very confident, don't worry. And in Finnish I'm not confident at all (laughs). (Christian)

(62) I don't really think I feel as confident in Finnish than in English. (Victor)

(63) And speaking Finnish, no confidence at all (laughs). (Nadine)

(64) No, I guess never I had (confidence), even in class or even if I know how to answer, if I know it was correct, but still I wasn't so confident. It's a tricky language, so difficult. (Miltos)

What seems to be very characteristic of learning Finnish, and therefore also using it in everyday life, is that the degree of success depends a lot on own **motivation, interest and effort,** which confirms Malessa's (2011) findings of the participants in her study, learners of Finnish as a foreign language. In addition, Gardner (1985) emphasizes

motivational aspects in all language learning, a theory which seems to apply to the Finnish learning process of the participants of the present study. None of the participants had made much progress in learning the language only by residing in Finland, which goes hand in hand with the recent conclusions of SA researchers focusing on language gain during study abroad, such as Isabelli-García (2006) and Trentman (2013), as described in Section 2.1. Learning Finnish usually starts only upon arrival in Finland, where international students enrol in a beginners' Finnish course. The heavy workload on these courses turned out to be a surprise for some participants. Nadine talks about how much time learning Finnish requires from her:

(65) I'm seeking to improve, so that's my motivation to continue go to the Finnish lessons although they are loads of work. They are actually more work than my actual courses so you need that motivation to want to improve. (Nadine)

According to Victor, dropping out of Finnish courses is not uncommon, but the environment can influence attitudes towards learning and support the learner:

(66) You should never tell a foreigner or somebody who's learning Finnish that it's too hard, that Finnish language is hard, 'cos they already think of that so much, but if you acknowledge that they are going to, the chances are that they might even start to drop out. (Victor)

In fact, the English-friendly environment made most of the participants feel that there was actually no real need or at least no pressure to learn Finnish in the first place. Using English (and other languages) is so easy that it sometimes discourages international students from putting effort into learning Finnish. For example, Miltos says that he only studied Finnish in the past to pass the compulsory course and adds:

(67) Other than that, I didn't find, I didn't find a need to learn Finnish. (Miltos)

Christian compares the linguistic situation in Finland to his experiences on language use in Italy, where he was working for a short period of time:

(68) In Italy I was under pressure to learn to speak Italian as quickly as possible, 'cos I had to, I couldn't do my work otherwise. But here I'm not under pressure. All my Finnish friends are very fluent in English or they speak very well German or French really. (Christian)

Since learning Finnish is not regarded as necessary for surviving in Finland, it is often described as a personal hobby, for example by Sausau, Christian, Martine and Nadine, who says:

(69) It's been so far, for what I've been using it, it's been a hobby. -- So it's been my personal pleasure to learn it. (Nadine)

Having said that the use of Finnish depends heavily on foreigners' own initiative and effort, it also has to be mentioned that some participants found it natural to use Finnish, because others usually approached them in Finnish. There is great variation in this regard, however, perhaps based on the appearance, as was also found out in Trentman's (2013) study on an SA program in Egypt, where the international students were assumed to speak either the local language Arabic or English based on judgements on their ethnic features. In the context of the present study, those who looked 'Finnish' or 'European' were often mistaken for Finns, and the locals initiated conversations with them in Finnish. These kinds of experiences were reported by, for example, Nadine and Martine:

(70) Since I'm looking European, obviously people tend to assume that I'm a Finn. So it's not like I look Asian or something and people think I'm a foreigner. So yeah, people do come up to you and start talking (in Finnish). (Nadine)

(71) Actually most people speak Finnish to me anyway, so I suppose then I just respond in Finnish as well. (Martine)

For Nadine the conversations initiated in Finnish seemed to cause an uneasy feeling, since her Finnish skills were still at a beginner's level, whereas Martine seemed to take a positive attitude towards these encounters with locals. In comparison, Victor was usually approached in English, so people perhaps more often assume him to be a foreigner:

(72) I think people start speaking English to me often, because they maybe don't know I can speak Finnish. (Victor)

Victor would obviously like to practice Finnish but the environment does not encourage him to use it. He might lose some possibilities to use Finnish because of the foreigner identity imposed to him from the outside.

All in all, the types of experiences of international students on using Finnish seem to depend heavily on their level of language skills, confidence and own initiative, but also to some extent on how they are approached by the local population. Using Finnish in communication was not reported to be particularly easy by any of the participants but all felt that the environment to practice it was open and allowing for mistakes.

Communicating especially with locals, native speakers of the language, could be interpreted to have great importance to the language learning process. However, the participants had contact to locals in varying amounts, which might be one of the most important reasons behind the differences in using and learning Finnish.

7.3 Comparison between English and Finnish Use

One of the aims of the present study is to compare international students' use of Finnish and English. In this section, the themes that emerged from the data regarding the use of these two languages will be compared and a numerical analysis based on the ordinal response categories in the questionnaire (using English/ Finnish for certain activities on 0-7 days per week and 0-1, 2, 3 or more than 4 hours per day) will be added to complement the results of the thematic comparison. Since one of the research questions, question 1.2, focused on how much English and Finnish international students need in their daily life, numerical comparisons of different areas of use (speaking, listening, reading and writing) will be drawn in order to better understand the big picture of the focus group's language use. After the thematic and numerical comparisons, a common phenomenon related to the English and Finnish use, namely *code-switching*, will be briefly discussed. Finally, the participants' perceptions on the roles of English and Finnish in Finland will also be described.

The themes related to Finnish and English use explained in more detail in the previous Sections (7.1 and 7.2) can be compared to some extent, but it has to be kept in mind that the themes selected for analysis appeared in the data in varying frequencies. While some themes represent the perceptions of all eight participants, others have been selected as exceptions to highlight the diversity among language users. The differences that emerged from the thematic analysis on the contexts of use and experiences on communicating in the two languages can help us understand the underlying purposes for choosing to use either of the languages. The main differences deal with questions such as with whom, why, how much, and in what contexts the languages are used. Firstly, English seems to be used almost always with other international students, whereas Finnish is used with locals, especially with a Finnish boyfriend, girlfriend, roommates, friends or friendship families. Secondly, the purpose of using Finnish is usually to settle in better and faster to the host country, whereas English was reported to be used

occasionally in encounters with local people mainly because of the lack of Finnish skills. According to the participants, survival in Finland is possible in English but using Finnish can make life easier or even better in some cases. The use of Finnish was experienced to improve getting to know different aspects of the host culture and feeling integrated in the society. Participants also found using Finnish helpful in achieving contact with locals. Therefore, some of them used Finnish, at least in the form of greetings and phrases, out of politeness to create a better atmosphere in interactions, or used the language in a humorous way, as an ice-breaker when communicating with locals. English was not perceived as a polite choice in communication with Finns, but among international students it was even experienced as a means of bonding. Thirdly, the roles of the languages in the participants' studies were different. English was for everyone the main language of instruction and Finnish usually merely an object of studying. Fourthly, taking a look at the university context also revealed that in that environment foreigners are exposed to both Finnish and English, which is widely spoken among both local and international university students. In other less formal contexts and especially in working life, there is notably more exposure to Finnish. Fifthly, English (and often the native language(s) as well) is used for media and entertainment more than Finnish. The sixth difference is related to the level of language skills: English was used for extended conversations, while one of the most common uses of Finnish was for handling brief exchanges.

The proportions of using English and Finnish in everyday life can be illustrated in two different ways: by examining extracts from the interview data and by analyzing the numerical results on the participants' estimations on how much they used each language within the past one month. The first option offers participants' own descriptions on their overall language use. The following comments on the proportions of English and Finnish use indicate that there are indeed remarkable differences in the answers. Some try to use Finnish as much as they can in daily life (for example Martine), others use mainly English in all contexts (Christian and Nadine), and some estimated that they use the languages in approximately equal amounts (Sausau).

(73) Actually I at least always try (to use Finnish). -- So yeah, basically as much [sic] situations as possible. (Martine)

(74) It's mainly English with a lot of passive exposure to Finnish on a daily basis. (Christian)

(75) Obviously, English plays quite a huge role. (Nadine)

(76) I think in this stage it's half half. In my Master's degree study I have to do those English courses. Yes, courses are taught in English language but for my personal hobby I'm learning Finnish hardly [sic]. (Sausau)

The other way of approaching the topic of overall use is to look at the statistics on the use of English and Finnish in speaking, reading, listening and writing. The results of the speaking category are demonstrated in Tables 17 and 18:

Table 17. Speaking Finnish (Question 2)

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	6	6	1	6	1	7	7	7	6; 7
Hours per day	2	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	2-3	3	2	0-1

Table 18. Speaking English (Question 2)

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	6	6	7	7	4	3	6	7	6; 7
Hours per day	3	3	2	2	2	2	3	4+	2

As can be seen in the preceding tables, there seem to be two different groups when it comes to speaking Finnish, while English is spoken by all on 3-7 days a week. The differences in speaking Finnish, especially the lower amounts reported by Nadine and Miltos, can be perhaps explained by the proficiency level. The more proficient ones, Sausau, Martine, Ulrike and Victor used Finnish rather often, 6 or 7 days per week and on those days 2-3 hours. The participants spoke English outside of class almost daily, with the most typical answers being 6 and 7 days a week, typically 2 or 3 hours per day or even more. Only Martine and Miltos seem to be exceptions in this category, reporting speaking English on 3 or 4 days a week.

There seems to be variation, once again, in the results of the reading part. While English was used for reading different types of texts by all participants on 5-7 days per week and typically 3 hours per day (see Table 19 below), the estimations on reading in Finnish are not so consistent. As can be seen in Table 20, Miltos did not read in Finnish at all and the other participants used Finnish for reading on 2-7 days a week, but notably fewer hours than English, typically less than one hour a day.

Table 19. Reading in Finnish (Question 5)

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	6	2	7	5	0	6	2	4	2; 6
Hours per day	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0	0-1	0-1	2	0-1

Table 20. Reading in English (Question 5)

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	7	7	7	7	7	5	7	7	7
Hours per day	3	3	4+	2	4+	2	4+	2	3

As already mentioned in the thematic analysis, there is of course a great deal of exposure to Finnish in the environment. That might explain some of the comparably high numbers regarding Finnish in the listening part of the questionnaire. Table 21 shows that all participants listened to Finnish almost daily, however, typically quite few hours per day. On the contrary, English (see Table 22) was used in this category almost daily and several hours (at least 2) per day, probably because it was reported to be used in extended conversations, which take more time than brief exchanges.

Table 21. Listening to Finnish (Question 6)

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	7	5	7	6	7	7	7	7	7
Hours per day	4+	0-1	2	0-1	0-1	3	2	0-1	0-1

Table 22. Listening to English (Question 6)

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	6	7	7	7	7	6	7	7	7
Hours per day	2	4+	4+	2	3	2	2	4+	2

Lastly, what is striking in the statistics on reading is that Finnish is not used for reading activities as much as for other purposes. Table 23 below shows the differences among users: while Sausau, Martine, Ulrike and Victor read in Finnish often, for the others reading was only occasional or non-existent. Writing in English was frequent among most informants. Only David and Martine wrote in English less than 4 days a week.

Table 23. Writing in Finnish (Question 7)

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	4	1	1	0	0	5	7	2	0; 1
Hours per day	0-1	0-1	0-1	0	0	0-1	0-1	2	0-1

Table 24. Writing in English (Question 7)

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	5	7	7	2	7	3	6	4	7
Hours per day	3	2	0-1	no reply	2	0-1	4+	0-1	0-1

After the thematic and numerical comparisons, one central aspect of multilingual communication, *code-switching*, will be briefly introduced, since it is important to keep it in mind when interpreting the results. Code-switching is defined as "the use of more than one language in the course of a single communicative episode" by Heller (1988: 1). For some of the participants, defining how often they used either Finnish or English was difficult, especially for bilingual Christian, since they acknowledged using the languages rarely absolutely separately. Code-switching is a salient feature in the communication of international students. In fact, it seems to be an important factor in enabling successful communication in various situations. None of the participants had experienced major communication problems, because code-switching helps in tricky situations. As reported by participants, switching most often happens from Finnish to English when the foreigner does not know how to express an idea in Finnish or understand what exactly the conversation partner is trying to convey. However, there are also situations where the foreigner initiates a conversation in English but has to switch to Finnish, because the interlocutor does not speak or understand English. One participant, Christian, even had conversations where he used mainly English and the other one(s) Finnish, since he can understand Finnish rather well, but does not speak the language equally well himself.

(77) I've been here long enough to understand most of the things people say and they are always so surprised, because I answer in English, and so they see that I understood, but I just can't answer in Finnish so quickly. Voi harmi (too bad), I know. Sorry, that's how it is. (Christian)

The fact that code-switching often takes place in interactions of the international students makes it difficult to estimate the exact amount that they used English and Finnish separately. Hence, it has to be taken into account that all the estimations on the frequency of use might include some code-switching, as well.

The thematic and numerical comparisons have demonstrated varying kinds of differences in the use of Finnish and English. Both languages seem to have their own functions in each of the participants' lives, and languages are used in a flexible way with the main focus on how to ensure successful communication. English is used more

than Finnish overall, but there are also international students, who prefer the use of Finnish and might use it more often than English. Some participants estimated that their use of Finnish might even increase if they stay longer in Finland and start working, for example.

Even though there are great differences in the roles of English and Finnish in the participants' own lives, the international students had rather unified opinions about the roles of English and Finnish in the Finnish society. Most of them were familiar with the issue of the spread of English from their home countries or other locations. Even though they had not been following the discussion about it in Finland, they could relate the phenomenon to the global context. As stated by Leppänen and Nikula (2008: 12) the spread of English in Finland is, indeed, part of a global phenomenon. Overall, most participants perceived the status of English as not particularly threatening to Finnish. Finnish is regarded as a vital language with a strong official status and an established role in the society. English seems to be considered an additional resource that is used alongside Finnish, similarly to the findings in Nikula and Leppänen's (2008: 426) study described in Section 3.1. In the following extracts, participants David and Martine express their disbelief in English taking over Finnish:

(78) Finnish has persisted in Finland for a long time and it's not easily replaced. Maybe you would be more impacted or influenced in some way but it wouldn't be gone overnight. (David)

(79) I haven't really followed that debate, but well, if I have to say now, I don't think it's really that much of an issue, I think, because in Finnish I don't really see that much English words actually and when you have them I think it's awesome that you actually pronounce the things in Finnish. -- So whenever English comes into Finnish language, it seems that Finnish people actually kind of adapt it and make it their own or something. (Martine)

Some informants had noticed the increase of use of English loan words and phrases in Finnish, but they seemed to regard it as part of the natural development of languages, as illustrated in these examples:

(80) I think this in a way is also natural that languages are always developing and the English is, I mean, it is everywhere because of music and the movies and everything. (Ulrike)

(81) I know we tend to think that one language might contaminate of overtake another one, but that's not… -- You cannot just stop people from using those (English loan words). -- You cannot go against the trend. (Christian)

In addition to the aforementioned views, some international students expressed a more conservative point of view on the topic. For example, Christian describes himself as a "purist", even though he understands and accepts the development of languages:

(82) If you ask me if it's a threat, I mean, erm, well, I mean, deep down I think I'm a purist. I like languages so in a sense that if there's a nice original word I prefer using that one. -- I just notice the trend, as you say, English is increasing and entering Finnish language more and more. It's weird, because I don't mind, because it kind of, it's fun, it's natural, and on the other hand I also like things to remain, not pure, but, you know, I mean there's a tradition in languages, too, that you carry on and it's sad to be forgetting words in that sense, or neglecting them. (Christian)

Besides Christian, many participants reported preferring the use of more 'native' words instead of English loan words, for example Nadine:

(83) I think usually it's a good thing to have your own words in your own language. -- I think it's fine to adopt words from another language, as long as there are not words that says the same in your own language. (Nadine)

All in all, the foreigners did not express much concern over the status of Finnish and they even saw the use of English in Finland as an asset to the country, as Victor describes:

(84) It's (English) a great tool and I mean for tourism for example, I guess many people know, they maybe hear some stuffs that, ok, Finns are really good at English and they notice it maybe when they arrive (Victor)

Two other examples of perceiving the role of Finnish in Finland as relatively strong and established are provided by Nadine and Ulrike, who compare the use of English words in Finnish to the same phenomenon in German:

(85) I haven't been following that debate in particular -- But as for English taking over, I think Finnish is doing quite well compared to German, for example, because there are so many words in the computer field, for example where you have your Finnish words and we've adopted the English one. (Nadine)

(86) I hear from a lot of Finnish people who say that they feel that the English language takes Finnish over. So, in Germany, for example, this happens with the, we for example say like smartphone and stuff like this, but in Finland I feel it's different, 'cos they still have a lot of own words like älypuhelin (smartphone) and things. (Ulrike)

In general, the participants of the study expressed similar opinions about the roles of English and Finnish in Finland as sociolinguists have, as discussed more thoroughly in Section 3.1. The most salient features in their descriptions seem to be that they see the mixing of languages as natural and the role of English in Finland as something that

directly benefits them. Finnish is perceived to have a strong status in the country, and English is seen as a communicational tool, which does not threaten the vitality of the Finnish language.

7.4 Use of Other Languages

This section focuses on the international students' use of their native language(s) and other foreign languages than English and Finnish during their stay in Finland. The use of these other languages will be only briefly described, as the main emphasis of the study is on the use of Finnish and English. The purpose of paying attention to other languages is to highlight the multilingual nature of international student communities. In general, use of other languages than English or Finnish seems to be **occasional** rather than a big proportion in daily life. David summarizes his use of his mother tongue Mandarin Chinese in the following way, which gives a representative picture of the other participants' use of other languages as well:

(87) (I use) Mandarin very rarely, only when I'm texting to my parents for example. And then, on very rare occasions with the Chinese students, because in most cases we all speak English. (David)

The participants' ways of using their **native language(s)** typically fall into four categories: keeping in touch with the family and friends back home (especially by calling via Skype), socializing with people with the same native language, consuming media from the home country and speaking the language with Finnish people who are eager to learn it as a foreign language. The most frequently mentioned purpose of use is keeping in touch with the people back home, as illustrated in this extract by the German student Ulrike:

(88) In Finland I don't have so many German friends but I usually like communicating,, like, for example Whatsapp, or something. I write or send voice notes to my friends and I call with my parents like weekly, so, but it's not that I'm using German like daily. (Ulrike)

Other foreign languages than Finnish and English were also reported to be used, but not regularly. Since the majority of the participants was interested in languages in general, most of them were or had been learning several languages. Especially Nadine,

Christian, Martine, David and Victor demonstrated interest in languages and were seeking opportunities to refresh their skills also in languages that are perhaps not as widely-spoken in Finland as English. For instance, Nadine had found a Russian Each One Teach One[4] partner, whom she meets in order to practice Russian in an informal setting. She also watches movies in Russian. Miltos had had a chance to go to practice Finnish sign language in a local primary school class for the hearing-impaired. Victor told stories of trying to speak Spanish with Spanish-speaking exchange students. On the other hand, some students could speak other languages but do not use them in Finland. One example is Sausau, who knows Japanese but does not use it and another one is Ulrike, who had learned French and Spanish at school but does not use them often in Finland. The overall common interest in languages among the participants might be explained by the selection process: perhaps more students volunteered who are in general interested in languages than those who are not especially keen on learning many foreign languages. One of the latter type was, however, Miltos, who had experienced feelings of frustration when using several languages daily:

(89) Last year I had Finnish, English and Greek. I spoke three languages and it was a bit, not a bit, it was challenging, it was very confusing for me. (Miltos)

Even though most participants seemed to be very interested in and positive about languages in general, they usually did not have enough time to learn and use many of them or learn new ones. For example, Ulrike had planned to learn Swedish but had never found time for it. It is understandable, if one is using English as a foreign language and studying hard to learn more Finnish. Overall, the use of English and Finnish in the daily life of international students seems to be dominant, whereas the use of other languages does not take a notable proportion.

8 INTERNATIONAL STUDENTS' ATTITUDES TOWARDS ENGLISH AND FINNISH

After describing the results regarding language use, we move on to discuss language attitudes related to English and Finnish and to examine, whether they have an effect on the participants' language choices and learning goals. Information about attitudes was

[4] Each One Teach One is a course offered at the University of Jyväskylä, in which people teach each other their native languages independently in pairs or in small groups.

collected using the direct approach (described in more detail in Section 5.2), which means direct questioning about attitudes and opinions in a way that the participants are aware of the purpose of the study. Therefore, there was not too much interpretation involved in the analysis process. In other words, the participants clearly expressed their attitudes towards English and Finnish and the speakers of these languages. However, the expressed attitudes might not correspond absolutely with the true underlying attitudes due to the social desirability bias. In other words, the attitudes analyzed in the following Sections 8.1 and 8.2 represent the participants' own perceptions of their attitudes. Even though the focus in the semi-structured interviews was on attitudes towards the target language itself and the respective speaker community/ communities, some attitudes towards the learning process were also expressed and used in the analysis when considered relevant.

The attitudes detected from the data were coded as positive, neutral or negative and this categorization was used as a basis for the themes. In most cases, the attitudes expressed were either neutral or positive, both towards English and Finnish. Some participants found it difficult to generalize an attitude towards the language, for example if they had nothing against the language itself but the learning process had been frustrating. Especially generalizing the speaker communities turned out to be very difficult. In the case of Finnish speakers, participants felt like they had had varying experiences with different kinds of Finnish people. For example, Christian says:

(90) Depending on what I'm talking about I might have, now be saying something very negative or something positive, but that's not the whole picture, just one aspect, so you might think I'm very negative if I only speak about the way Finns drink on the weekend, for example. But there's more to a Finn than that, I mean, and then if you understand why they do that, it's again, it's different, you know. (Christian)

Also Sausau points out the difficulty of generalizing the Finnish people and expressing a unified opinion on them:

(91) There are five million of them in Finland! (laughs) (Sausau)

When it comes to the attitudes towards English-speaking people, the question was puzzling for many participants. The reason for leaving it so open was to get a grasp on how the participants themselves understood the group 'English-speaking people'. The question needed some clarification, and even then expressing an attitude towards the

speakers was difficult for almost everyone. This confirms the view that English is no longer strongly attached to a certain nationality, but it is often regarded as a neutral 'language of the world', as it was earlier characterized by Dörnyei, Csizér and Németh (2006: 8-9) in Section 3.1. In addition, Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (2010: 117) argue that one of the reasons behind this phenomenon that a language is no more associated with specific nations but has, instead, become neutral is its frequent use by non-native speakers.

In the following sections, attitudes towards English and Finnish will be examined separately. Section 8.1 focuses on attitudes towards the English language and its speakers and Section 8.2 describes the expressed attitudes towards the Finnish language and Finns. Finally, these sections will then be followed by contemplation on whether a connection between the expressed language attitudes and the reported ways of using the languages can be determined.

8.1 Attitudes to English

The participants' attitudes towards English seemed to be overall neutral or positive: no negative attitudes were detected from the data. First of all, the **neutral attitudes** were explained by the ubiquity of English. It is everywhere and used in so many different contexts that defining an attitude towards such a natural, everyday thing turned out to be problematic. Participants reported not even paying attention to their attitude towards it, since the English language is often an obvious choice as a tool for communication, as illustrated in this extract from Ulrike's interview:

(92) I don't know, like for me it's more, almost more like a tool, so I wouldn't say like: "Whoa, English is the most beautiful language!". (Ulrike)

The special role of English is also visible in the following comment by Miltos:

(93) I can't compare easy [sic] English with other languages, because it's my second language but it's everywhere. (Miltos)

Secondly, the **positive attitudes** can be explained by several reasons. Some had a genuine **interest** in the language and expressed their love for the language. Martine and

Victor study English as a major, and Nadine went to boarding school in England. Also Christian expressed a very positive attitude towards English:

(94) I love English. -- I like to use English really. I find it beautiful as well, I mean also if I wanna read, I might read poetry in English, too. I really like it. (Christian)

Like Christian, Martine also found English a beautiful-sounding language:

(95) Yeah I think it's a beautiful language, because it's, it sounds much more epic actually, like yeah, when you read English books or… English films and everything, it sounds much better for example than my own native language. So that's actually why I've studied it. So I'm positive about it. (Martine)

Another type of positive attitude was related to the **usefulness** of English. English was seen to open doors to new opportunities and it enables communicating with and getting to know people from all over the world, as Ulrike points out:

(96) Now it's kind of more, everyone speaks, so it's very easy when I have classmates from China or some other Asian country or somewhere. We can just communicate in one common language and it's kind of opening doors, so I can watch movies and read books and stuff. -- It's, as I said, like for me it's mainly more a tool, kind of like opening doors to other people. (Ulrike)

Similarly, Sausau described it as a "window to know the world what's happening" and David said he thinks it is a useful language, "because so many people speak it". The dominant role of English was not perceived as negative, but quite the opposite, as something necessary, like Victor says:

(97) I would say that it's a good way to communicate, I guess there has to be some main language at some point. (Victor)

The positive feelings about English stemmed partly from positive experiences of learning it. English was for many participants a natural language, not too different from their native language like Finnish, and they had perceived learning and using it rather easy, as can be interpreted from the following comments:

(98) For me English is just a natural continuation of French and German. -- So for me it's a natural fusion of what I already speak. (Christian)

(99) It's a simple language and it's for me easy to understand it. -- I find it many words that have Greek root, or Latin or something and can find the meaning. (Miltos)

(100) I think English is a fairly easy language to learn to a level where you can communicate. (Nadine)

(101) I think it's a good language, really easy to use. (Victor)

The participants' **attitudes towards English speakers** were also **either neutral or positive**. However, for most participants it was difficult to associate one particular cultural group with the English language. Only Victor associated the language strongly with the British culture, but most of the participants identified two different user groups, like Sausau in the following extract:

(102) Yeah, for me I think there are two groups of English-speaking people, one is the, those who have the mother tongue from those countries. And the another group is then the people like me who learn English as a second language. (Sausau)

To start with the first group, that is, the native speakers of English, the participants' attitudes were in general positive and these people were seen as laid-back and helpful, as Ulrike describes:

(103) As I said earlier the native speakers are also not rejecting me or anyone, so they, I always experienced that they are helpful when you don't know the word or you say the word in a wrong way. (Ulrike)

However, native speakers seem to be regarded as a separate group, especially within the international student community. David contemplates on the differences:

(104) On one level, they are from a different cultural sphere I think, sometimes I think they're more cunning or savvy than the speakers of English as a second language and you can use English with them on a very sophisticated level and they know all the nuances. (David)

The second language speakers of English, on the other hand, were seen as a diverse group, who use English in different ways, as described in these extracts from Sausau's and Christian's interviews:

(105) It's very creative when people speak English in a second language. So this makes those English, Englishes different. (Sausau)

(106) My typical or the prototype of an English speaker is a, let's say, highly educated foreigner who has come here and knows language quite well but with a few, you know, or with a different accent, all these different accents. Yeah and specific ways of speaking, making mistakes based on the original mother tongue. -- So my typical English speaker is a non-native who is fluent and proficient with his own little manners of speech. (Christian)

The attitudes towards second language speakers were rather neutral, and communication with them was considered easy and effortless. Like Ulrike mentioned, the majority of international students uses English as a tool for communication with each other, and different accents and ways of speaking are generally tolerated well. Among L2 speakers, there is perhaps also less pressure of speaking correct English, as Ulrike points out:

(107) I feel like sometimes I feel it's a bit easier when you speak with people who don't have English as native language as well, 'cos then you just speak. (Ulrike)

All in all, the speakers of English as a second language were reported by all participants to represent the majority of English-speaking people they are in contact with in Finland. Most participants only knew a few native English speakers.

8.2 Attitudes to Finnish

Compared to the attitudes towards English and its speakers, there was more variation in the expressed attitudes towards the Finnish language and Finns. Overall, the participants reported **positive attitudes**, but **some negative aspects** were raised in the interviews, as well. Only one participant, Miltos, had a less positive attitude towards the language, but this attitude was more related to his difficulties in learning than negative experiences with the local people.

The positive attitudes were triggered in some cases by a **personal interest** and finding the language beautiful, like in the case of Sausau:

(108) For me it's a hobby -- and I like to learn it. (Sausau)

The interest in the Finnish language was explained by the love for the country and by the **uniqueness** of the language:

(109) I really like the sound of Finnish, 'cos never, before I stated learning Finnish, I could never quite say how it sounded to me. Now I really like it, since I can recognize some words. -- And Finnish is, I don't know, I just love it, I love learning it, I love listening to it, 'cos it's a bit like, kind of secret (laughs) that you have, 'cos outside of Finland it's quite unlikely that anybody else speaks Finnish. (Nadine)

(110) I actually loved Finland for quite some time, so I came here as an exchange student. -- Well, you guess, I love Finnish language, so yeah, I think it's really beautiful and also because it's at times really weird, you know, so it's at times this kind of interesting language. (Martine)

(111) Hmm, Finnish language, my relationship, my emotional relationship towards it, actually I like it, I like to, it's odd, it's an odd language, it's not the most natural thing in a way to speak because French, English, German, Italian have many things in common, and then Finnish would be kind of the odd ball here, in many ways. (Christian)

Some special features of the Finnish language that were found in the interview data were that it is "logic and clear" (by Sausau), that Finnish people speak in a "low pitch" (Christian and Miltos) and the language has a rich vocabulary with a few letter combinations (Christian), that there are various details you have to consider when speaking it, like conjugation and declination (Nadine), and that the language is very creative in the way new meanings are created by adjoining words together (Miltos).

Furthermore, some (especially Ulrike and Victor) were interested in the language, because they regarded it as **useful** for later career in Finland or useful in general in daily life in Finland. This kind of practical, instrumental value is not necessarily linked to a positive attitude to a specific language, as illustrated in the following extract by Christian:

(112) It's always useful to know the language of the place where you are, obviously. (Christian)

The positive attitudes can be explained to some extent by the participants' **interest in languages in general**. For instance, David was studying Finnish out of curiosity towards languages and as a means of understanding the universal features of human language better:

(113) Finnish is a subject of interest I want to get to know better in order to understand languages in general, or the nature of human language, different constructions, 'cos then even in the very different language you still see these similarities of some fundamental rules that must be incorporated in any language. (David)

The only **negative attitudes** related to Finnish, at least the ones that were explicitly expressed, seemed to be about the learning process. Miltos explains that the main aspect he did not find pleasing about learning Finnish was that it was so time-consuming:

(114) It took me time from my other studies that interest me more. So I was a bit grumpy about Finnish, because it was so difficult for me, I didn't like it, I didn't use it also outside of

> classroom. -- Finnish is very different language, the structure of language is totally different than English and Greek. -- Different structure, syntax is different and the way of thinking is different. If you want to say something you have to think differently. It was a challenge for me, I had to start thinking differently in order to understand this language, to be able to speak it. And I need so much time to be able to use Finnish correctly, because I have to change my thinking. -- Well, as I said about Finnish, I'm not using. Sometimes it's like also avoiding Finnish. Because I don't want to… not to disturb myself, not disturb but, not to have one more thing in my mind, like Finnish would be one more thing beside my main studies and 'cos I don't have to, I just like to keep it away and focus in some stuff that I like to do more. (Miltos)

Attitudes towards Finns and the Finnish culture were **mixed**, but in general positive. Finns had been experienced most of all as honest, straightforward and modest people, as can be seen in the following extracts:

(115) I would say all in all I really appreciate the way Finns are, ok, because I really appreciate honesty, I appreciate the fact that you mean what you say, Finns do that, and that you are careful with your words. (Christian)

(116) I think Finnish speaker or Finnish people or Finnish culture in general is a very direct and honest culture. That is what, that is the first impression for me, after learning it two years. (Sausau)

(117) I find them (Finnish people) awesome, yeah. So kind of really different from my own culture, I think, 'cos, yeah, they are so honest. -- People are kind of tranquil and everything. And just nice actually, not making such fuss about everything. (Martine)

These characteristics seem to be perceived mostly in a positive way. Ulrike also mentions that she finds Finns friendly and always ready to help:

(118) Well I think they are nice. I think Finnish people are really friendly and open, so like, they are really helpful. -- Or when I'm on the street and lost and it, there, yeah just really like from the heart, open and nice people so I never really experienced this that they are like unfriendly or anything. I mean they are maybe a bit closed sometimes, but I don't see it as a negative way because they are maybe just sometimes a bit shy. (Ulrike)

One of the most striking characteristics that was associated with the Finnish people was their shyness, or quietness. This aspect was, however, after all regarded as a positive one compared to the opposite extreme, being over-talkative. In this respect Finns were often compared to other nationalities, for example in the following ways:

(119) If I was given the choice between somebody speaking all the time and somebody never speaking I would maybe rather choose somebody never speaking. (Victor)

(120) I prefer silence and well-chosen words and scarcity of words over being superficial and blabbing about whatever all the time, so the Finnish position is quite extreme, I mean, it's the opposite of, let's say, American, you know, the opposite, they would be loud all the time and talk about unimportant things and be fake as well in a way. Like exaggeratedly optimistic, you know, and a Finn might be exaggeratedly pessimistic probably, might be very introverted in

> that sense and be silent, but I still, if I have to choose between those two extremes, I would take the Finn, because I still value more the way a Finn would be and also because I have no problem with non-verbal communication, I can understand people usually even if they don't say it, I can just intuitively pick up a lot of things and Finns also are very good at this non-verbal, it's kind of their culture. Someone who comes from Italy or the US, they don't, they don't understand that an exchange is actually happening, because in their culture it's always happening on the surface, you know, where it's tangible and audible. And here a lot of things are unspoken and subtle, and I like the subtlety of the Finnish way of communicating, really. (Christian)

It has to be mentioned that some participants had got different impressions on Finnish men and women in this respect. Men were described as shyer than women, in general. The issue of great gender differences was brought up by Christian and Nadine.

8.3 Connection between Attitudes and Language Use

After describing the attitudes towards English and Finnish, it is time to take a look at the connection between them and the actual language use, if such a relationship can be interpreted to exist. Referring back to the research question 1.3 (see Section 6.2), one of the aims of the present study was to find out, whether language attitudes affect the choices to use either English or Finnish in specific contexts. These relationships will be examined separately regarding Finnish and English and after that the observations and interpretations will be summarized.

First of all, everyone's except Miltos's attitudes towards Finnish were mostly positive. However, the international students reported using Finnish in considerably differing amounts in their daily lives, which implies that the positive attitudes do not automatically result in frequent use of the target language. Some had a positive attitude but still had not learned the language and were not actively trying to increase its use. Some participants, like Christian, had lived in Finland for some years and generally expressed interest in the Finnish language but still had not learned the language to a high level, and were therefore not using it much either. Hence, it could be interpreted that the relationship between language attitudes, learning and use is complex, and a positive attitude alone does not lead to learning. A similar view by Dewey et al. (2012: 112) was introduced in Section 3.3. They had come to the conclusion that a complex mixture of factors are at play in the language learning process in SA contexts, for example the time spent in the host country, pre-departure proficiency level, the student's personality, language learning motivation, and access to native speakers. In the present study, some factors that seemed to push students to use more Finnish seemed to be, for

example, practical needs, especially the language requirements of working life mentioned by Victor and Ulrike, or the self-perceived level of language skills and confidence. Making progress in language learning seems to add to the positive attitude and increase confidence, which perhaps also leads to more frequent use. Ulrike describes some positive experiences of using Finnish:

> (121) In Finnish I could really like say that for example the time when I started to work in the day care, this was really a time, when I was so much better and when I liked it. Like, for example, I went to level 2 of language courses, then I felt that I'm really better so I can there see more the benefits of learning maybe more. (Ulrike)

Ulrike mentions "the benefits of learning", which might have an important role in keeping up motivation. If learning Finnish is not considered to have any clear advantage, motivation to learning does not last and not enough effort is put into learning to achieve a functional level, as in Miltos's case. Also a negative attitude to learning might lead to the lack of effort, but the connection cannot be clearly indicated. For some others, especially Martine, a positive attitude to the Finnish language and culture had been essential in the learning process and the main factor in deciding to come to Finland in the first place. Her positive attitude had encouraged her to study Finnish independently online before coming to Finland and the positive experiences on using the language in Finland had, then again, increased her motivation.

Secondly, the attitudes towards English were predominantly neutral or slightly positive. English was seen as an easy tool for communication by all participants. Perhaps this attitude has had an effect on its frequent use, since it can often be an easier and more effortless choice than Finnish. Many participants noticed that even if they start a conversation in Finnish, they still usually have to revert to English at some point anyway.

One attitude that might influence choosing Finnish over English is that some participants considered it weird or impolite, if foreigners stay in Finland longer and only use English in all communication, while the language of the majority of people in the environment is Finnish. Keeping in mind that English has no official status in the country, it might feel more 'normal' to try to use the local language as much as possible.

In conclusion, no clear connection between a certain kind of attitude and a way of using the target language that would be applicable to all participants could be detected, but attitudes together with different aspects such as level of language skills seem to affect language choices. The frequency of use has a connection to learning motivation and to how much effort is put into learning, but not to a positive attitude alone. Therefore, a positive attitude does not guarantee effective learning and frequent use. Finnish was characterized by the participants as a language which one does not learn if there is no own motivation and constant effort, since as many of the participants mentioned, an international student can survive in Finland without Finnish.

9 DISCUSSION

After presenting the key findings of the study, I move on to discuss their relation to previous research and the original aims of the study, the implications and suggestions for further discussion the results offer for the field of SA research, for professionals working with immigrants and international students and for the Finnish society as a whole. Moreover, the study will be critically evaluated, paying attention to problems that emerged during the process and reflections on how the study could have been improved. Lastly, suggestions and ideas for further studies on related topics will be given.

The present study was interested in describing international students' language use in all its diversity and the underlying attitudes, purposes and reasons, with which they explain their language choices. During the interviews, it became clear that language choices were a frequently contemplated and discussed topic in the students' daily lives. The findings presented in Sections 7 and 8 have demonstrated that the target group's uses of English, Finnish and other languages are highly versatile and there are great individual differences in language use depending on the variety of backgrounds, living situations and future plans of the students. Obviously, these differences result in different language learning goals and further affect the ways and frequency in which each language is used. One of the participants, Christian, even reflected on the impact personal goals and the environment have on one's life and language use, as shown in the following extract.

(122) Then again it depends on where you spend most of your time, you know, doing what and, like, if you are in a university environment, then you are really not under pressure to use Finnish very much, because people are all very well-versed in English, they use it for their work and studies. Then if I want to work as a doctor in Finland or do some social work, then of course I have to know the local language because I'm gonna deal with local people only. So it depends what my goal is in life. (Christian)

The individual differences deserve all the emphasis they are given in the study, since the group of international students cannot and should not be generalized too much. However, in the findings regarding the use of English there seemed to be a great deal more consistency, whereas the use of Finnish was more multifaceted and different between individuals. All in all, it is interesting to compare the results of the thematic analysis to the findings in Leppänen and Nikula's study (2008: 22-24), which were presented in the Introduction section. They categorized Finnish people's use of English and Finnish into three types of situations: 1. use of English only, 2. use of English and Finnish in code-switching, and 3. use of Finnish predominantly mixed with elements of English. International students' uses of the two languages seems to be, after all, quite similar to the situation types of Finnish people's use.

Based on the context types provided in the thematic analysis, a discussion on the factors that contribute to language choices would be in place. There are several of them, and some factors have already been mentioned in the findings sections, such as language learning goals and language proficiency. A brief summary will now be given on the most important factors that seem to affect language choices in different situations within the frames of study abroad in Finland. Firstly, most choices seem to be based on pure practicality, with the main aim being successful communication. Therefore, English was used frequently, but also in some situations the use of Finnish was considered better for getting the message across, or sometimes they were both used simultaneously in code-switching. In these situations, the role of the interlocutor is of importance, because communication does not only depend on the language skills of one speaker only. Many participants mentioned that they had to accommodate especially their use of English to 'match' the level of the interlocutor. In using Finnish, on the other hand, participants had to make judgments whether locals speak English or not. Similar to how Finnish speakers seem to evaluate whether a foreigner should be approached in Finnish or English based on the appearance, international students evaluate whether a Finn is likely to have knowledge of English based on, for example, their age or profession. These kinds of evaluations were reported by Nadine and Christian, for example:

(123) With English I tend to assume that everyone under the age of 30 speaks English and everyone above it I'm not assuming they do, I ask. (Nadine)

(124) I've become good at guessing if a person might speak English or not in Finland. So based on the way he or she looks like and the age and all that. So there are some people I don't even try in English, because I'm quite sure that it won't work. (Christian)

Secondly, a factor that also typically affects language choices and the frequency of use is social networks. The people one spends the most time with undoubtedly have an effect on how English and Finnish or the native language is used. For example, those who reported having close relationships with Finns, a Finnish girlfriend, boyfriend, close friends or a friendship family, also reported using Finnish more frequently than those who did not have such contact with the local population. Moreover, an interesting detail is that even among international students or in friend groups consisting of foreigners mainly, the frequency of use of Finnish can be improved through conscious 'agreements' to speak it and practice it together with other learners. An example of this is Martine and her friends, who had agreed to use Finnish whenever possible. Thirdly, it has already been pointed out several times that the context and the environment seem to affect students' language use. For instance, the university context is highly international and the use of English there is natural and effortless. In other contexts, for example in rural areas or in workplaces, foreigners might come across more Finnish-dominated environments and would perhaps have to change their language behavior. Fourthly, one important aspect that has a major impact on communication in Finnish and English is the level of language skills in these languages. Moreover, language learning background, confidence and learning goals for future are also related to this issue. The participants' images of themselves as language learners and users seem to have a connection to perceptions on using multiple languages. A good example on this is a comparison between participants Christian and Miltos. Christian is bilingual and has lived in many countries and used several languages in studies and work. For him, multilingualism is a natural part of life, whereas Miltos, who grew up in a relatively monolingual environment, found using his native language Greek and two foreign languages in his daily life arduous and confusing (for understandable reasons). When speaking of language proficiency, knowing or not knowing Finnish seemed to have a great influence on language choices. This might be due to the fact that all participants had rather good skills in English, which means that the use of it is easy, whereas there was more variation in Finnish skills. Learning Finnish typically starts only in Finland and takes a great deal of effort and time. Those participants who had learned Finnish up

to a conversational level were also eager to use it frequently. In contrast, those with little Finnish skills were compelled to communicate in English. Fifthly, the connection of language attitudes to language use was analyzed and clarified separately in Section 8, and the results implied that no clear connection could be found regarding all participants. For some, like Martine, Ulrike and Victor, motivation to learn Finnish had led to its frequent use, but others, like Nadine and Christian, were not using much Finnish despite their interest towards the language. The last factor to be considered is a simple thing that might affect all decisions occasionally: the mood (how a person is feeling at a particular time). Many participants mentioned that their language choices might sometimes depend on the mood: on some days they feel more confident to use Finnish and on others they might be tired to go through all the effort, as described by Ulrike:

> (125) But in the beginning in the shop it was really harder for me, and sometimes still when I'm looking for something and then in the shop, for example, and, say, I look where is the milk and then sometimes I don't ask, 'cos I'm not so sure about the correct form of the word or something, so some days I don't feel confident to ask but then I look for it. (Ulrike)

On some occasions, some of the factors listed above have more importance in making decisions about language use, and in other situations several of them might be at play. The connections are not always clear-cut, as seen especially about the attitude aspect, which should be kept in mind when interpreting the underlying motivations for the participant's choices in different contexts.

Several other aspects of the findings could be further discussed, but I move on to contemplate the possible implications the study has for researchers, practitioners and the society. As regards to the research on the field of SA and language, the present study adds a new dimension to the understanding of SAEs, language use and learning in a specific cultural setting. Local knowledge is essential, since findings from Germany or the USA, for example, cannot be applied as such to the Finnish context, not to mention findings from highly different cultural contexts such as Asian or Arabic countries. Trentman (2013: 458) also argues that findings from other parts of the world cannot be assumed to be relevant in all SA contexts and calls for local knowledge that can be used to enhance the pedagogy and program design in a particular culture and location. Another new perspective the present study provides is how SA students perceive the roles of Finnish and English in Finland.

Information on international students' language use can help SA program designers to make the integration and language learning easier by, for example, offering opportunities for contact between foreigners and the host culture members. This kind of contact is sometimes taken for granted. For example, Isabelli-García (2006: 232-233) states that one might think SA always offers chances to interact with the host culture members, but, in reality, there is notable variation in the experiences of students participating in SA programs. According to her, some variation can be explained with the learner's own motivation. Similar findings were reported in the present study. Learning Finnish seemed to have connections to high motivation and contact to native Finnish speakers. Churchill and DuFon (2006: 23) argue that SA program design can affect for example the grouping of students and the formation of social networks, suggesting that SA program designers can influence the chances participants have for contact with the host culture members. Previous studies have found out that the type of contact with native speakers and the scope of exchange students' social networks have an influence on the language learner's linguistic gains during SA. By getting more information on what kind of contact is beneficial for language learners in SA settings, SA coordinators can improve the program design in order to facilitate the certain kinds of beneficial contact and, hence, give international students better chances to improve their language skills. For example, program coordinators could include free-time activities to the SA programs that would enable exchange students and members of the host culture to meet and interact in meaningful ways. The exchange students' expectations are not always met in terms of forming social networks and communicating with native speakers (Dewey et al. 2012: 113), which is something that could be, to some extent, influenced by program design. Another point to consider is the language teaching offered to international students. As Finnish language skills would be essential if one wishes to stay and work in Finland, Finnish language teaching should be developed and put more emphasis on. There should be a wider variety of courses on offer, from beginner's courses and 'Survival Finnish' courses to courses that focus on the type of language skills useful for working life. Ulrike emphasizes the quality of Finnish teaching and support:

> (126) Sometimes I'm not so sure, how in Finland, like universities and also I studied in a university of applied science before, they don't support the students to learn Finnish and then in the end they wonder maybe why they don't stay in Finland. So I think it's in a way a bit stupid only to educate them and then to wonder why they leave, because you need to also help them to learn Finnish, because I think when you really study hard you can use it after three, two years or even earlier. So I think there should be more support in -- in Finnish learning and then more people would also like to stay here. (Ulrike)

Therefore, international students should be encouraged to start studying Finnish even though it is possible to survive in English as a student in Finland, and to continue their learning process despite possible difficulties. Moreover, it should not be automatically assumed that all foreigners arriving in Finland have no knowledge of Finnish. Some of them, like participant Martine in the present study, have studied it in their home country. Therefore, Finnish courses on different levels should be on offer. In addition to improving Finnish teaching, short-term exchange students should be supported by enhancing the availability of services in English. Such an opinion was expressed by Sausau:

(127) If the university want [sic] to have more international students, they should have a bilingual standard everywhere. (Sausau)

However, enhancing the status of English at universities might be the kind of double-edged sword referred to in Section 3.2: Finnish universities can improve their internationalization by making studies and living in English easy to access, but, then again, it does not particularly improve the integration of international students and their Finnish learning.

When it comes to Finnish society, what we can learn from the present study is that there would be numerous persons among international students who are willing to stay in Finland. We could think of new ways of making more permanent immigration easier for them, one of which is the improvement of Finnish teaching. It could also be considered what the local population could do in order to better welcome foreigners into the Finnish working life. Perhaps evaluations about sufficient Finnish skills in some fields could be reconsidered and attitudes towards Finnish as a second language speakers could be discussed in the society. All of the participants of the present study, regardless of their Finnish language skills, experienced that they were always able to communicate and successfully exchange ideas during their time in Finland, drawing on different resources available to them. This point of view could be more often deployed, for example, when employing foreigners. They could be asked to describe their experiences on communicating with Finns instead of only looking at certificates on their Finnish language abilities. Of course in some professions it is crucially important to be able to communicate fluently in Finnish, but there are also tasks in which one needs to be able to deal with communicational situations successfully, regardless of the language used to achieve this goal. In an article on foreigners' employment that appeared on *Jylkkäri*, the

newspaper of the Student Union of the University of Jyväskylä, Tiainen and Nykänen (2014) inform that 80 % of international degree students enrolled in Finnish universities would be interested in staying in Finland, but most of them experience the language issue as an obstacle. Ulrike, who had already worked in a Finnish day care, has an encouraging message for international students planning to stay and apply for work in Finland:

> (128) Sometimes I feel like people are, when they maybe want to stay in Finland but then they think it's about the language and stuff, I would say it's really possible to learn, you just really have to study. I mean English, you learn it when you hear radio or see movies, but Finnish, I think it's a language you really have to sit down and learn. (Ulrike)

Using Ulrike's work experience as an example, learning Finnish can be very intensive in working life. Therefore, employers should keep in mind that foreigners should perhaps not be required to have a native-like proficiency in Finnish when starting work, but they will likely improve notably and very fast once they are in the working life.

Having introduced some implications that could be considered on the basis of the study, I proceed to evaluate the strengths, weaknesses and possible aspects that could be enhanced in the study. First of all, the study gives answers to the research questions and has the strength of offering a broad picture of the different ways in which international students use languages during their stay in Finland. Various different points of view are represented in the findings. Having said that, the true scope of the diversity of SA students' experiences is of course not included in the study, as it only focuses on eight participants. The low number of informants could be criticized, but the nature of the study is a case-study that aims at improving understanding, not providing only statistical information, on the topic. One point that has to be mentioned about the participants is that they might not be the most representative group of international students in Finland, at least not of exchange students, whose proportion in the participants was rather low. In addition, self-selection of participants seems to have resulted in involving mainly international students who demonstrated an interest towards languages and language learning. Some participants mentioned in the interviews that the majority of international students are actually exchange students, and according to their experiences, the majority of exchange students are not as interested in languages (especially Finnish) as themselves. If the findings of the present study are compared to those in Rönkä's (2013) MA thesis (referred to in Section 3.3), it is evident that her participants represented more the 'average Erasmus students', who wish to improve

their English skills during their exchange and are not particularly interested in learning Finnish, at least not to a high level. Among her participants, the proficiency in English was perhaps lower, and therefore they used also their native languages frequently, whereas the present study provided opposite results.

During the different phases of conducting the study, especially at the interpretation phase, some problems arose. One of the aspects that needed to be considered when interpreting the data was that in the questionnaire languages were treated as separate units, which did not reflect the way at least one participant, Christian, saw his language use. He brought up in the interview that for him it was at times difficult to estimate the time spent on using English and Finnish separately, because he often mixes the languages and, therefore, it was difficult to distinguish his English and Finnish language use separately.

(129) There is no strict linguistic separation in my daily life to Finnish and English so much. (Christian)

He seems to regard his language skills as resources (defined in Section 4.2), which he deploys when each of them might be useful, as illustrated in this passage:

(130) Christian: Many things are written in bilingual form, like in Sonaatti (student cafeteria), forms I might fill out, so then I take a glance at whatever languages are there, also it's not so strictly [sic].
Interviewer: So you use what's available to you?
Christian: Sure, sure. Yeah, whatever helps. If I'm really screwed up, I might even read the Swedish on packages, I mean, I'm a German native speaker, sometimes it helps.

For others, referring to English and Finnish as separate languages did not seem to be problematic. However, they also faced some challenges in estimating how much they used each language daily or weekly for different purposes. For example, speaking Finnish in service situation rarely happens for a certain time without interruptions, but the category consists of several smaller interactions that need to be summed up. The strict categories or situation types did not either take into account that for example speaking and listening usually take place in the same communicational situation, which makes distinguishing them from each other difficult. Estimating was also difficult due to the fact that at different times and different living situations the language use might be considerably different. For instance, many participants mentioned that their language behavior and learning goals had undergone some changes from the beginning of their

stay to the present moment. For example Nadine and Ulrike report on this kind of issues:

(131) I had quite high goals when it came to Finnish when I started, I was like, ok, I'll do Finnish 1 (a beginners' Finnish course) in the first semester and 2 in the second and so on. Yeah I've cut that down a little bit. (laughs) (Nadine)

(132) Well, this now changed, but before I started to work in the daycare, I always used English for example for simple things when I went to the shop and asked something, because I feared that it's wrong but then luckily I came to the point where I don't care anymore. (laughs) So now I would say that I'm like over this, that I'm like feeling unsecure, I'm just speaking. (Ulrike)

In addition, those participants who had been to Finland before as an exchange student, for example Sausau and Victor, expressed that their language use had notably changed from those time compared to what it was now, mainly due to improving in Finnish and increasing its use in daily life.

The study revealed an insight into the international students' language use and attitudes, but a much more could still be done in order to understand their experiences better. Further studies on international students, language use, attitudes and learning could concentrate on several issues that were not covered in the present study or have not been discussed in earlier literature. Some suggestions related to these themes will be presented next. Firstly, regarding language use and social networks, the most central question would be what types of contact and what kind of social networks are the most useful for language learning. The present study has implied that contact to native Finnish speakers seems to have a notable influence in Finnish learning, but understanding of the connection could be deepened. It would also be interesting to find out, how contact with native and non-native speakers during SA affects language learning. Secondly, the study triggered some questions about English learning in Finland. It is unclear whether separate language courses for exchange students are more beneficial than mixed groups of international and local students. At least the latter option might increase the exchange students' possibilities to get to know Finnish students, and vice versa. Another interesting topic to look at would be the type of English that foreigners encounter and learn in Finland. What is Finland like as a learning environment for those students wishing to improve their English language skills, compared to the 'inner circle countries' (term by Kachru 1986) such as the United Kingdom, the USA and Australia? As the exchange students in Rönkä's thesis study (2013), the participants of the present study reported improvement in their English

skills, but it could be asked what kind of English or *Englishes* they actually learn in Finland. Section 3.1 referred to a comment by Hakulinen et al. (2009: 77), who state that English in the Finnish society has many forms and is used in a variety of ways. Mufwene (2010: 43-47) also writes about how English entering new locations always transforms into an 'indigenized' variety by getting influences of the local language and a different culture. Therefore, it has to be accepted that there will not be one single form of 'Global English'. Perhaps international students learn, or at least learn to accommodate to, various different ways of using English while they interact with Finns and other international students from all over the world. Thirdly, an interesting aspect of multilingual communication among international students in Finland to investigate would be code-switching: How could code-switching among international students be further described? To what extent does code-switching between English and Finnish (or between other languages) appear in the international students' communication? What kind of functions does it have? The present study only discusses the topic briefly, but code-switching could be on its own an interesting topic to look at in more detail. Fourthly, an aspect that was originally part of the research questions but had to be later omitted in order to better focus on other issues, is the role of the environment in language choices. How does Finland as a host country affect international students' language choices? What are the specific cultural aspects that either enhance or inhibit contact to native speakers and language learning situations? The last suggestion for further studies is to expand the understanding on foreigners' language attitudes. The present study raised questions on the kind of factors that contribute to international students' language attitudes and how their attitudes might change during the stay in the host country. Another interesting point of view would be to conduct research on Finnish people's attitudes towards speakers of Finnish as a foreign language and different accents.

In addition to the many directions that the study pointed out for further research, some practical questions for international students and people working with them were also raised. For example, what could the individual students and the program designers do in order to increase contact between international students and locals? How could syllabus designers of the host universities better react to the individual language learning needs of international students? These and many other questions are still open, which only confirms the image of the field of study as diverse and dynamic.

10 CONCLUSION

The present study is relevant, because it deals with a contemporary topic: study abroad and language use. In all parts of the world, student mobility is increasing and more and more people take part in SA programs. The factors that form every individual study abroad experience are various and have not yet been researched enough. SA offers opportunities but also poses challenges, including culture shock and struggles with language learning. However, the feeling of being able to overcome challenges of these kinds during the time abroad can often be significant to personal growth and, therefore, lead to perceiving the study abroad experience as successful (McLeod and Wainwright 2009: 69). In addition, individuals have different motives for participating in SA programs and expectations of the experience. Hence, study abroad programs need to be developed to meet the needs of the individual students, and for that purpose it is crucial to have information on and be aware of different aspects of the lives of SA students. According to Dewey et al. (2012: 112), study abroad program design can and should be improved based on research findings.

One of the most important reasons for studying language use and language attitudes is their possible connection to language learning. Understanding how SA students spend their time and how they use and perceive language(s) during their stay could help to analyze what type of interactions and what amount of language contact can be related to language learning. In other words, contact to native speakers and attitudes towards languages are assumed to have an impact on language learning, but it is still rather unknown what type of contact is (the most) beneficial and how exactly attitudes affect learning. Furthermore, language learning enhances integration into a new society. Referring to Section 1, integration of international students would be ideal since they could be possible new immigrants, the kind of educated workforce that Finland needs in the future. The need for workforce from abroad derives from the fact that Finland, as most Western countries, is in a situation where the growing number of elderly people and the relatively small birth rate is creating increasing pressure on the welfare system and the national economy. As found out in the present study, many exchange and degree students would be interested in staying and working in Finland after their studies, but mastering the local language was often reported as the major stumbling block. As a consequence of this finding, solutions to improving the Finnish language learning of international students should be discussed. Another challenge for Finland is

to maintain the strong status of the national languages while increasing the internationalization, for example in higher education, by enhancing the possibilities to use English in the country.

To sum up, information provided by the present study can be useful for several purposes. Firstly, it adds to the understanding of SAEs and foreigners' language use in Finland. Therefore, it contributes to the fast-growing research field of study abroad, which is nowadays understood as very tightly related to certain locations. It can also add a new dimension to research on language use and language attitudes in Finland. Secondly, the study can inform people working with SA students and immigrants, such as language teachers, university staff, and even peer students. It might also be interesting for future SA students planning to study in Finland, as it might give insights on what they can expect from the experience and how previous SA students have perceived the linguistic situation in Finland. Thirdly, the study can help to raise awareness on different experiences of international students in Finland and hopefully result in discussion and re-evaluation of attitudes towards foreigners and their language use in the Finnish society.

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12 APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Questionnaire

Questionnaire:

International students' language use during their exchange in Finland

The responses that you give in this questionnaire will be kept confidential, if you wish so. This cover sheet is to allow the researcher to associate your responses with your name if needed. However, only the person entering your responses into the computer will see this name. If you choose to be an anonymous informant, an identification number will be used in place of your name when referring to your responses in publications. Every effort will be made to keep your responses confidential. The information that you provide will help us to better understand the experiences of international students in Finland. Your honest and detailed responses will be greatly appreciated. Thank you for your cooperation!

Please tick one of the following options:
___ Option 1: I want my own name to be used in publications when referring to my answers.
___ Option 2: I want this nickname to be used: _____
___ Option 3: I want to give anonymous information. An identification number will be used instead of my name in publications.

Name:_____

Please take your time filling out the questionnaire, which consists of three parts:
Part 1: Background Information
Part 2: Use of English during Exchange in Finland
Part 3: Use of Finnish during Exchange in Finland

Part 1: Background Information

PERSONAL INFORMATION

1. Gender: Male____ Female____ Not applicable_____

2. Age: _____

3. Country of birth: _____

4. How long have you been in Finland? _____ months _____ weeks

5. What is your exchange status?

a) Erasmus exchange for 1 semester

b) Erasmus exchange for 2 semesters

c) Other exchange program, which and how long?

_____

d) Degree student (Master´s level)

e) Doctoral student

f) Other status (please specify): -

_____

6. What is your major subject?

_____

7. Which situation best describes your living arrangements in Finland?

a) I live in the home of a Finnish-speaking family.

b) I live in a shared student apartment.

1) I have a flatmate who is a native or fluent Finnish speaker.

2) I have a flatmate who is a native or fluent English speaker.

3) I live with others who are NOT native or fluent Finnish or English speakers.

c) I live alone in an apartment.

f) Other (please specify):_____

8. Had you ever been to Finland before your exchange period? Yes _____ No _____

8a. If yes, when?

_____

8b. Where?

_____

8c. For how long?

_____

8d. For what purpose(s)?

_____

LANGUAGE SKILLS

9. What is/ are your native language(s)? _____

10. What language(s) do you speak at home / with your family? _____

10a. If more than one, with whom do you speak each of these languages?

_____

11. In what language(s) did you receive the majority of your precollege education?

_____

11a. If more than one, please give the approximate number of years for each language:

_____

12. In the boxes below, rate your language ability in each of the languages you know.

Use the following ratings:

0) None 1) Poor, 2) Good, 3) Very good, 4) Native/ 'nativelike'.

How many years (if any) have you studied these languages?

Language	Listening	Speaking	Reading	Writing	Number of years of study
English					
Finnish					
Other:					
Other:					
Other:					
Other:					

USE OF ENGLISH AND FINNISH PRIOR TO THE EXCHANGE SEMESTER

15. On average, how often did you communicate with native or fluent speakers of *English* in *English* in the year prior to the start of the exchange period?

0) never 1) a few times a year 2) monthly 3) weekly 4) daily

16. On average, how often did you communicate with native or fluent speakers of *Finnish* in *Finnish* in the year prior to the start of the exchange period?

0) never 1) a few times a year 2) monthly 3) weekly 4) daily

Part 2: Use of English during Exchange in Finland

1. Please list all the *English* courses you are taking this semester. This includes English language courses as well as content area courses in the English language.

_____

_____

_____

_____

For the following items, please specify:
i) how many *days per week* you typically used English in the situation indicated, and
ii) on average how many *hours per day* you did so.
All the questions below refer to your language use during the past one month, or, if you have stayed in Finland longer, during the whole stay on average. Circle the appropriate numbers.

SPEAKING ENGLISH

2. On average, how much time did you spend *speaking*, in English, outside of class with other English speakers?

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

3. Outside of class, I tried to speak English to:

3a. my teachers

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

3b. friends who are native or fluent English speakers

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

3c. classmates

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

3d. strangers who I thought could speak English

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

3e. a host family, English-speaking flatmate, or other English speakers in the student housing area

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

3f. service personnel

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

3g. other; specify:_____

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

4. How often did you use English outside the classroom for each of the following purposes?

4a. to clarify classroom-related work or to discuss group work

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

4b. to obtain directions or information (e.g., "Where is the post office?", "What time is the train to…?", "How much does this cost?")

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

4c. for superficial or brief exchanges (e.g., greetings, "Please pass the salt", "I'm leaving" etc.) with your host family, English-speaking flatmate, or acquaintances in the student housing area

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

4d. extended conversations with your host family, English-speaking flatmate, friends, or acquaintances in the student housing area

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

READING IN ENGLISH

5. How much time did you spend, overall, in *reading* in English outside of class?

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

5a. reading English magazines, newspapers or novels

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

5b. reading schedules, announcements, menus, and the like in English

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

5c. reading e-mail or web pages in English, including Facebook, Twitter etc.

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

LISTENING TO ENGLISH

6. How much time did you spend, overall, in *listening* to English outside of class?

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

6a. listening to television and radio in English

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

6b. watching movies or videos in English

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

6c. listening to English-language songs

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

6d. trying to catch other people's conversations in English

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

WRITING IN ENGLISH

7. How much time did you spend, overall, in *writing* in English outside of class?

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

7a. writing homework assignments and other study-related texts in English

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

7b. writing personal notes, letters or e-mail in English

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

Part 3: Use of Finnish during Exchange in Finland

1. Please list all the *Finnish* courses you are taking this semester. This includes Finnish language courses as well as content area courses in the Finnish language.

_____

_____

_____

_____

For the following items, please specify:
i) how many *days per week* you typically used Finnish in the situation indicated, and
ii) on average how many *hours per day* you did so.
All the questions below refer to your language use during the past one month, or, if you have stayed in Finland longer, during the whole stay on average. Circle the appropriate numbers.

SPEAKING FINNISH

2. On average, how much time did you spend *speaking*, in Finnish, outside of class with other Finnish speakers?

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

3. Outside of class, I tried to speak Finnish to:

3a. my teachers

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

3b. friends who are native or fluent Finnish speakers

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

3c. classmates

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

3d. strangers who I thought could speak Finnish

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

3e. a host family, Finnish-speaking flatmate, or other Finnish speakers in the student housing area

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

3f. service personnel

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

3g. other; specify:_____

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

4. How often did you use Finnish outside the classroom for each of the following purposes?

4a. to clarify classroom-related work or to discuss group work

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

4b. to obtain directions or information (e.g., "Missä on posti?", "Milloin on seuraava juna…?", "Paljonko tämä maksaa?")

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

4c. for superficial or brief exchanges (e.g., greetings, "Antaisitko suolan?", "Olen lähdössä" etc.) with your host family, Finnish-speaking flatmate, or acquaintances in the student housing area

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

4d. extended conversations with your host family, Finnish-speaking flatmate, friends, or acquaintances in the student housing area

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

READING IN FINNISH

5. How much time did you spend, overall, in *reading* in Finnish outside of class?

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

5a. reading Finnish magazines, newspapers or novels

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

5b. reading schedules, announcements, menus, and the like in Finnish

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

5c. reading e-mail or web pages in Finnish, including Facebook, Twitter etc.

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

LISTENING TO FINNISH

6. How much time did you spend, overall, in *listening* to Finnish outside of class?

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

6a. listening to Finnish television and radio

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

6b. watching Finnish movies or videos

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

6c. listening to Finnish songs

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

6d. trying to catch other people's conversations in Finnish

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

WRITING IN FINNISH

7. How much time did you spend, overall, in *writing* in Finnish outside of class?

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

7a. writing homework assignments and other study-related texts in Finnish

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

7b. writing personal notes, letters or e-mail in Finnish

Typically, how many days per week? 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7

On those days, typically how many hours per day? 0–1 2 3 more than 4

Appendix 2: Semi-structured Interview Plan

Own description of use of Finnish and English:

How would you describe your use of English and Finnish before the exchange?

How would you describe your use of English and Finnish now?

What kind of reasons can you give for choosing to use English in certain situations?

What kind of reasons can you give for choosing to use Finnish in certain situations?

Language learning goals:

What are your personal language learning goals during your stay in Finland considering English and Finnish (and other languages)?

Confidence, successful communication:

Do you feel confident speaking English/ Finnish?

How successfully do you communicate in English/ Finnish?

Are you happy with your own abilities to communicate in English/ Finnish?

What kind of difficulties do you face when you try to use these languages?

Use of other languages:

How much do you speak a language other than English or Finnish to speakers of that language (e.g., Chinese with a Chinese-speaking friend)?

Attitudes:

How do you perceive/ what is your opinion of the English language?

How do you perceive/ what is your opinion of the Finnish language?

(How useful is it to you / how does it sound…?)

How do you perceive the roles of Finnish and English in Finland?

How do you perceive the roles of Finnish and English in your own life?

How do you find Finnish-speaking people?

How about English-speaking people, how would you define them and what is your opinion on them?

Appendix 3: Questionnaire Data

ENGLISH

Question 2: Speaking English outside of class

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	6	6	7	7	4	3	6	7	6; 7
Hours per day	3	3	2	2	2	2	3	4+	2

Question 3a: Speaking English to teachers

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	4	4	5	0	2	0	1	1	0; 1; 4
Hours per day	0-1	0-1	2	0-1	0-1	0	2	0-1	0-1

Question 3b: Speaking English to friends who are native of fluent English speakers

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	3	6	7	6	4	0	2	7	6; 7
Hours per day	0-1	2	2	2	2	0	0-1	4+	2

Question 3c: Speaking English to classmates

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	4	4	5	1	4	2	7	1	4
Hours per day	2	4+	2	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1

Question 3d: Speaking English to strangers

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	0	3	2	7	0	0	1	3	0
Hours per day	0	0-1	0-1	0-1	0	0	0-1	0-1	0-1

Question 3e: Speaking English to host family, flatmate or people in the housing area

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	1	4	3	6	2	1	no reply	2	2
Hours per day	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	no reply	0-1	0-1

Question 3f: Speaking English to service personnel

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	1	4	1	3	1	0	0	3	1
Hours per day	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0	0-1	0-1	0-1

Question 4a: Using English to clarify classroom-related work

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	3	3	3	1	2	2	5	3	3
Hours per day	0-1	2	0-1	0-1	2	0-1	2	0-1	0-1

Question 4b: Using English to obtain directions or information

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	0	5	1	1	3	0	0	2	0
Hours per day	0	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0	0-1	0-1	0-1

Question 4c: Using English for superficial or brief exchanges

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	1	7	2	7	6	0	no reply	7	7
Hours per day	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0	no reply	4+	0-1

Question 4d: Using English for extended conversations

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	2	5	5	5	1	3	no reply	7	5
Hours per day	2	0-1	3	2	0-1	3	no reply	4+	0-1; 2; 3

Question 5: Reading in English outside of class

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	7	7	7	7	7	5	7	7	7
Hours per day	3	3	4+	2	4+	2	4+	2	2; 4+

Question 5a: Reading English magazines, newspapers or novels

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	6	6	7	1	5	3	1	2	1; 6
Hours per day	2	2	4+	0-1	2	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1

Question 5b: Reading schedules, announcements and the like in English

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	6	6	7	5	7	3	7	3	7
Hours per day	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1

Question 5c: Reading e-mail or webpages in English, including Facebook, Twitter etc.

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7	7
Hours per day	3	0-1	2	2	4+	2	2	4+	2

Question 6: Listening to English outside of class

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	6	7	7	7	7	6	7	7	7
Hours per day	2	4+	4+	2	3	2	2	4+	2

Question 6a: Listening to television and radio in English

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	6	7	7	3	3	2	1	4	3; 7
Hours per day	0-1	0-1	4+	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	2	0-1

Question 6b: Watching movies of videos in English

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	6	3	7	1	7	6	4	7	7
Hours per day	2	2	2	2	2	2	0-1	4+	2

Question 6c: Listening to English-language songs

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	6	7	7	2	7	4	7	5	7
Hours per day	2	2	4+	0-1	2	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1

Question 6d: Trying to catch other people’s conversations in English

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	4	5	7	4	1	0	6	4	4
Hours per day	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0	0-1	0-1	0-1

Question 7: Writing in English outside of class

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	5	7	7	2	7	3	6	4	7
Hours per day	3	2	0-1	no reply	2	0-1	4+	0-1	0-1

Question 7a: Writing homework assignments and other study-related texts in English

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	5	4	7	2	7	2	5	3	2; 5; 7
Hours per day	2	2	2	3	4+	0-1	4+	0-1	2

Question 7b: Writing personal notes, letters or e-mail in English

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	4	7	7	7	7	0/1	3	4	7
Hours per day	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	3	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1

FINNISH

Question 2: Speaking Finnish outside of class

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	6	6	1	6	1	7	7	7	6; 7
Hours per day	2	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	2-3	3	2	0-1

Question 3a: Speaking Finnish to teachers

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	3	1	0	0	0	2	1	3	0
Hours per day	0-1	0-1	0	0-1	0	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1

Question 3b: Speaking Finnish to friends who are native of fluent Finnish speakers

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	4	4	1	2	0	4	7	7	4
Hours per day	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0	2	4+	2	0-1

Question 3c: Speaking Finnish to classmates

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	2	4	0	0	0	0	3	4	0
Hours per day	0-1	0-1	0	0-1	0	0	0-1	2	0-1

Question 3d: Speaking Finnish to strangers

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	5	3	1	1	0	1	3	7	1
Hours per day	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1

Question 3e: Speaking Finnish to host family, flatmate or people in the housing area

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	5	3	1	1	0	5	1	7	1
Hours per day	2	0-1	0-1	0-1	0	0-1	2	0-1	0-1

Question 3f: Speaking Finnish to service personnel

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	3	4	1	4	0	5	6	7	4
Hours per day	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1

Question 4a: Using Finnish to clarify classroom-related work

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	1	0	0	0	0	1	0	4	0
Hours per day	2	0	0	0	0	0-1	0	0-1	0

Question 4b: Using Finnish to obtain directions or information

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	5	5	0	5	1	4	2	7	5
Hours per day	0-1	0-1	0	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1

Question 4c: Using Finnish for superficial or brief exchanges

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	5	7	1	3	1	5	3	7	1; 3: 5; 7
Hours per day	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1

Question 4d: Using Finnish for extended conversations

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	2	0	0	0	0	4	7	7	0
Hours per day	2	0	0	0	0	3	2	2	0

Question 5: Reading in Finnish outside of class

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	6	2	7	5	0	6	2	4	2; 6
Hours per day	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0	0-1	0-1	2	0-1

Question 5a: Reading Finnish magazines, newspapers or novels

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	5	1	1	2	0	5	1	2	1
Hours per day	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1

Question 5b: Reading schedules, announcements and the like in Finnish

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	6	2	7	5	0	6	2	4	2; 6
Hours per day	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0	0-1	0-1	2	0-1

Question 5c: Reading e-mail or webpages in Finnish, including Facebook, Twitter etc.

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	4	1	7	4	1	7	7	4	4; 7
Hours per day	2	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	2	0-1

Question 6: Listening to Finnish outside of class

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	7	5	7	6	7	7	7	7	7
Hours per day	4+	0-1	2	0-1	0-1	3	2	0-1	0-1

Question 6a: Listening to television and radio in Finnish

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	6	0	7	4	2	5	7	5	5; 7
Hours per day	2	0	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1

Question 6b: Watching movies of videos in Finnish

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	6	1	7	1	0	0	1	3	1
Hours per day	2	2	0-1	2	0	0	0-1	0-1	0-1; 2

Question 6c: Listening to Finnish-language songs

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	5	2	7	4	3	7	1	3	3; 7
Hours per day	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-2	0-1	0-1	0-1

Question 6d: Trying to catch other people’s conversations in Finnish

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	5	5	7	5	1	6	7	2	5
Hours per day	0-1	0-1	2	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1

Question 7: Writing in Finnish outside of class

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	4	1	1	0	0	5	7	2	0; 1
Hours per day	0-1	0-1	0-1	0	0	0-1	0-1	2	0-1

Question 7a: Writing homework assignments and other study-related texts in Finnish

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	2	0	2	0	1	2	3	2	2
Hours per day	0-1	0	0-1	0	2	2	0-1	2	0-1; 2

Question 7b: Writing personal notes, letters or e-mail in Finnish

	Sausau	Christian	Nadine	David	Miltos	Martine	Ulrike	Victor	MODE
Days per week	3	1	1	0	1	5	2	2	1
Hours per day	0-1	0-1	0-1	0	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1	0-1