"BILINGUAL IS OUR IDENTITY":

exploring identity construction in bilingual families

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract
Tämän pro gradu-tutkielman tarkoituksena on tarkastella kahden kaksikielisen perheen jäsenten identiteetin rakentumista. Vaikka kaksikielisyyttä perheissä on tutkittu laajalti, identiteetin rakentumisen näkökulmasta tutkimuksia on suhteellisen vähän.

Tutkimus on luonteeltaan laadullinen ja tavoitteena oli selvittää miten perheenjäsenet kuvaavat identiteettiään ja identifioituvat kieliinsä sekä millaisia identiteettejä he rakentavat itselleen. Identiteettiin liittyen, tukielma halusi myös vastata kysymyksiin kielen käytöstä sekä tunteiden ilmaisemisesta. Tutkielma myös tarkastelee mahdollisia eroja ja yhtäläisyyksiä identiteettien välillä sukupolvien sekä sisarusten kesken. Lähtökohtana tutkielmassa on, että kieli ja identiteetti ovat erottamattomat ja identiteetti rakentuu sosiaalisessa vuorovaikutuksessa; kun perheenjäsenet kuvaavat identiteettiään, he samalla luovat uusia merkityksiä sekä rakentavat identiteettiään. Kaksikielisyyden määritelmä painottuu enemmän kahden kielen jatkuvaan käyttöön, kielten yhtäläisen osaamisen sijaan.

Tutkielman aineisto koostuu viidestä teemahaastattelusta, jotka toteutettiin skypen välityksellä. Aineiston analyysimenetelminä käytetään laadullista sekä temaattista analyysia sekä näiden lisäksi identiteettiä tarkstellaan diskurssianalyyttisesta lähtökohdasta, minkä mukaan kieli nähdään todellisuuden kuvana tai itse todellisuutta rakentavana tekijänä.

Tutkimustulokset osoittavat, että molempien perheiden natiivit englannin kielen puhujat, äidit, identifioituvat vahvemmin englannin kuin suomen kieleen. Toinen äideistä rakensin myös erittäin vahvan kanadalaisen kulttuurisen identiteetin itselleen. Suomalaiset isät puolestaan kuvasivat itseään hyvin kaksikielisinä. Kaikki lapset identifioituivat voimakkaasti molempiin kieliin sekä kulttuureihin, lukuunottamatta yhtä, jonka kielellinen ja kulttuurinen identiteetti oli vahvasti suomalainen. Kaikki perheenjäsenet olivat jokseenkin sitä mieltä, että äidinkieli on myös tunnekieli, mutta monet kokivat myös pystyvänsä ilmaisemaan toisella kielellään tunteitaan. Sisarusten sekä sukupolvien välisiä eroja identiteeteistä löytyi myös.

Asiasanat – Keywords bilingualism, identity, identity construction, family
Säilytyspaikka – Depository JYX
Muita tietoja – Additional information

TABLE OF CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

Language and identity are intertwined, in fact, they are inseparable, as Joseph (2004: 13) states. Bilingualism and identity have both been researched extensively in (socio)linguistics in the past decades, from many different perspectives and aspects, families being one of them. In fact, as more and more couples are intercultural and choose to raise their children bilingually, research on bilingual families is timely and relevant. Moreover, Kendall (2007: 3) states: "Families are the cradle of language, the original site of everyday discourse, and a touchstone for talk in other contexts". In addition, she notes that families are partly created through language and 'talk', since it is in families where one negotiates values and beliefs, manages the household daily and where relationships are maintained through intimate conversations. In other words, as Kendall (2007: 3) claims, families are an important site of research regarding language, language use and identity, yet there has been less focus on this first institution than on other formal institutions, such as workplaces.

Most of the research on bilingual identity in families focuses on language use and family language policies, as well children's bilingual development. Therefore, the present study aims to bring a fresh perspective into bilingualism studies, as it explores identity construction in two English-Finnish bilingual families, in Finland. In both families, the mothers are the native English speakers and the fathers are Finnish. In addition, they both have three adult children. Furthermore, the present study defines the term 'bilingual' as someone who knows and uses two languages regularly, instead of focusing on native-like or equal proficiency in both languages (Grosjean 2010). Moreover, the main aim of the present study is to find out how the participant families describe their identities and identify with the languages, as well as what kind of identities they construct for themselves as they speak of their experiences. As Llamas and Watt (2009: 9) point out, language has the power, not only to *reflect* who we are but also *make* us who we are or allow us to make ourselves. In addition, identities are socially constructed, through language (Makalela 2014).

Instead of seeing identity as fixed and stable, it is an ongoing process that is constructed in the presence of others. In other words, people construct different identities to project a certain image of self or renegotiate a sense of self (Nin´o-Murcia and Rothman 2008).

In addition to looking at the how the participants identify with both languages, as well as what kind of identities they construct for themselves, the present study aims to shed light on possible differences and similarities in identities between generations and siblings. Since all the children are adults, they are able to describe their own identities, unlike in most studies, which solely rely on the parents' descriptions and views of their children's identities. Moreover, although generational differences have been studied more than the differences in identities between siblings, the present study will explore both, which adds a new perspective to bilingual studies in families and gives a wider picture of identity construction in this particular context.

These two families were interviewed, using thematic, semi-structured interviews. They were asked questions based on different themes. The interviews were transcribed and analysed, using qualitative and thematic analysis. In addition to these methods, the study adopted a discourse analytic way of examining identity, since according to discourse analytic approach, language is considered either an image of reality or something that constructs reality (Eskola and Suoranta 1998). Similarly, as the participants speak of their experiences, they construct their identities.

Chapter 2 takes a closer look at the concept of identity, firstly presenting different aspects of it and how it has been researched in many theoretical frameworks as well as how it is understood and defined in the present study. Chapter 3 presents bilingualism, firstly defining it, after which bilingualism in families is discussed. Furthermore, bilingualism and emotions are also discussed, as well as previous studies on bilingual families presented. Chapter 4 presents the research design of the present study, including aims and research

questions, data collection, participants and methods of analysis. Chapters 5 and 6 present and analyse the results, dividing parents and children in two different sections. Finally, chapter 7 discusses the findings and concludes the study with suggestions for further research on the topic.

2 IDENTITY

Identity is a broad and a complex area of research. It has been researched and defined in multiple different disciplines and fields of study, such as sociology, politics, philosophy, psychology and linguistics. However, despite much research and theory that exists about the notion of identity, there is not one clear and precise definition for it (Fielding 2011: 13). Moreover, different disciplines view and define the concept of identity slightly differently. For example, Craib (1998: 1) reports that in sociology, gender and ethnic identity are at the forefront. Furthermore, he points out that sociology uses terms such as the 'social construction' of identity and 'the self'. In this chapter, the relationship between language and identity is discussed and identity is presented as a multifaceted phenomenon. In addition, demonstrations of different theories and theoretical frameworks around the concept of identity are introduced, to further prove its extent. Finally, identity is defined as it is understood in the present study.

2.1 Language and identity

When defining identity, it is important to note that it is closely connected to language, in other words, identity and language are intertwined. In fact, Ciepiela (2011: 8) claims that they are inseparable. According to her, identity is a many-faceted phenomenon that is constructed in the presence of others, through communication, in other words, language. Furthermore, she points out that language is central to the human condition. Therefore, to understand identity, it is first crucial to consider and research verbal communication and language. Moreover, Llamas and Watt (2010: 1) claim that the connection between language and identity is fundamental to our experience of being human. They propose that language reflects who we are and in some sense, *is*

who we are, and its use defines us indirectly and directly. Also, Fielding (2011: 13) claims that the language or languages we use relate closely to and reflect who we are, as well as form an important part of ourselves. We also use language to assign identities and to name people. In other words, a person lacking a name also lacks an identity (Llamas and Watt 2010: 1).

Llamas and Watt (2010: 9) also point out that the sense of who we are, where and why we belong, and how we relate to others, (in other words our identity or identities), all have language at their very centre. Furthermore, according to them, people's choice of languages and ways of speaking not only *reflect* who they are but also *make* them who they are or allow them to make themselves. In the process, as Llamas and Watt (2010: 9) point out, the languages people use are made and re-made. Furthermore, Joseph (2004: 11) claims that language has the ability to abstract the world of experience into words, enabling us to form a conception of self instead of merely *being* ourselves. This description and definition of identity is how the present study also understands identity and how it is linked to language.

2.2 Identity as a multifaceted phenomenon

Personal identity

We all have many identities or our identities have many different aspects to them, personal identity being one of them. As Joseph (2004: 1) puts it, identity is who you are. According to him, there are two basic aspects to a person's identity: one's name, which singles him or her out from other people and, ironically, one's identity or the identity of 'identity', which refers to the deeper and intangible something that constitutes who one really is. However, Joseph (2004) goes on to show that identity is not a simple notion, as many factors contribute to the formation of it.

Some elements of our identities can be considered essences, such as our unique facial characteristics, our DNA, our fingerprints and our body markings to

mention a few (Deschamps and Devos 1998: 3). These are the fundamentals that mark us out as unique individuals and make up one's personal identity. Furthermore, personal identity not only makes one similar or identical to oneself but also different from others, as Deschamps and Devos (1998: 3) put it. Moreover, they point out that the feeling of difference can only be experienced in relation to others. All in all, every person's unique features make him or her different from others, as well as explain his or her uniqueness and being specific. Also, people's language and language use make them different from others. In sociolinguistics, the term 'idiolect' is used to refer to one's personal way of speaking and using language. It can be defined as a variety of a language that is unique to an individual. In addition, it is frequent and recurrent in one's speech (Wu, Lee and Liang 2009: 127). Moreover, idiolects also mark belonging to a group and at the same time exclude a person from other groups.

Social identity
In addition to having personal identities, Llamas and Watt (2010: 1) state that we are social beings with social identities and the variation in our appearance and behaviour, as well as the constant variability in our language use mark us out as belonging to different social groups. Similarly, Craib (1998: 4) also claims that we all have social identities. According to him, one can, for example, be a mother, a wife, a teacher and a supporter of a particular sports team. However, some of these identities could disappear without one experiencing a great loss because one would only have lost an identity, not *one's* identity (Craib 1998: 4). Thus, a person's identity or one's personal identity is not the same as one's social identities, although according to Craib (1998: 4), personal identity overflows, adds to and transforms the social identities attached to oneself.

In addition, Craib (1998: 4) claims that social identities can come and go but personal identity goes on and is something that unites all the social identities one has ever had, has and will have. In other words, Craib (1998) claims that one's personal identity is constant and unchanging. However, as mentioned

earlier; language and identity are inseparable and as language and language use change, one's identity is inevitably affected as well. Therefore, according to this view, identity can be seen as more dynamic than static.

Deschamps and Devos (1998: 2) also discuss the distinction between personal and social identity. According to them, these concepts are based on the idea that every individual is characterised by personal features or specific individual characteristics and by social features, which show his or her membership of a group or a category, also already mentioned by Llamas and Watt (2010: 1). Therefore, personal identity refers to identity being 'situated within' a person, whereas social identity refers to the processes of individual formation (Deschamps and Devos 1998: 2). Furthermore, according to Rampton (2006), social identity of a bilingual learner consists of three interrelated factors: 1) expertise, which refers to knowledge and proficiency of the language, 2) identification or affiliation with a language and 3) inheritance, referring to the way people are born into a language tradition. Moreover, all of these, in the process of meaning-making and identifying, portray a globalised society where language users create, construct and negotiate identities constantly (Garcia 2011).

Individual and group identities

Joseph (2004: 4) also makes a distinction between individual and group identities. Self-identity has long been given a privileged role in identity studies although the identities we construct for ourselves and for others do not seem very different at all - the only difference is in the status we accord to those identities, Joseph (2004: 4) claims. Moreover, he continues that individual and group identities function differently on the *deictic* (pointing) or the name level, since group identities, such as 'British' or 'a man' do not constitute what we normally think of as names. Moreover, another way of categorising people is through 'membership categorisation devices' (Antaki and Widdicombe 1998). In other words, people can be referred to through different identity categories, such as their names, gender, profession or social status. Each person can be a

member of an infinity of categories and each category implies that the person has a range of certain characteristics or features, as Antaki and Widdicombe (1998: 4) point out. In addition, Joseph (2004: 5) points out that group identities seem to be more abstract since they do not exist separately from those who possess them, except as an abstract concept. However, our individual identities are made up of combinations of these abstractions.

Joseph (2004: 5) continues to argue that group identity often finds its most 'concrete' manifestation in a single, symbolic individual. He adds that the group identities we partake in can either nurture or smother our individual selves. Also, individual identities, as Joseph (2004: 5) claims, are established in part by rank relative to others who share the same group identity. Furthermore, Quirk (2000: 3) claims that these two aspects or dimensions of identity are complementary but also in potential conflict with each other, since one sees the self as stable and supreme while the other seeks to submerge the self in the wider identity of the group, sharing sameness whether in interests or language. However, all in all, it is impossible to entirely separate individual and group identity since they are intertwined, as shown above. As Martin (2012: 39) argues, both components belong to a person's identity when viewed holistically.

Cultural identity

In addition to personal and social identities, whether on an individual or a group level, also culture makes up a part of our identities. Constantin and Rautz (2003: 189) state that there is an inextricable link between culture, language and identity. They point out that people often relate the concept of culture to language, ethnicity, religion and symbols. People who speak the same language, belong to the same ethnic group, share the same symbols that distinguish them from others, or have a common faith, thus share aspects of their cultural identity, feel bound to each other. These *living* concepts of culture and identity, according to Constantin and Rautz (2003: 190), are not only some abstract notions but closely connected to people's lives. Furthermore, Kiely et

al. (2006: 2) argue that culture is more a dynamic than a static account of how people live their lives. According to them, the term culture changes its meanings and serves different purposes at different times. Therefore, culture is a verb since it is an active process of meaning making (Street 1993, cited in Kiely et al. 2006: 2).

Lopicic (2010: 6), on the other hand, suggests that there are two concepts of cultural identities - one of fixed essence that is shared by all members of the same culture and the other of unstable points of identification, in other words a positioning. When this positioning changes radically, so does the identity, she claims. To clarify, she explains how the past and the present are connected and what we have become reflects what we have been. However, as Lopicic (2010: 6) points out, this does not happen in a smooth uninterrupted flow. Thus, (cultural) identity is progressive, one that develops, takes new turns and assumes new shapes. To conclude, according to Lopicic (2010: 6), when these two concepts of cultural identity are combined, they can produce insight into the complex phenomenon of cultural identity.

2.3 Identity viewed from different theoretical frameworks

In addition to having introduced many different aspects of the concept of identity, this chapter discusses how the concept of identity can be theorised in multiple different ways and each of these theories will also lead to a different definition of it (Lawler 2008, cited in Fielding 2011: 13). Fielding (2011: 13) points out that the notion of identity is constantly evolving in different contexts and over time. Different theories and theoretical frameworks on identity are presented and discussed below.

Variationist sociolinguistics and sociopsychological paradigm

Blackledge and Pavlenko (2001: 243-244) discuss views of identity in a few different theoretical frameworks in multilingualism studies. Firstly, they point out that the notion of identity has changed over time and one particular paradigm, known as *variationist sociolinguistics,* views identity as something that

people express, rather than negotiate. However, over the years, this view of identity as a fixed and explanatory concept has been criticised by scholars (Blackledge and Pavlenko 2001: 244). Moreover, these scholars suggest that multiple identities are constructed and negotiated through language and are also in need of explanation themselves. They also point out that linguistic forms and strategies have many different functions and can only be linked to particular identities in interactional contexts. Secondly, Blackledge and Pavlenko (2001: 244) show that several different theories in the *sociopsychological* paradigm have attempted to theorise identity, negotiation of identity and language contact outcomes. However, they add that the sociopsychological approaches do not consider the issues of power and domination in the relationships between majority and minority groups or relate the social to the linguistic. Therefore, they do not theorise the negotiation of identities in multilingual contexts comprehensively.

Poststructuralist framework
Blackledge and Pavlenko (2001: 245) propose and adopt a *poststructuralist* theoretical framework, which is a transition from a purely sociopsychological approach to a more ethnographically-oriented sociolinguistic approach. This poststructuralist framework emphasises that identities are always embedded in larger ideological and discursive practices and that language practices are bound up in relations of power and authority as well as larger socioeconomic and sociopolitical processes. Moreover, Woolard (1998: 3) claims that language ideologies are the link between social forms and forms of talk. In addition, she claims that ideologies about language are hardly ever about language alone but they are socially situated and usually tied to questions of power and identity in societies. Further, those ideologies that appear to be about language are often about political systems instead and ideologies that seem to be about political theory, turn out to be about linguistic practices and beliefs, at least implicitly (Gal and Woolard 1995 as quoted by Blackledge and Pavlenko 2001: 246). Furthermore, King (2013) investigated how locally held ideologies about language and language learning shape the way in which family roles and

identities were constructed and enacted. Little analysis exists on how these ideologies affect family language practices. Instead, more work has focused on parental language choices being shaped by ideologies and attitudes regarding particular languages.

Discourse and identity

Another field in which identity and interaction have been examined in several different theoretical frameworks is discourse and identity. In discourse studies, identity is seen as dynamic; something that is negotiated and constructed. Discourse analysis has shown how personal and social identities are shaped in social interaction, as well as how they are created, reproduced and negotiated through discourse (Grad and Rojo 2008: 8). Furthermore, some of these studies, including Georgalidou, Kaili and Celtek's (2010) research, adopt a conversation analytic perspective and investigate how identities are mobilised and negotiated and how they are treated as meaningful in social interaction. Others, such as Bucholtz and Hall (2005) and Cashman and Williams (2008) introduce a sociocultural linguistic perspective on identity, which focuses on the details of language and the workings of culture and society. Moreover, Bucholtz and Hall (2005: 586) state that the sociocultural linguistic framework is broad and interdisciplinary, with the purpose of acknowledging the full range of work regarding language and identity. In addition, they claim that it offers a device for referring to these different approaches collectively and for analysing identity as a centrally linguistic phenomenon.

Social constructivism

A general perspective and a basic way of thinking about identity in discourse studies is social constructivism (De Fina, Schiffrin and Bamberg 2006: 2). According to this perspective, identity is a process, always embedded in social practices, as De Fina et al. (2006: 2) state. Parmegiani's (2014) study of Zulu speaking South African university students adopts a social constructivist perspective and explores how identities are perceived and constructed among the students. Parmegiani (2014) draws on Rampton's (1990) work but adopts a

poststructural, feminist perspective on identity construction as well as focuses on the students' discourses about the ownership of English. Through this language ownership concept, languages are often used as identity markers. According to the framework in Parmegiani's (2014) study, identity is understood as fluid, as people construct themselves differently across time and social domains. Also, language ownership is perceived as more open than the idea that speakers can only be considered legitimate owners of one language, a language established from birth.

As language becomes a conduit for constructing an identity, there are countless social contexts in which to analyse language use, as Nin´o-Murcia and Rothman (2008: 17) state. One significant way to construct bilingual identity is through code-switching, in other words switching between two languages in conversation, with people one considers similar to oneself (Nin´o-Murcia and Rothman 2008; Makalela 2014). In fact, Blackledge and Pavlenko (2001: 251) claim that code-switching is one of the key means to linguistically negotiate one's identity. Moreover, code-switching is a common conversational practice in bilingual communities (Georgalidou et al. 2010: 317). Pavlenko (2004: 179) also points out that code-switching can have several different functions and is chosen for different reasons, consciously or unconsciously, such as to mark an affective stance and signal unity or distance, in other words mark social membership. In addition, she points out that bilinguals switch between languages to convey intimacy or distance. Sometimes switching is related to matters of preference, competence (to compensate deficiency in one language) (Chung 2006), issues of societal norms and identity construction processes (Georgalidou et al. 2010: 317). Moreover, Nin´o-Murcia and Rothman (2008: 18) claim that code-switching can symbolically mark the identity one wants to project at any given time within a particular group. This supports the idea that code-switching is used to construct identities and to make different identity claims with each language (Burck 2011).

Makalela (2014) investigated how multi-ethnic and multilingual students in

South Africa negotiated their identities through languaging experiences. This study can also be understood within the social constructivism framework, which emphasises that language and identity are socially constructed. Makalela (2014) emphasises that speakers choose who they want to become, using linguistic resources, and as contexts change, they can construct and negotiate new identities in every interaction, through translanguaging or code-switching. In contrast to the concept of code-switching, translanguaging does not consider the languages of a bilingual to be separate linguistic systems (Velasco and Garcia 2014: 7). Instead, translanguaging refers to the deployment of a speaker's full linguistic repertoire, without regard to the boundaries of named languages, since a person's full idiolect or repertoire only belongs to the speaker, not to any named language (Otheguy, Garcia and Reid 2015: 281). In Makalela's (2014) research, the attention is not only on languages as social constructs but also on the users of these languages who attach their sense of being to these and identify with these languages. Data were collected through written narratives, which were analysed using a universalist reductionist approach. Language systems in Makalela's (2014) study are conceived as fluid and dynamic constructs of multilingual speakers who utilise these systems to perform their personhood. Furthermore, from this angle, the very notion of language is critiqued and the boundaries between languages are questioned.

2.4 Identity construction

This chapter introduces identity as it is understood in the present study. In sociolinguistics, as Nin´o-Murcia and Rothman (2008: 15) point out, social theory has shifted focus in identity studies from a "structuralist" to a more "constructivist" position within the past few decades. They note that according to the constructivist framework, identity is viewed as an ongoing process and something that is socially constructed and performed, instead of being seen as stable and fixed. Similarly, the present study defines identity according to the constructivist position.

Identities are socially constructed (Makalela, 2014: 670). To add, speakers

choose who they want to become through the linguistic resources available to them and in different interactions and contexts they form and constitute new identities (Garcia 2009, cited in Makalela 2014: 670). In addition, as Nin´o-Murcia and Rothman (2008: 17) point out, social competence requires different performances in different situations. Therefore, as they claim, people construct different identities to project a certain image of self or renegotiate a sense of self, through linguistic realisations. Moreover, Kiely et al. (2006: 2) define identity as the process of constant and performed meaning-making, whether it is for individuals, groups or communities. Thus, they point out that it is not a fixed label, but rather a means of articulating the relationship with the surrounding world. Similarly, Llamas and Watt (2010: 1) claim that our identities are never static but instead constantly shifting and being re-negotiated.

Although identity is viewed as socially constructed, through language, it can also be defined as experience. Craib (1998: 1) proposes that identity can be thought of as one element or a process within a self but also as experience, since any sociological account of our world should imply something about the way people experience it. This view is not contradictory to the fact that identities are also socially constructed, because when we speak of our experiences, we create and make new meanings as well as show what is meaningful about our experiences.

2.5 Bilingual identity

Having defined identity, it is important to shed light on what it meant by bilingual identity. Burck (2011: 362) states that language and culture are intertwined, and therefore languages can be described as 'culture-soaked'. Since language always includes cultural knowledge, a bilingual person would belong to different cultures. According to this viewpoint, bilingual and bicultural people could be described as having fluid identities, and able to activate a set of distinct concepts or mental frames, which include the various aspects of their identities (Gergen 1991; Peracchio & Torsten Ringberg 2008, cited in Damigella and Licciardello 2013: 748). These fluid identities are characterised by the ability

to integrate diverse aspects between individuals and their social context as well as an identity that is not of "unique" belonging but rather the result of different memberships. In addition, Xue and Han (2014: 1160) state that language is an embodiment of culture as well as a tool for communication. Therefore, they claim that when acquiring a second language and its cultural knowledge, one's cultural identity will undergo significant changes, in terms of reevaluating and reorienting one's cultural values, communication styles and group identity.

Xue and Han (2014: 1160) propose, based on previous research, that there are two types of bilingual identities, namely subtractive and additive. They state that subtractive bilingual identity refers to one's native language and culture identities being gradually replaced by the second language and culture, in other words, one experiences a complete acculturation. Additive bilingual identity, on the other hand, as they claim, refers to one acquiring a new language and culture as well as maintaining their native language and culture identities. In addition to these two types of bilingual identities, Xue and Han (2014: 1160) refer to a third term called productive bilingual identity, which was put forward by a Chinese scholar. Productive bilingual identity, they explain, means that both native and target language and culture are promoted in interaction, which then again improves one's overall cognition, affect and communication. Thus, they deduce that productive bilingualism emphasises mutual enhancement between native language and culture and the target ones, while additive bilingualism indicates that the two languages and cultures have their respective functions in different settings, without interaction.

The participants in the present study are most likely a combination of additive and productive bilinguals, as that the study investigates bilingual families where different family members can have different types of bilingual identities. Therefore, it is important to research how the members of bilingual families describe their identities and what kind of bilingual identities they construct for themselves, which is the main purpose of the present study.

3 BILINGUALISM

Bilingualism, much like the concept of identity, has been widely researched and it can be defined in multiple different ways. In this chapter, I first describe and define the concept of bilingualism as it is used in the present study and discuss bilingualism in the familial context, after which I move on to show how bilingual identity and identity construction have previously been researched in families.

3.1 Definitions

Bilingualism is often perceived as something that is possessed by people who speak two languages with an equal proficiency or fluency in both. Grosjean (2010: 19) claims that the notion that being bilingual means being fluent in one's languages is widespread. In other words, these people can be described as 'perfect bilinguals', as Hamers and Blanc (2000: 6) put it. Moreover, Grosjean (2010: 20) also states that bilinguals are often perceived as having acquired their languages as children and not having an accent in them. These bilinguals are called 'the real', 'the pure' and 'the balanced' bilinguals. An alternative to this definition is entailed in the term *incipient bilingualism*, which includes people with minimal competence in a second language (Diebold 1964, as quoted in Baker 2006: 8). Furthermore, as Baker (2006: 8) states, the notion of incipient bilingualism is extremely inclusive and therefore most adults in the world can be included in this category. For example, according to this view, tourists with a few phrases and business people with some greetings in a second language are considered incipient bilinguals.

However, Hamers and Blanc (2000: 7) question the sufficiency of these two extreme definitions and point out that bilingualism as a concept is more diverse and complex than that. Firstly, they claim that it is quite impossible to define what the so called 'perfect bilingualism' looks and sounds like. Secondly, they question whether a person with minimal knowledge in a second language can legitimately be called bilingual. Thirdly, Hamers and Blanc (2000: 7) suggest that perhaps people with a very high competence in a second language should

also be called bilingual, despite their foreign accent. All in all, these definitions, according to Hamers and Blanc (2000: 7) are not adequate enough since they measure bilingualism according to one dimension only; language proficiency. Therefore, a more adequate description of bilingualism is needed. Grosjean (2010: 4) defines bilinguals as people who use two or more languages or dialects in their everyday life. This definition places emphasis on language use, instead of language proficiency or fluency, and is the definition that best fits this study too.

Hamers and Blanc (2000: 6) define individual bilingualism or 'bilinguality' as "the psychological state of an individual who has access to more than one linguistic code as a means of social communication". In support of these definitions, Baker (2006: 9-10) points out that bilinguals use their two languages with different people and for different purposes, in different situations. Therefore, he suggests that regardless of their proficiency or balance in the two languages, their competence may not be equal across all situations, hence they may be stronger in each language in different domains. Thus, the focus in bilingualism should be on language use instead of proficiency or fluency. Also, for these reasons, as Baker (2006: 10) claims, it is unfair to measure a bilingual's language competence against a native monolingual speaker.

Baker (2006: 6) also points out that not all bilinguals necessarily have the opportunity to use both their languages on a regular basis. Many bilinguals live in a monolingual community where there is not much choice over language use on a societal level, much like the participants in the present study, since only one of these families' languages is officially spoken on a societal level. However, as Sánchez and Tuomainen (2014: 101) point out, English is widely used in different domains in Finland today and Finnish people are also more positive towards English. Therefore, it is possible to view English as a second, not a foreign language. Furthermore, according to Sánchez and Tuomainen (2014: 103), the linguistic situation in Finland has a three-way distinction: Finnish and Swedish are the official languages and spoken by over 90% and 5%

of the population respectively. In addition, English is the expanding lingua franca, as 78% of the population can efficiently communicate in it. Furthermore, as Leppänen and Nikula (2008: 16) state, many different factors affect the strong presence English has gained in Finland, for example the modernisation of society, becoming more international, effective language education and information technology, as well as transnational cultural currents. Therefore, as they point out, in addition to Finnish and Swedish, Finns use English, even in situations where they could speak their mother tongues.

Societal bilingualism refers to a community where a number of individuals are bilingual (Hamers and Blanc 2000: 6). Baker (2006: 2) makes a distinction between societal and individual bilingualism, in which the former refers to bilingualism as a group possession and the latter as an individual possession. To add, Hamers and Blanc (2000: 6) define societal bilingualism as the state of a linguistic community where a number of individuals are bilingual and two languages are in contact. As a result, two codes can be used in the same interaction. Although the present study focuses on individual bilingualism, it has an element of societal bilingualism due to the widespread use of English in Finland and also because bilingual families in themselves are small communities where two languages are spoken by all individuals.

There are many different dimensions along which bilinguals can be studied or which they can be measured by. Baker, (2006: 3), along with with Hamers and Blanc (2000: 25) lists some of them, including both receptive and productive language ability, domains where the languages are acquired and used, balance, age, culture, as well as context, to name a few. From the point of view of the present study, the most important dimensions of bilingualism are balance between the two languages, the domains in which the language is used and age. Furthermore, regarding age, Baker (2006: 96, 120) discusses the different routes to becoming bilingual, whether it happens early in the childhood or later as an adult or somewhere in between. Moreover, this study researches bilingual families where the children have learned two languages from birth and the

parents have most likely acquired the second language at a later age. In other words, their route to bilingualism is different. Therefore, it is important to note some of the differences between the ways in which one can become a bilingual.

Firstly, simultaneous bilingualism, according to Baker (2006: 97) refers to when children become bilinguals almost effortlessly from birth, having parents who both speak a different language. Sometimes it can also be a caretaker or a nanny who speaks the second language. Nonetheless, simultaneous bilingualism means that the child is exposed to two different languages (Grosjean 2010: 164). Secondly, sequential acquisition of bilingualism, on the other hand, refers to a situation where an adult or a child acquires a first language and later becomes proficient in a second language (Baker 2006: 120). Moreover, Baker (2006: 121) states that the reasons for acquiring a second language can usually be clustered under two headings: societal and individual. He adds that the individual reasons vary from cultural awareness to acquiring a language for careers and employment while the societal reasons can include interaction across continents, trade, information and power. In addition to these, Baker (2006: 4) introduces the term *circumstantial bilingualism*, which is a characteristic of individuals who learn another language to function effectively because of their circumstances. In this case, as he points out, the second language is learned in order to meet the educational, political and employment demands as well as the communicative needs of the society in which they live. This most likely describes some of the participants (parents) in the present study.

3.2 Bilingualism in families

In addition to defining bilinguals and bilingualism, it is important to shed more light on bilingualism in families. This chapter discusses the characteristics or elements of growing up in a bilingual environment, family language policy and the relationship between bilingualism and the language of emotion.

Growing up bilingual

Bilingualism can take different forms in families. Most typically though, the parents do not share the same native language. In such families, there is a

potential to raise the children bilingual in their parents' languages, as Yamamoto (2001: 1) points out. Furthermore, Raguenaud (2009: 13) states that raising one's children bilingually is always a conscious choice. She also points out that it takes commitment and creativity for children to not only to learn but to maintain two languages. Moreover, regarding the motives for raising children bilingual, parents commonly view bilingualism as an investment in their children's intellectual development and academic success, as well as wider, and therefore, better opportunities in the job market (Döpke 1992 and Piller 2001, as quoted by Pavlenko, 2004: 180). Raguenaud (2009: 13), on the other hand, suggests that often parents wish to keep family ties intact and share their cultural selves with their children.

The most ideal environment to pass along a second language to a child is in the child's first and the most important social milieu - the family, as Caldas (2006: 3) claims. In fact, he points out that multiple studies show that if one is to learn the language with native-like enunciation and fluency, it is critical that one learns it in infancy. Raguenaud (2009: 13) supports this view, stating that infants and toddlers can differentiate more language sounds than older children, and therefore, children who are exposed to two languages from birth will also learn to speak their languages with native accents. Furthermore, learning two languages from birth is as natural as learning only one language (Raguenaud 2009, Steiner and Hayes 2008). In fact, early and extensive exposure to two languages, according to neuroscientists' research, is a great stimulation and beneficial for the child's developing brain (ibid.).

Language delay and semilingualism are often linked to bilingualism. Firstly, a common misconception exists about bilingual children developing language at a later age compared to monolingual children. As Raguenaud (2009: 15) claims, language delay is often misunderstood and has more to do with the child's personal rate of development and skills than their parents' bilingual choice. In fact, she states that there is no scientific data proving that hearing and speaking two languages from infancy will cause a language delay. Steiner and Hayes

(2008: 18) support this claim, pointing out that leaving out one language does not necessarily improve one's language skills in the other language.

Secondly, semilingualism, according to Raguenaud (2009: 17), refers to bilingually raised children having problems with both their languages. For instance, they can have a smaller vocabulary, poor grammar, as well as problems of expressing complex thought and creativity, compared to monolingual children. Moreover, as she points out, parents often have a fear of semilingualism, which may even encourage them not to raise their children bilingually. However, as Raguenaud (2009: 17) suggests, that fear is often misguided. Also, she proposes that instead of being afraid of semilingualism, parents should, together with schools and communities, find ways to help young bilinguals get past the stage of poor grammar or low vocabulary and help them enrich their vocabularies.

Steiner and Hayes (2009) suggest seven helpful steps to raising a child bilingually. Firstly, as they report, one needs to build a foundation, which is to understand the basic facts about bilingualism. Secondly, according to them, parents should define their expectations and goals, after which, the third and the fourth step include becoming comfortable in the role of a bilingual coach as well as developing an action plan that will help turn the goals into reality. As Steiner and Hayes (2009) point out, consistency with exposure to the languages is key. In addition, they continue that as life does not always go according to plan, step five includes being prepared to conquer the most common hurdles bilingual families face. Moreover, step six involves learning to read and write in a second language. As Steiner and Hayes (2009: 130, 141) claim, bilingualism benefits the reading process and writing can help the child become more proficient in the languages. The final step, as they propose, has to do with the academic side of learning, and how parents need to be able to keep their child's bilingualism alive even if he or she struggles with it in pre-school or school. In addition, they state that staying flexible through all this is key in raising a bilingual child.

Family language policy

Parents need to decide how they will raise their child or children bilingually, as there are many different policies one can adopt. Family language policy (FLP) is a relatively new field of research, as King and Fogle (2013: 172) point out. The emphasis of it is on the balance between languages and the use of languages within the family unit, rather than targeting the child. In other words, "FLP addresses child language learning and use as functions of parental ideologies, decision-making and strategies concerning languages and literacies, as well as the broader social and cultural context of family life" (King and Fogle 2013: 172). They clarify that the ideologies, ideas and beliefs that the parents have about language need to coincide with the practices that they have chosen to follow in interacting with their children. Moreover, Yamamoto (2001: 1) claims that despite the common belief that communication is conducted equally in both parental languages and that children in bilingual families will naturally and spontaneously acquire both native languages, great variation is found in the degree to which this is realised in families as they adopt different family language policies.

Adopting a family language policy is not necessarily clear-cut or simple, since many factors affect parents' decision-making regarding how to raise their children bilingually. Firstly, DeCapua and Wintergerst (2009: 6), drawing on other researchers' work, point out that political and social attitudes towards bilingualism can influence families' ability to raise their children bilingually. Secondly, King and Fogle (2006: 697) claim that family language policy decisions relate to other aspects of parenthood, including culture-specific notions of what makes a good mother and father. In this way, public discourse about 'good' or 'bad' parenting can also potentially influence parental beliefs and practices.

As Palviainen and Boyd (2013: 223) state, parents seek to find a strategy which optimises their children's bilingual proficiency outcomes. Moreover, they

continue that the one person- one language (OPOL) strategy is the most commonly adopted strategy in bilingual families, where the parents have different native tongues. According to the OPOL rule, both parents consistently speak their first language to their children, therefore, the children identify a specific language with each parent. As Raguenaud (2009: 25) points out, OPOL gives the child distinct boundaries as well as brings clarity. According to her, the main advantage of this strategy is that it helps parents balance the amount of exposure their children have to each language. In addition, parents are able to form emotional bonds with their children in their own mother tongues (Raguenaud 2009: 24). However, as King, Fogle and Logan-Terry (2008: 909) point out, it is rare that families strictly follow this strategy in everyday life. Even with OPOL, languages inevitably mix, since parents may use a different language with each other than with their children (Raguenaud 2009: 25). Therefore, one needs to take into account what one does with language in day-to-day interaction and what happens in situations that might lead to departure from the general OPOL rule, when considering family language policy (King, Fogle and Logan-Terry 2008: 909). All in all, regardless of what the adopted policy is, commitment to and consistency with language use in bilingual families are key factors in raising children bilingually (Decapua and Wintergerst 2009: 6).

3.3 Bilingualism and emotion

Emotion is the complex psychophysiological experience of one's state of mind that is interacting with internal and external influences (Ozanska-Ponikwia 2013: 4). Each individual is equipped with a set of universal emotions but the culture one lives in provides the means with one can express them or another set of unique and culture-specific emotions (ibid.). Moreover, according to Pavlenko's study (2006: 11-12), bilinguals feel like different people when speaking different languages. In keeping with Pavlenko (2006, 2008), Burck (2011: 361) also suggests that living in several languages, one experiences and constructs oneself differently in each language, in other words, one can make different identity claims with these languages. Moreover, these different senses

of self generally incorporate different emotional expressiveness. Depending on the language being used, these experiences of the self can have implications for one's identities as well as one's relationships (Burck 2011: 365). Moreover, also Marian and Kaushanskaya (2004: 190) propose that "the language we speak influences not only the way we see the world around us, but also the way we see and think about ourselves - our self-perception, identity, autobiographical life narrative, in sum, our self". In addition to thinking and feeling differently when speaking two languages, they claim that decisions may be reached in a different manner, depending upon the language spoken at the time, as well as the culture to which that language is tied.

Pavlenko (2008: 156) claims that based on research, the first language or languages learned in early childhood are commonly perceived and experienced as more emotional than the languages that are acquired later in life. Moreover, Burck's (2011: 371) study showed that there is a "naturalness" to using one's native language. Thus, based on this, constructions of first and childhood languages as 'emotionally expressive' and 'intimate' are more generally constructed in the context of a dominant language, as the first language can access aspects of the self that are not available in the second or minority language.

Parents regularly use words to express and discuss emotions with their children (Chen, Kennedy and Chou 2012: 365). They clarify that for example affection, encouragement and criticism can be expressed through a variety of words or phrases. Moreover, they suggest that parents' use of different languages for emotional expression holds significant implications for children's emotional experience, regulation and understanding. However, in families where two or more languages are spoken, it is less clear what the effect of parents' emotion-related language choice is. It will be particularly interesting to find out what the participants in the present study feel that their language of emotion is and how they express their emotions, as well as if they feel different using each language.

3.4 Previous studies on bilingual families

Although a number of studies have been conducted on bilingual families in the past, there is still room for more research in this area, especially regarding identity construction. Here I present and discuss a few previous studies on bilingual families that are somewhat relevant and comparable to the present study.

King's (2013) case study that investigated one bilingual, transnational Ecuadorian- U.S family is one of the few studies conducted on identity construction within a family. The focus of this research was to examine how linguistic identity was constructed, constrained and performed by three sisters aged 1, 12 and 17 within this family. Data were collected over 14 months through weekly home visits that included participant observations and informal interviews, as well as family-generated audio-recordings of family conversations. This study showed that language ideologies, especially those of language learning shaped the experience of these three sisters. For example, one of the sisters was concerned about another one learning English quickly. Thus, the pervasive ideology that English language learning should be both quick and easy was evident.

Also, it became clear in King's (2013) study that language identity can differ from language competence, as it was shown in the case of Daniela. As a baby, she had a near exclusive exposure to Spanish, yet, according to other family members, she seemed to prefer the English language in books and cartoons. In addition, King (2013) found that language identity can shape one's language competencies. Moreover, there were varied language competencies as well as language identities within one generation of siblings. One sister, Diana, was framed as the unsuccessful English learner, another, Debbie, as the problematic Spanish speaker but a proficient user of English, and the youngest one, Daniela, as the English monolingual. Furthermore, the parents had relatively high expectations regarding their daughters' second language learning. Moreover,

both the parents' and the daughters' ideologies of idealised bilingualism, such as sounding like a monolingual English and a monolingual Spanish speaker caused the daughters feelings of anxiety and self-doubt. All in all, this study shed light on how the broadly circulating language ideologies affect one's linguistic identity and its construction in a family.

King's (2013) study has many similarities with the present study. Firstly, they both examine identity construction in a family context. However, in King's study, the data was limited to only one family, making it difficult to generalise the results. The present study, on the other hand, will be looking at two families, at least offering some points of comparison. In addition, King (2013) investigated identity from a linguistic point of view alone, whereas the present study will not limit the vast concept of identity to one viewpoint but instead examine what kind of different identities are constructed in the familial context. Secondly, King (2013) found differences in language competencies and identities between siblings. It will be interesting to find whether there are similar findings in the present study. Moreover, the present study will also explore the parents' identities and whether there are generational differences in identities, in addition to differences between siblings. Thirdly and finally, King's (2013) study looked at how competencies and identity affected each other. This will be of interest in the present study as well. However, language ideologies will not be in the focus of the present study. Still, King's (2013) study works as a good springboard for the present study.

Also relevant to the present study is Yamamoto's (2001) research that investigated the dynamics of language use among family members and children's bilingual development in Japanese-English interlingual or bilingual families in Japan. Data were collected through a questionnaire survey as well as some follow-up interviews that were conducted with a small number of families drawn from the sample. The interviews were conducted two years after the questionnaires in order to review the changing dynamics of familial language use as children grow up. The focus of the study was to examine

whether children in a bilingual family naturally and spontaneously acquire both their parents' native languages and whether communication is conducted bilingually in both parental languages in the first place. The findings of Yamamoto's (2001) research suggested that potential bilingual children in Japan are highly influenced by the language of the mainstream society and therefore are directed more towards passive bilingualism, if not monolingualism, rather than active bilingualism. In addition, in order to achieve active bilingualism, it needs to be cultivated actively.

Moreover, according to Yamamoto's (2001) study, two promoting factors for the child's use of the minority language were found, namely attending an English-medium school and not having siblings. These both increased the opportunities to be engaged with the minority language. Furthermore, the results revealed that the more the parents use the minority language in general and the less the minority language parent uses the mainstream language when speaking to the child, the greater the likelihood that the child will use the minority language to the parent who is a native speaker of it. Therefore, according to this finding, the one parent-one language policy was undermined, since it did not provide the most optimal linguistic environment for the child to use the non-mainstream language actively. These are interesting findings regarding the present study as well, as language use in bilingual families is one of the main themes investigated. To add, it will be extremely interesting to examine how the mainstream language and the minority language parent's language choices as well as family language policy affect the children's identities and language competence in becoming bilingual.

In addition to King (2013) and Yamamoto's (2001) studies, Ogiermann's (2013) research is also relevant to the present study since it examined bilingual conversations in families. The data consisted of a total of eighteen families that were interviewed and video-recorded. The focus in Ogiermann's (2013) study was on two Polish-English step-families living in England. In both these families, the mothers were Polish and they had English partners whose

knowledge of Polish was limited to individual words and some formulaic expressions. The study showed that the Polish mothers' concern with preserving as well as developing their children's linguistic and cultural identity collided with their English partners' limited knowledge of Polish. In addition, there was a need to include and to feel included by all members of the family in conversations. This study took on a Conversation Analysis approach, combined with Goffman's concept of footing to demonstrate how identity operates in bilingual interaction. In short, this study linked locally constructed discourse identities to language competence and preference in bilingual interaction. In these binational and bilingual families, all family members were not fully competent in both languages. Therefore, Goffman's work on footing was used to demonstrate the impact of language competence on participation status.

In the first family, according to the findings, the English father preferred to speak and to be addressed in Polish. He spoke both languages to his wife, although preferred English for serious talk and Polish more for banter. At the same time, it became evident that these changes and code-switching were related to the father's language competence and served both participant- and discourse related functions. Moreover, in the second family, where two family members spoke English only, the use of 'one parent-one language' policy was more systematic. Polish was spoken between the mother and her son, who switched back to English when the conversations became relevant to the other members of the family. However, this distinction was not always straightforward or simple. Furthermore, the analysis illustrated that the husbands' language choice can be interpreted as a form of exclusion or displaying language competence and claiming group membership. All in all, the findings suggested that language competence often determined language choice but also affected participants' discourse identities. Compared to the present study, this study also investigated identities in a bilingual family, but from a different perspective as the analysis focused on discourse identities.

Li's case study (1999) on how minority parents can help their children become

bilingual in familial context is somewhat similar (in perspective) to Yamamoto's (2001) study on children's bilingual development in bilingual families. Since it concerns bilingual families, it is relevant also to the present study, although it has a different focus. The study was based on the assumption that parents are important in children's education and it explored how language minority parents can help their children become bilingual at home. This issue was addressed from two different perspectives, namely reviewing language minority parents' attitudes towards both languages and cultures as well as from the perspective of parent-child interactions. Li (1999) observed her own twelve-year-old daughter and how she reacted and how well she adjusted to her new environment as they relocated from mainland China to Hawaii, USA. Data were collected through keeping a journal and through tape-recordings of their conversations over a period of five months.

This study was quite different in approach than the present study or most of the other previous studies discussed in this chapter. It focused on how a child develops a second language (out of necessity) at the same time as maintaining and still developing his or her first language too. The findings highlighted the importance of the parents' role in this situation and showed that parental supportive interactions and positive attitudes are beneficial to children's bilingual process. Moreover, it was found that by creating a dual-language nurturing home environment and being able to combine the two languages and cultures, making them complementary to each other, parents can impact their children's bilingual process greatly. All in all, Li's (1999) case study emphasised the parental role and its importance in helping children acquire active bilingualism.

Finally, Burck's (2011) study also adopted a theoretical framework that focuses on identity construction. The study explored insider accounts of individuals' constructions of self, family relationships and the wider context. She researched how individuals constructed their experiences of living in several languages and their selves. The meanings given to speaking more than one language and

familial and relational issues were identified in the study. Moreover, Burck's (2011) study was situated within a social-constructionist paradigm, which draws on the notion that our ways of knowing are negotiated through social interactions as well as in relation to social structures, contexts and resources, which include social-historical conditions. In addition, Burck (2011) considers language as constitutive and performative, one that is comprised of discursive practices, as well as a context where one positions oneself and is positioned in. Identity, on the other hand, according to Burck (2011), is defined as claimed but never attained. In addition, the data were collected through semi-structured interviews alongside some autobiographies, which were analysed.

The present study will adopt a similar theoretical framework, which focuses on the construction of bilingual identities in the familial context and explores how the participants perceive and describe their identities. Also, the data was collected through semi-structured interviews. Thus, the present study shares many similar features and aspects with Burck's (2011) study. However, one noticeable difference between Burck's (2011) approach and the present study is that Burck (2011) examines how men and women use languages differently to perform their gender. Instead of focusing on gender differences, the present study will examine possible generational differences in identity construction as well as differences between siblings' identities.

All in all, bilingualism and identity have been researched from many different aspects and in many different contexts. However, as it has been shown, there is very little research on identity construction in bilingual families. However, both Burck's (2011) and King's (2013) studies are exceptions and will function as a springboard for the present study, as it adopts multiple features of their approaches and frameworks to investigate bilingual identity construction in the familial context. In addition, the present study aims to give a wider view of different bilingual identities in the familial context, as well as shed light on the language of emotion in interactions between parents and their children and between siblings. Thus, the present study hopes to bring a fresh, new

perspective on bilingual identity.

4 THE PRESENT STUDY

This chapter describes the research design of the present study. The aims and the research questions (4.1), data collection (4.2) and the participants (4.3), as well as the methods of analysis (4.4) are presented.

4.1 Aims and research questions

The purpose of the present study is to explore the identities of family members in two bilingual families. The aim is to gather an in-depth perspective on how the family members experience and view their identities as well as how they view the languages' roles in their own lives and how the parents view the role of English in Finland. Furthermore, the present study attempts to point out what kind of identities the participants construct for themselves in the familial context. In addition, the study wishes to shed light on possible differences and similarities between generations and siblings, in the identities they construct for themselves.

The present study aims to answer the following research questions:

1. How do the family members identify with each language and describe their identities?
> -How do the family members perceive their competence in the two languages?
> -How do the family members use the two languages and view their role in their lives?
> -How do the parents view the role of English in the wider society?

2. What kind of bilingual identities do the family members construct using the two languages?

3. How do the family members express their emotions in the familial context?

4 Are there any differences and similarities in identities between generations and siblings? If so, what are they?

4.2 Data collection

The data for the study was gathered by performing five semi-structured, thematic interviews. This method was chosen because of the reciprocal nature of these interviews, which allows the kind of exchange between the researcher and the participant that is needed when discussing a concept as complex as identity. According to Hirsijärvi and Hurme (2008: 34), interviews are a great data collection method because they are flexible and enable direct interaction between the interviewer and the interviewee. Therefore, as they point out, the researcher is able to gain a better understanding of the underlying motives and meanings behind answers, also through non-linguistic cues. Furthermore, Galletta (2012: 75) points out that in semi-structured interviews, the researcher can rephrase the questions, prompt the participant and even make changes along the way, according to the situation. Furthermore, as Eskola and Suoranta (1998: 85) point out, the idea of an interview is simple; when one wants to find out about another person's thoughts and motives, one should simply ask them.

Furthermore, Galletta (2012: 45) claims that semi-structured interviews can accommodate to a range of research goals and they incorporate both open-ended as well as more theoretically driven questions. Moreover, she adds that the focus of the questions is deliberate and tied to the research topic, although the questions themselves are open-ended in order to create space for participants to share their experiences. Semi-structured, thematic interviews were chosen in the present study to have room for dialogue and to gain an in-depth and a personal view of identity construction as a phenomenon in bilingual families. Since identity is a complex, broad concept and is experienced differently by all, it was deemed appropriate to collect the data this way.

Two families of five were interviewed for the present study. All the interviews were conducted via Skype or telephone and they were all recorded. Recording interviews enables the researcher to view and analyse the dialogue in the data more closely and notice certain elements that at first can be overlooked

(Ruusuvuori, Nikander and Hyvärinen 2010). Moreover, the interviews were organised so that parents were interviewed separately from their children and all the siblings were interviewed together, apart from one sister in family 1, Emma, whose interview was conducted separately via a telephone conversation. Furthermore, the interview questions for the parents differed from the interview questions that were addressed to the children (see appendices 1 and 2). This was because the parents' and the children's routes to bilingualism are different and I also wanted to ask the parents how they view the role of English in Finland and how it has possibly changed over the years. The children were asked more about how they feel in relation to their friends, which, I believe, was a more relevant question for them.

Skype conversations were chosen due to the participants' wishes and out of convenience for everyone. Furthermore, a Skype conference call also made it possible to interview all the siblings together in family 2, seeing that they were all located in different places. To add, both English and Finnish were used while performing the interviews. All the questions were prepared and asked in English, however, the participants were given a choice to answer either in English or Finnish. Therefore, some of them chose to use Finnish, others responded only in English and most of them mixed both languages. This in itself was interesting and a way to construct and negotiate one's identity, although this aspect specifically was not researched in the present study. Moreover, the length of each interview varied from 30 to 80 minutes, altogether about three and a half hours.

Thematic interviews are built around different themes. Eskola and Suoranta (1998: 86) note that in semi-structured, thematic interviews, the questions are the same for everyone, however, the interviewees may answer them with their own words, however they please. In addition, they point out that all themes are predetermined, although the order and the breadth of them may vary from one interview to the other, depending on the researcher and the participants. In the present study, the interviews had four predetermined themes: language

competence, language use, the role of the languages and the language of emotion. All these themes were covered in the interviews although all interviews slightly differed from one another. This was due to the fact that the participants responded to the questions in different ways. For example, with some participants, more so the parents, many themes were touched on when answering a question about one theme. When interviewing the children, on the other hand, the interviews followed the predetermined structure of the themes more closely. It required immense focus to be able to pay close attention to all that was said and then again know what to ask next, not to repeat oneself and to be able to change questions according to the interview situations, which were not predictable at all. As Galletta (2012: 76) emphasises, the key to effective interviewing is for the researcher to pay close attention to the participant's narrative as it is unfolding. She claims that this requires keeping one eye on where you are and one eye on where you are headed. Also, Eskola and Suoranta (1998: 89) state that an interviewer needs to be prepared for anything and everything.

4.3 Participants

The participants in the present study are two bilingual families. Both families were selected through similar criteria in order to be able make comparisons and to gain a better understanding of bilingual identity in families. Firstly, the parents in the families preferably had to have different mother tongues, one of them being a native English speaker and one a native Finnish speaker. Secondly, they had to have children old enough to be able to understand the concept of identity and to be able to share their own experiences and views. In addition, the parents had to have more than one child. These criteria had to be filled to make it possible to analyse differences between generations and siblings and to gain a more comprehensive view of how identities are formed and constructed within a bilingual family. Furthermore, when choosing the interviewees, both families were found through mutual acquaintances. The families will be introduced here briefly, in the order that they were interviewed in. In order to guarantee the anonymity of the participants, their names and all

other identifiable references are changed. Instead, they have each been given a new name to make it easier to distinguish them from one another.

Family 1:

This family has a Finnish father and an American mother, Timo and Lori, with three daughters, Salla, Kate and Emma, ages 18, 19 and 21. The parents met abroad but decided to settle in Jyväskylä, Finland, now having lived there for well over twenty years. All their children were also born and raised in Finland. However, they spent a year in Minnesota, the United States, when the children were much younger. At the moment, all the daughters still live at home with their parents.

Family 2:

The second family is also a family of five, with three children ages 20, 21 and 25. The mother, Sanna, is Finnish-Canadian and the father, Sami, Finnish. The mother was born in Canada to Finnish parents and later on, in her teens, moved to Finland. The couple's first child, Nina, was born in the United States. Furthermore, their middle child, Linda, currently resides in Bristol, England and their youngest, Joel, is moving to Texas, USA. The parents and their oldest daughter reside in Vantaa, Finland. All the children have moved away from home.

4.3 Methods of analysis

The present study is qualitative in nature; therefore, the data was chosen to be analysed using qualitative and thematic analysis. Since the purpose of the study is to explore what kind of identities the participants construct as they speak of their experiences and describe themselves, the analysis will also be informed by a discourse analytical framework. In this chapter, these different methods of analysis are presented.

The purpose of analysing qualitative data is to bring clarity to the data and and produce new information about the matter that is being researched (Eskola and

Suoranta, 1998: 137). Moreover, in qualitative analysis, the research problem and the data are in a constant dialogue with each other since the data rarely offers direct answers to the research problem or the research questions (Ruusuvuori et al. 2010: 13). Therefore, one needs to know the data and be able to ask analytic questions. It is also important that one has an easy access to the data, therefore, transcribing the recorded data is an important part of the analysis (ibid.). Ruusuvuori et al. (2010: 13-14) point out that the specificity of the transcription and how much data is transcribed is completely dependent on the research questions and the nature of the research itself. However, they suggest that transcribing the data helps the researcher to remember and makes it easier to pinpoint details from the data. In the present study, the main focus is on the content. Therefore, the interviews were transcribed focusing on the participants' speech as it was spoken. For this reason, no grammatical errors were corrected. In addition, laughter and significantly long pauses have been marked in the text in parentheses. Otherwise, no specific markers have been used, since the focus is on the content itself.

Qualitative analysis is always composed of two stages or components, namely simplifying one's observations and solving an enigma or in other words; interpretation, as Alasuutari (2012: 40) states. He notes that these two are tied together and can only be performed analytically. Furthermore, he goes on to say that only the observations that have some relevance in relation to the research questions matter. In addition, in qualitative analysis, one needs to connect observations and look for mutual characteristics, similar phenomena or rules that apply to all participants (Alasuutari 2012: 40). In other words, the data needs to be examined as a whole entity. However, Alasuutari (2012: 38) points out that differences are important clues too since they can reveal motivations or reasons behind a certain type of behaviour. Moreover, he states that the basis of connecting one's observations is the expectation that the data will include examples of the same phenomenon. Solving an enigma, on the other hand, involves making meaningful interpretations based on the clues and gathered observations (Alasuutari 2012: 44). Furthermore, explaining rational

behaviour and reconstructing meanings can also co-exist in qualitative analysis, as Alasuutari (2012: 44) claims. In addition, he notes that asking many different questions helps in solving the so-called enigma in the data.

The more traditional analysis of qualitative data is descriptive in nature, which in itself is not interpretative (Eskola and Suoranta 1998: 139). Moreover, it focuses on finding similarities in the data, whereas the more recent qualitative analyses look for differences and diversity in the data, which makes the analysis more precise and based on the data itself (ibid.). In fact, the data should not be read as a reflection of the truth but as a cultural product, which in itself is a part of constructing a social reality (Eskola and Suoranta 1998: 140). In other words, texts do not only describe events but construct social life. Also, in discourse analytic approach, language is considered either an image of reality or something that constructs reality, as Eskola and Suoranta (1998: 195) propose. In other words, language is used to reflect certain social truths as well as produce them. Quite similarly, the present study claims that identities are socially constructed, and in speaking of their experiences, the participants are creating new social meanings or truths. Moreover, the discourse or the text itself is examined as it is, instead of looking for ulterior motives - it itself is reality. In the present study, the focus will be to examine what kind of identities the family members construct for themselves and possibly for others too, in describing themselves and their identities. Therefore, the analysis is informed by a discourse analytic perspective. As Dowling (2011: 1) states, literally identity construction includes life experiences, relationships and connections, whereas figuratively it is a metaphorical representation of thoughts and emotions in an expressive way, which then creates a conceptual visual representation.

In addition to qualitative analysis and discourse analytical features, thematic analysis will be used as one method in analysing the data in the present study. In fact, it is the most commonly used method of analysis in qualitative research (Guest, MacQueen and Namey 2012: 10). Moreover, Clarke and Braun (2016: 1)

state that thematic analysis can be applied across a range of theoretical frameworks and research paradigms. They report that it is a method of identifying, analysing and interpreting themes or patterns of meaning within qualitative data. To add, the difference between discourse analysis and thematic analysis is that the former also looks for ways in which those meanings are created and constructed in the data (Pietikäinen and Mäntynen 2009: 166). Therefore, these two methods of analysis are complementary as they focus on slightly different aspects in the data and together offer a more comprehensive description and analysis of it.

Furthermore, according to Guest et al. (2012: 9), thematic analysis requires interpretation and involvement from the researcher as it focuses on identifying and describing both explicit and implicit ideas or themes within the data. They point out that usually these themes are then represented by codes and linked to data as summary markers for later analysis. Codes are the smallest units of analysis, capturing interesting features of the data, potentially relevant to the research question (Clarke and Braun 2016: 1). In addition, as Clarke and Braun (2016: 1) note, codes are the building blocks for themes, which then provide a framework for reporting the researcher's analytic observations and findings. Moreover, they point out that the aim of thematic analysis is to identify and interpret key features of the data that are relevant to the research questions. However, they still add that thematic analysis is flexible and even the research questions are not fixed but can evolve throughout the coding and theme development, which in fact is what happened in the present study as well.

Guest et al. (2012: 10) find that more interpretation goes into defining the data items as well as applying the codes to text, therefore, with thematic analyses, reliability is of greater concern than with word-based analyses. However, they claim that thematic analysis is still the most useful tool in capturing the complexities of meaning within textual data. Also, Clarke and Braun (2016: 1) indicate that thematic analysis can be used to identify patterns in relation to participants' lived experience, views, perspectives and behaviour, in other

words experiential research, which aims to understand what participants think, feel and do. Therefore, thematic analysis is a suitable method of analysis for the present study too, since the study seeks to understand and reveal aspects of the participants' identities.

In the present study, the predetermined themes for the interviews were language competence, language use, the role of the languages and the language of emotion, as previously pointed out. However, the focus in the interviews was clearly more on the participants' own experiences and the description of their bilingual identities. Therefore, the first two themes, language competence and language use, are combined as one theme in reporting the findings. Furthermore, seeing how the description of the participants' identities overlapped with how the participants view the roles of the two languages, these two topics are dealt with together as well. In addition, the parents were asked how they view the role of English in Finland as well as what kind of attitudes other people have towards their bilingualism, and as such, these form the third theme in the analysis with the parents. The children, on the other hand, were asked about how they feel in relation to their friends and other people and this is included in the second theme. Therefore, the results of the children's interviews are divided into three, instead of four different themes. The last of the themes in the analysis, with both the parents and the children, is the language of emotion. Although this topic was discussed throughout the interviews, as it is closely connected to the roles of the languages, it is analysed as its own theme.

In the process of the analysis, different information that was gathered from the interviews, in other words codes, were singled out and firstly marked with different colour highlighters. Secondly, I separated them from the text as their own extracts and labelled them according to the new themes. After this, similarities and differences between the participants were looked for, which were then grouped together. Also, different extracts were separated from the text as the participants' own examples, to support each theme. The analysis was

based and built around these examples. The results of the analysis are unveiled theme by theme in the next two chapters, dividing the parents' and the children's interviews into two different sections.

5 THE PARENTS' BILINGUAL IDENTITIES

The results of the parents' interviews are described and analysed in this chapter, according to the four themes that were presented in the previous chapter.

5.1 Language competence and language use

Route to bilingualism

The mothers are the native English speakers in both participant families. However, as it became clear in the interviews, their route to bilingualism was quite different. In family 1, the mother Lori, was born and raised in the United States of America and she moved to Finland in 1995, after having met her Finnish husband, Timo. Furthermore, Lori voluntarily started learning Finnish at the age of 34, to be able to communicate in the language effectively in her new surroundings. In other words, she could be described as a 'circumstantial bilingual', since she needed to learn the Finnish language due to her changed circumstances. However, Lori had previously lived in the former Yugoslavia where she and Timo had first met and therefore, she had once already experienced learning a foreign language. When asked about her Finnish language learning, Lori answered:

> (1) Well, I learned Finnish basically, at the time that I came to Finland, I basically had a month's summer intensive course in a kesäyliopisto… So, I basically learned by forcing everybody to speak Finnish around me and they had to endure listening to me but partly that's because of my experience in Belgrade because I was going to courses and I was trying to use the language all the time so I've always been very self-motivating and I came here by choice (Lori)

Firstly, Lori's answer in itself is a short narrative, referring to her personal history and characteristics. As Lori mentions, she only took a brief course in

Finnish and the rest of the learning happened in practice, as she decided to start using the language, based on her experience in Belgrade. Secondly, it would seem that Lori constructs an independent and a determined Finnish language learner identity for herself, which becomes evident in her description of her learning process, using words such as *force, endure* and *self-motivating*. Also, here is how Lori's husband, Timo, describes Lori:

> (2) She was really stubborn learner of Finnish and that's what she had to be because you know, everybody wants to speak in English with you (Timo)

Timo describes Lori as persistent and *stubborn* as she was first learning Finnish and taking her *baby steps in language*. He mentioned that Lori was very active and courageous in using the Finnish language everywhere and with everyone she was interacting with. It appears that both Lori and Timo construct a similar learner identity for Lori.

The mother in family 2, Sanna, on the other hand, is a bilingual from an early age, as she was born in Canada, to Finnish parents. She lived in Toronto until she was sixteen, which is when she and her family moved to Finland. Sanna described her route to bilingualism like this:

> (3) Well my first language, the first language I learned was Finn, because being in Canada our parents spoke Finnish to us all the time... But then once I started kindergarten at the age of four, my mom said that about six months into school, I started responding to her in English, so I stopped like talking Finnish (Sanna)

Similarly to Lori, Sanna's answer is in the form of a narrative. Although Sanna's home language was Finnish, the mainstream language in Canada is English and as soon as she started kindergarten, it is evident that English became the more active or dominant language. Therefore, it can be deducted that the language one is surrounded by; the mainstream language, has a great effect on language learners, as also the results in Yamamoto's (2001) study on bilingual children show. Moreover, Sanna learned Finnish from her parents from birth but she mentioned that when she moved to Finland in 1986, her Finnish was *not that*

great but in about six months she was already fluent in it. Here, Sanna describes how her identity first changed from bilingual to monolingual as she started learning English in kindergarten and then again to bilingual after having moved to Finland. Furthermore, Sanna uses the word *Finn* instead of Finnish when referring to the language, which is a term that is used in the Finnish-Canadian community in Toronto, as she mentioned. Therefore, Sanna constructs a Finnish-Canadian identity for herself in using the word *Finn* throughout the interview. All in all, as the interviews revealed, Lori and Sanna have very different experiences in becoming bilingual, in other words, they construct very different identities for themselves.

However, the fathers in the families, on the other hand, have somewhat similar experiences regarding bilingualism. Both Timo from family 1, and Sami from family 2, learned English at school as they both grew up in Finland. Moreover, Timo was always interested in languages, which was partly the reason he moved to former Yugoslavia as a young man. After this, he also lived in the United States with Lori before they moved to Finland. According to Timo, these experiences and the fact that he is married to an American woman, have had a great impact on his English language skills and bilingualism. Furthermore, also Sami strengthened his English language skills by moving to Canada at the age of fifteen. He lived there for over three years after which he met Sanna, which helped him keep his English active and fluent. Sami comments on how his bilingualism was affected by having met Sanna:

> (4) Sanotaan et jos ois niinsanotun tavallisen suomalaisen naisen kaa menny nii ei varmaan ois tullu sitä englantii nii paljon käytettyy... et sitte tietysti Sannan kans sitte nii se englanti, nii liitty, liittyhän se kuvioihin paljo enemmän (Sami)
>
> *Let's say if I had married a so-called regular Finnish woman, I suppose I would not have used English as much... but then with Sanna, English had a much bigger role.*

As Sami mentioned; because he met Sanna, his English was kept active and he continued to use it regularly even after he moved back to Finland from Canada. In other words, Sami categorises Sanna as a 'non-Finnish' woman and uses this

categorisation to describe his own language use. Furthermore, as it becomes evident based on Sami's experience, it is crucial to keep one's bilingualism active in order to stay fluent in the languages.

Language competence

The level of competence in each language varied among the parents in both families, according to the parents themselves. The fathers, as native Finnish speakers, feel perfectly fluent in Finnish and their English skills are quite good too. Sami describes himself as a confident speaker of English and the only challenges he has with the language have to do with fluency and forgetting words at times. However, he works as a police man and wonders if he would be able to work the same job entirely in English, if they moved to Canada for example. Furthermore, Timo is also extremely competent in English and able to fluently use the language in many different contexts. He feels that speaking English comes naturally to him and he does not even pay attention to when he switches between the two languages. Thus, the identity he constructs for himself is a confident and competent bilingual. In addition, he mentions that Lori and him sometimes correct each other's mistakes, which he finds helpful rather than annoying. In other words, in communicating with each other, both Lori and Timo sometimes take on a role of a teacher or a language expert.

Lori and Sanna, on the other hand, described their language competence in very different ways. Firstly, Sanna mentioned that she is totally fluent in both languages but sometimes struggles to find words in Finnish and therefore creates new words, which Sami comments on, pointing out that they are not real words. Secondly, Lori mentioned that her Finnish is limited, seeing that she never really learned the Finnish grammar properly, and therefore *hates* writing in Finnish because it leaves a *concrete impression of yourself* on paper. Furthermore, sometimes she thinks of Serbian words instead of Finnish because the Serbian language structure is similar to the structure of English, as opposed to Finnish having a different structure. At times, she also has difficulties understanding complex sentences in Finnish, whether written or spoken. Thus,

Lori identifies herself as a Finnish learner, as she emphasises her lack of knowledge in Finnish. However, she has a vast vocabulary and her academic Finnish is quite strong, seeing that she works at the university. Lori describes herself like this:

> (5) Yeah, so there are certain limitations with that but I don't hate Finnish, I don't try to avoid Finnish, it's nothing like that but you always have this little fog that you're walking around and you're always kind of guessing or figuring things out, it takes more effort… In Finnish I become this person who's using a weird Finnish (Lori)

Here, Lori describes her Finnish competence interestingly, through the metaphor of fog, which shows that her experience in learning and speaking Finnish has been and still is somewhat challenging, which resonates with the learner identity she constructs for herself. Furthermore, it becomes clear that Lori strongly connects language with identity, as she feels that she becomes a different person when speaking or even writing Finnish as opposed to when communicating in English, her mother tongue. As Pavlenko (2006) points out, it is not uncommon for bilinguals to feel different when using each of their language.

Language use and policies in families

It was also revealed that the participant families had different ways of using both English and Finnish with the family members. In family 1, the mutual language between the parents is English. Lori explained that the reason for this is that they have always used English together and the language one starts with, tends to be the one that one uses. Moreover, she pointed out that it would be *just so weird* to speak anything other than English with Timo. Furthermore, English is also the home language in family 1. For example, when the parents, together with their three daughters, are gathered around their kitchen table, everybody is expected to speak English. Moreover, if any one of their children switches the language to Finnish, she is reminded to speak English. In other words, they have a clear family language policy. When asked about the

rationale behind this, these are reasons that were given:

> (6) Well, for example at the table now, I always use English and Timo always uses English but that's because we would like them to use English with us and in that situation, I'm not marginalised because obviously, their Finnish, all four of them, is much better than mine, and their English, all four of them is much better than my Finnish - see the combination, well Finnish is the weakest link for me (Lori)

> (7) When we're gathered around the table…So it's something that I would try to speak English with them so we would like have one language we'd use (Timo)

Here Lori comments that they want their children to speak English to them when the whole family is gathered together. It became clear in the interview that Lori and Timo had a direct plan right from the beginning that Lori would stay at home and speak English to the children and that their home language would be English. Lori mentioned how important it is to her to be able to communicate to her children in her mother tongue, her *heart language.* Furthermore, Timo mentioned that they were not worried about their children not knowing any Finnish at first because they would learn it eventually, seeing that they live in Finland. To add, even Timo speaks English to the children when they are all gathered together. However, when interacting with their daughters one-on-one, both parents speak their own mother tongue, in other words, they have partly adopted the one person, one language- strategy. As previously mentioned, according to Palviainen and Boyd (2013: 223), this is the most common language policy in bilingual families, although its implementation is not clear-cut, as is also shown in Lori and Timo's case.

Moreover, in the extract above, Lori points out that she does not want to be marginalised but to feel included when the family is gathered together, since her Finnish is weaker, compared to her family's English skills. This clearly shows that the decisions relating to family language policy and certain rules regarding language use are very important factors in terms of the unity in this family, as well as the mother's identity and feeling of belonging.

In family 2, Sanna and Sami speak and mix both languages together, however, their main language is Finnish. Moreover, Sami speaks Finnish to the children and Sanna has always spoken English to the them as well as encouraged them to respond back in English. When asked about their family language policy, Sanna responds:

> (8) I definitely planned that I was gonna speak English and I wanted them to learn English.. You know the kids, they would respond to me in Finnish, they wouldn't speak English when they were younger and so I kind of got frustrated at some point, like what's the point if they're not gonna learn it… Yeah, it was pretty much like that, I would speak English to the kids, Finnish to Sami and the kids would all respond to me in Finn (Sanna)

Although Sanna mentions here that the children did not respond to her in English, which was disheartening at times, she noticed that their oldest daughter spoke full sentences in English at the age of five when they were travelling in the United States. Therefore, she decided to keep on speaking English even if they kept on responding in Finnish because she now knew *their brain was accepting the language* anyhow. Furthermore, Sanna and Sami adopted the one person, one language policy in raising their children bilingually, as both of them have always spoken their mother tongues to the children. However, Sanna commented that when the children were small and did not understand something in English, she would translate it in Finnish and then again continue in English. Furthermore, the situation has changed now that the children are all adults and all live away from home. Sanna feels that she does not *have to* speak English to them anymore since they all know the language already. On the other hand, their children also respond more in English now that they are older. All in all, Finnish has always been the more dominant language in their family seeing that only Sanna has spoken English to the children, otherwise their home language was Finnish.

Code-switching has been or still is a part of both families' everyday language practices. In family 1, Lori mentions that code-switching is always present in the family, especially among the children. The parents, on the other hand, code-

switch more at work than at home, since they both work as teachers in such environments where they use both languages daily. Moreover, in family 2, code-switching happens all the time, especially in written text, as well as in speech among the family members. According to Sanna and Sami, it happens automatically and sometimes one does not even notice that the language has switched. Sami describes the language use between him and Sanna like this:

> (9) Se on sit sellast siansaksaa toi meiän et me puhutaan vähä mitä sattuu, sekotellaan niitä… Joo ja sit tekstiviestit on justiin, ne on ehkä semmosia et tulee aika paljon niinku semmost sekasin et joka toinen lause on englantia ja joka toinen suomea (Sami)
>
> *It is like gibberish what we speak, a little bit of this and that, we mix them…Yeah, and text messages are exactly so that every other sentence is English and every other Finnish.*

Here Sami gives a good example of how he and Sanna mix both English and Finnish together in both their written and spoken speech. In addition, according to Sami's humorous comment; their speech may sound almost like *gibberish* because they mix the two languages so much. Based on Sami's comment, it comes across as if the way the two languages are mixed together is not considered as proficient use of them. All in all, it appears that code-switching between Sanna and Sami, in family 2, is a useful tool and a significant means in constructing one's identity in interaction with each other. That being said, in order to draw actual and accurate conclusions on code-switching in the family, the family members' language use should be researched in more detail.

5.2 The roles of Finnish and English and description of bilingual identities

The second theme discussed in the interviews was the roles that both English and Finnish have in the participants' lives as well as in the wider society. In addition, the parents were asked to describe their bilingual identities.

The roles of the languages in the participants' lives

Timo, in family 1, pointed out that he identifies strongly with both languages. When asked about his relationship with Finnish and English, Timo responds:

(10) My relationship with Finnish is very, very close of course… Finnish is the language I use more at work and English is the language that I currently use more at home so…if I'm thinking about now English primarily, think that I sort of become a different person to some extent when I'm expressing myself in English…language and the culture sort of comes together…So I have a love relationship with Finnish and I have a love relationship with English as well (Timo)

Firstly, Timo describes the different roles that the two languages have in his life, English being his work language and Finnish the home language. Secondly, he feels that the languages serve different purposes or reveal different aspects of his identity. When he speaks English, he said that he feels different, in fact, he becomes *more alive* than when he is speaking Finnish. As Burck (2011) proposes, bilinguals usually construct themselves differently as well as make different identity claims in each of their language. Moreover, it seems that Timo relates a livelier culture to English as opposed to Finnish. In other words, it becomes clear that Timo identifies culturally more with English speaking cultures than the Finnish one. Furthermore, although Timo has a love relationship with both Finnish and English, he constructs two very different identities regarding either language and culture. Moreover, Lori comments on her relationship with both languages this way:

(11) Well, obviously English, I don't have to think about it, when I use English, it is just me and when I use Finnish, it isn't me but it's also not a means to an end, it's not like I avoid it…I understand it in my head, it's not understanding, it's the internal person, the being (Lori)

Here, Lori mentions that the role of English is clear; it comes automatically to her because she feels that she is herself when speaking English. However, as Lori points out, she has some mixed feelings about the role of Finnish in her life. Although it is not a means to an end, she does not identify with Finnish very intimately, since she does not feel like herself when she uses Finnish. This is in line with both Burck's (2011) and Pavlenko's (2006) claims of how bilinguals feel different when using each of their language. Furthermore, in support of this, Lori previously also mentioned that she becomes *a person who is using a weird Finnish*. Here, it becomes obvious that Lori does not feel that Finnish is a

very strong part of her identity, since her internal person does not relate to it on a deeper level. Also, she seems to construct an outsider's identity for herself, in relation to Finns who speak Finnish as their mother tongue. English, on the other hand, according to her own words, is the language that *strikes her heart.* In addition, it would also seem that language competence significantly affects her identity, or vice versa, seeing how she constructs herself a learner identity in Finnish.

In family 2, Sanna and Sami feel that English and Finnish have different roles in their lives. When asked about these roles, Sanna responds:

> (12) Different roles, well English for me definitely is my language of emotion and I think in English, I count in English, even when I'm speaking Finn, English overrides, like my brain is constantly thinking in English so that's pretty much it for me (Sanna)

Sanna makes it clear that she identifies much stronger with English than Finnish - on an emotional level and in her thoughts and speech. She feels that English overrides Finnish in many situations. In addition, although Sanna is *totally fluent* in both languages and even grew up in a Finnish speaking home, it is evident that culture has a significant impact on (her) identity. Sanna also mentions that she identifies much more strongly with the Canadian culture than the Finnish one.

Sanna's husband, Sami, on the other hand, mentions that when he speaks English, he also thinks in English and it comes out naturally. In other words, it seems that he is able to separate the two languages better. In addition to speaking English at home, he feels that knowing English has helped him at work and when travelling.

Description of identities

The participants were also asked how they would describe their identities. This is how Timo in family 1 responded:

(13) I find that this makes me sort of maybe more complete as a person, that I can move around freely… I feel that I'm international…more like a world citizen in that sense that I have this vast source of information available to me through English because Finnish is very limited language (Timo)

Timo describes himself well here, making it obvious that being bilingual expands his worldview and makes it possible for him to *connect with people elsewhere through English*. In fact, he thinks that knowing English in the current age is power because one needs it everywhere, in order to be *credible* and able to freely express oneself. Also, he refers to all the resources that he can access through English, as opposed to the Finnish language being limited. Further, Timo feels that in addition to feeling more *complete*, he describes himself as *more well-rounded* as a person, because he is competent in both English and Finnish, as opposed to having *only Finnish and some sort of weak English*, according to his own words. Thus, it becomes evident that Timo identifies strongly with English, as well as his mother tongue Finnish. In addition, Timo differentiates himself from monolingual Finns who have only limited knowledge of English. He also points out how much his bilingualism has benefited him and makes him who he is. Moreover, he constructs a strong bilingual and an international identity for himself.

When Timo's wife, Lori, was asked how she would describe her identity as bilingual in Finland, she first laughingly responded: *that I'm bilingual in Finland*. However, here is her more detailed description of herself:

(14) I would say I just am me and whatever language I use, it creates a new me. So if I use English, I'm different as a person than if I used Finnish. But both languages I move in in my own languages so I would say my English has also been affected by living here and not very often going back to the States… I would say I'm a multilingual person who lives in Finland and that's my identity. I'm not a Finn but I don't know if I'm that much of an American anymore, I'm sort of between cultures (Lori)

Lori, based on her own words and description of herself, feels that her identity is multifaceted as all the languages she uses, (including Serbian), bring out a new perspective of who she is. However, as she comments, she feels that both

Finnish and English are her *own* languages, in other words, the linguistic identity Lori constructs for herself is clearly and simply multilingual. Moreover, culturally Lori does not specifically identify with the American or the Finnish culture, as she feels that living in Finland has affected her English and therefore made her less of an American than she used to be, although she is obviously not a Finn either.

In family 2, Sami described his bilingual identity like this:

(15) Ehkä se varmaan tulee sit sieltä ku sen pätkän kuitenki aus siel Kanadassa et se sillei oli niinku semmonen normaali osa elämää jossain vaiheessa et englantii puhu paljo, ko koulut kävi sielä ja muuta, että…ehkä se on se juttu et nyt on sit tietysti vähä vähemmälle jääny mutta kyl se niink on ollu aina kuitenki osa identiteettiä toi englanniks puhuminen tai englannin kieli… se on hieno rikkaus et on maholllisuus olla tällases perheessä että on kakskielinen, et must se on tosi makee juttu (Sami)

Perhaps it comes from the time I lived in Canada that it was sort of like a normal part of life to speak English a lot since I went to school there and everything… Maybe that is the thing, of course now I don't use it as much but it has always been a part of my identity to speak in English or the English language … it is a richness to be able be a part of this kind of a bilingual family, I think it's a really cool thing.

Sami thinks that his bilingual identity stems from the time he spent living in Canada, where he was immersed in the language and the culture. Moreover, despite the fact that he uses English much less now that he lives in Finland, he says that speaking English or the English language has always been a part of his identity. In other words, it would seem that Sami also thinks that language, culture and identity are intertwined, since he feels that being surrounded by the Canadian culture and the English language has had a great impact on his identity. In addition, Sami also mentions his *bilingual family*, which he feels privileged to be a part of. It becomes clear that he constructs a bilingual identity for his family. Further, Sanna comments on her bilingualism, and what it means to her, like this:

(16) It means a lot because like I said, English is my language of emotion so if I weren't able to use it as much, it kind of frustrates me, that's why I knew I wanted to be in a job where I could use it every day because I feel, I feel like more me when I'm speaking English. If I, if I would not use English at all, I

> would just not feel like me (laughter)...but I do appreciate and am proud of being a Finn even though I was born in Canada so I'm Canadian at heart (Sanna)

Sanna, yet again, makes it clear that her language of emotion is English and therefore speaking it makes her feel more like herself. She even referred to how she wanted to become a flight attendant to be able to use her mother tongue also at work. Sanna clearly identifies with English on a deeper and a more intimate level than Finnish. Her comment of being *Canadian at heart* supports this too. In addition, in Sanna's description, the emphasis of her identity is in the English language and the Canadian culture, although, in her own words, she appreciates the Finnish language and culture too.

5.3 Attitudes towards bilingualism and English in Finland

This chapter discusses how the mothers adjusted into the Finnish society and in relation to that, the participants describe how they feel that other people have reacted to their bilingualism. Moreover, the parents discuss ways in which they think that the status and role of English has changed in Finland over the years.

The mothers' experiences in adapting to Finland

The mothers' experiences in adapting into the Finnish culture and society were also discussed in the interviews. Interestingly, Lori did not feel she had many struggles or challenges in adapting to the Finnish culture. However, Sanna mentioned that she struggled when she moved to Finland from Canada. When asked if Lori had challenges when adapting to Finland, she answers:

> (17) I don't, I don't really think so, well, I mean I'm from Minnesota so it's pretty much culturally very, very similar, and the state is populated with Scandinavians in general, everyone's a Swansson or a Johnson, might have some Hamalainen or something, so, I mean the only thing is that personality is much more southern European as a person… I'm not as vocal as I used to be but I mean, I'm not fully American if you go back, I'm not like those around me there (Lori)

Lori feels that the culture in Minnesota is similar to the culture in Finland, therefore, she does not feel that she has had many challenges moving to Finland. It would almost seem that Lori identifies with the Finnish culture more

than the American, as she separates herself from other Americans and constructs a somewhat non-American identity for herself. Moreover, it appears that Lori identifies typical characteristics with certain cultures, such as being loud, with the American culture, although she feels that one should not *categorise people according to their cultural assumptions*. All in all, it appears that Lori constructs an independent identity, somewhat culturally mixed identity, for herself as she somehow distances herself from both American and Finnish cultures in pointing out that she feels more southern European.

Sanna comments on her challenges in Finland this way:

> (18) Yeah, I did have a hard time when I moved… I never felt like I fit in, I always felt like I'm an outsider or people don't understand me… I always felt different and I just felt like I didn't belong in this country at that time, now I feel more like I'm a Finn and whatever but I still feel that the culture, the Canadian culture makes me still, you know, it still makes me different and a lot of people comment on that sometimes (Sanna)

Sanna also commented on the differences between her and *some Finns,* pointing out that she is more outgoing and positive than them. This is why she felt like she did not belong in Finland. Therefore, she used to be *anti-Finn* but according to her, she now appreciates being Finnish as well. In addition, now she would even say her nationality is Finnish, as opposed to always describing herself as Canadian before. Also, there is a clear change detectable in the way Sanna constructs her cultural identity; first from Canadian to bicultural. Based on Sanna's comments, it is clear that she identifies with the Canadian culture very strongly, at the same time as she constructs herself a non-Finnish identity, which is detectable by other people around her too, as she pointed out.

The role of English in Finland

In addition, the interviewee parents shed light on how they see the role of English in Finland and how it has changed over time. All the interviewee parents mentioned that they feel English has a completely different status and role in Finland nowadays as opposed to some years ago. In addition to Finnish

people having changed to more open, as Sanna mentioned, everyone commented on how more and more people in Finland understand and speak English now, especially the younger generation. This is how Sanna comments on the changes she sees:

> (19) Oh yeah, definitely, definitely, well like you know, in Finland, there's the education in the schools, English, I mean most kids learn English pretty well but nowadays it's even changed I'd say within the past ten years because kids are on the internet and playing games and everything's in English so they already know words in English before they even start school (Sanna)

In addition to pointing out that most children in Finland know English, Sanna mentioned that her foreign friends have noticed how people everywhere speak English and how the situation was not the same before. This is in line with Sanche´z and Tuomainen's (2014: 101) view of how English can be considered a second, not a foreign language in Finland. In addition, Timo and Lori both refer to the pupils and students they teach and mention their excellent English skills. Timo thinks that the younger one is, the more positively one relates to language. He also points out how the younger generation is surrounded and influenced by the English-speaking culture. Furthermore, Lori comments on her students at the university like this:

> (20) But also I would say in the culture as a whole for example at work, I would say IT, in business and economics, students and these kind of people, I'm not really teaching them English as a second language, it's more like mother tongue instruction, with your little issues with articles, prepositions and punctuation but it's such a high standard and even their verbals are extremely good (Lori)

As Lori pointed out, she thinks that the level of English competence is near native-like competence at the university in certain fields. In addition to this, she comments on how English is everywhere and so pervasive. Moreover, Lori even thinks that people may find it annoying how English is *creeping so much into the culture*. To add, Lori has noticed that some of her colleagues at the university choose not to use English because it has *such a huge profile and gets all the attention* or their own English skills are not enough for what is required of

them in the academic world. In other words, she thinks that Finnish people have a love-hate relationship with English since English is needed and required in so many situations but there is a fear that it will override Finnish too much. All in all, it is interesting how it appears that Lori, on the one hand, sees that people's English skills have improved significantly, and on the other hand, she thinks that people consider English a threat.

Other people's attitudes and support from family

In addition to the role of English in Finland, the participants were asked what kind of attitudes they have noticed that other people have regarding the bilingualism in their families and whether they had enough or even needed support from their own parents in raising their children bilingually. Here is how Sanna responded:

> (21) Some people, you know if they heard us, they would always be like, it's so awkward, you're speaking English and everyone's speaking Finn but everybody still understands everybody… Other people think it's really hilarious… They kind of also look at it weird like why is your child speaking Finn to you and you're speaking English and what's going on… Yeah, I'm sure both of our parents as far I can remember, they have been supportive but I really couldn't care less if they weren't… I would've done it anyway (Sanna)

Sanna, in the extract above, describes how other people have reacted to their bilingualism and the fact that she speaks English although everyone else in her family responds to her in Finnish. Although many people are curious about this and comment on it, she mentioned that she has never heard any negative comments regarding their bilingualism. Also Sami pointed out that all their friends appreciate their bilingualism and their choice to raise their children bilingually. Furthermore, Sanna mentioned that their son, Joel, as a young boy, was embarrassed of his bilingualism and the fact that Sanna, who also knows Finnish, would speak English to him in public. Sanna responded to him saying the she has spoken English to him since he was born and will continue until he dies. It would seem that Joel has identified with Finnish more than English ever since he was a child, as his mother also confirmed this. Moreover, Sanna points

out that their parents were supportive and her own parents even spoke English to their children sometimes. However, their decision to raise their children bilingually was not dependent on other people's opinions. This goes to show how strongly Sanna identifies with English and how she has been determined and consistent in her decision to raise her children bilingually.

Timo and Lori, on the other hand, mentioned that they know a few bilingual families and since many people around them are bilingual, they do not consider it unusual. However, Lori commented on how family language policies and bilingualism can take different shapes in different families. She commented on another family's language policy like this:

> (22) There's another couple, Spanish and English, he's never really used Spanish with his children, he's always used Finnish and…it is not his mother tongue so he's always using a foreign language when he's speaking with his children and I didn't want to be in that situation, so it's obviously a rich thing, of course these days everybody uses English so I don't think it's that much of a benefit (Lori)

Here, Lori voices her opinion about another couple and the father's decision to use a foreign language, Finnish, when interacting with his children. She mentions how she never wanted to do that but instead, to be able to speak her mother tongue to her children. She points out how bilingualism is *a rich thing*, however, her motive to speak English to her children was based on an ideology that one should speak one's mother tongue to one's children. It is evident how Lori's ideologies about language and family become clear in her family language policy choices. Moreover, Lori did not even believe that teaching her children English would be very beneficial, since it is a world language and she was certain that they would have learned it anyway. Therefore, it is quite obvious that Lori's decision to raise her children bilingually has more to do with her values and being able to connect with her children on a heart level, using her mother tongue. Quite similarly, Raguenaud (2009) pointed out that parents often want to form emotional bonds with their children, using their mother tongue. To add, Lori also mentioned that she did not want her children to be raised *by the system*, which is why she stayed at home and spoke English

to her children. As King and Fogle (2006) state, often family language policy decisions also relate to other aspects of parenthood, such as culture-specific notions of what good and mothers and fathers are like. These values and ideologies can influence parental beliefs and practices, such as in Lori's case.

In regards to the support they had in raising their children bilingually, Timo comments:

> (23) Well, it would not have really changed anything in our thinking, kinda like that, for example if our parents would have said, well you need to only speak Finnish or something like that, nobody really really questioned that ever (Timo)

Similarly to Sanna and Sami, Timo points out that they had decided to raise their children bilingually and nobody else had a say in the matter. This decision was based on their own values and beliefs, as established. Furthermore, Lori mentioned that her parents do not know any Finnish and Timo's parents do not know any English, therefore, they have not been able to support them in that sense anyway.

5.4 The language of emotion

Language of emotion was the last theme in the interviews, however, this topic was touched on by the participants in many occasions earlier as well. In the interviews, the participants were asked if they agree with how research has shown that one's mother tongue is generally his or her language of emotion. Also, they were asked to describe how different emotions are expressed in their families.

Firstly, in family 1, Timo partly agrees with one's mother tongue being the language of emotion, while Lori fully agrees with it. Here is how Lori responds:

> (24) When I go to church for example, I don't really meet God through Finnish, I mean I can, it's hard to explain but…like for example, if you're singing worship songs or something and things are constructed a different way, it doesn't strike my heart (Lori)

Here, Lori gives an example of how she connects English with intimate emotions, like encountering God in church, through prayer for example. In addition, she even refers to the songs that are sung in her church, worship songs, having a different structure in Finnish than in English. Therefore, on an emotional level, she does not connect with them the same way she does with the English songs. In other words, her *heart language* is English. However, Lori pointed out that certain emotions, for example sadness, can be felt using any language, depending on the context and who one is speaking with. However, she does not automatically or naturally express herself in Finnish.

Timo mentioned that he has never really thought much about this topic before. However, reflecting on situations where he expresses emotions, he also mentions prayer and *talking to God*. He comments like this:

> (25) Usually when we pray, we pray in English and that is something that of course that is very personal and intimate communication with God…I don't find in those moments for example that I would need now Finnish here to talk to God about something while we are praying together (Timo)

Timo mentions that he can personally communicate with God in English too when praying together with his wife. Privately, on the other hand, his inward, silent prayer is in Finnish. In addition, referring to conversations at home with the whole family, Timo points out that he can and does express being upset or frustrated or his positive feelings in English, since that is their home language. He mentions that the words in English are not as precise or *readily available* as in Finnish but he does not have a problem using English to express emotions. In addition, Timo comments on his relationship with Lori. He feels that because they have built their relationship on English from the very start, he does not need to switch to Finnish to express even his deeper and more intimate emotions. Despite occasional miscommunication and his *lack in accuracy*, he prefers to communicate and express his emotions in English in interaction with his wife. Thus, it appears that Timo identifies quite strongly with English, even on an emotional level.

In relation to situations where the whole family is gathered, Lori mentions that different emotions are dealt with and expressed in different languages. In general, the children speak Finnish, and Lori pointed out that their *heart language* is Finnish. However, Lori expects her daughters to express joy and other positive emotions, and also anger in English when they are together as a family. In addition, on holidays such as thanksgiving, only English can be used. However, one emotion is exceptionally allowed to be expressed in Finnish. This is how Lori describes family situations regarding emotional expression:

> (26) I think it depends on what the issue is that's being expressed, so if our children are having some kind of a struggle, a friend has let them down or they're sad…I continue to always use my mother tongue…but in those situations, the children just say whatever has to be said in whatever language it's gonna come out and sometimes they will code-switch and come back to English and say something if they want to address me directly but frequently that conversation will go on pretty much always in Finnish (Lori)

Although Lori mentioned that English is encouraged and even expected to be used by the children in expressing anger and positive emotions, Lori commented that there is more flexibility with expressing sadness, since *how do you express something that's really troubling you*, as she pointed out. Nonetheless, despite the language that the children use, Lori always uses English herself. Based on Lori's description, it would seem that she considers emotions to be culture-specific. Also, since they have cultivated a family culture that is based on English, she seems to expect her children to also express their emotions with the means which that culture provides, in other words, in English, similarly to how Ozanska-Ponikwia (2013) claims that emotions and expressing emotions are tied to a certain culture. Moreover, it appears that Lori also connects certain emotions with one's mother tongue or *heart language,* since her children can express being upset in Finnish.

In family 2, both Sanna and Sami agree that one's mother tongue is the language of emotion too. In fact, Sanna mentioned this earlier already, in

discussing her relationship with both languages. This is how Sanna describes herself:

> (27) It depends who I'm talking to… I can't always find the words in Finn to say how I'm feeling… I can, I can do it in Finn too but I feel like I can explain myself or my whatever emotions better in English… (Sanna)

As Sanna states, she finds it easier and more natural to express herself in English. She also mentions that depending on who she is talking to, she can speak about her emotions in Finnish if necessary, however, writing her emotions down in Finnish is difficult for her. Also, in communication about emotions with her husband, Sanna pointed out that she usually always uses English. In addition, Sanna commented earlier that she feels like herself when speaking English and somehow different when speaking Finnish. As established by Pavlenko (2006) and Burck (2011), bilinguals often feel different using their languages. Moreover, in regards to relating a certain emotion to one of the languages, Sanna comments:

> (28) Yeah we speak English, sometimes Finnish, and same with me that what Nina said, when I get mad then I swear and say things like, English automatically comes out like even if Sami and I are having a discussion in Finn, I get angry or something pisses me off then I'll, it'll come out in English (laughter) (Sanna)

Sanna relates English to being angry, she finds it easier and more natural to express her anger in English. As Sanna has mentioned, English is her language of emotion and her native language, which makes her feel like herself. Therefore, also these spontaneous emotions, such as anger, automatically come out in English, as she thinks in English as well. Moreover, Sami comments on how he expresses his emotions like this:

> (29) Joo, no kyl siis sanotaan, et on se nyt varmaan kaheksankytviisprosenttisesti suomea, että kyl mäki sit et jos me keskus, jos Sannaki puhuu englantii niikyl mä sit saatan niinku englanniks sit sanoo asiat... Tunnejutut tulee välillä sit niinku englanninkin kielellä (Sami)
>
> *Yeah, well let's say that probably like eighty-five percent is in Finnish but if Sanna is speaking English, I might say things in English too... Emotional things also come up in English every now and then.*

Sami notes that he mostly expresses his emotions in Finnish but if he is having a conversation with his wife in English, it is no problem for him to express emotions and speak about emotion-related matters in English too. Furthermore, in regards to the family and raising children, Sami mentioned that he has raised his children in Finnish, including emotion-related issues. Moreover, neither Sanna or Sami has ever expected the children to use a specific language to express their emotions and they mainly always used Finnish when growing up. Nowadays, as Sanna pointed out, their middle child Linda speaks more English and also describes her emotions and feelings in English. The parents suspected that it is because she lives in England and is now completely immersed in the language and culture.

6 THE CHILDREN'S BILINGUAL IDENTITIES

In the interviews with the children, three themes were formed, including the most relevant and important topics. These are language competence and language use, the roles of the languages and bilingual identity, including attitudes that other people have towards their bilingualism, as well as the language of emotion. In this chapter, the results are analysed, theme by theme.

6.1 Language competence and language use

It came across in the interviews that all the children in both families feel that their Finnish is stronger than their English. This is mostly because nearly all of them use Finnish more than English. However, the middle children in both families, Kate in family 1 and Linda in family 2, as well as the oldest child in family 2, Nina, felt that their competence in English is almost as strong as in Finnish. Thus, it can be conducted that from the point of view of language skills, two different kinds of bilingual identities were constructed in the interviews. For example, Kate in family 1 comments on her language competence and language use:

> (30) For me, I use Finnish more and probably like grammar-wise Finnish is better for me but I also think that English is pretty close because I use English every day because I have a lot of friends I talk to on a daily basis in English (Kate)

Here Kate refers to her language skills and states that her Finnish is better because she uses it more but her English is very close, seeing that she uses English daily too. In addition to speaking English with her foreign friends, she uses it with her mother, otherwise she uses mostly Finnish. Furthermore, Nina in family 2 describes her language competence like this:

> (31) Pretty good in both, I wouldn't say perfect in both but definitely Finnish is my stronger language… I wouldn't say either one is to perfection (Nina)

Nina considers her Finnish to be the more dominant language, although she does not feel that either one of her languages is perfect, instead she feels that her *vocabulary is lacking* in both languages. This, she believes is because she has learned two languages instead of one. Moreover, it would seem here that bilingualism is viewed as a native-like competence in each language and in light of that, the language skills are compared to a monolingual, native speaker's competence. To add, Nina uses English sometimes with her mother, always with her aunt and other North-American relatives and often at work. As shown in Nina's case and as has been shown in research (see e.g. Baker 2006: 10), bilinguals use their languages with different people and for different purposes, in different domains.

In addition, Linda in family 2 lives currently in Bristol, England, and therefore feels that her English has greatly improved and is better now than before, seeing that she uses it with most people in her everyday life. Moreover, the youngest children in both families, Salla in family 1 and Joel in family 2, as well as the oldest one in family 1, Emma, consider their Finnish to be stronger than their English. Joel especially identifies more with Finnish than English. He comments on his language use and competence:

> (32) Mä puhun iha vaan suomee... no suomi mulla on ihan, se sujuu ihan loistavasti mut englannis on vielä vähä parannettavaa mut se ny kehittyy tos ku mä lähen tonne Amerikkaan takas (Joel)

Joel says that he *just speaks Finnish* and his Finnish skills are wonderful,

however, his English skills could be improved. When asked for clarification, he points out that his pronunciation and written skills need improving but he is confident that it will happen when he moves back to the United States to play ice-hockey. Moreover, in Finland Joel only speaks Finnish and he feels that his English skills are poorer than his sisters' because attended a Finnish school and his sisters Linda and Nina attended an international one. Therefore, it would seem that the home environment alone has not been enough to strengthen Joel's linguistic identity regarding English, much like the findings in Yamamoto's (2001) study suggested. Also, it appears that one identifies more with the language one is more competent and confident in, such as in Joel's case.

Characteristics of language use

Almost all the children in both families described the challenges in their language use similarly. The most prevalent and common challenge that all of them pointed out was forgetting words in either language and therefore adding extra words or replacing the missing word with its equivalent in the other language to make oneself understood. To exemplify, here are Emma's and Linda's comments on this particular matter:

> (33) There is just regular problems that like come up everyday… like if I'm talking to someone, I might think of a word only, like if I'm speaking in Finnish, I might think of a word in English, so that I don't remember what the word means in Finnish so I use the word in English (Emma)

> (34) Sometimes yeah I can think of the word in Finnish but I can't think of the word in English or vice versa (Linda)

Emma and Linda point out that the difficulties they have with using two languages have to do with fluency and are as simple as forgetting a word in either language but remembering it in the other language. However, since many people understand English, it is not an issue if they replace Finnish words with English ones.

In addition, another common difficulty in language use was found among the children, namely having problems with grammar in both languages, especially

with written language in Finnish. Nina mentioned that her grammar is not perfect in either language, which her siblings agreed on, on their own part. Moreover, Kate and Salla suggested that these difficulties arise because of the different language structures in Finnish and English that they often use English grammar rules when writing in Finnish. When asked for examples on the matter, Kate and Salla respond:

> (35) But I mean like, "one wouldn't do this, one wouldn't do that" and then we write that down in Finnish… I always did the Finnish essays in English way (Kate)

> (36) When we have to write like essays and texts like that, I like notice that I'm a little struggling in that, in that area and because I often have these kielioppi mistakes and then my teacher always tries to correct me… After one course, my Finnish teacher suggested that I would start a S-kakkonen… That was like, well maybe not (Salla)

Here, Kate comments on how she always used to write Finnish essays in an English way, meaning that she would use English grammar rules and directly translate phrases from English into Finnish. Furthermore, Salla also described how she makes grammar mistakes in Finnish, which her teacher corrects her on. In addition, her teacher had suggested that she starts Finnish as a second language because of grammatical errors. However, Salla finds that it is unnecessary because she is *still Finnish* after all. Salla seems to construct a Finnish learner identity for herself here, at least in regards to grammar and writing. All in all, it would appear that bilingually raised people often struggle with grammar rules, especially if the language structures are as different as they are in English and Finnish.

Code-switching and using *Finglish* seemed to be common practices between the siblings in both families. Salla mentioned that although the sisters speak Finnish among themselves, they joke around in English, which happens daily. Moreover, Kate states that their main language at home is *Finglish;* everybody uses it and understands each other inside the family. Also, Joel and Nina commented that when the siblings are together, most of the interaction is either *Finglish*, in other words, a mix of Finnish and English or when they are joking

around, it is always in English, similarly to the children in family 1. Thus, it would seem that the children relate speaking English to certain contexts, making a distinction between different contexts such as joking and having a serious conversation. To add, Linda even mentioned that she mixes both languages in speech with her bilingual or international friends, as well as with her siblings. Here are two examples of *Finglish* among the children in the families:

> (37) We all use "sinkki", as in the sink but we just say it in Finnish, like "laita astiat sinkkiin"… And then maybe some Finnish-English. We have found that there is no word, no one word that describes or that can be translated into English that would mean exactly what the word "jaksa" means… So we've been saying like "I don't jaksa" or "I don't jaksa" (with English pronunciation) (Emma)

> (38) Sit Aino-mummi puhu et noniin et hän rupee tekeen vähän lanssia ja Reijo viepä sä noi, noi garbaasit ulos ja mä niinku ymmärrän, mä ymmärrän ihan täysin ku se puhuu lanssista ja garbaasista mut Tuomas oli sit sillai niinku et "what the heck is she talking about?" (Nina)

> *Then Aino-mummi was saying that okay, she's going to start preparing "lanssi" and Reijo, go and take out the "garbaasi". I understand everything she's saying when she's talking about "lanssi" and "garbaasi" but Tuomas is like "what the heck is she talking about?"*

In these examples, firstly, Emma describes how they use the English word *sink* in Finnish when it becomes *sinkki*. In addition, according to Emma, her and her sisters find it easier to combine both Finnish and English when saying they are too tired to do something. In this case, the Finnish verb *jaksaa* has no equivalent in English, therefore they say it in Finnish, sometimes pronouncing it in English, while the rest of the sentence is in English. This is something that happens only between the three sisters and is clearly a way to construct their identity as bilinguals - a mutual language so to speak. Secondly, Nina describes a situation where she is having dinner at her grandparents' house with her boyfriend Tuomas. Her grandmother Aino starts talking about preparing *lanssi* and taking out the *garbaasi*, at which point Tuomas has no idea what she means, while Nina knows exactly that the grandmother is referring to *lunch* and *garbage*. Moreover, Nina mentioned that the language between her and her sister Linda is mostly *Finglish*, in other words, both languages mixed together.

As pointed out, there are many similarities in the way the children in both families use the languages and at the same time construct their bilingual identities, such as joking in English together and using *Finglish*; a mutual language between themselves.

Interestingly, it came across in the interviews that there are certain similarities between the youngest and also the middle children in both families. Both of the youngest children, Joel and Salla, clearly identify more with Finnish than English. Even according to their parents, they have been the ones who speak English less than their siblings or are the first ones to switch from English to Finnish. Moreover, when asked to describe their language competence in both languages, both Joel and Salla asked what the word 'competence' means. Perhaps it is worth noting that this is a term used by the interviewer and another term, such as 'language skills', possibly would have been more suitable in this case. However, with Joel, as already mentioned, his strong identification with Finnish over English may partly be because he did not attend the international school his sisters did. All in all, this shows that Joel and Salla have learned English in everyday interaction in the family, instead of a formal environment.

The middle children in both families, Kate and Linda, on the other hand, have always been the most active English speakers in their families. Their parents pointed this out and it also became evident in other contexts where their siblings commented on the middle children's active English use. In addition, they themselves feel a strong connection to English and feel that their competence in it is close to their Finnish competence. In family 1, Kate's father, Timo, and her sister, Salla, describe Kate like this:

> (39) Kate for example, it is working that she may respond to me in English because it doesn't make any sense to switch language (Timo)

> (40) So I may speak Finnish but then dad's like "English" or mom's like "English" now. Or Kate's like "English" (Salla)

In family 2, Linda's mother, Sanna, and her sister, Nina, comment on Linda's competence and English use like this:

> (41) Kyllä, mutta Linda oli aktiivisin lapsista (Sanna)
>
> (42) Linda oli mun mielest ehkä enemmän, se vastas niinku äitille jos äiti kysy englanniks jotain niin Linda oli ehkä se aktiivisin vastaaja (Nina)

In the extracts above, firstly, the father Timo and also Kate's sister Salla comment on Kate and how she has been the more active English speaker in the family, even reminding her sister to switch the language from Finnish back to English. Secondly, the mother in family 2, Sanna, and Linda's older sister Nina both point out that Linda was the most active of the siblings in responding to the mother in English when growing up. In addition, now she speaks only English with her mother, sometimes even with her father. It is interesting that both the middle children identify with English so strongly, compared to their siblings.

6.2 The roles of the languages and bilingual identity

The second theme in the interviews with the children was about the different roles that English and Finnish have in their lives and how the participants describe their bilingual identities. In addition, one subject within this theme touched on the attitudes that they have noticed that other people have regarding their bilingualism and how they themselves feel in relation to their friends.

The roles of the languages

When asked about the roles or the meaning of the two languages in the children's lives, they all considered it mostly positive to have bilingual identities. Linda and Nina comment on their relationship with the languages:

> (43) Yeah, well yeah, I just feel really like privileged and I think it's really cool that I can speak two languages fluently, yeah, makes life easier… I really like the fact that I can speak Finnish because it's such a difficult language to learn and I just like speaking it…but then with English I think it's cause it's a lot easier and a lot of things I say sound more natural and simple in English (Linda)

> (44) Well, I feel like Finnish is my tunnekieli and I'm really proud to speak Finnish, like Linda said, it's one of the hardest languages in the world. I feel really privileged, I feel like, mikä se sana on, monipuolisempi cause I can speak English as well, I feel like I've been able to do a bunch of things much easier at least (Nina)

Both Linda and Nina find it positive to be able to speak both English and Finnish. They point out how those two languages have different attributes that they appreciate and that they are grateful for them both. Moreover, it appears that Linda constructs an identity of a bilingual language speaker for herself, as she strongly and positively identifies with speaking both languages. She seems to be able to utilise both languages for her own benefit. Furthermore, Nina comments that knowing English has made her more versatile or a multifaceted person, able to do more in life. Some of the benefits of English she mentions are the ability to communicate with her relatives who live in North America, better opportunities in the job market and being able to travel without limitations in communication. Moreover, according to Nina, her language of emotion is Finnish. All in all, it seems that Nina constructs a solid bilingual identity for herself, seeing that she identifies with Finnish on an emotional level and thinks that also English has had a great impact on who she is.

Also Joel and Emma appreciate their bilingualism. In fact, Joel mentions how it has helped him at school and how English has always been easier for him to learn, compared to his classmates. In addition to being able to live in the United States and communicating there in English without a problem, Joel thinks that the fact that English courses were easy for him at school is the most noticeable benefit or blessing in his bilingualism. Based on this, it would seem that to some extent, Joel constructs a learner identity for himself, regarding English, whereas his Finnish identity is extremely strong. In other words, it seems that these two identities are quite separate and non-comparable. Moreover, Emma comments on her bilingualism like this:

> (45) I think it's a really rich thing to have, I'm really like happy and like proud to have two languages as my mother tongue and I think it has made my life easier (Emma)

Emma feels privileged that she is bilingual and knows two languages. Also Kate and Salla both think that life is mostly easier because they are bilingual. However, they feel that knowing two languages and having learned them in an informal environment, in an everyday life setting, has brought some issues with both languages, in grammar, and especially at school, as already mentioned in the previous chapter (extracts 35-36). Otherwise, Kate and Salla mention that being bilingual is a gift and Kate points out how it has helped her to understand even *difficult* or *bad* English.

Description of bilingualism

In addition to discussing the roles or the meanings of the languages in the participants' lives, they were asked to describe their bilingualism. Here is how Kate responded:

> (46) I feel like I can't really…like I don't know cause it's just like we think bilingual is our identity, so I mean I can't think about like being just Finnish and just having Finnish parents…or just speaking Finnish…so if there was like a country called "bilingual", we'd live there and could be a part of that, that culture… (Kate)

Kate sums up well what her bilingualism is like. She does not only describe her own bilingualism but refers to *our identity,* including her sisters too. Moreover, it becomes obvious that being bilingual is the norm for her, since she has difficulties describing her identity at first and as she points out, she cannot imagine being monolingual. It becomes clear that Kate constructs a very compelling bilingual identity for herself and her sisters. In addition, as Kate points out, some of the characteristics of their bilingualism include speaking two languages and being a part of two different cultures. It is evident that Kate no only links culture to identity but also strongly identifies with both her cultures. Furthermore, Salla agrees with this description and adds that *it's just my normal life*, that bilingual is who she is.

Emma describes her bilingualism like this:

(47) Well, yeah, I think it makes me me. Cause I have an American mom, I have all these traditions at home that are not Finnish, I have the ability to speak another language, I think that makes me me and like the ability to like sing in a different language that's really important and a part of me that I like, like and yeah. So it does define (me) (Emma)

As Emma points out, bilingual is her identity too. In addition to that, she seems to construct a bicultural identity, identifying also with the American culture, as she mentions the traditions her mother has established in the family. Furthermore, Emma's comment about her ability to sing in English is interesting and would suggest that she connects with English through music, singing specifically.

When asked about Nina's bilingualism, she responds like this:

(48) Mä en ite niinku ajattele sitä kaksikielisyytenä, niinku pidä sitä sinänsä isona asiana ku se on ollu aina…niin, se on niinku ja on se vaan nyt jotenkin vaan ollu tosi niinku avartavaa ja ja niinku mä arvostan sitä niinku international part of it sillain että et tuntuu että on niinku tosi privileged että on oppinut toisen kielen, etenkin tommosen kielen millä pärjää ihan missä päin maailmaa tahnasa (Nina)

I don't like think of it as bilingualism, I don't consider it a big deal because it's always been... yeah, it's just expanded my wordlview and I appreciate the international part of it so that I feel really privileged to have learned another language that that I can get by with anywhere in the world.

In Nina's description of the ways she feels that she is bilingual, she points out that she does not consider it a significant factor because she has heard both languages at home since she was born. However, she appreciates the fact that she has learned a language that she can use anywhere in the world, which has expanded her worldview. As part of the *international part* of English, Nina mentions how the Canadian culture, or a mix of many cultures, since the Canadian culture consists of many different cultures, has been evident in their everyday life at home. As an example, the foods their mother has prepared have been non-Finnish and more richly and differently flavoured. Nina even mentioned that she has never tried certain traditional Finnish foods.

Furthermore, it seems that Nina identifies with both languages and cultures and considers their existence in her life natural. In other words, the identity she constructs for herself is very much bilingual and bicultural.

Linda mentioned that knowing English and being able to use *Finglish* has made her life easier in many respects. Further, she notes that it is likely that she had stayed in Finland instead of moving to England to study, if she did not know English as well as she does. Therefore, in her own words, being bilingual has brought about many opportunities. Furthermore, Joel's response is somewhat different to his siblings' responses. He comments:

> (49) No en mä tiedä, mulla ei ehkä niin vahvasti oo ku mä en käyny noita ala- ja yläasteit sielä englanninkielises niinku nää kävi…et mul ei ehkä oo nii voimakas se kaksikielisyys (Joel)

Joel mentions that he does not believe his bilingualism is as strong as his sisters' because he did not attend an international school like Linda and Nina did. In other words, it is obvious Joel constructs a very Finnish identity for himself. However, to add, he pointed out that he was better at English than other foreigners when he lived in the United States. It would seem that Joel's identity is closely linked to his language competence. Similarly, the findings in King's (2013) study suggest that one's language identity can shape one's language competencies.

Attitudes and own standing with friends

The participants were asked whether they feel different in relation to their friends and what kind of attitudes they have noticed that the friends and other people have towards their bilingualism. Emma answered like this:

> (50) Sometimes I feel like if I bring that out too much, then, like people…I've just like felt that that maybe when I was younger, then people started like getting jealous of the, of my ability to speak English…people would be like why would you have to say THAT, cause it doesn't define who you are (Emma)

Emma commented on how she often tries to hide her *other nationality* (American) or bilingualism because she does not want it to be a *bragging aspect*. This, she explained, is because people have been jealous of her ability to speak English well. Further, other people had said that Emma's bilingualism does not define her. However, Emma disagrees and said that it indeed makes her who she is. Moreover, she mentioned that she feels different from other people only in her work environment, because these people do not know her like her friends do. Therefore, she feels that she really needs to concentrate on what she is saying in order to speak correct Finnish, instead of switching between Finnish and English for example.

Furthermore, this is how Salla, with some help from Kate, answers when she was asked whether she feels different from her friends:

> (51) Maybe a litt, a little because I have like two cultures also, so I think like that like makes me a not fully Finnish but like…
> (52) Finnishish (Kate)
> (53) Finnishish (laughing) (Salla)

Salla thinks that it is mostly her cultural identity that separates her from her Finnish friends and other Finns. In other words, she constructs a non-regular Finnish identity for herself. In addition, when comparing herself to her bilingual friends, she comments that her sisters and herself are the only ones who *really know their other language.* In other words, it would seem that Salla defines bilingualism as a strong competence in both languages. In addition, she constructs an identity of a real bilingual for herself as well as her sisters.

Moreover, Kate reports that when they were younger, the three sisters would be somewhat arrogant about their ability to speak English and they felt *much more cooler with the second language* than other people. Also, according to Kate, people would admire them and think that it is cool that they are American too. Kate also mentioned that they would help their friends with their English homework and even their teachers would sometimes ask for their opinion in

class. Therefore, she felt smart and good about being *really good* at something. However, now that they are older, as Kate pointed out, they *can't really show off* anymore because almost everybody understands and knows English in Finland.

In family 2, all the three siblings, Joel, Linda and Nina, mentioned that they have never noticed that people would have any negative attitudes towards their bilingualism. Of course, the fact that Nina and Linda attended an international school and most of their friends are bilingual too, influences this. Moreover, Joel makes a humorous comment that he speaks English with a Finnish accent, therefore he does not feel any different from other Finns. To add, Nina mentioned that people are often positively surprised and very interested to know more about her background. Also, the only differences between her and other people, in her opinion, are the fact that she has been able to travel a great deal and that she calls the United States her second home.

6.3 The language of emotion

In the interviews with the children, expressing emotion and language of emotion was a topic that came up throughout the interviews, at least by some of the participants. Interestingly, the children's responses varied and were quite different from each other. Here is what Emma, in family 1 commented regarding her language of emotion:

> (54) If we're talking about a really like deep subjects about like feelings and stuff, I might be able to describe myself or describe the feeling better in Finnish… it's easier to fight in Finnish, I don't know if that makes any sense but emotions come from some language and when you're, well if you're mad or something, it's like easier to say stuff in Finnish (Emma)

In addition to pointing out that it is easier to express her emotions in Finnish, Emma commented that with her mother she would use still use English. Interestingly, Emma points out that *emotions come from some language* and for her it is Finnish. Moreover, the reason why Emma thinks Finnish is more natural and the language she relates to emotions is because she has almost always lived in Finland and she feels that she has been taught all the right words to express

emotion in Finnish since she was a young girl. As Ozanska-Ponikwia (2013) claims; one's emotions are universal but the culture one lives in provides the means with which he or she can express those emotions. In addition to commenting on arguing in Finnish, Emma noted that she expresses all other emotions in Finnish too. Also, Emma, much like her parents, commented on praying and worship songs and how she would rather pray in Finnish but connects more with the English songs, which she already touched on earlier.

The middle child in family 1, Kate, mentioned that when the siblings argue with one another, it always happens in Finnish. However, she described her own way of expressing emotion in the following extract like this:

> (55) Finnish is like more stronger for me… It depends who you're talking to, like if it's dad or mom, then we of course use like English as our emotion and we're able to find like lots of words in English cause it's a colorful language but when we're talking to someone in Finnish, you have to like express the emotions in Finnish… If I wanna talk about something with someone, it's maybe easier to bring it up in Finnish with someone but in my MIND like, I'm feeling like in English probably (laughter) (Kate)

Firstly, Kate feels that the language she expresses her emotions in is completely context-specific and depends on who she is communicating with. Moreover, she feels quite capable expressing herself in both languages although Finnish is her stronger language, also in relation to emotion. Furthermore, Kate does not only refer to herself when speaking of expressing emotions but to both her sisters too. Secondly, Kate confirms that Finnish is most likely the language she would express herself in, although she feels the emotions in English, since she usually thinks in English too. Finally, Kate also noted that she always listens to worship music and sermons in English. She believes the reason for that has to do with English being spoken *with more passion,* compared to Finnish, which she thinks is quite a monotonous language.

Salla, the youngest daughter in family 1, feels quite similarly with Kate about expressing emotions. Here is what she commented:

(56) I mean, I feel like I say, I express myself in Finnish, my feelings and like that, but I think like my emotions in English, like, I don't know, I feel like I'm American in my mind but, but like in everything else I'm Finnish… So I'd day that yeah… I can explain my feelings better in Finnish… but like spiritual things, like, that's more in English for me (Salla)

Salla explains clearly how she feels that she is more able to describe her feelings in Finnish, however, she comments that she feels them in English. Also, she separates her mind and thoughts, which she labels more American, from the rest of herself, which again is more Finnish. Also, similarly to her sisters, Salla connects English more with her spiritual side. She believes it is because there has been more English in general at home, as well as more English worship music playing when she was growing up. Again, it becomes evident how emotions can be tied to a certain culture.

In family 2, the oldest child, Nina, mentioned that her *tunnekieli* , language of emotion, is Finnish. However, she has somewhat contradictory thoughts and feelings about the matter. Here is what Nina said about her language of emotion:

(57) Maybe 50-50… like English has been the main language at home, I still feel that my Finnish is still better and for that reason most of, or at least half of my emotions are, you know, processed in Finnish… joo et kyl mä niinku joitain emotionsseja käyn läpi englanniks, ehdottomasti suurimman osan niinku suomeks kuitenkin, koska se on se vahvempi, se on kuitenkin se dominoiva kieli (Nina)

Here Nina describes, in both languages, her way of processing emotions. Her first comment refers to English and Finnish both equally being her languages of emotion. However, as she goes on, she comes to the conclusion that although some of her emotions are processed in English, most of them she deals with in Finnish, as it is her stronger and more dominant language. The way she almost equally uses both languages to describe her way of dealing with emotions matches what she says about them, in other words, that she uses both languages to process emotions. Furthermore, as she was growing up, Nina laughingly pointed out that she did not really separate the two languages and was not sure what she was speaking sometimes or what language she used to

express her emotions. It would seem that bilingualism is such a natural part of Nina's identity, in fact, it is who she is, and therefore it is difficult, if not impossible for her to differentiate between the two languages or how she identifies with them. In other words, she constructs a very strong bilingual identity for herself.

Linda, on the other hand, describes her language of emotion and her way of expressing different emotions this way:

> (58) I would mostly say Finnish, I guess but now that I've lived here, I think that it has shifted a bit, I do like think a lot in English now and so yeah, I think the more I live here, it's gonna get, it's gonna be English more but I would still say Finnish, at this point at least… When I was home and if I was angry and stuff, then yeah it would, it was definitely Finnish that I would choose to express, I found it a lot easier (Linda)

Linda's comment shows that she relates more to Finnish on an emotional level, although she has noticed a change as she thinks more in English now that she lives in England, as the culture one lives in has a significant effect on how one expresses emotions. Growing up, she would express her emotions, also the positive ones, mostly in Finnish, which goes to show that there is a certain naturalness to using one's native tongue in expressing or describing emotions, as it is considered more 'intimate', as Burck (2011) points out.

Joel, the youngest in family 2, identifies strongly with Finnish. He comments on his language of emotion:

> (59) No kyl se ainaki mulla et kyl mullon Suomi se iha, iha ykkönen…joo suomee, suomee (Joel)

Joel was asked whether he believes one's mother tongue is also one's language of emotion. He responds that at least for him it is, that Finnish is *number one* for him. Even when growing up, he always expressed all his emotions in Finnish. As it has become clear, Joel connects with Finnish on an emotional level, as well as every other level. In other words, he constructs a very Finnish identity for

himself.

To conclude, it appears that the children have quite different ways of expressing their emotions. In family 1, the sisters all feel that Finnish is their main language of emotion. However, Kate and Salla point out how they often think and even feel in English. In addition, they all connect more with the English worship songs and express their spiritual sides better in English. Moreover, in family 2, both sisters feel that expressing their emotions is more natural in Finnish. However, Nina processes her emotions in both languages and Linda, on the other hand, suspects that living in England will shift her language of emotion more to English over time. Lastly, Joel feels more comfortable using Finnish to express his emotions.

7 DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

The present study aimed to find out how the family members in two bilingual families identify with both their languages and what kind of identities they construct for themselves. The results suggest that the mothers in both families, who are the native English speakers, identified strongly with their mother tongue, English. They both felt that it is their language of emotion and they feel like *themselves* when speaking English. Moreover, the Finnish fathers identified positively with both languages and described themselves as bilingual. All the children identified stronger with Finnish; however, they constructed a bilingual and bicultural identity for themselves, with the exception of Joel, the middle child in family 2, who considered himself more Finnish. Furthermore, the present study sought to answer four research questions, which are now discussed in light of the findings, based on the data. Thus, this chapter discusses the findings related to each research question, as well as limitations of the present study, after which suggestions for further research are proposed.

The first research question aimed to find out how the family members identify with each language and how they describe their identities. In addition, the question had three sub-questions; first, how they perceive their competence in

each language; second, how they use the two languages and view their roles in their lives; and third, how the parents view the role of English in the wider society. The results show that the children identified positively with both languages, however, they connected with Finnish on a deeper level, seeing that they all felt that they are more competent speakers of Finnish than English. They described themselves as bilingual and bicultural, which to them was very natural and something they all appreciate. It was also mentioned that their bilingualism makes them who they are. However, Joel described his identity as Finnish, stating that his bilingualism does not play as great a role in his life than it does in his sisters' lives.

Furthermore, the father in family 1 described himself as *more complete as a person* due to his bilingualism, and made a strong identification with English as a world language. Moreover, the mother in family 1 described how living in Finland as a bilingual person has affected her cultural identity and she feels that she is *in-between cultures.* The father in family 2 stated that English has always been a part of his identity and this is mainly because speaking the language became natural while he lived in Canada and because his wife is a native English speaker and they have raised their children bilingually. In addition, he considered bilingualism a great gift, although he identified more with Finnish. Moreover, the mother's cultural identification with the English-speaking culture, or the Canadian, as well as the Finnish-Canadian culture became clear throughout the data. However, she noted that she is also a proud Finn but with a *Canadian heart.* In other words, her personal identity is strongly tied to English.

The first sub-question was about how the family members perceive their competence in each language. The mother in family 1 felt that her Finnish is relatively weak, although her vocabulary is vast and her academic skills are quite strong. She commented that her English skills have been somewhat affected too because she has lived in Finland for so long. The father in family 1, on the other hand, felt that he is very competent as well as confident

communicating in both languages. Furthermore, all their daughters felt competent in both languages, although they mentioned that Finnish is definitely their dominant language. In family 2, the mother said she is *totally fluent* in both languages. The father described himself as a confident speaker of both languages but admitted that he sometimes struggles with fluency in English. Moreover, both their daughters stated that they are confident and competent in both languages but feel that their dominant language is still Finnish. However, the middle child's English skills have significantly improved since she moved to England. The youngest child in family 2 said that his English skills need improving but his Finnish is great.

The second sub-question related to language use and the roles of the two languages in the family members' lives. Regarding language use, the study found that both parents had a clear plan to raise their children bilingually. They both also adopted the one person-one language strategy, although its implementation was not clear-cut and the parents were flexible with their strategy. In addition, in family 1, the parents only speak English with each other and their home language is English. In family 2, though, the parents mix both languages together and the main language at home was Finnish when the children were growing up. Only the mother spoke English to the children. Moreover, all the children mainly use Finnish and *Finglish* at home and with each other, except in family 1, where the daughters are expected to converse in English with their mother. Outside the home, all the children in both families stated that they use English occasionally with their relatives as well as their foreign friends. Otherwise, they all use Finnish more because they live in Finland, except for Linda, who currently lives in the UK. In addition, the parents in family 1 regularly use both languages at work. In family 2, the mother works as a flight attendant and uses both English and Finnish daily. In addition, she uses English with her sister and other relatives. Also, the father in family 2 uses English occasionally at work and with some relatives.

As for the roles that the languages have in the participants' lives, many

different ones were mentioned. Firstly, the father in family 1 felt that he has a close relationship with both languages, although the languages serve different purposes in his life. In other words, as he stated, both languages bring out different aspects of his identity. Secondly, the mother in family 1 felt strongly about the role of English, which is to reaffirm her identity as a native English speaker. In family 2, though, the mother felt that English has a greater role in her life than Finnish. She connects with it emotionally and it mostly *overrides Finnish.* The father in family 2, on the other hand, sees that Finnish is the dominant language in his life but English has helped him while travelling and at work and to be able to form connections internationally. Furthermore, the children viewed both the languages' roles in their lives as enriching. They all mentioned what a great privilege it is to know two languages and cultures and how English has helped them in many different areas of life. However, many of them also pointed out the difficulties bilingualism has brought to them, mainly in language competence in both languages. Still, first and foremost, the children found that both the languages have positive roles in their lives, as they have made their lives easier and opened up more opportunities.

The parents were asked how they view the role of English in Finland and whether it has changed over the years. They all thought that the role of English has drastically changed in Finland over the past decade. The mother in family 1, who teaches English to Finnish students at the university, thought that some of her Finnish students' English competence is high. However, she also stated that people may find it annoying how much English has gained ground it the Finnish culture. In addition, they all mentioned how young children in Finland know English, through the internet and games for example. Also, the father in family 1 thought that the younger one is, the more positively one identifies with English. Moreover, the mother in family 2 mentioned that Finnish people have become more open and more and more people understand and speak English in Finland nowadays.

The second research question wished to find out what kind of identities the

family members construct for themselves using the two languages and in speaking of their experiences. Many different kind of identities were constructed. The mother in family 1 constructed a Finnish learner identity for herself, while identifying strongly with English. In addition, she constructed a multilingual identity for herself, also distancing herself from both Finnish and American culture. The father in family 1 constructed a very strong bilingual and bicultural identity for himself. Also, he constructed an international identity for himself, differentiating himself from other Finns, whose English skills are limited. Further, the mother in family 2, despite being fluent in both languages, and the bilingual identity that she constructed for herself, feels like herself when using English. In other words, first and foremost, she constructed a very strong Canadian cultural identity, as well as an English speaker identity for herself. The father in family 2 also constructed a solid bilingual identity for himself. All the children, except for one, constructed bilingual and bicultural, even binational identities for themselves. They viewed their bilingualism as a natural part of who they are, saying that it defines them. The youngest child in family 2, on the other hand, constructed a strong Finnish identity; both linguistically and culturally.

With the third research question, I aimed to find out whether the participants believe that one's mother tongue is more emotional or one's language of emotion, as Pavlenko's (2008) study suggests. In addition, as also pointed out earlier, according to another study by Pavlenko (2006: 11-12), bilinguals usually feel different when using different languages. Therefore, the participants were asked how they express their emotions in the familial context. It seems that the findings of the present study are mostly in line with the findings in Pavlenko's (2008) study. Firstly, both the mothers, as well as the father in family 1 described themselves as feeling different when using both languages. Also some of the children made a distinction between what feeling in Finnish and feeling in English is like, in mentioning that they often feel emotions in English. Moreover, the children all felt that they can express their emotions better in Finnish, although some emotions are felt and processed in English as well. The

father in family 2 mentioned that Finnish is his language of emotion and the language he has raised his children in. Despite this, he pointed out that he can express his emotions in English too. Furthermore, the father in family 1 stated that he feels like a different person when speaking English, more alive to be specific. However, he felt that he can express his emotions as well in English as in Finnish. I would speculate that perhaps he feels that both languages are emotional because their home language, as well as the language between him and his wife is English.

Finally, as mentioned in the beginning of the present study, King (2013), in his study, focused on variation between identities within one family generation, which is "an almost unexplored territory" in bilingual studies (Baker 2006, as quoted in King 2013: 51). The final research question the present study aimed to answer was about possible differences and similarities in identities between one generation; the siblings, and also between two generations; the parents and their children. The results showed that similarly, in both families, one of the three siblings, the middle child, had always been the more active English user in the family. This identity was constructed for them by their parents and siblings as well as themselves. For some reason the middle children in both families made a stronger identification with English than their siblings, already growing up.

Another difference between the siblings, yet a similarity between the two families, was that the youngest of the children were the ones who have always used English less than their siblings. They were both described as passive English users by their parents and themselves. Perhaps it is worth noting that the linguistic environment in the family can be different between the youngest and the oldest children. For example, the parents may not be as active in supporting the younger children's linguistic development or the older siblings may speak on behalf of the younger ones. These potential factors can affect how the younger children in bilingual families identify with their languages. Moreover, King's (2013) study also researched differences in identities between

the siblings in one family. He found that one's language identity can shape one's language competencies and that there were varied language competencies and identities within one generation, much like in the present study. I would also speculate that Joel's strong identification with Finnish has affected his English competence. Furthermore, one similarity between the children, according to the findings, was that many of the children stated that they think and feel in English, although they express themselves more in Finnish.

According to the results, one difference between generations in family 2, was that although the mother was raised bilingually with Finnish and English, similarly to her own children, her identification with English, linguistically, culturally and emotionally was much stronger than her children's. However, the mother grew up in Canada and her children in Finland, which goes to show how great of an impact the environment and the mainstream language and culture have on language learners' identities. This is comparable to the aforementioned Yamamoto's (2001) study, which suggested that bilingual children are highly influenced by the language of the mainstream society. Moreover, the mother in family 2 felt that living in Finland has made her *less American,* although, her children made a strong identification with their American nationality and cultural identity. Furthermore, in family 1, the father made a stronger identification with English, on an emotional level, and when it comes to spiritual matters. Although all his children felt that their language of emotion is Finnish, they all, similarly to their father, connected with their spirituality more through English.

In addition, there were differences in how the participants used the two languages in the interviews. Firstly, the oldest daughter in family 2 mixed and code-switched between English and Finnish throughout the interview, more than any of the other children, or parents for that matter. Secondly, the youngest in family 2 answered all the questions in Finnish, much like his father. Moreover, the mother in family 2 mainly used English but switched to Finnish every now and then when she commented on something her husband had said,

since their mutual language is usually Finnish. In the interview with family 1, on the other hand, all questions were answered consistently in English, by both participant parents, as well as all their mutual comments were also made in English. However, these are only observations and without a more detailed analysis of language use, it is impossible to draw appropriate conclusions regarding code-switching for example. This is, in fact, an interesting area that could be further explored in the future, to add more depth to studies on bilingual families.

One limitation of the present study is the low number of participant families that were interviewed in the present study, in other words, it is difficult to make any kind of generalisations of bilingual identity construction in families based on only two families. Therefore, in the future, it would be suitable and interesting to include more participant families to be interviewed, recorded and analysed to make more confident conclusions. Also, it may be fitting to find different kind of bilingual families, as the present study focused on two similar ones, where the mothers are the native English speakers and both fathers Finnish. However, the present study brought a fresh perspective on studies of bilingual identity, since the children in both families were old enough to reflect on and describe their own identities, instead of only being described by their parents and relying on their perspectives. In addition, the comparison between generations and siblings that the present study provided, is an area that has not been explored much yet.

Another limitation of the study is that it only explored and analysed the participants' subjective views on their identities. Although I was first and foremost interested in how the family members themselves describe their own identities and what kind of identities they construct, it would be important to gather actual observations and recordings of the interaction between different family members in the family, to gain a more comprehensive understanding of how bilingual identities are constructed in communication with each other in the familial context. Therefore, in addition to semi-structured interviews,

perhaps recording families and their genuine interaction with each other over a longer period of time would be an avenue for further investigation worth exploring in the future.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1, INTERVIEW QUESTIONS: PARENTS

BACKGROUND INFO:

Describe your family and its history-dating back to when you two met

Describe your route to bilingualism- how did you learn English/Finnish?

How did the fact that you two met affect learning English/Finnish or your bilingualism?

THEME 1

COMPETENCE/EXPERIENCE OF ONE'S OWN LANGUAGE SKILLS AND FLUENCY

-How would you describe your competence in each language?

-Are you confident communicating in both languages?

-Do you have/have you had problems with either of the languages in certain situations? What kind of situations?

-How would you describe yourself as bilingual?/In what ways do you feel that you are bilingual?

THEME 2

LANGUAGE USE

-Do you use both languages regularly?

-Who do you use each language with? Why?

-Where do you use English/Finnish? What kind of situations?

-Do you switch between the two languages in conversations? Do you notice when it happens? Who do you do this with?

-What language(s) do you speak at home? Describe a typical (communication) situation at home, within your family.

-Describe your language use outside of the home. With whom/where/ in what kind of situations do you speak each language? Do you need English/Finnish at work?

-What language do you speak with each other? Has it always been like that? Why?

-Did you have a clear plan right from the beginning, as to what languages to speak to your children?

-Have your language policies changed over the years with raising children? Or have you been consistent in your plan and policies?

-What has proven to work and be efficient in your family, regarding language policies in relation to bilingualism?

--Do you feel like you have had enough/at all support from friends and family regarding bilingualism/raising children bilingually? Is it important to you?

THEME 3

THE ROLE OF LANGUAGES (in the participants' lives and in wider society)

-How would you describe your relationship with Finnish and English?

-What do you think of Finnish and English as languages? How would you/can you describe their role in YOUR life?

-English in Finland- do you feel that there have been changes in the use of English in Finland? What kind of changes have you noticed (also in attitudes)?

-How would you describe your identity as bilingual in Finland? Describe your own experience. What kind of attitudes have you noticed?

-Have you had challenges adapting to the society? What kind?

THEME 4

LANGUAGE OF EMOTION

According to research (and maybe general knowledge), it has been said that one's mother tongue is the language of emotion. What do you think of this? /How do you feel about this?

-Is this true in your family? Personally? How does it show?

-Do you relate a specific language to certain emotions- being angry or happy or when you express deep emotion, affection? Does the language vary depending on who you communicate with?

-Is this true in your family or does it show in your parenting? How?

Describe how you would express emotions in your family. How about with other people?

Appendix 2, INTERVIEW QUESTIONS: CHILDREN

BACKGROUND: Age and school

THEME 1

COMPETENCE/EXPERIENCE OF ONE'S OWN LANGUAGE SKILLS AND FLUENCY

-How would you describe your competence in each language?

- Do you feel like you know both languages equally?

Or do you feel that one language is stronger than the other? In what ways/areas (speech, writing, understanding, etc?) In what situations?

-Are you confident communicating in both languages?

-Do you have/have you had problems with either of the languages in certain situations? What kind of situations?

-In what ways do you feel that you are bilingual?/ How would you describe your bilingualism?

THEME 2

LANGUAGE USE

-Do you use both languages regularly?

-Who do you use each language with? Why?

-Where do you use English? What kind of situations?

-Do you switch between the two languages in conversations? Do you notice when it happens? Who do you do this with?

-What language do you speak at home? Describe a typical (communication) situation at home, within your family.

-Describe your language use outside of the home. Do you speak a lot of English? With whom/where/ in what kind of situations?

THEME 3

THE ROLE OF LANGUAGES (in the participants' lives and in wider society)

-How would you describe your relationship with Finnish and English? How do you feel about having two languages instead of one/being bilingual?

-How would you describe your identity as bilingual?

-What does it mean to you to be able to speak both languages?

-What do you think of English and Finnish as languages?

-What do other people think about you when you speak English? Or the fact that you are bilingual? How do your friends view/consider it? Do they speak English? Do you have friends that are bilingual too?

-Do you feel different from your friends? How?

THEME 4

LANGUAGE OF EMOTION

According to research (and maybe general knowledge), it has been said that one's mother tongue is the language of emotion. What do you think of this? /How do you feel about this?

-Is this true in your family? How does it show?

-Do you relate a specific language to certain emotions- being angry or happy or when you express deep emotion, affection? Which language? Why do you think that is? Does the language vary depending on who you communicate with?