

**UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ**

**"OMA KIELI MANSIKKA, MUU KIELI MUSTIKKA":  
DISCOURSE-ANALYTIC STUDY OF ATTITUDES TOWARDS  
ENGLISH IN FINLAND**

**A Pro Gradu Thesis**

**by**

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HUMANISTINEN TIEDEKUNTA  
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"OMA KIELI MANSIKKA, MUU KIELI MUSTIKKA": DISCOURSE-  
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Kieliasenteita ei tuoteta vain suhteessa tiettyyn asiaan vaan ne tuotetaan myös suhteessa vastakkaisiin asenteisiin. Tutkielman tarkoituksena on soveltaa diskurssianalyttisiä menetelmiä kieliasenteiden tutkimukseen ja selvittää, kuinka asenteita englannin kieleen ja englantilaisiin lainasanoihin tuotetaan kirjoitetussa diskurssissa. Tutkielmassa vastataan kysymyksiin: 1) Millaisia kielellisiä tulkintarepertuaareja on identifioitavissa suomalaisten nuorten kirjoituksista? 2) Miten on identifioitavissa asenteiden muodostaminen suhteessa toisiin asenteisiin. Tutkimusaineisto koostuu 57 vastineesta yleisönosastokirjoitukseen, jossa väitettiin englannin kielen olevan uhka suomelle, suomalaisten englannin taidon olevan huono ja lainsäädännön olevan hyvä keino kielten suojelemisessa. Vastineet kerättiin englantia vieraana kielenä opiskelleilta, yliopistossa tai ammattikorkeakoulussa opiskelevilta henkilöiltä.

Tulkitsemalla aineisto suhteessa esitettyihin väitteisiin muodostettiin kaksi toisilleen vastakkaista tekstien joukkoa: ns. positiivinen asenne eli väitteiden kanssa yhtä mieltä olevat ilmaisut ja ns. negatiivinen asenne eli esitettyjä väitteitä vastustavat ilmaisut. Näistä ilmaisusta identifioitiin seitsemän erilaista tulkintarepertuaaria ilmaisujen sisällön ja muodon perusteella. Positiivisesta asenteesta identifioitiin neljä tulkintarepertuaaria: *separatistinen*, *nationalistis-romanttinen*, *fatalistinen* ja *realistinen* tulkintarepertuaari. Negatiivisesta asenteesta identifioitiin kolme tulkintarepertuaaria: *empiirinen*, *rationaalinen* ja *nationalistinen* tulkintarepertuaari. Tulkintarepertuaarit identifioitiin pääasiassa sisällöllisten piirteiden perusteella. Ainoastaan nationalistis-romanttisen repertuaarin identifiointi perustui selkeästi myös muodollisille piirteille. Positiivisen asenteen repertuaarit tuotettiin käyttämällä tunne- ja arvosisältöisiä ilmauksia. Negatiivisen asenteen repertuaarit puolestaan rakentuivat järkiperaisille ilmauksille.

Asenteen muodostuminen suhteessa vastakkaiseen asenteeseen oli havaittavissa kolmella eri tavalla. Fatalistinen ja empiirinen, realistinen ja rationaalinen sekä separatistinen ja nationalistinen tulkintarepertuaari kumosivat toistensa ilmaisutapojen mahdollisuuden. Suoran kritiikin ilmaisuissa vastakkaisen asenteen ilmaisua ei pidetty hyväksyttävänä. Itsetodistelussa (common-places) vastakkaisen asenteen ilmaisua pidettiin mahdollisena ja oikeutettuna.

Asiasanat: discourse analysis. interpretative repertoires. language attitudes. non-native speakers.

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

There is no question about it: the English language rules the world. It is estimated that there are today over 300 million native speakers of English and at least a further 400 million speakers who use it as a second language. The number of those who speak English as a foreign language cannot even be guessed.

As pointed out by several researchers (see eg. Loonen 1996, Pulkkinen 1984), the end of World War II marked the beginning of a new era for the English language. The USA became a leading world power in many areas such as politics, trade, technology and entertainment. Little by little, English acquired a dominant status as a world language and not only as a language for international communication, business, and diplomacy but also as one of the major languages for scientific and technological purposes. The appreciation of the English language also led to the admiration of the Anglo-American culture and way of life. The English loan words that appear in city, and even village streets all over the world are perhaps the best-known and certainly most visible/audible example of the 'Americanization' of world culture.

In this respect, Finland is not an exception. Present-day Finnish is constantly affected by English. New elements are adopted both through the written and spoken language, and both directly and indirectly. Sajavaara (1986) mentions several factors for the adoption of English in Finnish. First, English is the most popular foreign language studied in the comprehensive school. In 1994, for example, 98,7% of the upper secondary school pupils studied English (OH 1995:15). This means that, in addition to the language, the pupils also learn about the cultures of the English-speaking world. Second, Finnish exchange students transmit Anglo-American culture by going mainly to English-speaking countries, especially to the USA. Third, practically all Finns are daily exposed to the impact of English received through various channels, such as TV, radio, and the press. And finally, English is intentionally favoured because of its potential as a means of international communication.

Depending on one's point of view English loan words are a good or a bad thing. People who do not approve of American values often strongly

criticize the impact of English on their language. The foreign impact is seen almost as a threat to the national identity and sovereignty. This point of view was strongly supported, for example, in Finland in autumn 1994 when it was discussed whether or not to join the European Union. However, some people think that English loan words can be a good thing, too. In particular, commercial firms and advertisers are well aware of the potential selling power that the use of English can bring.

Research on language attitudes has concentrated, among other things, on attitudes towards English loan words. It has a long tradition in many research domains; education, psychology, sociology, just to name a few. As Baker (1992:9-10) points out, the importance of language attitudes can be seen clearly when language restoration, preservation, decay or death are discussed. Surveys of language attitudes provide indicators of thoughts and beliefs in a community, preferences and desires and changes in them. In other words, the status, value and importance of a language is most often and most easily measured by attitudes towards that language. They do not only provide information of the 'views of the people' but may also make it easier to understand social processes.

Traditional research on language attitudes has recently been criticized especially for its methods. The present study is an attempt to avoid at least some of the problems. This is done in two ways: by adopting a social constructionist definition of an attitude, and by applying a qualitative method, more particularly, discourse analysis. In other words, attitudes are defined as being discursive features which are argumentative in nature. This means that attitudes can be analysed at two levels. First, they can be analysed as arguments about an issue. This can be done by using the concept of interpretative repertoire. Second, attitudes can be analysed as arguments about the ways of arguing the issue. This can be done by observing the arguments in relation to each other: whether interpretative repertoires or direct criticism is used for to oppose the contestable position, or if the argumentation is constructed from matters of agreement, that is common-places.

The purpose of the study is not to find out 'true' language attitudes but to analyse how language attitudes are constructed in the written

argumentation about English as a foreign language and English loan words by college students. For the data collection, a Letters-to-the-Editor situation was simulated. The study involved 57 written responses to the constructed Letter-to-the-Editor by non-native speakers of English. The responses were collected at the University of Jyväskylä and at the Mikkeli Polytechnic. The data were coded in relation to the arguments presented in the Letter-to-the-Editor and, in that way, two groups of instances were formed for further analysis: a positive and a negative attitude. The analysis consisted of three stages. First, to give the reader an overview of the content of the data, the positive and negative attitudes were described. Second, the interpretative repertoires identified in the data were reviewed. Finally, the reflexivity of the attitudes, the ways of arguing about an issue, was demonstrated by observing the use of the interpretative repertoires identified, as well as the use of instances of criticism and of common-places.

Chapter 2 reviews what research on language attitudes has meant so far: how language attitudes have been defined and what kind of methods have been used in positivistic research on language attitudes. Then some results of studies concerning language attitudes of non-native speakers of English are reviewed. Also, the positivistic research, its definitions and methods, are criticized. Chapter 3 discusses the role of language in research on language attitudes. It also presents discourse analysis as an alternative for positivistic research and introduces a social constructionist definition of attitude. Chapter 4 introduces the objectives and methodology of the present study. Chapter 5 reports the results of the analysis. Chapter 6 summarizes and evaluates the present study. Finally, some suggestions are made for further research.

## **2 POSITIVISTIC RESEARCH ON LANGUAGE ATTITUDES**

Experimental and cognitive psychology have had a dominant influence on research on attitudes for a long time. As Shotter (1993:22) and Harré and Gillett (1994:16) among other researchers point out, it has been natural to think that people possess within themselves something called a 'mind', an internal, secular organ of thought which mediates between people and the external reality surrounding them. It has also been natural to think that as such, minds have their own discoverable, natural principles of operation which owe nothing either to history or to society for their nature. A mind is a private arena in the sense that it is not available as a source of data. Only the statistical relations between external stimuli and overt response can be the subject matter in research. In other words, the methodological approach has been positivistic.

Research on language attitudes refers to a broad collection of empirical studies concerned with the distinctive social meanings of contrasting language varieties (Ryan 1980:193). Ever since Aristotle, as reported by Baker (1992:20) and Cargile et al. (1994:212), it has been acknowledged by scientists that the type of language a speaker uses has an effect on a person's credibility. However, since the 1930s research on language attitudes has become more and more popular in Britain and the U.S.A., and in the last three decades there has been an explosion of studies in different parts of the world. The strong theoretical and research tradition on language attitudes has been developing, influenced by several disciplines, such as sociology, sociolinguistics and social psychology.

### **2.1 Definitions of language attitudes**

The definition of the term 'attitude' is common for both language attitudes and attitudes in general. As Fasold (1987:148) points out, the only fact that distinguishes them from each other is that language attitudes are precisely about language and nothing else. Some studies on language attitudes are strictly limited to the language itself but most often the definition of language attitudes is

broadened to include attitudes towards speakers of a particular language or variety of a particular language. An even further broadening of the definition allows all sorts of behavior concerning language to be handled, including attitudes toward language maintenance and planning efforts.

Both Oskamp (1977:6) and Cargile et al. (1994) stress that there is no single definition of an attitude but rather many definitions with varying emphases. Originally, the term attitude referred mainly to a person's bodily position or posture but in the social sciences it has come to mean "a posture of mind" instead of the body (Oskamp 1977:6). Allport (1934, as quoted by Oskamp 1977:2, 6-7), one of the founders of social psychology, who stressed the central importance of attitudes, concluded with a comprehensive definition of his own, since widely adopted: "An attitude is a mental or neural state of readiness, organized through experience, exerting a directive or dynamic influence upon the individual's response to all objects and situations with which it is related."

Another frequently quoted definition, especially on studies on language attitudes, is Williams' (1974, as quoted by Fasold 1984:147) definition which considers attitudes "as an internal state aroused by stimulation of some type and which may mediate the organism's subsequent response". A simple definition by Sarnoff (1970, as quoted by Cargile et al. 1994:221) which defines attitudes as "dispositions to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects" is also popular among language attitude researchers.

It is natural that definitions of attitude are surrounded by semantic disagreements and differences about the generality and specificity of the term. But as Palmerino et al. (1984:179) point out, essential in most of the definitions is that attitudes have three major features. First, an attitude develops through experience with an object which can be a person, a group, an event, a situation, a linguistic variant etc. Second, it inclines one to act in a predictable manner with respect to the object. Third, an attitude consists of positive (favourable) or negative (unfavourable) evaluations of the object. On the basis of these features it can be claimed that an attitude consists of three components: a cognitive, affective and conative component. (Cargile et al. 1994:221, Baker 1992:13, for a more detailed explanation see Deprez & Persoons 1987:125-127.)

What these definitions share is *a mentalist view of attitudes*. Attitudes are consequently understood as internal units and therefore they are not directly perceivable or measurable. They are latent, inferred from the direction and persistence of external behaviour. This makes an attitude a hypothetical construct, a variable between a stimulus affecting a person and the person's response. (Baker 1992:10-11, Deprez and Persoons 1987:125.)

According to Ryan et al. (1982:2) research on language attitudes has focused upon two main problems. First, attempts have been made to understand the association between specific linguistic features (eg. phonological variants, lexical patterns, grammatical contrasts) and characteristics of social groups and situational contexts in which they occur. Second, attempts have been made to understand the inferences listeners make about these associations. From social psychological and communicative perspectives, the emphasis has been on the individual and his/her display of attitudes toward ingroup and outgroup members as elicited by language and as reflected in its use. Most of the research has involved the elicitation of evaluative reactions towards speakers using contrasting language varieties. Attitudes toward particular varieties are then taken to be attitudes towards speakers of those varieties.

## 2.2 Methods in attitude measurement

As was pointed out earlier, attitudes have traditionally been seen as internal states and this means that researchers have had to depend on the persons' reports of what their attitudes are or infer attitudes indirectly from behaviour patterns. In the last thirty years, most studies on language attitudes have primarily used quantitative methods in the form of three techniques: content analysis, direct and indirect measurement of attitudes. The following summary is based on Cargile et al. (1994), Fasold (1984) and Ryan et al. (1982, 1988).

*Content analysis* has been perhaps the least popular technique in studying language attitudes. Yet, the first source of information about the worth of language varieties and their status lies in the public treatment, i.e. official

language policies, the use of language varieties by different social groups in the government, mass media, church, etc. Techniques in content analysis include observation, participant-observation, ethnographies and text analyses. In other words, all techniques which do not involve explicitly asking respondents for their views or reactions would be classified under this category. The advantage of this technique is that it provides valuable descriptions of the roles of contrasting language varieties both of historical changes and geographical differences.

*The direct measurement* of language attitudes requires subjects to respond to questions that simply ask for their attitudes about one or another language or language variety. Techniques include interviews or questionnaires. Questionnaires often consist of attitude scales composed of statements such as:

Finnish people use too many English loan words.

The use of English loan words should be restricted by law.

Responses can be measured with a simple two-point scale Agree/Disagree, or they can be measured more exactly with a five-point Likert scale:

Strongly Agree	Agree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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Semantic differential scales can also be used in measurement. It means that bipolar rating scales are constructed by using adjectives which can be clearly understood by subjects. Positive and negative traits are paired and subjects are asked to mark their responses on a five (or seven)- point scale. For example:

The English language is

Unmusical	— — — — —	Musical
Ugly	— — — — —	Beautiful
Difficult	— — — — —	Easy

This method tends to focus upon beliefs, i.e. the cognitive component of language attitudes, but some instruments emphasize affect as well. Behavioural intentions and actual behaviours have also occasionally been incorporated into direct attitude measurements. By means of direct methods attitudes toward two languages or two target dialects can be compared; attitudes can also be assessed for code-switching between languages and even at the microscopic level, for particular pronunciations, grammatical patterns or lexical choices.

*The indirect measurement*, or the speaker evaluation paradigm, infers language attitudes from evaluations of speakers of two or more language varieties and it has virtually been the standard way to study language attitudes since the 1960's. The matched-guise technique (MGT), which was originally developed by Lambert and his associates (1960) as a means of eliciting attitudes towards users of different languages or language varieties, is the most widely used technique in research on language attitudes, in either its original or modified form. Participants in the test evaluate audiotaped speakers without any social group label attached. Evaluations can cover a range of items. The matched-guise technique aims at a total control of all variables except language. To achieve this, a number of fluent bilingual speakers in the languages or language varieties under investigation are recruited. They are tape-recorded reading exactly the same text, once in one language and once in the other. The recorded passages are arranged on an audiotape in such a way that it appears that each sample has been recorded by a different person. The two speech samples of the speakers are interspersed in this way, so that it sounds as if every passage were read by a new speaker. A sample of listeners rate the speakers on various characteristics, such as intelligence, social class etc. As in the direct method also here semantic differential scales or Likert-scales are used to measure listener responses. The major strength of the matched-guise technique is its explicit individuated language samples; in other words, the high controllability of the stimulus of language attitude. Also, this method has been claimed to measure spontaneous attitudes.



## **2.3 Language attitudes of non-native speakers of English**

Research on language attitudes has, for some reason, concentrated very much on the attitudes of native speakers, and especially on those of bilingual speakers (see e.g. Baker 1992). Studies investigating attitudes of non-native speakers have often been closely related to the choice of a model for foreign language teaching and learning as well as to motivational factors in learning foreign languages. This has also affected the nature of the studies conducted. As Starks and Paltridge (1996:218) point out, research on language attitudes of the non-native speakers have often been completely subjective in nature. In other words, the methodological emphasis has lain on the use of direct methods, questionnaires and interviews.

Next, some results of studies investigating the attitudes of non-native speakers towards English are reported. First, some studies carried out outside Finland are discussed; second, some studies conducted in Finland are reviewed.

### **2.3.1 Attitudes towards English and its use internationally**

The studies concerned with the attitudes of non-native speakers towards English, or any other language, have used mainly direct methods, as stated previously. But even though the methods have remained the same, many different aspects of language attitudes have been surveyed, as can be seen from the next few studies reported. They have been conducted in Asia, in the Arab countries, in Africa, in Europe as well as in the USA.

#### *(a) Attitudes in Asia*

One of the studies surveying students of English in Asia was conducted by Shaw (1981). Shaw surveyed the attitudes of Asian university students in Singapore, India and Thailand. Even though the study was conducted in former British colonies, the results of it showed that English is not an imposed burden to a

majority of students. Most of the students seemed to have an attraction for the language that goes beyond its immediate usefulness. They also felt that English would continue to be used as a world language even if the United States and Great Britain lost their social, economic, and political power. An interesting feature in the attitudes of the Asian students was that a majority of the students named non-native varieties of English as the ultimate goal for a foreign language learner and rejected the native speaker standard generally supported in foreign language teaching and learning.

The attitudes of Japanese university students were studied by both Benson (1991) and Starks and Paltridge (1994, as quoted by Starks and Paltridge 1996:220-222). These two studies showed that there was a strong preference among Japanese students learning English for American English. Both studies also showed limited support for British English as a preferred learner goal. In addition, Benson's study reported Japanese students' assessment of the usefulness of English for various purposes. English was seen as being useful for modern, urban and scientific purposes, such as doing business, engaging in politics and working with computers. For domestic and local uses, such as religious purposes or talking to babies, English was not seen as being useful.

*(b) Attitudes in the Arab countries*

Attitudes of Arab university students towards Arabic vs. English have also been studied by using direct methods. The findings of the study by Zughouli and Taminian (1984) showed that the Arab university students could be divided in two groups on the basis of their attitudes towards English and English culture; namely in 'conservationists' and 'nonconservationists'. The conservationists strongly favoured the use of their own language, Arabic. Compared with English, it was seen as a more expressive, more beautiful, more logical and particularly more sacred language. The conservationists still viewed English as the language of an ex-colonizer and the wide-scale use of English as a threat to Arab unity and Arab identity. The nonconservationists, in contrast, looked at English out of historical and religious contexts. They viewed English as more instrumental than their native language in finding a higher status job or in continuing their education.

English was also viewed as a status marker and similar to other languages, even with Arabic, in logic, beauty, and expressiveness.

*(c) Attitudes in Africa*

In Africa, attitudes towards English have been studied at least in Kenya and South-Africa. Both studies were conducted by direct methods. Sure (1991) summarized the findings concerning secondary and primary pupils' attitudes towards English in Kenya in the following way. First, the positive attitudes towards English were instrumentally motivated. Second, language attitudes changed with age and level of education. These hypotheses were related to each other in a natural way. The older one got, the better one understood the advantages the knowledge of English brought with it.

Similar findings were reported by de Klerk (1996) in her study on the use of and attitudes towards English at a multilingual university in South-Africa. Even though English might be perceived by many as the language of oppression and elitism, a vast majority of non-native speakers viewed it as an agent of modernisation and social change; it was seen as an instrument in achieving a better future.

*(d) Attitudes in Europe*

In Europe, non-native speakers' attitudes towards English have often been viewed as related to the use of anglicisms. One study supporting this view was conducted in the Netherlands in 1990 by Withagen (as quoted by Ridder 1995:48-49). The subjects of the study divided clearly into two groups on the basis of their attitudes towards anglicisms. One group was formed by people over fifty-five who preferred to use Dutch words only. So did also people with little or no education. Over fifty-five-year olds, however, tended to be impressed by people who used English words frequently. Another group was formed by younger people. The study reported that twenty- to thirty-year olds used anglicisms regularly. Those with a low level of education even felt that they could not do without English words to fully express themselves and they were also impressed by people who frequently used anglicisms. Young people with a high education were generally not very

impressed by people who frequently used anglicisms and tended to find it exaggerated. The study reported that the use of English was a current trend among the speakers of Dutch but the results of the study also suggested a decline in the prestige of English words and a possibility of a new fashion trend in language now that everyone uses English to express themselves.

Another interesting study carried out in Europe is Flaitz's study (1993) on French attitudes towards the ideology of English as an international language. By using both content analysis and direct methods Flaitz ended up with the following conclusions concerning the attitudes of the French towards English. First, English was widespread in France. For example, 87 percent of French students chose to study English as their first foreign language; 91 percent of the employers seeking candidates with foreign language competency stipulated proficiency in English as a requirement in employment announcements in a French newspaper, *Le Figaro*. Second, the attitudes of the French were generally positive towards the English language, its native speakers, and the cultures which they represented. This was in opposition with the attitudes of the French 'power elite' (journalists, academics, and public officials) who strongly defended the purity of French from the English invasion. Finally, Flaitz reported that there seemed to exist some consistency between the perceptions of the English language and American or British culture although the nature of that relationship was unknown. In other words, the negative attitudes towards, for example, Americans and American culture were related to negative attitudes towards American English.

#### *(e) Attitudes in the USA*

Some studies have also been conducted by other methods than direct methods only. One of them is a study by Alford and Strother (1990), in which they used indirect methods, or more specifically, the matched-guise technique. The study concentrated on comparing attitudes of native and non-native speakers of English towards selected regional accents of U.S. English (southern, northern and midwestern). The results indicated that non-native speakers of English were also able to perceive differences in regional accents. Their attitudes were found to be, however, different from those of native speakers of English. One reason for that,

as suggested by the researchers, was that non-native speakers' stereotypes of male and female characteristics in their countries were deeply ingrained in their cultures and might be transferred to the ratings of attitude studies.

In summary, the studies of non-native speakers' language attitudes focus very often on the attitudes of college level students. It also seems to be typical for them to be conducted in locations/ countries having previously been colonized by Britain, and where there is still a diglossic situation. On the basis of the findings reported in this section, it could be argued that English is, overall, viewed positively. It could also be argued that English is viewed internationally as a language that is useful in gaining a better position especially in the labour market. Next, some studies concerning Finns as non-native speakers of English are discussed.

### **2.3.2 Attitudes towards English and its use in Finland**

#### *(a) Attitudes of upper secondary school students and workers' institute students*

Direct methods (questionnaires with multiple choice or open-ended questions, evaluation of text samples and their writers) have been used at least in two studies concerning language attitudes of upper secondary school students and workers' institute students conducted at the University of Jyväskylä. Holopainen and Hyötyläinen (1990) studied students' attitudes toward American English and British English and their native speakers in the Finnish upper secondary school. The data were collected among first graders and second-graders. The results of the study suggested that good students tended to prefer British English, whereas the poorer learners held more favourable attitudes toward American English. A similar tendency appeared in the attitudes of girls and boys; the girls thought more highly of British English and the British, while American English was admired more by boys. No differences were found in the attitudes of first-graders and second-graders. Moreover, the results showed that the better knowledge of

foreign languages the parents had, the more the students preferred British English to American English.

Holopainen and Hyötyläinen (1990) also reported that certain cultural and linguistic stereotypes could be seen throughout the data. The students' attitudes toward the language variety seemed to correspond to their attitudes toward its native speakers to a great extent. American English and Americans were characterized as modern and relaxed. British English and Brits, in turn, were regarded as polite and conservative. A further finding was that British English was generally more closely associated with the learning of English at school, whereas American English was connected rather with free time and hobbies.

Henriksson's study (1996), conducted by means of direct measurement as well, concerned the language attitudes of students studying at upper secondary school or the workers' institute. The study concentrated on surveying the attitudes towards anglicisms, in connection with their use and understanding. On the whole, Henriksson's study showed that there were no great differences in the attitudes toward anglicisms between the students of these two groups despite their different backgrounds. Text samples without anglicisms were viewed more positively than text samples having anglicisms in them. The students' attitudes towards the writers of the samples divided in the following way. The students had more positive attitudes towards writers using 'pure' Finnish in the field of personal integrity, while in the fields of competence and social attractiveness writers using anglicisms were preferred. The only result based on the respondents' age differences that could be drawn from the findings was that in general the younger respondents were more positive and accepting of foreign influence.

The majority of the respondents in Henriksson's study (1996) were of the opinion that English elements were necessary in Finnish and these elements were not a threat to the Finnish language. The situations in which most of the students found the use of foreign elements acceptable were: scientific articles, youth columns, music programmes, and advertisements. The use of foreign

elements was seen acceptable also in cartoons, sports commentaries, subtitles of television films and educational programmes as well as in art criticism.

*(b) Attitudes of commercial college students*

Completely consistent with the findings of Henriksson's study are the findings of a study by Pollari (1993). Pollari's study examined the attitudes of commercial college students' attitudes towards anglicisms, in connection with their use and understanding and it was conducted by using direct methods identical to the ones used in Henrikssons' study.

Commercial college students also viewed text samples without anglicisms more positively than those having elements of English origin. The attitudes towards writers of the text samples, however, differed slightly. In general, the students had more positive attitudes towards writers' using Finnish without anglicisms in the field of personal integrity, while in those of competence and social attractiveness the writers using anglicisms were preferred.

The majority of the commercial college students were also of the opinion that English elements were necessary in Finnish and that they did not harm it. The situations in which the use of foreign words and expressions was found acceptable by most of the students were: scientific articles, cartoons, youth columns, sports commentaries, subtitles of television films, letters-to-the-editor columns, music programmes, and advertisements. The findings also indicated that the more frequently the students came into contact with TV, radio, or magazines, the more positively they viewed the use of anglicisms in certain situations.

*(c) Attitudes of university students*

Direct methods were also used in a study by Helle (1995). Her study was conducted to analyse the needs and attitudes of college level business students towards English. According to the findings, business students regarded good language skills in English as an essential prerequisite for employment especially in exporting companies. The skill area that was considered the most important was an overall communicative competence in English, both oral and written. Business students appreciated accuracy; they perceived it to be more important in writing

than in speaking. In speaking, fluency was a high priority; poor pronunciation was seen to be a bigger problem than errors in grammar. Overall, English was considered very important in relation to doing business, and the ability to speak English was seen vital in order to get a better job.

As the results of the studies indicate, the aspects of language attitudes that can be studied are various. In summary, attitudes towards English and its use are overall positive. English is not regarded as a threat to Finnish but rather as vital when competing, for example, for jobs. On the other hand, the results also indicate that there are no great differences between the language attitudes of different groups. Also the role of direct methods in research on non-native speakers' attitudes towards English seems to be important. In the next section, theoretical and methodological limitations of the positivistic research, including direct methods, are evaluated and discussed.

## **2.4 Criticism of positivistic research**

The conceptual distinctions and methods of measurement introduced in sections 2.1 and 2.2 have certainly proved to be valuable and relevant in research on language attitudes. After all, they have established their position in the field of research on attitudes as shown in the previous sections. In the past several years, criticism towards the mentalist definition of attitudes and the measurements linked with it has, however, been voiced more and more often.

The emphasis of studies on language attitudes has clearly been on the stereotype-based judgements of voice. Even to the extent, that most studies of language attitudes would be more accurately termed studies of attitudes towards speakers of language varieties, as Edwards (1982:22) suggests. Also noticeable is the small number of studies on the attitudes of nonnative speakers.

On the whole, research on language attitudes could be criticized, as Baker (1992:1) remarks, for the fact that the research has not drawn upon nor reflected on the evolution of attitude theory. There has been a lot of criticism



especially on the mentalist definition of attitudes. Overall, the whole idea of an attitude as a psychological entity has been questioned. For example, Potter and Wetherell (1987:45, 53) disapprove strongly of the idea that linguistic products can be treated as transparent indicators of underlying objects or dispositions and they also disagree with the assumption that attitudes are enduring entities which generate similar responses from occasion to occasion. Ryan et al. (1988:1076) add that language attitudes are more likely social constructions constantly changing to meet the demands of the situation in which they are expressed.

The common problem for all kinds of research methods is the so called *observer's paradox*. As Baker (1992:19) and Ryan et al. (1988:1071) maintain, there is the possibility that people may be affected in their response to an attitude test by the researcher and the perceived purpose of the study. The ethnic identity, gender, status, age, language in its verbal and non-verbal forms, and the social class of the researcher may each affect individual responses to an attitude test. The perceived aim and objective of a study may similarly affect replies, as may the context of the testing. Yet, the main focus of the criticism has been on the technical deficiencies in the measurement of attitudes.

The problem with *content analyses*, as pointed out, for example, by Cargile et al. (1994:212), is that they indicate restricted language attitudes. This is because they concentrate on clearly identifiable language behaviours and do not take into consideration culturally specific attitudes about various language behaviours such as individual voice quality, accent, lexical diversity, etc.

According to Baker (1992:19) and Ryan et al. (1984:136-137, 1988:1071), the primary limitation of *the direct method* is that it may reflect socially desirable responses. Consciously and unconsciously people tend to respond to an attitude test in a way that makes them appear more prestigious, better than they are in reality. Private attitudes remain hidden. This also concerns the indirect method. In addition, both Fasold (1984:147) and Kalaja (1996) question whether or not the method can be called a direct method at all. Attitudes cannot be directly observed or measured; researchers have to infer them indirectly from subjects' behaviour patterns or depend on their reports of what

their attitudes are. Still, most of the methodological criticism clearly concentrates on *the indirect method* and especially on *the matched-guise technique*.

First of all, there is the question of validity: does the matched-guise technique measure what it is supposed to measure? Validity of the matched-guise technique can, for example, vary depending on what components of attitude are examined. Fasold (1984:153-154) states that some experiments tend to indicate that conative attitudes revealed by the matched-guise technique can be valid but in the case of cognitive and affective attitudes it is nearly impossible to demonstrate its validity. The accuracy of the results cannot be guaranteed even if there is a considerable degree of similarity in results (Edwards 1982:32).

One of the values of the matched-guise technique has been the high controllability of the paralinguistic and prosodic features. However, this value has generated claims criticizing the technique for its artificiality. Giles and Ryan (1982:210), Fasold (1984:155) and Ryan et al. (1984:137-138, 1988:1075) among others argue that judging people on the basis of their voices in a socially and subjectively sterile laboratory situation is of limited value and a bit far removed from real-life contexts. Also the evaluation technique is far from an ordinary interactive setting.

The attempt to control the content of language samples causes another problem. So far the stimuli have mostly consisted of the manipulation of the accent, dialect or language itself. As Fasold (1984:153) and Cargile et al. (1994:214) point out, it has been recognized that the content of the samples in the matched-guise technique, no less than vocal styles that may realize them, can never be neutral. For example, the possible incongruity between language and topic may affect responses. The speakers may also be judged as performers of readings, and not on the basis of the language they are using.

The use of the Likert or semantic differential scales for measuring responses has also aroused many critical remarks. For example, Giles and Coupland (1991:37) doubt whether languages or language varieties can reasonably be described as being better/worse, correct/incorrect, ugly/beautiful. Edwards (1982:21) and Ryan et al. (1987:585) indicate that there are three broad possibilities for the underlying patterns of speech style judgements: These may

reflect intrinsic linguistic superiorities/ inferiorities, or intrinsic aesthetic differences, or social convention and preference. There is some evidence, however, that evaluations of language varieties do not reflect either linguistic or aesthetic qualities as much as do the social conventions within speech communities that concern the status and prestige associated with speakers of different varieties. Edwards (1982:32) adds that also the status of a language or a language variety should be borne in mind when considering linguistic attitudes. A language of great scope, dominance and prestige, e.g. English, will obviously evoke attitudes different from those related to 'smaller' languages. Useful comparative studies could be done in this area which, again, points to the necessity of linking experimental observations to natural contexts.

On the other hand, the interpretation between the subjects' discourse and researchers categories is certainly difficult. As Potter and Wetherell (1987:45) and Kalaja (1996) emphasize, the matched-guise technique does not allow subjects to react to the stimuli in their own way, rather they have to work with the categories of the researchers. It is also a mistake to think that all subjects understand, for example, the word 'beautiful' in a similar way.

In summary, the critical discussion around research on language attitudes has concentrated both on theoretical and methodological aspects of the research tradition. It has caused small revisions and improvements especially in the methodology and research designs but the basic problems, caused by the positivistic paradigm, still remain. The theories in psychology have, however, evolved opening up new possibilities also for research on language attitudes. In the next section, some new directions in theoretical thinking on the human mind are looked at first, and later, their consequences for research on language attitudes.

### 3 DISCURSIVE TURN IN RESEARCH ON LANGUAGE ATTITUDES

Little by little, as Gee (1992:63) points out, it has been realized that what is in the minds of individuals is not stable psychological entities but, rather, a tool used to linguistically encode what counts as attitudes, memories, etc. This has meant a new turn especially in social psychological research. It has been called a second cognitive revolution (Harré and Gillett 1994) with a discursive turn (Edwards and Potter 1992). The new paradigm based on ideas of the second cognitive revolution is called *social constructionism* (eg. Shotter 1993, Guba and Lincoln 1994, Potter 1996).

The goal of social constructionism is to study the 'thinking society', as Shotter (1993:28) puts it, and not any mental structures within an individual. Potter and Wetherell (1987:9) and also Harré and Gillett (1994:26-27) point out that thinking is constituted by private, individual uses of symbolic systems (i.e. linguistic and non-linguistic systems). They derive from interpersonal discursive processes, talk and writing, that are the most basic features of the human environment. It means that the focus of research has to be shifted towards social factors, especially those relating to language because the workings of minds are available to researchers only in what is jointly created conversationally. In other words, attitudes are regarded as features or properties of discourse. This makes it possible to examine mental structures and processes directly, which could not be done within the positivistic paradigm.

#### 3.1 Focus on discourse

##### 3.1.1 The nature of discourse

The role of language, that is discourse, is central in social constructionism. It is important to note, as Shotter (1993:29, 40) points out, that we, the thinking society, live our daily social lives within an ambience of conversation, discussion, argumentation, negotiation, criticism and justification. Discourse is the ultimate

sphere in which all such judging and evaluating takes place, and in which such assessments are negotiated and shared agreements reached. As Shotter (1993:46) puts it, "it is only through the semiotic meditation of signs that 'the mind' as such comes into existence at all".

To emphasize the centrality of language for this paradigm, Shotter (1993:31) further calls the paradigm *a rhetorical-responsive version* of constructionism. It means accounting for ourselves by talk of such 'inner entities' as thoughts, attitudes, memories and such like, allowing us to structure and manage our individualistic forms of life, and to create certain forms of social institutions. This is the nature of our 'social reality'; we sustain and manage it through such forms of talk.

Whereas the positivistic research rejects the idea that mental entities, such as attitudes, owe anything either to history or to society, social constructionism is based on the idea that discourses are mastered through acquisition. As Gee (1992:107, 114, 132) stresses, acquisition gives people certain forms of language. These forms of language are not merely structural (grammar, pronunciation etc.). They also encapsulate and carry through time and space meanings shared by a certain social group. Each discourse involves ways of talking, acting, interacting, valuing, and believing as well as the spaces and material "props" the group uses to carry out social practices. Discourses integrate words, acts, values, beliefs, attitudes, social identities, as well as gestures, glances, body positions, and clothes. Discourses are ways of displaying membership in a particular social group or social network. Billig (1991:1) as well as Edwards and Potter (1992:18) refer to the same feature of discourse as 'common sense'. It has not been invented by people themselves but it has a history. In using common-sense notions, people find themselves repeating assumptions of their times, assumptions which confirm existing arrangements of power. So, the contents of everyday thinking are cultural products.

### 3.1.2 Some notions on discourse analysis

As pointed out by several researchers (see e.g. Harré and Gillett 1994), discourse is thinking that is available to us in what we jointly create conversationally. It includes both talk and writing. Discourse analysis, summarized by Potter and Wetherell (1987:32-55), is based on four assumptions. To begin with, discourse analysis is qualitative research which works with the accounts themselves as opposed to quantitative methodologies which work with numerically transformed versions of language use. Discourse analysis examines linguistic content or what people say and write rather than how they say it in terms of, for example, phonology and intonation. In other words, the constructive and flexible ways in which language is used are themselves to be a central focus of study.

Secondly, language is used for a variety of *functions* and its use has a variety of consequences. People use language to do things: to request, to justify, to accuse etc. The specific functions, such as requesting, can be performed explicitly, for instance, 'Could I borrow your car tonight?', or inexplicitly, for instance, 'I wonder if it is safe to walk home after the rehearsals tonight'. The analysis of function cannot, however, be considered a simple matter of categorizing pieces of speech. It depends very much on the context, too. The functions of discourse can be also global. Such functions can be achieved with particular kinds of formulations that stress either positive or negative features. Speakers may wish to present themselves in a favourable manner or to present someone or something they dislike in an unfavourable manner.

Thirdly, the same phenomenon can be described in a number of different ways and therefore there can be considerable *variation* in accounts. The concept of variation is closely related to the concept of function. A speaker's account will vary according to the purpose of talk, its function. In other words, the functions of talk can be recognized by observing variation in discourse. It is important to note, as stressed by both Potter and Wetherell (1987:34) and Suoninen (1992:20-21), that the use of both function and variation in talk is not necessarily deliberate or intentional. They just emerge as speakers, or writers, try

to make sense of a phenomenon or engage themselves in social activities like criticising or justifying.

Finally, one of the major concepts of discourse analysis is *construction*. In fact, when speakers use a certain variety of a language to achieve, consciously or unconsciously, a certain function, they are using language to construct a version of the social world. In discourse analysis, language is seen to be both constructed and constructive. Language being constructed refers to the fact that discourse, talk and writing, is built out of a variety of pre-existing linguistic resources. Also, construction implies active selection: some resources are included, some omitted. Language being constructive refers to the consequential nature of discourse; speakers construct social reality by the use of language.

### **3.2 New definitions of language attitudes**

Naturally, like mentalist definitions of language attitudes, constructionist definitions are also precisely about language, language varieties and their speakers. However, the difference between these two ways of defining the concept of a language attitude lies deeper, in the concept of attitude itself. Compared with the basic ideas of the positivistic paradigm (see section 2.1) where attitudes, memories etc. are regarded as (semi)permanent mental entities causing people to say and do certain things or enduring evaluations about the stimulus object, social constructionism interprets attitudes and such alike to be discursive phenomena; that is properties or features of discourse.

#### **3.2.1 Attitudes as discursive features**

Both Gee (1992:xvii, 1) and Harré and Gillett (1994:26-27) stress that there is no shadow world of mental activity behind discourse in which one is working things out privately but, instead, the things are worked out publicly in talk and writing;

attitudes are actually out in the social world of action and interaction. As Billig (1991:15) points out, nowhere is the detailed study of language-use more apparent than in the study of 'attitudes' or 'opinions'. Instead of traditional objects of research, it is the act of expressing the attitude - the use of attitudinal language - that is the reality which needs to be studied.

Because the term attitude is so strongly connected with its mentalist definition, many researchers prefer to name the whole concept differently to emphasize the new approach. For example, Billig (1989, 1991) rather uses the term 'view', for it denotes the object or topic of the enquiry, rather than a theoretical tool for studying that topic. He uses expressions like 'to hold a view', or 'to hold a strong view'. In some cases, the term attitude is also replaced by terms such as belief and opinion (see e.g. Gee 1992), all of which share the same constructionist qualities<sup>1</sup>.

Social constructionists (e.g. Billig 1991, Harré and Gillett 1994) see that an attitude, or a strong view, is both something personal, belonging to an individual, as well as being a position in a wider controversy. It exists when decisions and judgements are expressed and actions are performed through talk. In indicating our attitudes, we do more than merely express our personal beliefs. We also locate ourselves within a public controversy.

In other words, the constructionist view of an attitude refuses to accept attitudes as stable input-output mechanisms. Instead, the emphasis is on variability. Cargile et al. (1994:218) agree with Potter and Wetherell (1987) that an individual's social attitudes are inherently variable when they are expressed in talk (even within the same conversation). In different discursive contexts people should be expected to do different things with their speech and therefore there will be variability in their utterances from context to context (Billig 1991:170). That is why, as Cargile et al. (1994) suggest, attitudes should be seen as a process rather than as a response to a stimuli. And, as Baker (1992:46) among others, has

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<sup>1</sup>The term 'attitude' will be, however, used in the present study all through the text for the sake of consistency. From now on it will be used to refer only to the social constructionist definition.



pointed out, discourse is an important process in the way attitudes are learnt, modified and expressed. Attitudes are a form of thinking itself as well as simultaneously being the product of thinking which has already occurred (Billig 1989:221).

### **3.2.2 Argumentative nature of attitudes: two levels of attitudes**

As everybody knows, discourse, talk or writing, is not a matter of repeating speeches learnt by heart but it is responding to other people's utterances; discourse is linguistically encoded reactions and interactions that are spontaneous and unique. Attitudes on a specific topic are not formed in isolation either; they generally involve taking an argumentative stance in a context of opposing attitudes. Especially Billig (1989, 1991) stresses the notion of the argumentative nature of attitudes.

According to Billig (1989:206-211; 1991:169-191), holding a view on a social issue involves taking an argumentative stance in relation to counter views. Differing positions are to be expected. The individual, who takes a stance, is not merely describing the self and the self's reactions, but is counter-posing alternative attitudes. One does not only state a position in relation to the rival position, but typically one argues for the superiority of one's own position over other positions. Speakers criticize others and justify their own positions on the face of criticisms; the basic way to do it is to disagree, although agreement will occur to further the argumentative disagreement. The person wishing to hold strong views cannot avoid disagreement, for holders of strong views must mark out their position in distinction from other positions, even if the proponents of those other positions are not physically present in the conversational setting.

The holders of views, especially the holders of strong views, must distinguish their position from counter-positions. Yet at the same time, as Billig (1989:211) stresses, the holders of views will be engaged in persuasion. Speakers seek to persuade hearers into agreement, while hearers seek to preserve their disagreement from such speakers. Since participants in conversation are both

speakers and hearers, each expresses both a preference for agreement and disagreement.

To sum up, attitudes represent positions in a matter of controversy. This rhetorical context of attitudes implies that people justify their stances and criticize competing positions. Justification and criticizing are dual in nature. As Billig (1989:213-215) points out, attitudes occur simultaneously at two levels. On the one hand, they may have an ostensible, external topic. On the other hand, attitudes are reflexive. Each attitude that exists in an argumentative context has to be justified in relation to competitors, which in turn have to be downgraded. In other words, an attitude can simultaneously be about an issue and about ways of arguing about the issue.

### **3.3 Analysing language attitudes: repertoires and common-places**

In summary, it could be argued that social constructionism is based on two assumptions. First, a large part of people's activities are performed through language; it is a medium of action. This means that the object of social constructionist research is discourse, that is talk and writing. Second, attitudes, thoughts and other psychological phenomena are interpreted as properties or features of discourse and not as stable entities in people's minds. Social constructionism is, then, interested in how people actually use language with each other in the course of different kinds of interactions. Discourse analysis as a methodology is seen to be able to cover both constructive, active use of language in every day life and to bring new perspectives in research on attitudes including attitudes towards languages.

The application of the social constructionist views to the concept of language attitudes means, as suggested by Kalaja (1996), that research should focus on discourse that concerns languages, language varieties and their speakers. Instead of finding out what the language attitude of a certain individual or a group of people is, the main interest should lie in the way a certain individual or a group expresses an opinion. It should be studied how an opinion or an attitude is

expressed in an argumentative context and if any variability is to be detected. Also, it would be important to find out what the functions of certain attitudes are in certain contexts.

As a tool to analyse language attitudes in discourse, Potter and Wetherell (1987) suggest the notion of *interpretative repertoire* in order to look systematically at the organization of social representations, such as attitudes. Interpretative repertoires could be described as "recurrently used systems of terms that characterize and evaluate actions, events or other phenomena. A repertoire ... is constituted through a limited range of terms used in particular stylistic and grammatical constructions. Often a repertoire is organized around specific metaphors or figures of speech." (Potter and Wetherell 1987:149.) In other words, the notion of interpretative repertoire enables researchers to distinguish contrasting sets of terms used in different ways.

The notion of interpretative repertoire is especially suitable in the analysis of attitudes in argumentative contexts, and attitudes about an issue. It can be used also when analysing the reflexivity of attitudes, that is, attitudes about ways of arguing about an issue. Perhaps a more interesting notion in analysing the reflexivity of attitudes is, however, the notion of common-places. As Billig (1987, 1988, quoted in Billig 1989:208-212) observes, the *common-places*, or cultural truisms, can be viewed as representing values which themselves are not matters for debate but which rhetorically are often used to support contestable positions. In other words, contestable positions draw upon the same common-place themes to support their opposing positions. However, the context of the use of common-places acknowledges somehow that other accounts or categorizations of the subjects' behaviour are possible. The importance of the use of common-places is that if the holder of strong views seeks to persuade others, then arguments must be offered with which others can agree. The strong views may need to be distinguished clearly from the views of the opposing positions, but simultaneously the speakers must construct these views rhetorically from matters of agreement.

Discourse analysis as a method sets guidelines, different from those of positivistic studies, for the form and structure of a study. Overall, experimental

methodologies have become conventionalized and formalized, almost recipe-like, over the years. This is not the case with discourse analysis. It is just emerging, developing and changing. So far, the most systematic overview of discourse analytic methodology has been presented by Potter and Wetherell in their book *Discourse and social psychology* (1987). There they have divided the analysis process into ten stages: research questions, sample selection, collection of records and documents, interviews, transcription, coding, analysis, validation, the report and application.

The purpose of the next chapter is to discuss characteristic features of the present study as regards the specific approach and methodology. First, research questions are formulated. Second, the stages of the present analysis (collection of data, coding, analysis) are introduced. Finally, the question of validation is discussed.

## 4 OBJECTIVES AND METHODOLOGY OF THE PRESENT STUDY

The methodology chosen for the present study relied heavily upon the discourse analytic methodology of Potter and Wetherell (1987). However, due to the exceptional nature of the data in the present study, it was not implemented as such. Instead of following Potter and Wetherell's ten stages in the analysis process, only three stages (collection of data, coding, analysis) were applied. In addition, Suoninen's (1992) application of the methodology and of the guidelines set by Potter and Wetherell strongly influenced the decisions concerning the methodology for the present study. The definition of the term attitude by Billig (1989, 1991; see section 3.2.2) served as a basis for the application of the methodology used in the present study.

### 4.1 Research questions

The present study had two objectives that were intertwined with each other. First, an attempt was made to avoid at least some of the problems of the positivistic research on language attitudes (see section 2.4) by using naturalistic and qualitative methodologies. More particularly, a decision was made to apply a discourse analytic approach. This means, as Potter and Wetherell (1987:160-161) state, that research questions asked can be many and varied. However, all the possible research questions share one common feature: "the participants' discourse or social texts are approached in *their own right* and not as a secondary route to things 'beyond' the text like attitudes." This meant that the interest of the present study was not to identify the attitudes themselves. The existence of attitudes and their variability from weak to strong was not questioned but rather taken for granted. The concern was entirely with writing itself and how it could be read.

The second objective, then, was to analyse how language attitudes towards the use of English in Finland are constructed in the writing of non-native speakers of English in an argumentative context. As Billig's (1989, 1991)

definition of attitude indicates, language attitudes are to be studied at two levels: attitudes arguing about issues and attitudes arguing about the ways of arguing. This was done, first, by identifying the interpretative repertoires used when arguing about an issue; second, by analysing the ways how opposing attitudes reflect each other by means of interpretative repertoires, instances of criticism and common-places.

The research questions of the present study could be formulated in the following way:

1. What kinds of interpretative repertoires are to be identified in the discourse concerning English and its use in Finland?
2. How is the reflexivity of attitudes to be identified in the same discourse?

The argumentative context was created by simulating a Letters-to-the-Editor situation. A Letter-to-the-Editor was constructed which argued against the use of English loan words, underrated the competence of Finns in English and favoured legislative actions to protect languages. Responses to it were written by college level students who had been exposed to the influence of English in several ways (learning, the media, etc.) all their lives.

## **4.2 Collection of data**

### **4.2.1 Data collection procedure**

The basic idea for the present study came from the reoccurring themes in Letters-to-the-Editor columns in various magazines and newspapers; that is, the influence of English on Finnish and its acceptability or unacceptability. Because authentic material was not very easily obtainable, a decision was made to create an argumentative context and to collect data by means of a constructed Letter-to-the-Editor; in this way it was also assured that when all the subjects would react

to the same arguments some kind of consistency could be reached in responses.

The Letter-to-the-Editor was constructed by the researcher. It was based on several authentic articles and letters, which, published during the last few years in numerous magazines and newspapers, discussed the relation of Finnish and English, the competence of Finns in foreign languages etc. A couple of the first drafts of the letter were tested by some fellow students who were not going to be subjects of the present study. The drafts were rewritten on the basis of the criticism and new ideas:

#### **The constructed Letter-to-the-Editor:**

##### **ENGLANTIKO TOINEN ÄIDINKIELEMME?<sup>2</sup>**

Intialaisten puhuma englanti on saanut britit huolestumaan ja lähettämään Intiaan kielenhuoltajia. Intialaiset kun tuppaavat kääntämään omat koukeroiset lauserakenteensa suoraan englannin kieleen vähät välittämättä englannin omista käytänteistä. Ranskalaiset puolestaan ovat laatineet lain estämään englanninkielisten ilmaisujen pesiytymisen ranskan kieleen. Mitä tekee suomalainen?

Ridge ja Caroline Romppaiset ajavat Expressbusseilla ja syövät edelleen Panpizzaslicejä, Chicken Nuggetteja ja Clubburgermealejä, huutelevat toisilleen "Fuck you!" about jatkuvasti ja katsovat Hockey Nightia ja Jyrki Spotlightia. Pikkutenavien suurimmat sankarit ovat Power Rangersit ja Tiny Toonsit. Ystäviä etsitään lehtien palstoilta nimimerkeillä Ms Cool, You are my dream ja Joyride ja kun se oikea löytyy, ollaan ainakin kihlausilmoitusten perusteella "always together", "sealed with a kiss". Tuulipukukansanakin tunnetut suomalaiset pukeutuvat nykyisin vain Citymarketeista hankittuihin unisex-asuihin, koska se on in. Happy Hoursit on hot ja perjantain talk-showta ei missata. Ja tieteen kielestä näitä kukkasia vasta löytyisikin...

Moisesta käytöstä voisi päätellä, että englanti on suomalaisten toinen äidinkieli. Mutta totuus paljastuu, kun pitäisi kommunikoida kansainvälisillä areenoilla. Suusta tuleekin ulos englantia Pertti Salolaisittain ja viettely-yritys typistyy muotoon "Your man go, we go room". Keskitytäänpä siis vastaisuudessa käyttämään vain yhtä

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<sup>2</sup> The Letter-to-the-Editor is available in English in Appendix 2.

kieltä kerrallaan ja tietysti oikein, jotta viestit menisivät perille niin Suomessa kuin maailmallakin. Muutoin brittiläiset kielieksperitit saattavat olla pianikin kolkuttelemassa meidän ovillamme...

**VEIJO VIRTANEN, DI**  
Helsinki

The Letter-to-the-Editor contained three arguments:

*Argument 1:* Finnish is losing its vitality to English

*Argument 2:* The Finns' competence in English is not good.

*Argument 3:* To protect languages, legislative actions are a good solution.

The letter did not attack any particular group of language users (youth, advertisers) who had usually been seen as violators of the Finnish language. Instead, the text generalized the problem to concern every Finn. The arguments were illustrated by the use of concrete examples of everyday language use and language policies. In the letter the loss of vitality of the Finnish language was limited to the use of direct loans of English words or sentences. Translation loans or substitution was not seen as a problem. Yet, a couple of them (e.g. *kommunikoida, kielieksperitit*) were used. The Finns' poor competence in English was portrayed in a few examples of Finnish politicians' use of foreign language that are well known and have been publicly discussed. The British concern about the use of English in India and language policies of France against loanwords were presented to justify similar actions also in the case of Finnish.

The Letter-to-the-Editor was formulated as if it had been published in a national newspaper, Helsingin Sanomat. Even the date of publication was given. Instructions to respond to the letter were borrowed from the particular newspaper in question. The identity of the writer was constructed to be a man, with a very common Finnish last name. It was also stated that the writer was a graduate engineer living in Helsinki.



As Potter and Wetherell (1987:162), among other researchers, point out, one of the most important advantages of collecting naturalistic records and documents is to avoid the observers' paradox (see section 2.4). Naturalistic material is also helpful because it allows the researcher to capture the widest possible variation in discourse. In the present study, it could be argued that the researcher's influence was not completely absent from the data as the Letter-to-the-Editor was constructed by the researcher. However, it could be further argued that the influence is not necessarily significant because the researcher was not present when the reactions to the letter were produced, that is, the responses were written. Also, the setting of responding was not artificial in any way. On the other hand, as Suoninen (1992:53) shows, the discourse-analytic approach emphasizes the fact that the eliminating of the observer's or interviewer's effect on the data is not necessary. Instead, it can bring another set of possibilities for interpretations.

Potter and Wetherell (1987:163) list two problems that can come to the fore at this stage of research projects. The first problem is a practical one and it concerns collecting naturalistic conversational material. The use of technical devices, observing the intonation and non-linguistic features may be problematic. In this study, such problems were avoided by collecting naturalistic written material. In this way, the effect of the researcher and non-linguistic features among others were eliminated.

The second problem listed by Potter and Wetherell (1987:163) is an ethical one: how to gain the subjects' permission to use the material collected and, at the same time, to avoid that the awareness of being studied does not influence subjects' responses. In the present study, the subjects were aware from the beginning that their responses would be used as research material. However, it can be argued that the nature of the data collection partly eliminated the possible ethical problem. Responding to an article in a newspaper is a public act in itself. If a subject chooses voluntarily, as was the case in this study, to write a Letter-to-the-Editor commenting on something in the newspaper, he/she is prepared to expose his/her opinions for public examination without being able to control who is doing it.

### 4.2.2 Sample selection

The sample size is not as crucial a question in discourse-analytic research as it is in positivistic studies. Potter and Wetherell (1987:161-162) note that it is the specific research question that really determines the sample size. There are studies that have concentrated on a single text and studies that have used an extensive archive of transcribed telephone conversations, for example. What is important is that the researcher gives a clear and detailed description of the nature and origins of the material he/she is analysing.

In the present study the research interest lay in the language attitudes of non-native speakers of English and how those attitudes were constructed in their writing. The collection of data was carried out at the University of Jyväskylä (in the departments of Finnish and English) and at the Mikkeli Polytechnic (in the Institutes of Technology and Business). The constructed Letter-to-the-Editor was distributed to about 80 university students by the researcher in March, 1996 and to about 30 students in Mikkeli by their English teacher, in August 1996. As mentioned in the previous section, the subjects were aware of the fact that their responses would be used as research material. Responding was made voluntary to emphasize the authenticity of the situation simulated.

In the end, the data of the present study consisted of 57 responses to the Letter-to-the-Editor, 33 of them were by university students and 24 by other students<sup>3</sup>. The length of the responses varied from about 30 words to about 400 words.

### 4.3 Coding

For Potter and Wetherell (1987:167) coding means squeezing an unwieldy body of discourse into manageable chunks. The categories used in coding are related to the research questions of a study. It is important that the coding is done as

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<sup>3</sup> The data is available in Appendix 4.

inclusively as possible. When producing a body of instances by coding, all borderline cases should be included.

The starting point for the present analysis was the existence of two opposite attitudes, one in favour of and another against the arguments proposed in the constructed Letter-to-the-Editor. Analysing the intensity of the attitudes (strong/ weak) was not seen necessary. It can be argued that the format of the data collection supports the existence of strong attitudes. Who writes to newspapers or magazines to comment on an article or a Letter-to-the-Editor in the first place? Most often, it is a person who feels strongly about the topic in question and is either for or against the opinions published previously in the papers. People who do not have a clear or strong opinion of the matter are unlikely to respond.

The data were coded in the following way. Every response was first interpreted in relation to the three arguments proposed in the Letter-to-the-Editor. In this way, the data were divided into three groups of instances. It has to be noted that not every response commented on all three arguments. It was very common that only one argument was commented on. So, the length of the instances varied from one sentence to a full-length letter. There were also instances where the comments of arguments were intertwined; such instances were included in both or even in all three groups of instances for a closer analysis.

Next, every group of instances related to the arguments was divided into two. This was done by interpreting every instance again in relation to the argument in question. If the instance agreed with the argument, it was coded as *positive*; if not, it was coded as *negative*.

In this way, the data formed six groups of instances to be analysed. The instances coded as positive and the instances coded as negative were put together and so, in the end, there were two groups of instances to be analysed: *the positive attitude* that consisted of instances in favour of the arguments presented in the Letter-to-the-Editor and *the negative attitude* that consisted of instances against the arguments presented in the Letter-to-the-Editor.

The division of the instances in relation to three arguments and two opposite attitudes, is illustrated in Table 1:

**TABLE 1. The instances in relation to three arguments and two attitudes**

	The positive attitude	The negative attitude	Total (instances/ responses)
<b>Argument 1:</b> Finnish is losing its vitality to English.	24	22	46/ 57
<b>Argument 2:</b> The Finns' competence in English is not good.	14	14	28/ 57
<b>Argument 3:</b> To protect languages, legislative actions are a good solution.	-	10	10/ 57
<b>Total</b>	38	46	

The instances concerning both Argument 1 and 2 distributed evenly between the two attitudes. There was, however, a clear difference in the division of the instances concerning Argument 3 between the two attitudes. Not a single response agreed with the argument that legislative actions would be a good solution to protect a language from foreign influence.

The total number of instances constructing each attitude indicates that the negative attitude was a bit more evident than the positive attitude in the data. One explanation for it could be, as Verkuyten et al. (1994:281) suggest, that those who consider themselves on the normatively right side (the positive attitude) may not have to justify their views, whereas expressing views against the proposed arguments, expressing counternormative attitudes (the negative attitude), requires more elaboration and explanation. Holders of the counternormative attitudes (the negative attitude) could not just state their position, they also had to defend it.

In addition, the total numbers of the instances concerning each argument demonstrate that Argument 1 was commented most frequently on and

Argument 3 least frequently.<sup>4</sup> After the coding, the next stage was the analysis of the data coded.

#### 4.4 Analysis

As stated by Potter and Wetherell (1987:168), a typical feature of discourse-analytic research is, that there is no mechanical procedure for producing findings from the data. They emphasize strongly the importance of careful reading and rereading of the data. The discourse analyst is concerned with the detail of passages of discourse, however fragmented or contradictory, and with what is actually said or written, not a general idea that might be intended. In the present study, the dilemmatic nature of attitudes were approached especially with the help of the notions of interpretative repertoire and common-place. The actual analysis meant identifying these in the data.

As Potter and Wetherell (1987:168) describe, the identification of interpretative repertoires is made up principally of two closely related phases. First, there is a search for a pattern in the data. This pattern will be in the form of both variability and consistency. Variability means finding differences that are present in either the content or form of the responses to the Letter-to-the-Editor. Consistency means the identification of features shared by the responses. Second, there is concern with the function and consequence of the responses. The basic theoretical thrust of discourse analysis is the argument that people's talk and writing fulfils many functions and has varying effects. The second phase of the analysis consists of forming hypotheses about these functions and effects and searching for the linguistic evidence.

Discourse analysis normally concentrates on analysing interviews; that is, the context of the analysis has been sequential. In the sequential context it would be important to analyse how the interviewer's actions, questions and

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<sup>4</sup> This division explains why the examples used later, when reporting the findings, concern mostly Arguments 1 and 2.

remarks, affect the interviewee's reactions, and the discourse itself. In the present study, however, a decision was made to analyse language attitudes in an argumentative context. It meant that argumentation was allowed to take place without being restricted to a certain physical environment and the definition of the interaction as a concrete situation was loosened up. The use of the argumentative context made it also possible to identify the reflexivity of the attitudes in the data, that is, arguing about the ways of arguing an issue. In the argumentative context, it was focused on instances in the discourse where argumentation was put in proportion to culturally potential criticism that was not, however, present in the interactive situation. In other words, those instances that included elements of argumentation used by the opposite attitude were taken for a closer inspection. First, the different repertoires; then the instances excluded from the repertoires were analysed. These instances were divided into two groups: to instances of criticism and common-places.

#### 4.5 Validation

Reliability and validity are the criteria traditionally used to validate the findings of quantitative research. As Jokinen and Juhila (1991, appendix2:4) point out, the criteria do not, however, work when validating the findings of qualitative research.

According to Potter and Wetherell (1987:169-171), there are four main criteria which can be used to validate the findings of discourse analytic research. These are coherence, participants' orientation, new problems and fruitfulness.

Firstly, by *coherence* Potter and Wetherell (1987:170) mean that analysis should present how the discourse fits together and how the structure of discourse produces effects and functions. The analysis can be taken the more seriously, the better it covers both the broad pattern and accounts for many of the micro-sequences. Particularly relevant are apparent exceptions to the analytic

scheme. They are very informative and often recall important problems. Through the exceptions the explanatory scope of the scheme can be confirmed.

Secondly, *participants' orientation* is used (Potter & Wetherell 1987:170) mainly to refer to the researchers' skills to spot variability and consistency in the data and ability to show that they are also recognized by the subjects themselves.

Thirdly, as Potter and Wetherell (1987:171) point out, the existence of *new problems* in the linguistic resources studied provides further confirmation of the hypotheses. The existence of a secondary system acts as a validity check on the existence of the primary system. Jokinen and Juhila (1991, appendix2:4) also emphasize the importance of finding new perspectives in the data. It is exactly the new perspectives that justify the interpretation presented.

Finally, the criterion of new problems is closely related to the most powerful criterion of validity which is, according to Potter and Wetherell (1987:171), *fruitfulness*. Discourse analysis as well as all kinds of scientific explanations and theories are the more valid the better they can generate fresh solutions and novel explanations to problems. Jokinen and Juhila (1991, appendix2:4) point out that it is possible to do several different interpretations on the basis of one particular set of data. Research is a never-ending process because there does not exist one authentic and attainable reality.

The four criteria presented by Potter and Wetherell are partly applicable also to the present study. However, the nature of the present study differs to some degree in the general format of previous discourse analyses and, so, Potter and Wetherell's criteria cannot be applied as such. The main focus in validating is shifted to the evaluation. As Mäkelä (1990:53) and Jokinen and Juhila (1991, appendix2:2,4) suggest, it is important for validation that the reader is able to follow the researcher's argumentation and the way the interpretation is constructed. In this way, it is possible to eliminate interpretations based solely on intuition. Potter and Wetherell (1987:172-173) agree with that, too. They think that the entire reasoning process should be documented in some detail and so each reader can evaluate the different stages of the process. Jokinen and Juhila (1991, appendix2:6) conclude that the analysis is valid if a researcher is able to

put together two things in the presentation of the findings: first, the basic theoretical concepts and, second, the description of how discourses are constructed and how they function.

In the present study, the examples from the data are used as evidence to support the reasoning process. But, in the end, it is the reader who decides whether or not the researcher's interpretation is convincing.



## 5 FINDINGS

In this chapter, the findings of the analysis are reported. First, the results of the coding, the construction of the positive and negative attitudes, are described to give the reader an overview of the contents of the data. Second, the interpretative repertoires identified in the data are presented. Finally, the reflexivity of the two attitudes, the ways they argue about arguing is demonstrated by observing the use of interpretative repertoires identified, of instances of criticism and of common-places.

### 5.1 Summarizing the attitudes towards the use of English in Finland

The contents of the responses share some common features. Overall, the responses seem to agree with the idea that the themes presented in the constructed Letter-to-the-Editor are complex. The adoptions and adaptations of English into Finnish are not understood simply as a linguistic phenomenon but as closely connected to the cultural and social phenomena.

Language is seen as a multidimensional unit. It is not portrayed as a vocabulary only; it is understood that language has deeper structures, too. A distinction is made between formal and colloquial language use. Linguistic policies are understood to be legislative acts which mould the form and structure of the language and its use. The competence in foreign languages is seen vital in the modern world. It is also understood that the competence is a sum of many skills: knowledge of grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation as well as communication.

However, the existence of various differences in relation to the arguments in the Letter-to-the-Editor made it possible to separate two opposite attitudes in the data. These attitudes are called the *positive* and the *negative* attitude. Next, the contents of these are described in relation to the three arguments in the Letter-to-the-Editor.

### 5.1.1 The positive attitude

The positive attitude consists of the instances of text that are in favour of the arguments stated in the Letter-to-the-Editor. In other words, the positive attitude agrees with Arguments 1 and 2. Not a single instance agreeing with Argument 3 was identified.

#### *Argument 1: Finnish is losing its vitality to English*

For the holder of the positive attitude, language means an entity which is stable in nature. Adopting and adapting foreign words and phrases into Finnish are seen to be artificial ways to develop, for example, such qualities of a language as precision of expression. Moreover, adopting and adapting foreign loans is not up to individual speakers but anonymous social powers, such as the media.

The huge popularity of English today is explained particularly through the trends created by the media and the Finns' lack of criticism towards American values. All this is seen to decline the status of Finnish and the national identity of Finns.

The positive attitude emphasizes the disadvantages that are caused by the mixing of English with Finnish. First of all, it causes different kinds of problems for different generations: misunderstandings, defects in the language instinct, loss of sense of reality. The effects do not only concern the surface structure of the language but may cause changes also in the deep structure of the Finnish language and even in the patterns of thought. Furthermore, it is argued that foreign elements in Finnish make it more difficult to use, for example, Finnish case endings. The status of Finnish as a language rich in nuances is stressed.

#### *Argument 2: The Finns' competence in English is not good*

Holders of the positive attitude are not completely convinced of the Finns' competence in English. There are some problems especially when speaking English; the passive use of English is not seen to be so problematic. However, the native-like competence in foreign languages is not the goal for holders of the

positive attitude. What is important is that the message is conveyed; the perfection in, for example, pronunciation or grammar is of secondary value.

The positive attitude suggests that one of the reasons for the not so good skills of Finns in expressing themselves verbally in English lies in the Finnish nature and national characteristics. A second reason that is suggested for the gaps in the English knowledge and skills is the teaching methods in schools; changes in them are seen as a solution for the problem.

### 5.1.2 The negative attitude

The negative attitude is formed by the instances of text which disagree with the arguments presented in the constructed Letter-to-the-Editor. Unlike the positive attitude, the negative attitude takes a stance against every one of Arguments 1, 2 and 3.

#### *Argument 1: Finnish is losing its vitality to English*

The negative attitude is strongly in favour of the adopting and adapting of English into Finnish. The influence of English is seen as a natural part of every day life and speech behaviour. Argument 1 is confronted, first, by generalizing the borrowing to concern every language; second, by minimizing the status of English; third, by emphasizing the status of Finland/Finnish, and fourth, by listing the advantages caused by mixing English with Finnish.

One assumption of the negative attitude is that a language is not a stable entity but it is in a constant process of change, reflecting the environment where it exists and the state of the world in general. Mixing with and borrowing from one language to another are regarded as normal, universal tendencies that have been characteristic features throughout the times. A practical reason for all this is seen to be that the world changes too rapidly for languages to develop in the same tempo. In other words, languages have to use foreign elements, loans, in order to maintain their expressiveness at the pace of progress. At the moment, it happens to be English that influences most other languages.

Secondly, a reason for the important role of English today is seen to be the ever increasing cultural exchange through travelling and the rapid development of communication technology and the mass media. The influence of English is not, however, considered to be a threat to the vitality of Finnish. It is not a threat to the originality or expressiveness of Finnish, nor to the status of the language. The influence of English, or any other foreign language, is seen as temporary in nature. Loan words or phrases are only seen as a stage in the development of Finnish equivalents. The foreign influence is seen to concern only the surface structure of Finnish, mostly vocabulary; furthermore, it concerns only colloquial use or scientific jargons. In fact, the adoptions and adaptations may be taken from English but they are not considered to be English when mixed with Finnish. The borrowings are merely seen as strings of sounds/letters which carry a certain meaning and it is not considered important where any particular string of sounds comes from. In other words, the status of English is not considered to improve because of its extensive influence on Finnish.

Thirdly, the negative attitude exposes strong feelings for Finland and being Finnish. Finland is not considered to be weaker or inferior in any sense compared to Britain, for example. Finland is viewed as a modern, independent and developing state. For the negative attitude, the Finnish language is not the same as being Finnish; nationality goes somewhat deeper.

Finally, the negative attitude sees that using English mixed with Finnish has many advantages. One advantage for the language itself is that the use of English enriches Finnish in expression and informativeness. For Finns as non-native speakers of English, the advantages are several. First, communicating with foreign people is easier. Second, loan words in every day use motivate and make it easier to learn foreign languages. It is possible to reach wider markets by means of international terms and slogans. The third advantage is gaining wider perspectives of the world and enhancing tolerance. The negative attitude also sees that the use of English in everyday Finnish has advantages for non-native speakers of Finnish. It makes it easier for foreigners, visiting or staying in Finland, to do well in everyday situations. It also makes it easier for them to get to know the Finnish culture and understand the Finnish way of thinking, too.

*Argument 2: The Finns' competence in English is not good*

The Finns' competence in English is estimated to be at least good by holders of the negative attitude. The world-wide success of Finns in computer science and in communication technology is seen to be adequate proof of it.

The ability to communicate in English or in other foreign languages is valued more than grammatical structures or right pronunciation. Native-like competence is not seen to be a reasonable goal for second language learners. A foreign accent, original ways of communicating, even mistakes in grammar are referred to as positive qualities. The negative attitude sees that these features make it even possible to strengthen our individuality as Finns.

*Argument 3: To protect languages, legislative actions are a good solution*

The use of political or legislative actions to control the 'purity' of Finnish is strictly condemned by holders of the negative attitude. If more control over the form or use of Finnish were to be gained, the only reasonable way to do it would be by means of education; that is, highlighting the Finnish language and its originality in the classrooms.

## **5.2 Identifying interpretative repertoires: attitudes about issues**

It is natural that opposite attitudes present different emphases and points of views in the responses to the constructed Letter-to-the-Editor. This was evident in the summaries of the two opposite attitudes in section 5.1. The positive attitude does not have to justify the proposed arguments. It can concentrate only on strengthening the position formulated in the Letter-to-the-Editor; usually this is done by criticizing the counter position and its holders. The negative attitude has to try to convincingly disagree with the proposed arguments and justify the position opposite the one in the Letter-to-the-Editor. Thus, the functions of the repertoires used vary.

Seven interpretative repertoires were identified in the data. Four of them (the separatist, national-romanticist, fatalist and realist repertoires) were

identified in texts of the positive attitude; three of them (the empiricist, nationalist and rationalist repertoires) were identified in texts of the negative attitude. The following table illustrates the frequency of the repertoires in the data. The numbers should not be taken as accurate indications, because identifying repertoires is based on subjective interpretation. The table, however, gives a rough idea of the frequency of the repertoires.

**TABLE 2. The frequency of the repertoires in the data**

*The positive attitude:*

The separatist repertoire	17 instances
The national-romanticist repertoire	12 instances
The fatalist repertoire	11 instances
The realist repertoire	7 instances

*The negative attitude:*

The empiricist repertoire	15 instances
The nationalist repertoire	12 instances
The rationalist repertoire	11 instances

Instances of the separatist repertoire were identified most frequently and instances of the realist repertoire least frequently in the data. Overall, there are no great differences of frequency between the repertoires. It should be noted that there were instances where more than one repertoire overlapped with another. There were also instances that could not be identified to belong to any of the repertoires.

In the next stage of the analysis, each of the repertoires is described by looking at features of the content and/or form and how they are constructed. This is done by means of authentic examples (instances) from the data<sup>1</sup>. First, the interpretative repertoires identified in the positive attitude are discussed; then, those identified in the negative attitude.

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<sup>1</sup> The examples are presented in their original form in Finnish. They are available in English in Appendix 3.

### 5.2.1 *The positive attitude: The separatist repertoire*

The separatist repertoire is identified in the argumentation concerning Argument 1; it supports the idea that Finnish is losing its vitality to English. The repertoire is constructed around references to *Finns, Finland, foreign countries*, and *self-esteem* and it pursues to justify concern for the decay of Finnish. The argumentation is based on distinctions made between the speakers of both 'pure' and English-influenced Finnish, and between Finland and the rest of the world. The role, which is taken by holders of the positive attitude in the separatist repertoire, is the role of an outside observer.

In the separatist repertoire, holders of the positive attitude clearly separate themselves from the majority of Finnish people. Finns who accept and promote the use of Finnish mixed with English are condemned, as in examples (1) through (3):

- (1) Veijo Virtanen, olen samaa mieltä kanssasi suomalaisten töpöistä yrityksistä käyttää englantia toisena äidinkielenään.
- (2) Ei olisi Veijo Virtanen voinut enää osuvammin kirjoittaa suomalaisten jokseenkin naurettavasta englannin kielen käytöstä artikkelissa "Englantiko toinen äidinkielemme?"
- (3) Suomalaiset ovat höyrähtäneet englanninkielisiin ilmauksiin, hokien niitä kuin taikasanaa ...

The use of Finnish mixed with English is described as ridiculous and stupid, and this makes the speakers of such a language look ludicrous as well. In the separatist repertoire, holders of the positive attitude separate themselves from the people labelled as ludicrous through abnormalization. By abnormalizing themselves, holders of the positive attitude strengthen the position they hold and make the division from the majority of the Finns clearer, as in (4).

- (4) Itse en ole valmis kääntämään selkääni vanhempieni maailmalle ja elämänviisaudelle. Oma kieleni on minulle aivan liian rakas, jotta voisin vaihtaa sen edes määrätilanteissa vieraaseen. Taidan olla kummajainen ikäisteni keskuudessa,

sillä en tahdo korvata minuuteni olennaisinta osaa, omaa äidinkieltäni, tuontitavaralla.

The use of English-influenced Finnish is restricted to the generation of the subjects of the present study; that is the young and young adults. However, the separatist repertoire creates a gap among their generation. By describing holders of the positive attitude as oddities compared to the other members of their generation, the separatist repertoire draws them closer to older generations, which can be seen representing traditional values and national homogeneity. By abnormalizing the positive attitude held, the separatist repertoire makes it possible to condemn the fact that, in these days, English-influenced Finnish is a typical feature of speech behaviour. In this way, the separatist repertoire also avoids responsibility for the possible decay of Finnish. At the same time, however, the position held, the positive attitude, is stressed as original and individual.

Another distinction that is made in the separatist repertoire is between Finland and other nations, as in example (5).

(5) Kuitenkin maamme ja kansamme joutuu lisääntyvässä määrin kommunikoimaan ulkomaailman kanssa.

Through the eyes of an outside observer, Finland is seen to be in clear contrast with the rest of the world. The status of Finland in contrast with other nations is emphasized in three ways: by the use of negative references and comparisons with other cultures, and by questioning the image of Finland.

To begin with, references to Finland are used unambiguously in the separatist repertoire. Finland is represented to be a one-horse-town, situated away from the centre of the world, in a periphery inhabited by a simple, backward people, as in examples (6) through (8).

(6) ...Euroopan-laidalla-maastamme...

(7) Suomen takapajuinen kansa...

(8) ...Junttilan tuvan seinässä suomalaisessa kulttuurissa ja kielessä.



Secondly, the status of Finland in relation to other cultures is constructed by the use of comparisons with other nations. They are described as being more rational and as treasuring their own national characteristics more than Finns. The other nations are presented as models for Finland and Finns.

(9) Hyvinä esimerkkinä pitäisin Islantia, jossa tietoisesti pyritään välttämään anglismeja ja muita sellaisia kielessä antamalla uusille asioille "omat" islanninkieliset nimet.

Finally, the status of Finland is created by questioning the image of Finland abroad. The positive attitude considers it important how other cultures view Finns, as in (10) through (13).

(10) Ulkomaalainen, joka tulee Suomeen ensimmäistä kertaa, saattaisi luulla englantia toiseksi äidinkieleksemme.

(11) Pidetään suomen kieli puhtaana, etteivät amerikkalaiset pääse syyttämään meitä kopioinnista.

(12) Antaisimme paremman kuvan Euroopan-laidalla- maastamme ja hyötyisimme siitä.

(13) Vain kokonaisvaltaisella toisten kulttuurien tuntemisella ja kunnioittamisella voimme saavuttaa arvostusta toistenkin silmissä - ehkäpä oppisimme antamaan arvoa itsellemmekin; kenties meidän suomalaisten itsetunto kohoaisi niinkin paljon, ettei meidän enää tarvitsisi turvautua vieraskielisiin nimiin niin TV- ohjelmien kuin kauppojen ja ihmisten nimissä.

It is not only important what foreigners visiting Finland think of Finns. Perhaps even more important is how people who do not have any personal connection with Finland view them.

All three ways described above emphasize the status of Finland in relation to other nations; however, the status of Finland is not strengthened but weakened. In example (13) two themes are combined; the question of Finland's image abroad as well as Finns' self-esteem. In fact, as in (13), and also in (14), the separatist repertoire characterizes English-influenced Finnish and its use as a sign of our attitudes towards ourselves.

(14) Pelkäämmekö suomenkielisien ilmauksiemme huonommuutta, kun näemme jokapäiväisiä ilmiöitä englanninkielisinä? Koemmeko kenties paremmuudentunnetta matkiessamme muita? Emmekö uskalla enää olla suomenkielisiä?

Another repertoire identified in the positive attitude that is used to argue particularly about the relationship between English and Finnish and the speakers of them is *the national-romanticist repertoire*. It also makes use of value judgements and stereotypes.

### 5.2.2 *The positive attitude: The national-romanticist repertoire*

The national-romanticist repertoire is the only one of the repertoires identified that clearly differs from other repertoires both in form and content. The repertoire is constructed around terms such as *independence*, *native-language*, *national identity*, etc. It is present in the argumentation concerning the attitudes towards the use of Finnish mixed with English (Argument 1). The pursued function of the repertoire seems to be to increase respect for the Finnish language as well as for national characteristics, and to encourage showing these also in practice.

Whereas holders of the positive attitude took the role of an outside observer in the separatist repertoire, in the national-romanticist repertoire they are personally involved with the questions discussed. Holders of the positive attitude take the role of an agitator. The linguistic forms used to appeal to the reader could be divided into two categories. On the one hand, there are very colloquial expressions and, on the other hand, there are literary, almost poetic, expressions.

As examples (15) and (16) show, the colloquial expressions carry a negative connotation. Also, they refer only to objects which could be classified as non-Finnish.

(15) Pitäisi osoittaa ihmisille oman kulttuurin hyvät puolet, ja samalla saada heidät ymmärtämään, ettei meidän tarvitse omaksua kaikkea amerikkalaista paskaa.

(16) Englanti on tullut, ja pysyy kuin p...a Junttilan tuvan seinässä suomalaisessa kulttuurissa ja kielessä.

The literary expressions are used in quite the opposite way. They carry a positive connotation and refer only to objects which could be classified as Finnish, as in (17) and (18):

(17) On toki tärkeää osata nykymaailmassa englantia, mutta vähintäänkin yhtä tärkeää on säilyttää oma äidinkielemme unohtamatta sen rikkautta ja kauneutta. Taistelkaamme kielemme säilyvyyden puolesta!

(18) Meillä on itsellämme todella kaunis kieli, tämä suloinen suomen kieli.

As the comparison of the examples show, the adoptions and adaptations of English and cultural products of other cultures are labelled to be of no respect or little value. In contrast, the Finnish language is described to be a dear and cherished language in various ways and the role of traditions and national heritage, e.g. the Kalevala, is emphasized. With an old-fashioned, poetic style the readers are encouraged to fight for the survival of Finnish.

Both colloquial and literary use of language are naturally used as effects to make the message more convincing and appealing to the reader. In making the position held by the positive attitude stronger in the argumentation, a conflict between the two languages (and cultures as well), Finnish and English, is set up. English and everything related to it is portrayed as being of poor quality and Finnish is described as being quite the opposite. One has to keep in mind that the positive attitude explains the anglicization of Finnish to be partly a result of the admiration of American values. Admiration includes the idea of respect and, in a way, glorification of the object of admiration. Therefore, by using the extreme linguistic forms the positive attitude deglorifies the foreign culture and its influence on Finnish culture and the language, and at the same time they mystify Finnish and Finnish culture. The status of English is minimized.

Both the national-romanticist and separatist repertoire are constructed around abstractions like identity, self-esteem or image to argue in

favour of the decaying effect of English on Finnish. In other words, both repertoires construct themselves around value systems and value judgements.

### 5.2.3 *The positive attitude: The fatalist repertoire*

The fatalist repertoire refers to instances in the data where the positive attitude indicates reasons for the extensive use and popularity of English in Finland. It is intertwined with Argument 1 concerning the decay of Finnish as well as with Argument 2 concerning the Finns' competence in English, and it is constructed around terms such as *the media*, *a trend*, *the educational system* and alike. Holders of the positive attitude position themselves as a part of the Finnish majority, the Finnish people in general in the fatalist repertoire. The pursued function of the repertoire seems to be to explain the existing conditions and to avoid responsibility for them.

Whereas the positive attitude took the role of an agitator in the national-romanticist repertoire, in the fatalist repertoire the ability to resist the oppressors is taken away from the speakers of Finnish. It is characteristic for the fatalist repertoire that the speaker's control over the form and the use of a language is restricted; the speakers of Finnish are characterized as passive, obedient and easily led. An individual's use of a language is controlled by anonymous social powers. Two such powers are named: the educational system and the media.

Foreign language teaching is portrayed as one of the main reasons for Finns' low competence in English - or at least for the weaknesses in communication skills, as (19) and (20) show:

(19) Kuitenkin todellisuus on puhumista ja kommunikoimista englannin kielellä. Niitä valmiuksia ei koulusta saa.

(20) Suomalaisten (joidenkin ei kaikkien) kyvyttömyys puhua englanniksi todellisissa tilanteissa on englanninopetuksen metodien syytä: ainakin omana lukioaikanaani saattoi englanninkokeen pistemäärä mennä miltei nolille muutaman sinänsä harmittoman kirjoitusvirheen vuoksi vaikkei ymmärrettävyys

niistä olisi kärsinytkään - onko siis ihme, että kynnys puhua englantia on toisinaan korkea?

The relationship between language learners and the educational system is not interactive. The educational system is represented as an oppressor which undermines the efforts of learners; it determines what the needs of language learners are and passes on the skills that it sees adequate to fulfill them. As the fatalist repertoire, however, suggests, these skills are not adequate enough. As a result, the speakers' incapability of communicating in English is caused by the educational system; the competence of English is portrayed as an outcome of institutional processes.

Both the educational system and the media have chosen to highlight American culture and its values. Again, speakers have not been given any choice; they simply follow the decisions of faceless institutions:

(21) Koulut voisivat keskittyä avartamaan Suomen toivojen aivokoppiin muitakin kulttuureja kuin amerikkalaisen.

(22) Kielenkäytössämme näkyy angloamerikkalaisen kulttuurin vaikutus, mitä meille on "syötetty" jo vuosikymmenien ajan mm. television, elokuvien, musiikin kautta.

However, the school system and the media are not the only ones to be viewed as inanimate oppressors by the fatalist repertoire; those in business and advertizing are categorized in a similar manner:

(23) Suomen kielestä on tullut finglishiä ja mielestäni suurin syy tähän on kaupallisuus ja mainostajat, jotka eivät anna kuluttajille suomenkielisiä versioita nimistä ja sanoista, vaan tuotteet markkinoidaan niiden englantilaisperäisillä nimillä.

(24) Ei varmasti ole liioiteltua väittää, että suomen kielen kohtalo on niiden kynän kärjellä, jotka kieltä työkseen käyttävät.

Again, it is implied that the role of a majority of the speakers is passive and powerless in face of the business world. What is constructed in the fatalist repertoire on the whole is a hierarchical system of oppressors and victims.

By taking the role of a victim, holders of the positive attitude are able to avoid any responsibility for the use of English words and phrases mixed with Finnish, and the possible blame of not being competent enough in English.

On the other hand, the idea of oppressors carries a negative connotation with it. Not only are the oppressors themselves to be condemned but also the ideas and matters they represent are to be labelled as pernicious. The status of English itself is also attacked. The negative connotation is stressed by drawing a parallel between the use of English and trends. The term 'trend' is understood to mean in fashion, shallow, and imitation, for example; all of them implying negative qualities.

In summary, the fatalist repertoire formulates a contradiction between the native-speakers of Finnish vs. powers controlling the form of a language at a general level. The repertoire described in the following section is used to approach the contradictory situation on the practical level. It is called *the realist repertoire*.

#### **5.2.4 *The positive attitude: The realist repertoire***

The realist repertoire consists of statements that concern the possible negative consequences caused by the use of Finnish mixed with English. It is constructed around terms such as *disadvantage* and *generation*. It is intertwined with Arguments 1 and 2; it concerns both the argumentation about English-influenced Finnish and Finns' competence in English. The pursued function of the repertoire is to strengthen the view that the influence of English on both Finnish and its speakers is harmful.

Holders of the positive attitude believe that the use of adoptions and adaptations of English in Finnish only causes problems for and among different generations of Finnish speakers. The positive attitude divides Finns into three generations: 1) older generations who do not possess any knowledge of English, 2) younger generations, young adults and teenagers who have been exposed to

the influence of English all their lives and 3) children who are exposed to the influence of English to an increasing degree.

Members of older generations face the problem of not understanding expressions used in everyday life, as example (25) shows:

(25) Varsinkin kun vanhempi väestö ei ole perillä sanojen merkityksestä, tähän on suoranaista syrjintää, että osa väestöstä ei ymmärrä mitä tarjoaa kauppa, jonka nimi on "Toyland".

The realist repertoire portrays favouring of English loan words to be racism towards some fellow citizens. The older generations in Finland have lived through times when school was the privilege of few. For historical and political reasons the dominant influences came from Russia, Sweden or Germany and they also established themselves in the Finnish language. Therefore, they are not familiar with English in any way.

In contrast, the young adults/teenagers are characterized as uncritical admirers of American values, whose generation could be called 'the TV set generation'. That is because they have lived all their lives exposed to the products of American culture which have found a strong channel through television and the entertainment business, particularly. In addition, over 90% of their generation has chosen English for their first foreign language to be learnt in school. The realist repertoire explains the young people's interest in and favouring of the use of English expressions as a sign of youth cultures and fashion.

The realist repertoire also creates the use of English to be a means of expressing feelings while avoiding total commitment to what is being said. English sounds more vague than the native language, Finnish; there is a less close bond between the speaker and foreign words than there is between the speaker and his native language, as in (26).

(26) Toisaalta ymmärrän toki niitä nuoria, jotka ovat löytäneet puuttuvat kanssakäymisen mallit televisiosarjojen maailmasta. Jos he eivät ole nähneet vanhempienkaan osoittavan kiintymystä, on helpompi kuiskata "I love you" kuin eritellä selkeästi oman

kiinnostuksen astetta. Ehkäpä vastuutakin on helpompi väistää huutelemalla Fak juuta. Ei osata, uskalleta eikä haluta laittaa omaa persoonallisuutta peliin?

The third generation, which is of concern for the realist repertoire, is children. There is a danger that the flow of English can do a lot of damage to children's language competence.

(27) Erityisen haitallista tämä englantilainen hyökyaalto on mielestäni lapsille, jotka eivät osaa enää tilata pannupitsapaloja suomen kielellä ja joiden äidinkielen ilmaisukyky heikkenee englanninkielisten hokemien pelastaessa tilanteen, jos oma verbaalinen lahjakkuus ei riitä.

(28) Nykyinen nopea vaikutteiden tulva sekoittaa kielenpuhujien, varsinkin pienten, kielitajun. Englannista tulevat sanontatavat ja sanonnat käännetään siltään suomeen, vaikka käänös olisi kuinka ontuva ja kienvastainen.

There is a danger that children do not learn proper Finnish but not proper English either. The meaning of English loans is not necessarily understood even though they are used.

The excessive use of English loan words in everyday Finnish may complicate communication and cause misunderstandings not only among one generation but also between generations.

(29) Uteliaalle mummolle voi heittää, että kiss my ass, jos seura ei miellytä. Ei mummo kuitenkaan ymmärrä ja ihastelee vain jälkikasvunsa kielitaitoa.

The actual misunderstandings in communication between generations are not, however, the only negative effect of the use of Finnish mixed with English; it also raises a more serious question about the respect for knowledge of foreign languages. As example (29) shows, the realist repertoire wants to point out this particular problem. The knowledge of foreign languages has always been highly respected in Finland. Especially, the knowledge of foreign languages has been valued by those who do not possess it themselves. Even though it is mainly the younger generations that seem to admire American values,



the older generations do support this tendency by admiring the knowledge of foreign languages and encouraging the youth to become international and learn languages. The other repertoires identified in texts of the positive attitude emphasize the younger generations' role as admirers of American values but the realist repertoire points out that the older generations share the same role, perhaps even unconsciously.

In other words, the realist repertoire repeats the ideas of the purity of Finnish and admiration of wrong, that is American, values, which are also expressed in the other repertoires used by holders of the positive attitude. In the realist repertoire these ideas become evident especially in the argumentation where the importance of the Finnish culture and the role of the language used by parents and educators are stressed. Holders of the positive attitude shift into the role of an objective and rational observer in the realist repertoire. The concern about the excessive use of English-influenced Finnish concentrates on practical consequences for the speakers, and not so much on the language itself or the national values it entails.

In summary, four repertoires were identified in texts coded as the positive attitude. They were all used to strengthen the position arguing that adoptions and adaptations of English have negative effects both on Finnish, its speakers and the status of Finland. The repertoires differed from each other mainly in content. The separatist and the national-romanticist repertoire were constructed around value judgements of both English and Finnish, whereas the fatalist repertoire was used to name the ones to blame for the conditions discussed. The realist repertoire, in contrast, stressed the role of practical consequences of the situation when strengthening the arguments presented in the stimulus letter. The identification of repertoires relied on the roles which were taken by holders of the positive attitude. Only the national-romanticist repertoire differed clearly also in form. The other repertoires were written in a-matter-of-fact style but the national-romanticist repertoire made use of colloquial and poetic expressions.

Next, the three interpretative repertoires identified in the text coded as the negative attitude are represented. They are the *empiricist*, *nationalist* and *rationalist repertoires*.

### 5.2.5 *The negative attitude: The empiricist repertoire*

The empiricist repertoire concerns Argument 1, that is the use of Finnish mixed with English. It is constructed around references to *process* and *time*. The repertoire presents holders of the negative attitude as persons who are actively involved with the adoptions and adaptations of English every day. In other words, they are characterized as 'insiders'. The pursued function of the empiricist repertoire is to neutralize the arguments presented in the constructed Letter-to-the-Editor and to normalize the influence of English on Finnish, as in (30) and (31):

(30) Mielestäni on täysin normaalia että englannin kieli vaikuttaa suomalaisten puheeseen.

(31) Kielten sekoittuminen ja sanojen lainaaminen ovat osa luonnollista kehitystä, eikä siitä pidä kauhistua tarpeettomasti.

According to the empiricist repertoire, the speakers of Finnish, or any other language, do not consciously affect the language or its change. It is the language itself that develops independently in the particular environment where it exists. As examples (30) and (31) show, the empiricist repertoire neutralizes the subject of controversy by normalizing it. The adoptions and adaptations of English are produced to be a natural part of development in Finnish. This is done by emphasizing historical aspects and universality of changes. Both factors are presented through generalizations, historical and linguistic facts, and personal experiences.

First of all, the generalizations widen the phenomenon to concern not only Finnish, but every language, and to concern not only the present moment but also the past and the future.

(32) Kielet ovat vuosisatojen, jollei tuhansienkin, kuluessa saaneet vaikutteita toinen toiseltaan. Suomikaan ei ole säilynyt "puhtaana" aikojen saatossa. Esimerkiksi niinkin "suomalaiselta" kuulostava, jokaisen aktiiviseen sanavarastoon kuuluva sana kuin "tyyli" onkin peräisin englannin sanasta "style". Kenties nuggeteistakin muovautuu suomalaisen suussa kaikin puolin kieleenkäypä sana "nuketit", hockeysta "hok(k)i", coolista "kooli" jne.

In example (32), it is first generally stated, how languages have influenced each other throughout the times; after that the case of Finnish is brought up. The presentation of linguistic facts is used to deepen the views of language changes as historical phenomena. The examples given make it easier for the reader to picture how changes have happened and will possibly happen in the future. So, the aspects of both the past and future are highlighted.

The use of historical facts as evidence is another way to illustrate how the interaction between languages and their influence on each other are universal and historical features of languages. It is clearly pointed out that changes have concerned English as well as any other language. The role of the English language as conquerer and destroyer of other languages is deconstructed, as in (33).

(33) ...eivät taida muistaa kuinka Wilhelm Valloittajan voitto Englannista aiheutti vastaavanlaisen ilmiön, kun ranskasta tuli Britannian hallinnollinen kieli.

The matter of controversy is also neutralized by minimizing the effect of mixing languages. The empiricist repertoire does this by emphasizing the transitory nature of foreign adoptions and adaptations, as in example (34).

(34) Sitä paitsi useimmilla niistä [lainasanoista] on vain tapana vierailla kielessämme ja häipyä vähin äänin. Oman mummoni puhe vilisi svetisismejä kuten esim. "hantuuki" ruotsin kielen käsipyyhkeestä. Äitini käyttää kyseistä sanaa todella harvoin, itse en koskaan.

Personal notions on differences on the use of loan words between generations are used to illustrate the passing effect of language mixing. This also stresses the view of language changes as historical phenomena.

Whereas the repertoires of the positive attitude tend to construct the English language as a threat to Finnish, the empiricist repertoire turns the whole concept of threat upside down. The influence of English and other foreign languages is made a prerequisite of the survival of Finnish, or any other minority language. The empiricist repertoire believes, as in (35) and (36), that the foreign influence does not destroy or threaten the language that is influenced. On the contrary, it is the only way for a language not to become extinct.

(35) Kieli elää monimuotoisena ja vain monimuotoisena;...

(36) Oma kieli säästyy jos se sen ansaitsee.

In summary, the empiricist repertoire adds an idea of evolution to the concept of language development; it is a process of slow but uninterrupted change and development in particular circumstances over a period of time.

### **5.2.6 The negative attitude: The nationalist repertoire**

The nationalist repertoire is used in arguing about all the three arguments presented in the constructed Letter-to-the-Editor. It is formed around terms such as *Finland*, *international*, *nation* and alike. The pursued function of the repertoire is to strengthen the status and the image of Finland and Finnish, and, in that way, also to reinforce the position held against the positive attitude.

While the positive attitude marked a clear contrast between Finland and other nations, the negative attitude does exactly the opposite in the nationalist repertoire. As in examples (37) and (38), the idea of the integration of the world is emphasized and the idea of Finland being separated from the rest of the world is undone.

(37) Suomi - Pohjoinen Takapajula?... Suomalaiset ovat vastanneet ajan haasteisiin ja omaksuneet kansainvälistyvän roolin. Nykymaailmassa emme voi eristäytyä pohjoisille jääkentillemme vaan meidän on kyettävä olemaan avoimia ja suvaitsevaisia uusille ulottuvuuksille.

(38) Me (Suomi ja suomalaiset) emme ole enää vain Me, vaan Me-sana käsittää koko Euroopan.

The old stereotypical way of thinking is acknowledged but at the same time questioned. Finland used to be regarded as a place in the middle of nowhere, a place in arctic solitude, but the world has, however, changed and the change also concerns Finland and its citizens.

Finland is not portrayed to be of a lower status than any other cultures. On the contrary, as in examples (39) through (41), the nationalist repertoire pictures Finland as having a strong identity which cannot be threatened by foreign loanwords or cultural products of other nations. It claims that if the national identity is threatened and diminished by, for example, loanwords, one should not speak about national identity at all. The idea of evolution, the constant development and the survival of the strongest and fittest is present in the argumentation.

(39) ...tervetuloa vain "kohisemalla kansainvälistyvään" Suomeen... Neuvojia ja selkääntaputtelijoita tämän päivän itsevarma ja kehittyvä Suomi ei kuitenkaan enää kaipaa!

(40) On luonnollista, että omaksutaan vieraan kielen sanoja; tuskin ne sentään omaa identiteettiä murentavat!

(41) Tuulipukujuntti on pian katoava luonnonvara. ...Tuleepahan toivottovasti edes ripaus "ulukomuan" sivistystä ja suvaitsevaisuudelle parempaa maaperää. Heikkoa ja kovin pinnallista suomalaisuutta on se, joka uhkaa uupua unisexin edessä eikä kestä clubburgeria!

The notable feature in example (41) is the use of a dialect term to refer to 'the others'. A dialect includes an idea of a contradiction between the urban and rural, the civilized and primitive, a high and low status. Normally, when dialect terms are used they emphasize the primitivity and low status of the users of the particular dialect. However, in example (41) the dialect term is used to refer to 'the others' in a context that highlights the strong national identity. This

opens up a possibility for another kind of interpretation. It could be argued that the contrast between 'we' and 'the others' is deconstructed by the use of the dialect term in referring to the other cultures. The foreign cultures are equated with the rural culture and this way the stereotypical high status of foreign cultures is weakened and the low status of the Finnish, supposedly, rural culture is made higher.

The nationalist repertoire strengthens the Finnish identity also by comparing it with other nations; this is done in favour of Finnish, as in examples (42) through (44).

- (42) ...jätetään kielikiikkoilu ydinlatauksia räjäytteleville ranskalaisille!  
 (43) Suomalaiset puhuvat muita kieliä huomattavasti paremmin kuin esimerkiksi etelä-eurooppalaiset.  
 (44) Entä jos pitäytyisimme Islannin mallissa, ja kehittelisimme kaikille sanoille omat vastineemme. Silloin kielten opiskelu vasta hankalaa olisi,...

Other nations are presented as bad examples. They are described as intolerant and ignorant, and their actions in language politics are seen to be equal to their decisions in, for example, disarmament. The same idea, strengthening the status of Finland, is also put forward by diminishing the value of the opinions of others about Finland and Finns. As in example (45), the content of the nationalist repertoire is also stressed by using non-standard forms, that is colloquial expressions.

- (45) ...etten välitä paskaakaan mitä britit meistä ajattelevat.  
 ... Turha tässä on ruveta muita kieliä ja kansallisuuksia pökkuroimaan!

To sum up, holders of the negative attitude take the role of a citizen and patriot in the nationalist repertoire. The loyalty to Finland and its culture is presented by weakening the status of other nations. Also, stereotypical juxtapositions of rural and urban, Finland and other cultures, are deconstructed.

### 5.2.7 *The negative attitude: The rationalist repertoire*

The rationalist repertoire is constructed around references to *advantage* and *communication* and it is present in argumentation concerning the use of Finnish mixed with English as well as the Finns' knowledge of English (Arguments 1 and 2). The pursued function of the rationalist repertoire is clearly to convince the reader of the practical advantages which are brought by the knowledge of English and its use.

Overall, holders of the negative attitude tend to avoid emotions and value judgements and base their argumentation on facts only. To avoid value judgements in the rationalist repertoire, the status of English loans is weakened, as in example (46):

(46) ...englannista otetut lainat eivät enää suomen kielessä ole varsinaisesti englantia, vaan vain äännejonoja, joilla on tietty merkitys, eikä sillä ole väliä mistä kielestä tämä äännejono ja sen merkitys on peräisin;...

In the rationalist repertoire, the loan words and phrases are not considered to be English at all. The foreign elements are merely seen as strings of sounds/letters which carry a certain meaning. The origin of the adoptions and adaptations is of secondary importance; what is important is the advantages that are likely to result from the use of adoptions and adaptations of English. The rationalist repertoire presents two sets of possible advantages of using Finnish mixed with English. One set of possible advantages is for the language, as in (47) through (49); the other set is the advantages for communication between nations, as in (50) through (54).

(47) Lainasanat ovat rikkaus ja väriläiskä kielessä.

(48) Esimerkiksi elokuvien nimien suomentaminen johtaa usein todella mitäänsanomattomiin ilmaisuihin, joten tällä alalla olisi parempi käyttää englanninkielisiä ilmaisuja kun selvyys niin vaatii. Joitakin teknisiä termejä on niinkään typerää kääntää kun englanninkielinen termi on selvempi ja täsmällisempi.

(49) Virtanen voisi muuten kokeilla kääntää englanninkieliset nimitykset esim. unisex-asut, happy hour ja talk-show sellaisiin muotoihin, jotka sisältävät saman ajatuksen ja ovat yhtä ytimekkäitä ja jotka tulisivat suomalaisille yhtä käytännöllisiksi kuin alkumuotonsa. Ehdotuksiani ovat: *molemmille sukupuolille sopiva asu*, *onnellinen tunti* ja *keskusteluviihdetunti*. Tai sitten lyhyempiä versioita: *miesnaisasut*, *ilotovi* ja *puhe-viihdyke*.

Examples (47) through (49) summarize the advantages that follow from the use of English loans for the Finnish language itself. The precision of expression is seen to get better when loanwords are used. They enrich the vocabulary of Finnish and they also add its ability to express nuances. The argumentation is supported by the Finnish translations of some of the terms criticized in the constructed Letter-to-the-Editor. The rationalist repertoire argues that it is possible to maintain the Finnish language without any foreign loans; it, however, questions whether it is sensible or not. As it is pointed out, Finnish expressions are not necessarily very practical to use. In other words, by emphasizing the abilities of Finnish to convey information better and to express more nuances, a dimension of rationality is created.

Another set of possible advantages of English loanwords concerns communication between Finland and other nations. The use of Finnish mixed with English is described to cause advantages for Finnish speakers, for the international marketing of Finnish products, and for non-Finnish speakers. As in examples (50) through (52), the use of English, also mixed with Finnish, is at least a sign that Finnish people are able to speak English; even if the claims on Finns' poor competence in English were true, the widely used adaptations of English would help them to manage when visiting foreign countries, where the same anglicisms are used. It is also implied that the development of a language is not as fast as the development in technology, for example. The use of English loans helps Finns to keep up with the progress and meet competition with other nations.

(50) Kansainvälisillä areenoilla saamme etulyöntiaseman - kiitos englanninkielisten ilmausten yleistymisen!

(51) Useimpien innovaattoiden nimet opitaan ensin englanniksi, jolloin voidaan käyttää hyväksi englanninkielistä tietoa ja



lähdemateriaalia. Aikanaan, kun käsite on tuttu, voidaan ottaa käyttöön suomalainen nimi. Niinpä printteri kulki kauan englanninkielisenä, kunnes käyttöön hyväksyttiin tulostin. Modeemin paudit ovat vielä suhteellisen vieraita, ja siksi niillä ei ole vielä suomalaista nimeä.

(52) Sisäistettyään "panpizzaslicet, chicken-nuggetit ja clubburger-mealit" ei esimerkiksi Ridge ja Caroline Romppaisenkaan enää tarvitse pelätä kuolevansa nälkään astuessaan kotimaan rajojen ulkopuolelle,...

On the other hand, the use of international (English) slogans and terms in Finland makes it easier for foreigners to get to know the Finnish culture or the Finnish products marketed. The use of English loans is also reasoned in the rationalist repertoire by stressing the position of the foreigners visiting and staying in Finland.

(53) Tosin kansainvälistyvässä maailmassa englannin kielisellä nimellä voi tavoittaa enemmän potentiaalista asiakaskuntaa.

(54) Sitä paitsi erilaisten palvelujen ja tuotteiden englanninkieliset nimet helpottavat maassamme vierailevien ulkomaalaisten elämää.

In summary, the three repertoires identified in texts coded as the negative attitude were used to strengthen the position arguing that the use of Finnish mixed with English has positive effects on the Finnish language, its speakers and the status of Finland. The empiricist and rationalist repertoires support each other. They both approach the matters of controversy without value judgements involved in the argumentation; emotional argumentation and personal attachments are avoided. Instead, the values of modern society, such as precision, efficacy and logic are highlighted. The argumentation is based on facts that are either generally known or personally experienced. The third repertoire, the nationalist one, is in clear contrast with the other two repertoires identified in the negative attitude. It consists of instances involving emotional attachment to and value judgements about the matters of controversy. As was the case with the repertoires identified in the positive attitude, the identification of the repertoires mainly based on variability in content. None of the repertoires could be identified

solely on the basis of form. Only the nationalist repertoire was partly identified on the basis of it.

Overall, the clearest difference between the two groups of repertoires seems to be the varying emphasis on rationality and emotionality. The repertoires identified in texts of the positive attitude distinctively appeal to readers' emotions and values. In contrast, in the repertoires identified in texts of the negative attitude the emphasis is clearly on factual reasoning; they appeal to readers' common sense and rational thinking.

It can be argued that the repertoires formulate themselves strongly around the justification of the position, positive or negative, held in this particular data. It is characteristic of the attitudes (as was defined in section 3.2.2) that they also relate themselves to the counter position. The following section reports on how texts, coded as the positive and negative attitude, reflect each other in the data of the present study.

### **5.3 Reflexivity of the attitudes: arguing about issues**

As was already argued in section 3.2.2, subjects also express other things besides their attitudes to the proposed arguments in their responses. It is not only the issue that is argued about, but also the ways of arguing the issue are debated. Such argumentation informs the reader of the way the writer wants to proportion his/her response to those potential competing views which are not necessarily physically present in the situation. Especially in the argumentative context, interest lies in the instances in the discourse where the argumentation is placed in proportion to culturally potential criticism that is not, however, present in the interactive situation. In other words, those instances that included elements of the repertoires used by the opposite attitude were taken up for a closer inspection in the present study.

Instances that included elements of the repertoires used by the opposite attitude could be divided into three groups. First, it was noticed that some of *the interpretative repertoires* identified earlier opposed each other. Pairs

were formed by repertoires that included concepts and ideas of the opposite attitude, which were naturally used in the opposite function. Second, the instances of texts that had not been identified as belonging to any of the repertoires were observed. *Instances of criticism* formed the second group. These were instances of texts where the arguments that the opposite attitude relied on were recognized but not accepted. The third group containing similarities between the two attitudes was especially interesting. The group consisted of instances, *common-places*, where the elements of the opposite attitude were not criticized but rather taken as possibilities.

### 5.3.1 Interpretative repertoires

Some of the repertoires identified in the data formed pairs that opposed each other. Such pairs were formed by the fatalist and the empiricist repertoires, the realist and the rationalist repertoires as well as the separatist and the nationalist repertoires. The contradictory nature of these repertoire pairs became evident particularly in the opposite use of the set of same terms or even in the use of the very same form.

#### *The fatalist vs. the empiricist repertoire<sup>2</sup>*

The contradictory nature of these two repertoires is present partly in the use of a set of similar terms: *cultural exchange, the media, a trend*. Both repertoires acknowledge the dominant role of the aforementioned phenomena as regards the relationship between Finnish and English. However, their importance is emphasized and their functions are described differently. The empiricist repertoire underlines the meaning of cultural exchange for the development of Finnish, as, for example, (55) shows:

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<sup>2</sup> See sections 5.2.3 and 5.2.5.

(55) ..., en näe englannin "pesiytymistä" suomen kieleen vakavana vaarana. Se on osa kielen kehitys- ja muutosprosessia.

The empiricist repertoire constructs more positive functions for the media, and the concept of trend is used to support the idea of the temporary nature of the influence of English on Finnish. The fatalist repertoire, in contrast, stresses the role of the media, and the trends created by them, as the major reason for the popularity and high status of English and its negative influence on Finnish, as in (56):

(56) Englannin kieli on muotia ovat päättäneet markkinointi- ja mainosmiehet.

In other words, the concepts of cultural exchange, media and trends seem to be culturally strong conventions in the discourse on attitudes towards English and its use in Finland as mastering them is seen as vital by both attitudes in the data.

### *The realist vs. the rationalist repertoire<sup>3</sup>*

The similarity between these two interpretative repertoires is the belief that the use of English adoptions and adaptations has *consequences* for the speakers of Finnish. This is used as a point of argument in justifying both attitudes but naturally in the opposite functions. As example (57) shows, the rationalist repertoire emphasizes the advantages:

(57) ...lisäksi suomalaisille toistaiseksi aika vieraan "smalltalkinkin" harjoittelu helpottunee, kun englanninkielinen sanavarasto ei rajoitu pelkästään "yes-no"-tasolle.

The realist repertoire, in contrast, stresses the disadvantages of using Finnish mixed with English, as in (58):

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<sup>3</sup> See sections 5.2.4 and 5.2.7.

(58) Siinä on äkkiä sormi suussa ikääntyneellä ihmisellä, jonka koulusivistykseen kuuluvat vain ruotsi ja saksa, jos nekään.

The fact that both attitudes stress the role of the consequences in their arguments could be taken as a sign of causality being a strong cultural convention in the discourse on the influence of English on Finnish and its status in Finland.

*The separatist vs. the nationalist repertoire<sup>4</sup>*

The same element in these two repertoires is the emphasis on the *status of Finland*. The concepts of *self-esteem* and *national identity* are also present in both repertoires. In addition to similarities in content, the separatist and nationalist repertoires are partly identical also in form: they both use comparisons with other nations to justify their own stances.

The separatist repertoire lowers the status of Finland and constructs the use of Finnish mixed with English to be a sign of low self-esteem. Other nations are portrayed as good role models, as (59) shows:

(59) Saksalaiset arvostanevat omaa kieltään päällepuhumalla vieraskieliset ohjelmat. Miksi emme mekin?

Such claims are questioned and criticized by the nationalist repertoire. It supports the idea of Finland and the Finns as a unique and modern nation. Those who claim the opposite are portrayed to have a low self-esteem. As in (60), other nations are, overall, pictured as bad role models:

(60) On ollut ilahduttavaa huomata, ettei meillä Suomessa enää olla ahdasmielisiä kansainvälisille vaikutteille ja vieraskielisille termeille, kuten muun muassa Ranskassa ja Englannissa.

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<sup>4</sup> See sections 5.2.1 and 5.2.6.

Therefore, on the basis of the separatist and nationalist repertoires, it could be argued that the status of Finland as well as the status of the national identity of Finns are strong cultural conventions that are connected to the discourse on language mixing.

### 5.3.2 Instances of criticism

The interpretative repertoires opposing each other (illustrated in section 5.3.1) are, as such, one way of expressing criticism towards the opposite position. However, a large part of the instances that contain criticism do not form repertoires of their own or cannot be interpreted to be a part of the repertoires identified. They are discussed here separately as counter argumentation. The characteristic feature of the instances classified as instances of criticism is that the possibility of the opposite attitude being justified is rejected. In the data the instances of criticism could only be found among those instances coded as the positive attitude. Moreover, they seemed to concern only the rationalist repertoire.

First of all, as examples (61) and (62) show, holders of the positive attitude do not see how communication skills or the status of different products could be promoted through the use of English loans.

(61) Kielitaito tuskin paremmin kohenee samojen englanninkielisten fraasien toistelusta.

(62) Englanninkielinen iskulause myy - vai myykö? Teennäisen hienot nimet, jotka keskivertosuomalainen ääntää väärin, alkavat kyllästyttää.

Holders of the positive attitude doubt whether the use of English words helps in learning the language properly. The adoptions and adaptations of English in Finnish are used as established phrases and it is not clear if the speakers really know their original meaning. Neither are holders of the positive attitude totally assured of the value of the English language in marketing.

Secondly, the positive attitude confronts the argument of the rationalist repertoire about using English expressions in Finnish to make the life of the foreigners/non-speakers of Finnish in Finland easier. As (63) shows, the holders of the positive attitude claim that there are not enough foreigners living in Finland to justify the use of English instead of Finnish:

(63) Ylenpalttista englannin kielen käyttöä ei voi ainakaan vielä perustella ulkomaalaisten määrän kasvulla: Suomessa asuu vain noin 70 000 ulkomaalaista.

Example (63) criticizes the content of the rationalist repertoire, but in addition, it uses the form typical of the rationalist repertoire. The positive attitude's argumentation is mostly based on emotions and value judgements. In example (63), however, the criticism is presented as a statistical fact; a form, that could be expected to be found in the argumentation of the negative attitude. After all, it is holders of the negative attitude that tend to appeal to readers' common-sense and rational thinking by means of concrete facts. The same is also true of example (64) where again statistical facts are referred to in order to criticize the opposite attitude:

(64) Syy ei ole kuitenkaan aina pelkästään tavallisen kengäkuluttujan, sillä jos tarkastelee esimerkiksi MTV3:n ohjelmistoa, ei tarvitse enää ihmetellä miksi asiat ovat näin. [...] Sarjat, jotka MTV3 lähettää ovat 95% amerikkalaisia, tai sitten suomalaista junttiviihdettä.

When instances of criticism in the data are examined, it is clear that the rationalist repertoire of the negative attitude is strongly criticized by holders of the positive attitude. This notion supports the idea that rationality is highly valued; it is a strong cultural convention, especially in modern societies. The value of actions and different phenomena are measured, for example, by rationality, productivity and beneficiality. It is important to master the rational discourse in order to be taken seriously in argumentation. Debate based on feelings, likings or opinions would be a never-ending battle; arguing with concrete

facts makes the argumentation somehow more believable and a final solution in debate possible.

### 5.3.3 Common-places

In addition to the instances identified as belonging to one of the repertoires or those identified as criticism against the repertoires used by the opposite attitudes, there still remain instances to be analysed. In these instances the elements of the contrary attitude are present but they are not criticized. The points made by the opposite attitude are seen to be justified to some degree even though they are in contradiction with the position held. First, the instances of the positive attitude that also accept the point of view made by the opposite attitude are discussed. Secondly, such instances present in the argumentation of the negative attitude are discussed.

#### *Common-places in the positive attitude:*

The rational repertoire of the negative attitude is confronted by the use of the realist repertoire in the positive attitude as well as by criticizing it directly. However, instances were identified where the positive attitude actually admits the justification of the rational repertoire for the use of English adoptions and adaptations. Example (65) illustrates this:

(65) Tosiasiahan on, ettei sinänsä kaunis suomalais-ugrilaiseen kieliperheeseen lukeutuva äidinkielemme sisällä kovin sujuvaa vastinetta talk showlle, pizzaslicelle, Power Rangereille ja muille mukaville ilmaisuille. Kukapa meistä kirmaisi riemurinnoin "aja sisään"- grilliin tai olusille "iloisien tuntien" aikana.

The positive attitude admits that problems might arise when expressing concepts that are strongly associated with a certain culture (e.g. drive-in-movies, talk show) in Finnish. This notion is a common-place. The positive attitude uses it to recognize a point that is potentially contestable even if it is in conflict with the overall view of the positive attitude. However, the justification



of the opposite attitude also includes the poetic expression typical of the national-romanticist repertoire used by the positive attitude. It acknowledges that even if other accounts or categorizations are possible, the original position held is not altered.

Another instance where the positive attitude agrees with the justification presented in the rational repertoire is illustrated in example (66):

(66) Yleismaailmalliset nimet leviävät helpommin, jäävät mieleen ja taipuvat ulkomaalaisen suussa paremmin kuin suomalaiset "viännökset".

Again, the statement is in conflict with the positive attitude but in it there are also the basic assumptions of the positive attitude; that is, the assumptions of the separatist repertoire. By using a dialectic term the positive attitude reconstructs the contrast between 'we' and 'the others' and reminds the reader in this way of the position it actually holds.

Instances could also be identified where the positive attitude partly accepts the cultural exchange as a natural reason for the mixed use of languages. In other words, the positive attitude sees the empiricist repertoire partly justified:

(67) Usein ärtyneenä kuuntelee 'englannista suomennettuja' käyttösanoin arkikielessä. Koska kuitenkin Eurooppa yhdentyy ja väestö liikehtii voimakkaammin maasta toiseen on tällainen kielten sekamelska täysin odotettavaa.

The positive attitude agrees with the content of the empiricist repertoire, that is, the integration of the world affects languages, too. Nevertheless, the positive attitude manages to maintain its original position by connotating the result of the cultural exchange negatively. It regards the consequence of the language mixing as a mess and, in this way, brings forth the realist repertoire's idea of the disadvantageous nature of English adoptions and adaptations.

*Common-places in the negative attitude:*

Common-places could also be identified in the negative attitude, as the next examples show:

(68) Mitä viittasitte suomalaisten kielitaitoon, on nuoremmalla sukupolvella jo nyt maailmanlaajuisesti erittäin korkeatasoinen englannin kielen taito.

(69) Virtanen kritisoi myös suomalaisten "näennäiskielitaitoa": töksähtelevää, epäkohteliasta hapuilua. Totuus on kuitenkin se, että tämä pitää paikkansa korkeintaan joidenkin keski-ikäisten miesten parissa. Suomalaiset nuoret ovat yleensä hyvin tottuneita erilaisiin kulttuureihin ja ihmisiin ja osaavat kommunikoida sujuvasti ja mallikkaasti.

The negative attitude admits that the statements formulated by the positive attitude about the Finns' poor skills in English are partly justified. However, the negative attitude manages to maintain its own position by admitting the justifications of the positive attitudes only to a certain extent. As examples (68) and (69) show, the claims about the poor skills in English only concern some 'middle-aged men'; the justifications are not applied to young people or women, both of these being groups that the subjects of the present study can identify themselves with.

In summary, focusing on reflexivity of the attitudes means observing the similarities in content and form between contestable positions in argumentation. The use of interpretative repertoires and instances of criticism involves drawing upon the same elements as the other positions do, but at the same time denying the existence of the other possible accounts or categorizations. The use of common-places, in contrast, draws upon the same elements as other contestable positions do, but at the same time it is acknowledged that the other accounts or categorizations, other attitudes, are also possible.

In the present study, it was noticed that interpretative repertoires identified formed three pairs that opposed each other. Such pairs were formed by the fatalist and empiricist repertoires, the realist and rationalist repertoires as well as the separatist and nationalist repertoires. When observing these pairs, it can be

argued that there are some strong cultural conventions that are closely connected with the discourse on English and its use in Finland. These are: cultural exchange, the power of the media, trends, and the status of national identity in Finland.

The instances of criticism could only be found among those instances coded as the positive attitude. These instances support the idea that became evident already in connection with the identification of the repertoires; that is, rationality is also a strong convention in the discourse on language attitudes.

Common-places could be identified in the instances coded both as positive and as negative. Notions on them highlighted the matters in the discourse on English and its use in Finland that are not really matters for debate but are often rhetorically used to support contestable positions. The problems in translating the loan words, universality of the English loan words, and the impact of the cultural exchange on language mixing seemed to be such matters.

## 6 CONCLUSION

The present study had two objectives which overlapped with one another. First, an attempt was made to avoid the problems that exist in positivistic research on language attitudes. This was done by applying an alternative method suggested by Potter and Wetherell (1987), that is, discourse analysis. The definition of the term 'attitude' by Billig (1989, 1991) also supported this attempt. Second, the study was conducted in order to find out how language attitudes towards English are constructed in the writing of non-native speakers of English. It was asked what kinds of interpretative repertoires are to be identified in the discourse concerning English and its use in Finland, and how the reflexivity of attitudes is to be identified in the same discourse. Next, the findings of the present study are summarized. Secondly, the findings and methodology chosen in the present study are discussed and evaluated. Finally, some suggestions for further research are made.

### 6.1 Summary of the findings

The analysis consisted of three phases. These were the construction of two opposite attitudes, identification of the interpretative repertoires and observations on the reflexivity of the attitudes.

To begin with, as a result of the coding of the data, two opposite attitudes, called the positive and the negative attitude, were constructed. The positive attitude was constructed of the instances in the responses that were in favour of the arguments proposed in the Letter-to-the-Editor. The positive attitude argued that Finnish is losing its vitality to English. It claimed that English loan words are an artificial way of improving Finnish in expression and informativeness. Also the disadvantages caused by language-mixing were stressed. The positive attitude supported the idea that the competence of Finns in English was not necessarily good. They had problems especially in speaking English. The positive attitude did not comment on the argument concerning

legislatory actions in protecting languages.

The negative attitude was constructed of the instances that were against the arguments presented in the Letter-to-the-Editor. It disagreed strongly with the idea that Finnish is losing its vitality to English. The influence of English was seen as natural, and the advantages it brings with it were several. The negative attitude also considered that the competence of Finns in English is at least good. It opposed the use of legislative actions to protect languages from foreign influence.

Secondly, seven interpretative repertoires were identified through the features of the content and/or form, that is, how these were constructed in the data. Four of these were identified in the positive attitude and three of them in the negative attitude.

The four repertoires identified in the positive attitude were the separatist, national-romanticist, fatalist and realist repertoires. These were all used to strengthen the position that argued that mixing English and Finnish had negative effects on the Finnish language, its speakers and the status of Finland. The repertoires differed from each other mainly in content. The separatist and the national-romanticist repertoires were constructed around value judgements of both English and Finnish, whereas the fatalist repertoire named the ones that were to be blamed for a flood of adoptions and adaptations of English. The realist repertoire, in contrast, stressed the role of practical consequences of language mixing. Only the national-romanticist repertoire differed clearly also in form. Whereas the other repertoires were constructed in a-matter-of-fact style, the national-romanticist repertoire made use of colloquial and poetic expressions.

The three repertoires identified in the negative attitude were the empiricist, nationalist and rationalist repertoires. They were all used to strengthen the position arguing that the use of Finnish mixed with English had positive effects on the Finnish language, its speakers and the status of Finland. The identification of these repertoires was based on variability in content. The empiricist and rationalist repertoires supported each other. They both approached the matters of controversy without value judgements entailed in the argumentation; emotional argumentation and personal involvement were avoided.

Instead, the values of modern society, such as precision, efficacy, and logic were highlighted. The argumentation was based on facts, either generally known or personally experienced. The nationalist repertoire, in contrast, consisted of instances involving emotional attachment to and value judgements about the controversial issues.

The clearest difference between the two groups of interpretative repertoires was the varying emphasis on rationality and emotionality. The repertoires used in the positive attitude appealed mainly to readers' emotions and values, the repertoires used in the negative attitude appealed to readers' common sense and rational thinking.

Finally, the reflexivity of the attitudes was investigated. It was noticed that the positive and negative attitudes reflected each other in three different ways. First, the repertoires identified earlier functioned as opponents to each other. The empiricist repertoire opposed the fatalist repertoire, the rationalist repertoire opposed the realist repertoire, and the nationalist repertoire opposed the separatist repertoire. The contradictory nature of these repertoire pairs became evident particularly in the opposite use of a set of similar terms or in the use of similar forms. Second, the reflexivity of the attitudes was visible in instances of criticism. These instances were not included in any of the repertoires; rather, they were used to criticize the repertoires of the opposite attitude. In the present data, most of the instances of criticism were identified in the positive attitude, and they mostly criticized the rational repertoire identified in the negative attitude. The third form of reflexivity was common-places. These were instances where the elements of the opposite attitude were not criticized but rather taken as possibilities. Common-places were found both in the repertoires of the positive and negative attitudes.

## **6.2 Discussion of the findings and methodology**

Even though the Letters-to-the-Editor situation was simulated in the present study, it turned out to be quite an accurate way of arguing on language attitudes

towards the use of English in Finland. During the research process argumentation concerning English and its use in Finland appeared in the Letters-to-the-Editor columns of several newspapers, as well of national ones (e.g. *Helsingin Sanomat*, 16-28 October 1996) as of local ones (e.g. *Keskisuomalainen*, 2-6 February 1997) and tabloids (e.g. *Iltasanomat*, 24-26 June 1996). Often the comments and accusations were identical to the ones in the data of the present study.

A central idea for the present study was not, as it has traditionally been the case in studies on language attitudes, to find out the 'true' attitudes towards English and its use in Finland. This is why no direct conclusions based on the comparison with the previous studies can be made. However, some similarities to the findings of the previous surveys (e.g. Pollari (1993), Helle (1995) and Henriksson (1996), see section 2.3.2) and the present study were noticed.

The construction of the positive and negative attitude certainly gave information comparable to the aforementioned studies. Even though the findings could not be reported in statistical form, it was clear that the responses divided between those who found English a threat to Finnish, and those who did not. The situations in which the use of foreign elements were found more acceptable were, for example, scientific and technological uses of language, and the language of youth culture. The skill area that was considered important was oral communication. It was not, however, considered important for Finns to speak English fluently, but, on the whole, to have the courage to speak up. Overall, English was considered very important for Finns in order for them to compete internationally.

Whereas the studies using traditional methods only tend to describe and define the language attitudes of the subjects, the studies applying discourse analysis can go somewhat deeper, as was the case in the present study. The identification of the various interpretative repertoires, which are in contradiction with each other, shows that an attitude is not an entity in the minds of the speakers/writers which can be distinguished from its object. By observing the subjects' views on English and its use in Finland in written discourse, it was possible to observe how people formulate attitudes in the course of discourse. In

other words, the attitude and its object are not separate entities. Two notions support this argument. First, not only one but several interpretative repertoires can be used by one person in the same context. Even though the present study focused only on identifying the repertoires, there was evidence that several repertoires could be identified even in short texts. This observation also supports the claims that concern the stability of an attitude. The use of several repertoires suggests that attitudes are variable, rather than stable. One limitation of the present study was, however, that even though the study based on the idea that attitudes are not stable and there is variability in them, the analysis was not able to prove it convincingly, due to the fact that the data consisted of short texts which were processed as a one big corpus.

Second, the notion that the same repertoires identified in the discourse concerning the use of English in Finland can also be used in discourses on different themes supports the idea that people formulate their attitudes at the same time they construct social reality in discourse. It could be hypothesized that repertoires, such as the national-romanticist or nationalist ones, could be used, for example, in argumentation that concerns Swedish as the second official language in Finland. Repertoires, such as the realist and rationalist ones, could probably be identified in the argumentation concerning Finland as a member of the European Union. In other words, these notions justify the criticism of the traditional definitions of attitudes, and they also give more credit to the social constructionist way of defining the term.

Apart from studying language attitudes, the present study was an attempt to avoid at least some of the methodological problems of positivistic research on language attitudes. Regarding an attitude as a view rather than a fixed mental entity opened up the possibility of using qualitative methods, more specifically discourse analysis, in the present study. Comparing the results of the present study with the results of some studies conducted by positivistic methods, it is easy to see how the application of discourse analysis has provided different possibilities to study texts and to produce analysis that is more innovative and fresher.

There are several advantages in the use of discourse analysis



compared to the traditionally used methods in research on language attitudes. First of all, the observer's paradox is no more of concern in discourse analysis. The researcher's influence on responses by subjects is seen as valuable because it is part of the testing environment, the social reality, where data are collected. Second, the danger of responses reflecting socially desirable responses, that is the primary limitation of the direct method, can be controlled at least to some degree when one uses discourse analysis. Responses being individually formulated by subjects, either in speech or writing, makes it more difficult for the subjects to hide their private attitudes. Discourse analysis can, in a way, also be regarded as a direct method as it studies discourse directly, and not any mental entities beyond it. Third, the use of discourse analysis avoids some of the problems of the indirect methods. Discourse analysis is not artificial for it focuses on attitudes in real-life contexts instead of sterile laboratory conditions. It also allows subjects to react to the stimulus in their own way, rather than having them work with the categories predetermined by researchers.

It is not to say, however, that discourse analysis is the perfect methodology for research on language attitudes or any other areas of study. It certainly opens up new possibilities and views to the research but, at the same time, it creates new problems. According to Parker and Burman (1993), there are as many as 32 problems with discourse analysis.

Some problems arose also in the present study. Perhaps the biggest difficulty was that discourse analysis did not provide a sufficiently rigorous methodology but only a framework for it. All the central decisions concerning the analysis could not be made until in the middle of the process itself. This made the process of analysis somewhat slow and it required a lot of work and nerves from the researcher.

Another difficulty was that the findings of a discourse-analytic study are not very generalizable as such. They can only be seen as an interpretation of the particular situation made by one person. It is difficult to move the interpretation of a specific text to a wider context. To be able to do that, the researcher must have awareness of cultural trends, and of political and social developments. In addition, analysing discourse is an unfinished business. In the

beginning of every discourse-analytic study a decision has to be made concerning, for example, how exact and detailed an analysis of the repertoires is necessary. In the present study, it was seen as reasonable to focus on identifying the repertoires as large entities. If a more complicated way of analysis had been chosen, every repertoire identified in the present study could, for example, have been divided into several, more specific repertoires.

### **6.3 Suggestions for further research**

Discourse-analytic methods used in research on language attitudes are still an unexplored arena that provides many possibilities for future studies. Some ideas for further projects can be suggested on the basis of the present study.

To begin with, one of the basic assumptions of discourse-analytic research is that talk or writing is action orientated: what people say will vary with features of the situation and what they are doing. Instead of focusing on short texts of several people, as was done in the present study, language attitudes and their construction could be studied in a single person's discourse concerning English in different contexts. Analyses could focus, for example, on how a subject's attitudes are constructed when arguing about English in a parents' meeting, during a trip to London or when reading advertisements in magazines. In this way, the variability of the language attitudes could be studied in greater detail.

Secondly, spoken discourse has been the major interest of discourse-analytic studies in areas such as social psychology and sociology and there is no reason why it could not be studied in connection with language attitudes, too. Studying spoken discourse provides possibilities to observe perhaps more spontaneous (re)actions than written discourse does, and in this way, it could enable the researcher to get nearer at subjects' 'true' attitudes. Also, spoken discourse is hardly a monologue; it often involves at least two participants: the subject and the researcher. It would be of interest to study the ways how the researcher's questions and comments affect the subject's responses: does the

subject feel more pressured to reflect other possibly competing views and their justifications in a face-to-face situation than he/she does in written discourse.

Finally, the simulated Letters-to-the-Editor situation of the present study certainly provided a fruitful perspective on studying attitudinal argumentation in the context where the opposite attitude is not physically present. However, one important question that should be asked is how do interpretative repertoires and especially the reflexivity of attitudes in such a context differ from those identified in contexts where the opposite attitude is physically present. For example, debates or negotiations, authentic or simulated, could be investigated.

So far, traditional methods (e.g. the matched-guise technique) and qualitative methods, (e.g. discourse analysis) have been considered as competing paradigms that exclude one another. The fact is, however, that they both have their benefits as well as their problems when applied to research on language attitudes. Their use side by side could, perhaps, maximize the benefits and minimize the disadvantages. It certainly would create new perspectives on research on language attitudes and it could provide a better understanding of attitudes towards English, for example.

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**INSTRUCTIONS AND LETTER-TO-THE-EDITOR**

Hyvä opiskelija!

Tämän tehtävän tarkoitus on kerätä aineistoa Jyväskylän yliopiston englannin laitokselle tehtävää pro gradu tutkielmaa varten. Aineistoa kerätään sekä suomen kielen että englannin kielen opiskelijoilta.

Pyydän sinua kirjoittamaan **vastineen yleisönosastokirjoitukseen (HS 1.2.1996)** suomeksi, annettujen ohjeiden mukaisesti. Voit kirjoittaa sen käsin ohessa olevalle tyhjälle paperille tai liittää mukaan tulostetun/ konekirjoitetun version. Nimi- ja osoitetiedot eivät ole tarpeen.

Kiittäen ja mukavaa kevättä toivottaen

  
Irene Hyrkstedt  
Jyväskylän yliopisto  
englannin kielen laitos

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## ENGLANTIKO TOINEN ÄIDINKIELEMME?

Intialaisten puhuma englanti on saanut britit huolestumaan ja lähettämään Intiaan kielenhuoltajia. Intialaiset kun tuppaavat kääntämään omat koukeroiset lauserakenteensa suoraan englannin kieleen vähät välittämättä englannin omista käytänteistä. Ranskalaiset puolestaan ovat laatineet lain estämään englanninkielisten ilmaisujen pesiytymisen ranskan kieleen. Mitä tekee suomalainen?

Ridge ja Caroline Romppaiset ajavat Expressbusseilla ja syövät edelleen Panpizzaslicejä, Chicken Nuggetteja ja Clubburgermealejä, huutelevat toisilleen "Fuck you!" about jatkuvasti ja katsovat Hockey Nightia ja Jyrki Spotlightia. Pikkutenavien suurimmat sankarit ovat Power Rangersit ja Tiny Toonsit. Ystäviä etsitään lehtien palstoilta nimimerkeillä Ms Cool, You are my dream ja Joyride ja kun se oikea löytyy, ollaan ainakin kihlausilmoitusten perusteella "always together", "sealed with a kiss". Tuulipukukansanakin tunnetut suomalaiset pukeutuvat nykyisin vain Citymarketeista hankittuihin unisex-asuihin, koska se on in. Happy Hoursit on hot ja perjantain talk-showta ei missata. Ja tieteen kielestä näitä kukkasia vasta löytyisikin...

Moisesta käytöstä voisi päätellä, että englanti on suomalaisten toinen äidinkieli. Mutta totuus paljastuu, kun pitäisi kommunikoida kansainvälisillä areenoilla. Suusta tulee ulos englantia Pertti Salolaisittain ja viettely-yritys typistyy muotoon "Your man go, we go room". Keskitytäänpä siis vastaisuudessa käyttämään vain yhtä kieltä kerrallaan ja tietysti oikein, jotta viestit menisivät perille niin Suomessa kuin maailmallakin. Muutoin brittiläiset kielieksperit saattavat olla pianikin kolkuttelemassa meidän ovillamme...

**VELJO VIRTANEN, DI**  
Helsinki



**Appendix 2****LETTER-TO-THE-EDITOR IN ENGLISH****ENGLISH - OUR SECOND NATIVE LANGUAGE?**

The variety of English spoken by people in India worries the Brits and so they have sent some linguistic experts to India. People in India tend to use complex Indian structures also when using English without caring about the rules of English at all. The French, on the other hand, have established a law to hinder the mixing of English into French. But what do the Finns do?

Ridge and Caroline Romppainen still go by Express bus and eat pan pizza slices, chicken nuggets and clubburger meals; they insult each other with “fuck yous” all the time. They watch Hockey Night and Jyrki Spotlight. Little kids adore such heros as Power Rangers and Tiny Toons. Ms Cool, You are my dream and Joyride seek friends in the newspaper advertisements and when Mr or Mrs Right is found, the happy couple announces to be ‘always together’, ‘sealed with a kiss’ in the same newspapers. The Finns, a.k.a. the sportswear people, wear these days only unisex clothes bought in Citymarket, because it is in. Happy Hours in pubs are really hot and no one misses the friday night talkshow. And scientific language is completely a story of its own where loan words are concerned...

On the basis of these examples it could be argued that English is the second native language in Finland. But the truth is exposed when we speak English in international arenas. English is used in ‘Pertti Salolainen’ style and seduction is formulated shortly ‘ your man go, we go room’. So, let us concentrate on keeping languages separate in the future and also to use them right, so that messages would be conveyed as well in Finland as outside the Finnish borders. Otherwise we might soon find the linguistic experts from Britain knocking on our doors...

**VELJO VIRTANEN**, graduate engineer  
Helsinki

## Appendix 3

## EXAMPLES IN ENGLISH

(TITLE) East west Finnish is best

*Section 5.2.1:*

- (1) Veijo Virtanen, I agree with you that Finns try to use English as their second native language in a stupid way.
- (2) Veijo Virtanen could not have written more accurately on the ridiculous use of English in Finland in the commentary "English - our second native language?".
- (3) The Finns have gone mad with English expressions, repeating them as if they were magic words...
- (4) I am not ready to turn my back on my parents' world and philosophy of life. My own language is far too dear for me so that I could change it for a foreign one even in certain situations. I must be a freak compared with other people that are my age because I do not want to replace the essential part of my identity, my native language, with something imported.
- (5) However, our country and people are forced to communicate more and more with the world outside.
- (6) ... our country on the edge of Europe ...
- (7) The backward people of Finland ...
- (8) ... in the wall of the idiots' house in the Finnish culture and language.
- (9) I would take Iceland for a good model because anglicisms are consciously avoided there by naming new things with "own" Icelandic names.
- (10) A foreigner who visits Finland for the first time might think that English is our second native language.
- (11) Let us maintain Finnish pure so that Americans are not able to accuse us of imitating them.
- (12) We would build a better image of our country on the edge of Europe and we would profit from it.
- (13) Only through wholesome knowledge of and respect for other cultures we are able to gain respect for ourselves in the eyes of the others - perhaps we would also learn to respect ourselves; perhaps our self-esteem as Finns would develop so much that we need not to use foreign words in the titles of Tvshows nor in the names of the shops and people.
- (14) Are we afraid of that Finnish expressions are somehow inferior when we see everyday phenomena in English? Do we feel perhaps superiority when we are imitating them? Do we not dare to be Finnish-speaking anymore?

*Section 5.2.2:*

- (15) One should point out people the positive features of their own culture and make them to understand that we do not have to accept all of the American shit.
- (16) English has arrived and it will not come off in the Finnish culture and language just like the s..t will not come off in the wall of the idiots' house.
- (17) It is naturally vital to be able to speak English in the modern world but at least as vital is to preserve our national language without forgetting its wealth of expression and beauty. Let us fight for the existence of our language!
- (18) We have a really beautiful language, the fabulous Finnish language.

### Section 5.2.3:

- (19) In reality, however, one must be able to speak and communicate in English. Those skills are not taught in school.
- (20) The uncapability of Finns (some of them) to speak English in real situations is caused by the methods used in English teaching: at least when I was attending the upper secondary school, the score of the English test could be almost zero because of some harmless spelling mistakes, even though the content of the message does not suffer - so is it a surprise that it sometimes takes a lot of courage to speak English?
- (21) The school should concentrate on spreading information on other cultures, and not only on the American culture, to Finnish youngsters, too.
- (22) The influence of the Anglo-American culture, which has been "fed" to us already over decades through, for example, television, films and music, is visible in our use of Finnish.
- (23) Finnish has turned into Finglish and I think that the biggest reason for that is commercialism and the advertisers, who do not translate trade names in Finnish but the products are marketed with their names derived from English.
- (24) It is certainly no exaggeration to say that the destiny of the Finnish language is on the point of those people's pens who use Finnish as a working tool.

### Section 5.2.4:

- (25) Especially the older people are not aware of the meaning of the words, it is actually discrimination that a part of the people do not understand what kind of products are sold in a shop named "Toyland".
- (26) On the other hand, I do understand those youngsters who have found models for social relations in the world of television shows. If they have not seen their parents to show affection, it is easier to whisper "I love you" than to clearly indicate the deepness of their own feelings. Perhaps it is even easier to avoid responsibility by shouting fuck yous. One cannot, dare not or do not want to risk one's identity?
- (27) The English invasion is especially harmful for children, who cannot order pan pizza slices in Finnish anymore and whose capability of expressing themselves in Finnish is getting worse when English gibberishes are used to avoid the difficulties in the use of Finnish.
- (28) The extensive flow of foreign influence in languages in these days destroys the language instinct of the Finnish speakers, especially of the younger ones. English expressions are translated as such in Finnish even if the translations were 'broken' Finnish.
- (29) You can say to a nosy granny 'kiss my ass', if she annoys you. Granny will not understand but only admires the skills of the younger generations.

### Section 5.2.5:

- (30) I think it is totally normal that English influences Finnish.
- (31) Mixing languages and loan words are a part of natural development and one should not be afraid of it.
- (32) Languages have influenced each other throughout centuries, or even millennia. Even if Finnish has not maintained its purity throughout the times. For example, such a word as 'tyyli', which sounds very Finnish and belongs to everyday vocabulary, originates from the English word 'style'. Perhaps the word 'nugget' will transfer into Finnish form such as 'nuketti' or 'hockey' will turn out to be 'hok(k)i', 'cool' will be 'kooli' etc.
- (33) ...they seem not to remember the fact that when William the Conqueror defeated the English it caused a similar situation; French became the administrative language of Britain.
- (34) Besides, most loan words are only visible in our language for a while before they disappear. My grandmother used a lot of Swedish loan words, for example, such as "hantuuki" for a small towel. My mother uses the word very rarely, I use it hardly ever.
- (35) Languages will live only as multiform and multiform only.

(36) Languages will survive, if they deserve it.

*Section 5.2.6:*

(37) Finland - a one-horse town in the North?... Finns have accepted the challenge of modern times and they have adapted themselves an international role. In the modern world we cannot isolate ourselves on the northern ice fields but we have to be open and tolerant for new dimensions of life.

(38) We (Finland and the Finns) are not only 'We' anymore, but the pronoun includes the whole Europe.

(39) Welcome to Finland that is becoming international very fast. ... Self-esteem and developing Finland does not need any advisors and people patting it on the back anymore!

(40) It is natural that foreign words are adapted: they hardly destroy the own identity.

(41) Sportswear as national costume -style is a disappearing natural resource. ... Hopefully, it brings a little bit foreign culture with it and prepares the ground for tolerance. The Finnish identity that is threatened by 'unisex' and 'clubburger' is weak and superficial.

(42) Let us leave linguistic fanaticism to French who detonate nuclear bombs, anyway.

(43) Finns speak foreign languages much better than, for example, people in South-Europe.

(44) What if we took Iceland as a model and would develop Finnish equivalents for all of the words. That would make language learning really difficult.

(45) ... I do not give a shit what Brits think about us. ... There is no need to bow and scrape before other languages and nationalities!

*Section 5.2.7:*

(46) ... English loans are not, in fact, English anymore when they are adapted in Finnish; they are just string of sounds which carry a certain meaning, and it does not matter where the particular string of sounds and its meaning come from. ...

(47) Loan words bring richness and colour for a language.

(48) For example, translating the film titles often causes really empty expressions. It would be more sensible to use English expressions, when the result is more meaningful. There's also no point to translate some technical terms because English terms are much more clearer and more accurate.

(49) Virtanen could try to translate such English terms as 'unisex', 'happy hour' and 'talk show' into such Finnish terms that include the same idea and are as pithy and practical to use as the original loan words. My suggestions are: *molemmille sukupuolille sopiva asu*, *onnellinen tunti* and *keskusteluviihdetunti*. Or shorter versions: *miesnaisasut*, *ilotovi* and *puheviihdyke*.

(50) In international arenas, we have the advantage over others - thanks to the everyday English expressions.

(51) Names of the most innovations are first learned in English because then it is possible to use information and source materials that are in English. When the term becomes more familiar, the Finnish term will replace the loan word. 'Printteri' [the printer] was used a long time before it was replaced by 'tulostin'. 'Modeemin paudit' [the bauds of the modem] are still relevantly unfamiliar for the big audience and that is why they do not have Finnish name, yet.

(52) When knowing the meaning of 'panpizzaslices, chicken nuggets and clubburger meals', Ridge and Caroline Romppainen, for example, do not have to be afraid of starving when travelling outside the Finnish borders.

(53) In the world that is becoming more and more international, it is possible to reach more potential clients by means of English terms.

(54) Besides, different services and product names in English make the life easier for foreigners visiting Finland.

*Section 5.3.1:*

- (55) I do not consider the 'nesting' of English in Finnish as a threat. It is a part of language development process.
- (56) It is decided by the people in marketing and advertizing that English is fashionable.
- (57) ...besides, it gets easier to practice small talk, which have been foreign to Finns' nature so far, when the vocabulary in English is not limited to "yes" and "no" only.
- (58) Older people, who might understand Swedish or German, get easily confused in such a situation.
- (59) The Germans must appreciate their language because they dub foreign television programmes. Why would not we do the same?
- (60) It has been inspiring to notice that we are not anymore narrow-minded towards international influence and foreign terms in Finland, as they are, for example, in France and England.

*Section 5.3.2:*

- (61) Language skills hardly get any better by repeating same English phrases.
- (62) English sells - or does it? Precious names that are pronounced wrong by an average Finn have been heard enough.
- (63) Excessive use of English cannot be justified by the growing numbers of foreigners, yet: there is only about 70 000 foreigners living in Finland.
- (64) However, John Doe is not always to blame, because, if you look at, for example, the programmes shown in Channel 3, you do not have to wonder anymore the way things are. ...95% of the series, broadcast by Channel 3, are American, or stupid Finnish entertainment.

*Section 5.3.3:*

- (65) The fact is that our, no doubt about, beautiful native language that belongs to the Finnish-Ugrian language family does not have a very good equivalent for 'talk show', 'pizza slice', 'Power Rangers' and other convenient expressions. Who would rush gladly in 'aja sisään' -grill or have a beer during 'iloi set tunnit'.
- (66) International names spread easier, they are easier to memorize and their pronunciation is easier for foreigners than the pronunciation of Finnish expressions.
- (67) It often irritates to listen English loan words adapted in Finnish. However, Europe is integrating and people are moving from one country to another, so it is to be expected that languages mix.
- (68) About the language skills of Finns, the younger generations have already internationally high standard skills in English.
- (69) Virtanen also criticizes Finns' apparent language skills: that is jerky, impolite fumbling. The truth is, however, that only some middle-aged men can be blamed for that. Young Finns are in general very accustomed with different cultures and people and they can communicate fluently and elegantly.

## Appendix 4

## DATA: Responses to the Letter-to-the-Editor

\*Jyväskylä 21.3. 1996

Vastaus Veijo Virtaselle: KIELIMUURITKO PYSTYYN?

Virtanen kommentaa kirjoituksessaan suomalaisia käyttämään vain yhtä kieltä kerrallaan. Ilmeisesti hänen mielestään suomenkielestä tulisi karsia kaikki lainasanat ja vierasperäiset termit ja nimet pois. Ja tämäkö auttaisi suomalaisten kielitaitoa; se, että emme saisi mistään kautta vieraskielistä ainesta.

Miksei kielten voi sallia vähän sekoittuakin, eiväthän ne vuosisatojen ajan ole olleet mitään eristyksissä olevia salaisuuksia. Suomen kieli ei todellakaan ole rappiolla, vaikka puhemielessä vieraita sanoja käytetäänkin. Tietääkseni kansalaisemme vielä ymmärtävät toisiaan joka puolela maata ja osaavat myös lukea suomenkielisiä lehtiä ja kirjoja. Ja mitä englannin kommunikointivaikeuksiin tulee, täytyisikö meidän siis pärjätä yhdellä kielellä eli suomella ympäri maailmaa? Vieraalla kielellä ei saisi ilmeisesti kommunikoida ollenkaan, jos ei sitä kerran taida täydellisesti. Ja lasten ja nuorten tulisi oppia kieliä vain lukemalla koulussa kieliooppia muutama tunti viikossa, ja jos ei opi, ei kieltä tarvitse käyttääkään.

Virtanen voisi muuten kokeilla kääntää englanninkieliset nimitykset esim. unisex-asut, happy hour ja talk-show sellaisiin muotoihin, jotka sisältävät saman ajatuksen ja ovat yhtä ytimekkäitä ja jotka tulisivat suomalaisille yhtä käytännöllisiksi kuin alkumuotonsa. Ehdotuksiani ovat: *molemmille sukupuolille sopiva asu, onnellinen tunti ja keskusteluviihdetunti*. Tai sitten lyhyempiä versioita: *miesnaisasut, ilotovi ja puhe-viihdyke*.

Englanninkielisistä sanakirjoista löytyy sana *sauna*, äännetään hieman eri lailla kuin meillä (suunnilleen soona). Kas kun eivät ole suojelleet kieltään muiden kielten vaikutteilta...

Minkähänlainen olisi suomalaisten kielitaito, jos meidät olisi täysin suljettu vieraiden kielten vaikutuspiiriltä? Onneksi Isoveli ei vielä valvo kielenkäyttöämme, olisiko tämä Virtasen haavekuva; kaikkia huonosti vieraita kieliä osaavia kansalaisia kielletään vieraan kielen käyttö, suomella on pärjättävä vaikka Timbuktussa...

\*Suomi - Pohjoinen Takapajula?

Veijo Virtanen kirjoitti tällä palstalla "puhtaan" äidinkielen puolesta suomen toista äidinkieltä, englantia vastaan. Totta on, että suomalaiset ovat yhä enenevässä määrin alkaneet käyttää englanninkielisiä ilmaisuja, koska se on cool, in ja trendikää. Mutta mitä sitten? Kautta aikojen kielet ovat imeneet vaikutteita toisista kielistä silti menettämättä omaa identiteettiään ja ainutlaatuisuuttaan. Suomalaiset ovat vastanneet ajan haasteisiin ja omaksuneet kansainvälistyvän roolin. Nykymaailmassa emme voi eristäytyä pohjoisille jääkentillemme vaan meidän on kyettävä olemaan avoimia ja suvaitsevaisia uusille ulottuvuuksille.

Suomalaiset ovat erittäin kielitaitoisia, ja harvan suomea ulkomailla edustavan kielitaito rajoittuu "we go room"-tyyppiseen keskusteluun. Jäykkää ääntämistä ei voida pitää huonona, poliitikot käyttävät englantia usein yleiskielenä - lingua francana, jolla kommunikoidaan muuten yhteisen kielen puuttuessa. Meillä ei tosiaankaan ole varaa "käyttää" yhtä kieltä kerrallaan, sillä juuri silloin viestimme maailmalla jäisivät taatusti epäselviksi.

FINGLISH

\*Veijo Virtanen esitti huolestuneisuutensa (HS 1.2.1996) englanninkielisten ilmausten ryntäyksestä suomalaisten sanavarastoon. Myönnettävä on, että esimerkit Ridge ja Caroline Romppaisineen ovat liioittelevaisuudessaankin jo suomalaista arkipäivää. Virtanen ehdottaakin, että kielet yleensäkin pidettäisiin erillään, jotta ymmärrys pelaisi kommunikoiden välillä. Tämä on kuitenkin kerrassaan uskomaton ja epärealistinen toive.

Kielet ovat vuosisatojen, jollei tuhansienkin, kuluessa saaneet vaikutteita toinen toiseltaan. Suomikaan ei ole säilynyt "puhtaana" aikojen saatossa. Esimerkiksi niinkin "suomalaiselta" kuulostava, jokaisen aktiiviseen sanavarastoon kuuluva sana kuin "tyyli" onkin peräisin englannin sanasta "style". Kenties nuggeteistakin muovautuu suomalaisen suussa kaikin puolin kieleenkäypä sana "nuketit", hockeysta "hok(k)i", coolista "kooli" jne. Lainautumista ei voida ehdottomasti välttää, ei edes Ranskan mallia käyttäen.

Virtanen kritisoi myös suomalaisten "näennäiskielitaitoa": töksähtelevää, epäkohteliasta hapuilua. Totuus on kuitenkin, että tämä pitää paikkansa korkeintaan joidenkin keski-ikäisten miesten parissa. Suomalaiset nuoret ovat yleensä hyvin tottuneita erilaisiin kulttuureihin ja ihmisiin ja osaavat kommunikoida sujuvasti ja mallikkaasti.

On tietysti valitettavaa, jos äidinkielemme kärsii englannin - tai minkä tahansa muun - kielen painottuvasta osuudesta yhteiskunnassamme. Mutta järki on pidettävä mukana: suomalaiset kommunikoiivat nyt ja tulevaisuudessa keskenään omalla äidinkielellään eli suomeksi ja ulkomailla vierasmaalaisten kanssa - muun kielitaidon puuttuessa - kansainvälisellä "yleiskielellä", englanniksi. Todellista vaaraa näiden kielten lopullisesta yhteensulautumisesta tuskin on, eikä meidän tarvitse siten odotella ovillemme brittiläisiä kielenhuoltajia.

#### \*KANSAINVÄLISTYVÄ SUOMI EI VIERASKIELISIÄ TERMEJÄ PELKÄÄ

Veijo Virtasen kirjoitus (HS 1.2.1996) englanninkielisten ilmausten vähentämiseksi sai melkein pä kylmät väreet kulkemaan pitkin selkäpiitä. On ollut ilahduttavaa huomata, ettei meillä Suomessa enää olla ahdasmielisiä

kansainvälisille vaikutteille ja vieraskielisille termeille, kuten muun muassa Virtasen mainitsemissa Ranskassa ja Englannissa. Suomi kansainvälistyy entisestään, ja yhdyin Virtasen näkemykseen siinä, että englannin kielestä on vähitellen tulossa meille suomalaisille yhä tärkeämpi kieli suomen kielen rinnalle, mutta toisin kuin edellämainittu kirjoittaja, en näe englannin kielen yleistymisen millään lailla uhkaavan äidinkielemme suomen asemaa.

Kansainvälisillä areenoilla saamme etulyöntiaseman - kiitos englanninkielisten ilmausten yleistymisen! Sisäistettyään "panpizzaslicet, chicken-nuggetit ja club-burgermealit" ei esimerkiksi Ridge ja Caroline Romppaisenkaan enää tarvitse pelätä kuolevansa nälkään astuessaa kotimaan rajojen ulkopuolelle, ja lisäksi suomalaisille toistaiseksi aika vieraan "smalltalkinkin" harjoittelu helpottunee, kun englanninkielinen sanavarasto ei rajoitu pelkästään "yes-no"-tasolle. Ja mitä taas tulee suomalaisten usein omaperäisen jäykäkköön kommunikointitapaan, senkin voi mielestäni kääntää positiiviseksi ominaisuudeksi. Mikä ettei esimerkiksi englantia "Pertti Salolaisittain" puhuva, harvasanainen suomalainen mies onnistuisi viettely-yrityksissään maailmallakin - onhan tällainen Tarzan-tyyppinen mies jopa monen naisen unelma! Viis puutteellisesta kieliposta tai eksotisesta kuuloisesta ääntämyksestä!

Joten, minun puolestani, tervetuloa vain "kohisemalla kansainvälistyvään" Suomeen, arvoisat brittiläiset kieliekspertit! Täällä tullette jo toimeen englannin kielelläkin, mikäli suomen kieli ei jostain syystä luista. - Neuvojia ja selkääntäputtelijoita tämän päivän itsevarma & kehittyvä Suomi ei kuitenkaan enää kaipa!

J.L., fil.yo JYVÄSKYLÄ

**\*Vastine kirjoitukselle "Englantiko toinen äidinkielemme?"**

Veijo Virtanen ilmaisi huolestuneisuutensa suomalaisten englanninkielisten sanojen ja sanontojen vilkkaasta viljelemisestä. Mielestäni huoli on osaksi perusteltua, osaksi liioiteltua. Kielenkäytössämme näkyy angloamerikkalaisen kulttuurin vaikutus, mitä meille on "syötetty" jo vuosikymmenien ajan mm. television, elokuvien, musiikin kautta. Amerikkalainen show business on löytänyt markkinaraon vaatimattomassa lintukodossamme (sieltä päin katsottuna). Amerikkalaiset markkinoivat tuotteitaan meilläpäin, emmekä enää tiedä mikä on amerikkalaista, mikä suomalaista tai eurooppalaista. McDonalds, Levikset ja Niken lenkkitosut ovat osa identiteettiämme. Mitä eurooppalaista omistamme? Mitä arvostamme?

Suomalainen taitaa 'jenkkislogani' mutta kun pitäisi esimerkiksi keskustella aidon britin kanssa, emme ymmärrä välttämättä heidän puhettaan, mikä eroaa totutusta 'jenkkiaksentista', jota kuulemme TV:stä aina kyllästymiseen asti. Entä missä viipyvät saksalaiset ja ranskalaiset elokuvat elokuvateattereissa, tai espanjalaiset ja italialaiset? Miksi emme ymmärrä Euroopan kielten ja kulttuurien rikkautta? Miksi emme arvosta oman kielemme vivahteikkautta ja perinteitä, joita on jo Kalevalasta asti. Kansalaiskeskustelua- ja heräämistäkö tarvittaisiin vai kenties lakialoitetta Ranskan malliin? Tokkopa kuitenkaan. "Oma kieli mansikka, muu kieli mustikka". Puhutaan Suomessa somea suomalaisille ja opetellaan englantia käytettäväksi kansainvälisissä yhteyksissä, unohtamatta muita maailmankieliä!

'Kielitaito kunniaan, Euroopan kulttuureita kannattamaan'

**\*Mayday, mayday!**

Hyvä DI Virtanen! Eläköön DI Virtanen! Julistettakoon Suomi hätätilaan, uhkaava brittiyhökkäys on ehkäistävä keinolla millä hyvänsä, hakkaa päälle Suomen poika, ettei meitä britit voita! Paranoiaa parhaimmillaan...

**\*Englannin kieli näyttää todellakin olevan valtaamassa meidän omaa kielitämme.** Syynä tähän on tietenkin Amerikka-ihannointi, jossa Suomi on maailman kärkipäässä. Varsinkin nuorille syydetään Amerikkakuvaa tuutin täydeltä. Ja nuoriinhan se tietysti tarttuu. Toki on ymmärrettävää, että nuoriso käyttää slangissaan englannin kieltä, onhan se "ylicoolia hifistellä" kielellä, mutta ei näitä Amerikkaversioita saisi päästää näkyviin katukuvassa. Varsinkin kun vanhempi väestö ei ole perillä sanojen merkityksestä, tähän on suoranaista syrjintää, että osa väestöstä ei ymmärrä mitä tarjoaa kauppa, jonka nimi on "Toyland". Sallittakoon nuorille heidän slanginsa, eihän se kuitenkaan eroa muista "suomalaisista" slangeissa, tiedä vaikka siitä olisi apua kielenopiskelussa. Mutta otetaan englannin kieli pois katukuvasta. Pidetään suomen kieli puhtaana, etteivät amerikkalaiset pääse syyttämään meitä kopiointista.

**\*Vastaus Veijo Virtaselle (HS, 1.2.1996)**

Olen Veijo Virtasen kanssa samaa mieltä siitä, että suomen kielessä englanninkieliset sanat ja väännökset ovat lisääntyneet tarpeettomasti. Usein nämä sanat ovat juuri Virtasen mainitsemia tuotemerkkejä ja erisnimiä. Myös moni yritys on ottanut englanninkielisen nimen. Useimmissa tapauksissa englantilainen ilmaisu on vain muoti-ilmiö, eikä sanavalintaan ole vaikuttanut se, etteikö suomi olisi kyllin rikas kieli ilmaisemaan samaa asiaa niin, että se jokaisen suussa taipuisi. Myös sanojen taipuvuus olisi ongelmattomampaa suomalaisperäisillä sanoilla.

Tuskin Suomessa on kuitenkaan tarpeellista ryhtyä säättämään mitään lainsäädäntöä kielen "puhdistamisesta" ranskalaiseen malliin. Julkisuuudessa tulisi enemmän pitää esillä ja käyttää suomalaisia ilmaisuja sen sijaan, että oikopäätä otetaan käyttöön ensimmäinen mieleen tuleva englanninkielinen sana. Loppujen lopuksi sanavalinnassahan on kyse muodista. Toivottavasti seuraava "kielimuoti" on suomen suosiminen.

Mitä suomalaisten yleiseen kielitaitoon tositalanteissa tulee, en voi yhtyä Virtasen mielipiteeseen. Nykyään suomalainen kieltenopetus on kyllin tasokasta, jotta ulkomailla suomalainen voi tulla ymmärretyksi vaikeuksista. Siitä voidaan tietenkin olla montaa mieltä, mistä arkuus käyttää koulussa opittua kieltä voi johtua. Uudistuneissa ylioppilaskirjoituksissa on mahdollisuus suorittaa suullisen kielitaidon koe, ja sen luulisi innostavan niin oppilaita kuin opettajiakin huomioimaan myös suullisen kielitaidon tärkeyden. Joka tapauksessa suomalainen osaa kieliä, niiden käyttöön tulisi vain kannustaa enemmän

T. P., englanninopiskelija, Jyväskylä

**\*Vastine Veijo Virtasen mielipidekirjoitukseen englantiko toinen äidinkielemme**

Kielten sekoittuminen ja sanojen lainaaminen ovat osa luonnollista kehitystä, eikä siitä pidä kauhistua tarpeettomasti. Veijo Virtasen mainitsemat ranskalaiset lienevät menneet pisimmälle oman kielensä suojelussa; eivät taida muistaa kuinka Wilhelm Valloittajan voitto Englannista aiheutti vastaavanlaisen ilmiön, kun ranskasta tuli Britannian hallinnollinen kieli. Tuolloin aseina olivat poliittinen ja sotilaallinen voima, nyt media, etenkin sähköinen.

Järkevämpää kuin rajoittaa toisen kielen käyttöä, joka on melko mahdotonta arkipäivän puheessa, olisi panostaa kansalaisten äidinkielen, ja opettaa koululaisia arvostamaan omaa ainutlaatuista kieltään. Itse olen englanninopiskelija ja samanaikaisesti kun opin uutta englanninkielestä opin entistä enemmän arvostamaan omaa äidinkieltäni. Suomen kielellä pystyy ilmaisemaan monia vivahteita, jotka esim. englannin kielessä eivät ole mahdollisia, vaikkapa käyttämällä sanapäätteitä -han, -hän, ko, -kö.

Niin kauan kun äidinkielen opetus kouluissa on korkeatasoista - myös esim. sanomalehtien teksteillä ja tv-uutisten kielellä on oma vaikutuksensa - niin meidän ei tarvitse joutua paniikkiin. Sitä paitsi suomalaiset ovat erittäin taitavia muodostamaan lainasanoja lisäämällä sanan loppuun vokaalin tai pudottamalla konsonantin pois, jos niitä alkuperäisassansa on useita peräkkäin, esim. stress; stressi; ressi...

**\*Hyvä Veijo**

On tietysti kiva, että tuot esille yhden näkökulman kielen moniulotteiseen käyttöön ja, että tunnustat kieltä käytettävän vaihtelevasti. Mielenkiintoista olisi tietää, johtuuko huolestumisesi asiasta vain pelostasi siitä, että kirjakieltä ja kirjakielen oikeellisuutta valvovat tarkastajat tekevät ns. "vääripuhujat" naurunalaisiksi ja näin myös sinutkin, koska tunnet kuuluvasi samaan kansalliseen ryhmään kuin em. vai onko syy jokin muu. Esitän tässä muutaman vaihtoehdon 1 sen, että päässäsi pyörii tietty kaavakuva oikeasta kielestä, johon vertaat ulkopuolelta kuullutta, 2 se, että koet kielen standardin yhtäläiseksi kansallisen identiteettistandardin kanssa, se, että pelkäätkin, että Suomen kielen häviävän esim. englannille, kuten esim. ranskankieliset Kanadassa, (kts. esim. Hobsbawm: Nationalismi) vaikka kieltä valvovatkin kaikenlaiset instituutiot, kuten koulut, 3 se, että samastat kielen etnisyyteen, jotka vanhojen Darwinististen oppien mukaisesti korostavat pelkoja em:n sekoittumista "puhtaita rotuja" korruptoivina tekijöinä, vai 4 hävettääkö sinua vain yksinkertaisesti joutua tunnustamaan, että kuulut samaan luotuun kansakuntaan kuin jokin ihminen kuin mainitsemasi Pertti Salolainen, joka hallitsee esim. englannin huonosti.

Miten suhtaudut muihin ihmisiin, jotka poikkeavat luomastasi ideaalisesta standardistasi kieltä oikein käytävistä ja onko sinulla muitakin standardeja, joihin ihmisiä haluaisit sulloa? Luulisi kielenkäytön olevan osa ihmiselle luontaista kommunikaatiojärjestelmää, jolle ihmiset voivat kertoa omin tunteuksien asioita toisille, ilman, että joutuvat tarkistamaan sanomisiansa jostain kielioppiteoksesta tai soittamalla kielitoimistoon. Kieli muuttuu koko ajan, trendien, tieteen tarpeen, assosiaation, ideologioiden ym. mukaan eikä se ole koskaan ollut eikä tule olemaan standardi muussa kuin em:n kaltaisissa instituutioissa. Ihmiset uusivat kieltä jatkuvasti sitä itse tuottaessaan, lisäävät yneemejäkin, jotka tuskin löytyvät Suomen sanakirjoista, vaikka olisivatkin suomalaisille yneemien käyttäjille luonteenomaisia, jo kielen äänteiden takia esim. 'öööö'. Olisi ikävää, jos itseilmaisun olisi rajoituttava jo ennestään (esim. koulu jo luo omat rajansa pilkkusäännoillaan ja puheterapioillaan).

Toivon, että antaisit niitten mainitsemasi kukkasten kasvaa ja muuttua, niin kuin luovuus niitä ohjaa.

T: kosmopoliittinen introvertti

**\*Veijo Virtanen puuttui aiheeseen joka pulpahtaa pintaan säännöllisin väliajoin, eikä siis suinkaan ole uusi. Neuvoisin D.I. Virtasta kuitenkin luopumaan paniikistaan, sillä tuskin koskaan suomen kieli on ollut "puhdas" vieraista vaikutteista. Sitä paitsi useimmilla niistä on vain tapana vierailla kielellämme ja häipyä vähin äänin. Oman mummoni puhe vilisi sveisismiehiä kuten esim. "hantuuki" ruotsin kielen käsipyyhkeestä. Äitini käyttää kyseistä sanaa todella harvoin, itse en koskaan. Joten vaikka Carolinet ja Ridget nyt debytoivatkin suomalaisessa nimistössä, eivät Kauniit ja Rohkeat toivottavasti pyöri TV:ssä niin kauan että ne ehtisivät vakiinnuttaa asemansa. ovillamme eivät siis kolkuttele brittiläiset kieliekspertit, vaan uudet, vieraskieliset ilmaisut.**

**\*Vastine Veijo Virtasen mielipidekirjoitukseen (HS 1.2.1996)**

Englantilaisen filologian opiskelijana olen henkilökohtaisesti kokenut Veijo Virtasen mielipidekirjoituksessaan mainitsemien ilmiön. Koska olen tekemisissä englanninkielen kanssa päivittäin huomaan käyttäväni englanninkielisiä ilmauksia suomenkielissä lauseissa ja joskus jopa ajattelevani englanniksi. En ole kuitenkaan huolestunut siitä, että suomalaiset käyttäisivät englantia väärin väärissä tilanteissa, tai eivät pystyisi kommunikoimaan ymmärrettävästi kyseisen kielen avulla. Harjoitus tekee mestarin!

Koska tunnustan intohimokseni englannin kielen ja englantilaisen kulttuurin ihannoimisen, en näe englannin "pesiytymistä" suomen kieleen vakavana vaarana. Se on osa kielen kehitys- ja muutosprosessia. Ranskan esimerkin mukaan säädettävät lait eivät varmasti poistaisi ongelmaa. Toimiihan kyseinen systeemi Ranskassakaan?

Omasta mielestäni jokaisella yksilöllä on oikeus ilmaista itseään haluamallaan tavalla. Pääasiahan on se, että kuuntelija/lukija ymmärtää viestin, minkä selkeys on viestinlähettäjän vastuulla.



**\*Miksi tukahduttaa luonnollista kehitystä?**

Katsellessa suomalaista kaupunkikuvaa ei voi olla huomaamatta englanninkielisten nimien ja mainosten runsautta. Mutta onko se pelkästään kielteistä? Olemme Suomessa ja kieleemme on suomi, mutta tuskin armaan äidinkieleemme asema on uhattuna englannin tai minkään muunkaan taholta. Jos liikkeenharjoittajan mielestä Store liikkeen nimessä on myyvämpi kuin vastaava suomenkielinen, niin se hänelle suotakoon. Lisäähän se monimuotoisuutta elämään.

Kansainvälinen nimien kirjo yhdessä suomalaisten kanssa on mielestäni ihan positiivinen asia. Ranskan mallia en kannata. Sananvapauteen kuuluu myös vapaus maustaa tekstiä/puhetta vieraallakin kielellä. Tärkeää tietenkin on se, ettei vieraita kieliä osaamattomien elämää hankaloiteta tai asemaa heikennetä. Ja kyllähän se kieltämättä on hupaisaa, kun jokaisen syrjäkylän pikkuputiikin nimen pitää olla englanniksi, mutta näissäkin tapauksissa asiasta päättäminen kuuluu asianomaisille.

Englannin kielellä on vahva asema maassamme television, elokuvien ja musiikin suosiollisella avustuksella ja on vain luonnollista että jotain tarttuu myös jokapäiväiseen kieleen. Annetaan kaikkien (kieli)kukkien kukkia!

**\*VIERAAT VAIKUTTEET VAIN RIKASTAVAT SUOMEN KIELTÄ**

Pata kattilaa soimaa...Eli jos katsoo asiakseen - ylipäänsä oikeudekseen - arvostella muiden ihmisten kielenkäyttöä, pitäisi tietää, kuinka "salolaisittain" kirjoitetaan suomen kielen oppien mukaisesti.

Virtasen mielestä anglismit ovat ilmeisen pahasta? Miksi? Tuulipukujuntti on pian katoava luonnonvara (tulokoon VV vaikkapa Jyväskylän Kauppakadun ihmisesiintymiä analysoimaan!), jonka tyylikkyyttä ei kyllä yhtään lisää sse, että talk-show'n (huom. taivutus, jota Virtanen ei osaa) sijaan katsottaisiin keskusteluohjelmaa. Ehkä kansainvälisyyttä kyetään luontevimmin vastaanottamaan juuri kielen kautta, sillä tunnetustihan kieli on ajattelumme keskeisin väline. Tuleepahan toivottavasti edes ripaus "ulukomuan" sivistystä ja suvaitsevaisuudelle parempaa maaperää.

Heikkoa ja kovin pinnallista suomalaisuutta on se, joka uhkaa uupua unisexin edessä eikä kestä clubburgeria!

A. S.  
toimittaja  
suomen kielen opiskelija

\*Veikko Virtanen kirjoittaa HS:n yleisönosastossa asiasta, joka on hyvin mielenkiintoinen ja mielipiteitä herättävä. Hän on sitä mieltä, ettei englantia ja suomea pitäisi sulattaa kuten se nykyajan puheessa, nimissä ja ohjelmissa sekoitetaan.

Sikäli olen Veikko Virtasen kanssa eri mieltä, etten välitä paskaakaan mitä britit meistä ajattelevat ja tulevatko he tänne koputtelemaan ovillemme. Lisäksi mielestäni suomalaiset puhuvat miten puhuvat englantia ja saavat puhuakin! Niin kauan kuin englantilaiset eivät puhu täydellistä suomea, niin kauan heillä ei mielestäni ole nokan koputtamista suomalaisten englannin vääntämiseen.

Siinä olen samaa mieltä Virtasen kanssa, että kaikenmaailman englanninkieliset ohjelmanimet ovat aivan turhia. Meillä on itsellämme todella kaunis kieli, tämä suloinen suomen kieli. Miksi emme siis käyttäisi sitä? Turha tässä on ruveta muita kieliä ja kansallisuuksia pokkuroimaan!

Sääli, että Virtasen muuten hyvä ja asiallinen kirjoitus meni vähän pilalle lopun ikävän brittien kumartelun takia.

Sisu, sauna ja suomen kieli

**\*Oikeanlaista puolustuspolitiikkaa**

Veijo Virtanen puolusti kirjoituksessaan (HS 1.2.1996) puhdasta suomen kieltä englannin lainavaikutusta vastaan. Suomen kielen suojelusta on viime aikoina puhuttu paljon - tarjoten useimmin esimerkiksi lauseen, johon on sullottu kaikki mahdolliset ruokien, vaatteiden ja TV-tähtien englanninkieliset nimet, joiden naurettavuutta sitten kauhistellaan. Tosiasiassa tällaiset sanarykelmät puheessa ovat harvinaisia. Sanoja käytetään satunnaisesti ja terminluonteisesti. Joskus näitä termejä olisi aivan turhaa suomentaa, joskus taas suomennos olisi välikäinen ja tuntemattomuudessaan epäselvä. Useimpien innovaatioiden nimet opitaan ensin englanniksi, jolloin voidaan käyttää hyväksi englanninkielistä tietoa ja lähdemateriaalia. Aikanaan, kun käsite on tuttu, voidaan ottaa käyttöön suomalainen nimi. niinpä printteri kulki kauan englanninkielisenä, kunnes käyttöön hyväksyttiin tulostin. Modeemin paudit ovat vielä suhteellisen vieraita, ja siksi niillä ei ole vielä suomalaista nimeä.

Näiden yksittäisten termien sijaan olisi suomea puolustettava lauserakenteisiin ja ajattelutapaan tunkevalta vaikutukselta. Nykyinen nopea vaikutteiden tulva sekoittaa kielenpuhujien, varsinkin pienten, kielitajun. Englannista tulevat sanontatavat ja sanonnat käännetään siltään suomeen, vaikka käännös olisi kuinka ontuva ja kielenvastainen. Varsinkaan lapsi ei voi tajuta, mikä on lainaa, ja puhuukin usein kompastelevaa, kielikuvilleen ristiriitaista ja epäsuomalaista suomea. Kunnon suomen kieli on suomalaiselle aina ymmärrettävää ja itsenäistä niin, ettei ongelmia tule taivuttamisessa, yhdyssanoissa, lauseen rakentamisessa, eikä missään, mikä on elävän kielen kannalta tärkeää. Mitä sanotte lapsen käyttämästä sananlaskusta "Totuus on tuolla ulkona", joka on TV-ohjelmasta tuttu ja vielä väärin käännetty (The truth is out there)? Ei se ainakaan suomea ole.

Toivon siis, ettei kielen suojelussa keskitytä yksittäisiin sanoihin. Suomen kieli kokonaisuudessaan, sen omaleimaiset sanonnat ja ilmaisut tarvitsevat jo puolustajaa!

Nimi

\*Englantiko toinen äidinkielemme? Ei nyt sentään. Kyllä suomi on sentään suomi! Ei kai sille paljoa taida, jos "joudumme" vähän kansainvälistymään vaikkapa nyt englannin kielen muodossa. On totta, että joskus englanninkieliset nimi- ym. väkerrykset ovat liikaa; etenkin jos edes paikan omistaja ei osaa lausua nimeä oikein. Ehkäpä olisi vallan mainioita, jos tänne tulisivat brittiläisiä kieliekspertejä eli -asiantuntijoita opettamaan meille suomalaisille englannin kieltä ja sen käyttöä, koska englantia näyttää hyvin vahvalta kieleltä tämän päivän Euroopassa - miksei siis myös Suomessa - olisi mainiota, jos oppisimme kommunikoimaan myös muunkielisten ihmisten kanssa muutoinkin kuin "pertti salolaisittain". Mitä tulee mainitsemiini viettely-yrityksiin, puhumattakaan lukuisista muista ihmisten välisistä kommunikointitilanteista, ei niihin riitä pelkkä kielen hallitseminen: on tunnettava myös toisen kulttuuria ja tapoja. Vain kokonaisvaltaisella toisten kulttuurien tuntemisella ja kunnioittamisella voimme saavuttaa arvostusta toistenkin silmissä - ehkäpä oppisimme antamaan arvoa itsellemmekin; kenties meidän suomalaisten itsetunto kohoaisi niinkin paljon, ettei meidän enää tarvitsisi turvautua vieraskielisiin nimiin niin TV-ohjelmien kuin kauppojen ja ihmisten nimissä.

\*Olen samaa mieltä kuin Veijo Virtanen Helsingin Sanomien artikkelissaan. Suomalaiset ovat höyrähtäneet englanninkielisiin ilmauksiin, hokien niitä kuin taikasanaa ymmärtämättä välttämättä sanojensa sisältöä. Ehkä olen ennakkoluuloinen ja luokitelen ihmisiä heidän sosiaalisen asemansa perusteella mutta luulen, että Virtasen artikkelissa mainitsemia "heittoja" käyttävät mitä suuremmissa määrin alemman koulutuksen saaneet henkilöt. Englantia sujuvasti puhuvat ihmiset käyttävät kieltä silloin kun on tarvis, sen kummempaa numeroa siitä tekemättä. Erytisen haitallista tämä englantilainen hyökyaalto on mielestäni lapsille, jotka eivät osaa enää tilata pannupitsapaloja suomenkielellä ja joiden äidinkielen ilmaisukyky heikkenee englannin kielisten hokemien pelastaessa tilanteen, jos oma verbaalinen lahjakkuus ei riitä. Uteliaalle mummulle voi heittää, että kiss my ass, jos seura ei miellytä. Ei mummo kuitenkaan ymmärrä ja ihastelee vain jälkikasvunsa kielitaitoa. Englannin kielen tuloa ei voi kuitenkaan välttää, onhan se rikkaus, värikäs lisä, kunhan ei vain köyhdyttäisi suomenkielistä ilmaisua. Erilaiset firmat, ruokapaikat ja tuotemerkit saavat meliilyhyin pitää vierasperäiset nimensä. Yleismaailmalliset nimet leviävät helpommin, jäävät mieleen ja taipuvat ulkomaalaisen suussa paremmin kuin suomalaiset "viännökset".

\*Veijo Virtanen on huolissaan englannin kielen käytöstä Suomessa. Yksittäisiä sanoja kyllä osataan, mutta esim. poliitikkojen kielitaitoei ole kehuttavaa tasoltaan. (HS 1.2.1996)  
Mielestäni mister Virtanen on sekoittanut kaksi erilaista kielenkäyttötilannetta. En usko, että Suomessa on tarvetta ranskalaiseen tapaan varjella omaa äidinkieltä vieraan kielen, englannin, vallalta.  
Nykylapsen- ja nuoren maailma on hyvin erilainen kuin vanhempiensa. Uudenlaiset mediat ja kansainvälisyys synnyttävät nopeasti uusia sanoja, joita ei edes ehditä kääntää suomen kielelle (esim. tietotekniikka). On luonnollista, että omaksutaan vieraan kielen sanoja; tuskin ne sentään omaa identiteettiä murentavat!  
Eri asia on, miten englannin kieltä opiskellaan ja miten sen taitoa pidetään yllä. Ehkä toimenpiteitä tarvitaan enemmän opetuksen kehittämisessä. Sujuvan puhekielen hallintaan vaaditaan runsaasti keskustelua sekä tietoa kulttuurista. Koulupetoksessa kieliooppi ei saisi viedä liikaa opetusaikaa, sillä tarvitaan myös innostuneita keskusteluita, puheita ja väittelyitä vieraalla kielellä. Moni valittaakin huonoa puhetaitoaan vieraalla kielellä, vaikka tekstistä saisikin selvää. Mielestäni huomio tulisivat kiinnittää opetukseen, eikä yksittäisten sanojen käyttöön.

\*Vastine Veijo Virtasen mielipidekirjoitukselle

Mielestäni on täysin normaalia että englannin kieli vaikuttaa suomalaisten puheeseen. En kuitenkaan väitä että asia olisi hyvä. Usein erityisesti mainostamisessa, TV-ohjelmien ja muiden medioiden tuotteiden sekä yritysten nimissä mennään liiallisuuksiin. Kuvitellaan että amerikkalaisuuden leima automaattisesti lisää tuotteen vetovoimaa. Mielestäni voitaisiinkin hillitä englannin kielisyyttä eniten ihmisiin vaikuttavilla tavoilla (joukkoviestimet ym.)  
Kuitenkaan en usko että englantilaiset tulevat puuttumaan meidän kielenkäyttöömme Suomessa. Eihän se heille kuulu. Mutta ei kuitenkaan tule tuomita kieleemme tulleita englannin kielisiä vaikutteita sillä se on mielestäni luonnollista seurausta kulttuurisesta vaihdosta.

nim. kultainen keskitie

\*Olen DI Veijo Virtasen kanssa pitkälle samaa mieltä. Suomi on todellakin Euroopan amerikkalaisin maa. Ja mielestäni turhaan: suomen kieli on (ainakin tähän asti) ollut rikas ja ilmaisukykyinen kulttuurimme peili. Tunteensa ja toisaalta tieteellisen pohdinnankin on voinut ilmaista täsmällisesti omalla äidinkielellään.  
Siitä mukaa kun sanasto ja ilmaisut lainataan muista kielistä, lähinnä englannista, oma kielemme köyhtyy ja näivettyy. Surullista. Oikea ratkaisu ei kuitenkaan ole "Ranskan malli" - asennemuutoksen on lähdeittävä muualta kuin lainsäädännöstä.

Toisaalta ymmärrän toki niitä nuoria, jotka ovat löytäneet puuttuvat kanssakäymisen mallit televisiosarjojen maailmasta. Jos he eivät ole nähneet vanhempiensa osoittavan kiintymystä, on helpompi kuiskata "I love you" kuin eritellä selkeästi oman kiinnostuksen astetta. ehkäpä vastuutakin on helpompi väistää huutelemalla Fak juuta. Ei osata, uskalleta eikä haluta laittaa omaa persoonallisuutta peliin?

Itse en ole valmis kääntämään selkäni vanhempieni maailmalle ja elämänviisaudelle. Oma kieleni on minulle aivan liian rakas, jotta voisin vaihtaa sen edes määrättilanteissa vieraaseen. Taidan olla kummajainen ikäisteni keskuudessa,

sillä en tahdo korvata minuuteni olennaisinta osaa, omaa äidinkieltäni, tuontitavaralla. Tämä ei kuitenkaan tarkoita sitä, että olisin suomalaisuudessa vihamielinen tai suvaitsematon muita kohtaan, päin vastoin. Olen vilpittömästi kiinnostunut muista kulttuureista, uusista ihmisistä, oudoista maista. Kielten opiskelu takaa, että maailmalla liikkeessani voin luoda vaivatta kontaktin myös eri kielisen kanssa.

**\*Oma kieli säästyy jos se sen ansaitsee.** Ylenmääräinen protektionismi johtaa vain vastareaktioon ja tekee näin hallaa suomen kielen säilymiselle. Englanti on nykyisin paljolti tieteen ja taiteen kieli, joten sen osaaminen ja käyttäminen on hyvä asia. Lasten ja muidenkin tulee tietysti osata tarpeen vaatiessa erottaa englannin ja suomen kielenaineokset toisistaan, mutta tietyissä tilanteissa ns. sekakielen puhuminen on sinänsä harmitonta. Sitä paitsi kielet tarvitsevat vaikutteita toisistaan kehittyäkseen. Liiallinen suomenmukaistaminen voi konservatiivisuudessaan tuottaa typerästä ilmaisusta kuten "pitsa" - pizza rehellisenä sitaattilainana olisi parempi vaikka Kielikello toisin uskookin. Suomalaisen (joidenkin, ei kaikkien) kyvyttömyys puhua englanniksi todellisissa tilanteissa on englanninopetuksen metodien syytä: ainakin omalla lukioaikani saattoi englanninkokeen pistemäärä mennä miltei nolliin muutaman sinänsä harmittoman kirjoitusvirheen vuoksi vaikkei ymmärrettävyys niistä olisi kärsinytkään - onko siis ihme, että kynänsä puhua englantia on toisinaan korkea?

Esimerkiksi elokuvien nimien suomentaminen johtaa usein todella mitäänsanomattomiin ilmaisuihin, joten tällä alalla olisi parempi käyttää englanninkielisiä ilmaisuja kun selvyys niin vaatii. Joitakin teknisiä termejä on niinkään typerää kääntää kun englanninkielinen termi on selvempi ja täsmällisempi.

Olisiko Virtanen yhtä huolestunut, jos lapset viljelsivät puheessaan latinankielisiä sanoja? Kieli elää monimuotoisena ja vain monimuotoisena; jätetään kielikiikhoilu ydinlatauksia räjäytteleville ranskalaisille!

**\*Helsingin Sanomien mielipidesivulla** Veijo Virtanen valittaa sitä, että englannin kieli valtaa suomen kieleltä elintilaa. Osin Virtanen on oikeassa. Englannin kielisille yritysten yms. nimille olisi varmasti keksittäväisiä suomenkielinenkin nimi. Tosin kansainvälistyvässä maailmassa englannin kielisellä nimellä voi tavoittaa enemmän potentiaalista asiakaskuntaa.

Englannin kielen tunkeutumiselle kulttuuriimme on tuskin tehtävissä suuriakaan. Ainakaan pakkotoimin. Amerikkalainen kulttuuri tuskin pelkän kielen kautta syö kokonaan suomalaisten omaa kulttuuria.

Mitä tulee Virtasen valiutukseen suomalaisten kielitaidosta, luulen hänen sortuvan stereotyyppiseen ajatteluun. Suomessa on myös paljon kielitaitoisia ihmisiä. Kielitaidottomuuden, lähinnä kielen aktiivisen käytön, puhumisen, ongelmien syytä voisi sitä paitsi etsiä kielten opetuksesta. Virtanen ei pohdi syitä, hän vain syyttää. Virtanen kehottaa vaikenemaan sellaista, joka puhuu vierasta kieltä epätäydellisesti. Mutta miten vierasta kieltä voi oppia ellei sitä harjoittele? Käytännön elämä on ainut paikka harjoitella puhumista, koska kouluopetus ei anna siihen mahdollisuutta.

#### **\*VIERASPERÄISET SANAT KUULUVAT SUOMEEN**

Arvoisa diplomi-insinööri valittaa suomalaisten kansainvälistyvistä kielenkäytöstä. Hän ei näy tietävän, että ylikansallinen vuorovaikutus on kielille luonnollinen ilmiö, eikä sitä kannata tuomita puhekielessä. Englantilaisten sanojen käyttö on parhaillaan muotia ja voi korvautua muiden kielen sanoilla, vaikkapa ruotsilla. On naurettavaa syyllistää ihmisiä, jotka uskaltavat osoittaa kielitaitoaan arkisessa puheenparressaan. He tuskin ovat samoja tyyppisiä, jotka takeltelevat ulkomaalaisten kanssa keskustellessaan. Kiukkuinen insinööri voisi myös tarkkailla omaa kielenkäyttöään: hänen ammatkinsa erikoiskieli varmasti vilisee englantilaisia lainasanoja. Vasta kun herra Virtanen korvaa terminsä suomalaisilla, on hänellä varaa arvostella toisten puhetyyliä.

Suvaitsevaisuuttakieken

**\*Veijo Virtanen on nyt erehtynyt rinnastamaan asiat, jotka eivät varsinaisesti kuulu yhteen.** Siis onhan Suomeen otettu lainoja englannista ja monista muista kielistä aina. Silloin tällöin törmää mielipiteeseen, että kaikki sanat pitäisi suomentaa, eikä vieraskielisiä asuja pitäisi lainkaan käyttää. Tämän ehkä jotenkin ymmärtää kun ajattelee miten ylenmääräiset vieraat asut vaikuttaisivat kaikkien luettavaksi tarkoitetun tekstin ymmärrettävyyteen. Kuitenkin voi miettiä käytettäisiinkö Virtasen esimerkkien kaltaisia tapauksia kirjoitetussa yleiskielisessä tekstissä. Eivätkö nämä olekin puhekielen tai huolittelemattoman kirjoitetun kielen piirteitä. Mielestäni tällaisia kielen rekistereitä ei sovi lähteä normittamaan.

Vielä on huomattava se että englannista otetut lainat eivät enää suomen kielessä ole varsinaisesti englantia, vaan vain äännejonoja, joilla on tietty merkitys, eikä sillä ole väliä mistä kielestä tämä äännejono ja sen merkitys on peräisin; sitä voi käyttää kun on varma että se ymmärretään. Ei tämmöistä voi verrata englannin puhumiseen.

**\*Diplomi-insinööri Veijo Virtanen ei pidä siitä, että englanninkieliset ilmaukset näyttävät pesiytyneen suomalaiseen kielenkäyttöön.** Hänen mielestään pitää keskittyä puhumaan yhtä kieltä kerrallaan.

Virtanen on tavallaan oikeassa. On huolestuttavaa, ettei suomalainen pärjää käytännön elämässä omalla kielellään. Kysymyksessä ei kuitenkaan ole pelkästään kielellinen ilmiö. Minun mielestäni pitäisi kiinnittää enemmän huomiota siihen, kuinka helposti amerikkalainen kulttuuri on juurtunut Suomeen.

Virtasen käyttämät esimerkit ovat suoraan amerikkalaisesta pikaruoka- ja tv-kulttuurista. Ranskalaiset torjuvat vieraan kielen ja kulttuurin vaikutuksia kääntämällä kaiken omalle kielelleen. Virtanen ajattelee ehkä, että Suomessa pitäisi tehdä samoin. Se tuntuu kuitenkin melko teennäiseltä ja jopa pinnalliselta ratkaisulta. Joissain tapauksissa suoraan suomeksi käännetyt versiot kuulostavat lähestulkoon naurettavilta.

Ehkäpä asiallisempaa olisikin kritisoida suomalaisten pinnallista tapaa ihannoida tiettyjä vieraita kulttuureja. Pitäisi osoittaa ihmisille oman kulttuurin hyvät puolet, ja samalla saada heidät ymmärtämään, ettei meidän tarvitse omaksua kaikkea amerikkalaista paskaa.

En väitä, etteikö meillä olisi paljon hyvääkin opittavaa vierailta kansoilta. Kielitaitokin on hyvä asia. Olen kuitenkin Veijo Virtasen kanssa samaa mieltä siitä, että Suomessa käytetään englantia ärsyttävällä tavalla. Kielitaito (puhumattakaan kommunikaatiokyvystä ja luovasta kielellisestä ilmaisutaidosta) tuskin pahemmin kohenee samojen englanninkielisten fraasien pinnallisesta toistelusta. Ongelman ydin on kuitenkin syvemmällä kuin itse kielessä. Se on kulttuuri- ja asennekysymys, joka vaatii vakavaa pohdintaa ja paljon työtä, mikäli halutaan saada jotain aikaan.

\*Suomalaiset käyttävät paljon englanninkielisiä sanoja omassa puhekielessään, koska ne kuulostavat jotenkin hienommalta kuin suomenkieliset vastineet. Amerikkalaisten tuotteiden valtava tarjonta ja yleensäkin viihdeteollisuuden monopoliasena vaikuttaa luonnollisesti pienen Suomen tilanteeseen. Kenellekkään ei varmasti tulisi mieleen käyttää ruotsalaisia tai venäläisiä sanoja, vaikka niitä löytyykin huomattavasti lähempää kuin englantilaisia. Panpizzaslice muuttuisi suomennettuna luultavasti pannupsapalaksi. Onko pitsa sitten suomalaisten keksimä sana? Se ei kalskahda vieraalta korvissamme vaan on täysin kotiutunut kieleemme. Suomen kielessä on hyvin paljon lainasanoja.

Urheiluhenkiset katselevat mieluummin Hockey Nightia kuin Jääkiekkoiltaa tai muuta vastaavaa ohjelmaa. Suomalaiset nimet kuulostavat meistä ilmeisesti typeriltä ja englantilaiset sanat tuovat jännittävän ja vauhdikkaan mielikuvan, vaikka esimerkiksi televisio-ohjelman sisältö ei määräydykään nimen perusteella.

On totta, että joskus englannin kielen tarjonta alkaa täällä korpien keskellä vaikuttaa jo liialliselta. On kuitenkin jotenkin hienoa olla amerikkalaisten menossa mukana, vaikkei siihen kulttuuriin olekaan mitään muuta kosketusta kuin television ja tavaroiden antama mielikuva, joka ei edes välttämättä vastaa todellisuutta. Näin mekin voimme olla in.

\*Noh, noh, rauhallisesti nyt. Se, että suomen kieli vilisee englannin lainasanoja, ei tarkoita, että englannin kielenhuoltajien täytyisi olla huolissaan. (Tottakai englannin sanojen määrä tuntuu hurjalta, kun ne on kerätty yhdelle palstalle esimerkikilauseiksi.) Englannin lainasanat, kuten muidenkin kielten, ovat slangia tai puhekieltä, joka ei vaaranna myöskään suomen kielen asemaa. Toki niiden taivuttamisesta olisi hyvä antaa jonkinlaisia ohjeita.

Viestit menevät perille suomalaisten keskuudessa "tekoenglannillakin" eikä tämä suomienglanti vaikuta "oikean" englannin hallitsemiseen. On Salolaisen moka jos ei ole opiskellut englannin kielioppia.

Lainasanat ovat rikkaus ja väriläiskä kielessä. Ja niitä tulee aina olemaan ja tulemaan, sillä ihmiset yksinkertaisesti käyttävät niitä. Ei siihen lait vaikuta. Ja mitäs, jos suomen kielessä ei yksinkertaisesti ole vastaavaa sanaa, joka kuvaisi asiaa yhtä hyvin. Lainasana on (mukautettuna) silloin paikallaan.

Englanti on sitä paitsi niin yleismaailmall. Kieli nykyään, ettei sen voi olettaa pysyvän yhtä "puhtaana" kuin muiden kielten. Englannin kielen asemaa ei kuitenkaan horjuta mihinkään, vaikka intialaiset ja suomalaiset vääntelisivät miten. Ja jos suomalaiset päättävät ottaa englannin toiseksi kielekseen, so what! That's only life!

\*Englantiko toinen äidinkielemme?

Suomen liittyessä EU:hun puhuttiin paljon kansainvälistymisestä, kouluissa annetaan kansainvälisyyskasvatusta jne. Uhkaako englanti omaa rakasta äidinkieltämme? Onko suomen kieli vaarassa kuolla sukupuuttoon? Ei todellakaan. Kansainvälistyminen kannattaa, se avaa uusia uria, sanotaan. Entä jos pitäytyisimme Islannin mallissa, ja kehittelisimme kaikille sanoille omat vastineemme. Silloin kielten opiskelu vasta hankalaa olisi, emmekä osaisi sanoa edes sitä tärkeintä eli 'Aj lav juu'.

Englannista ei voi koskaan tulla toista äidinkieltämme. Annetaan Ridge Romppaisen kasvaa rauhassa syöden Chicken Nuggetteja McDonaldsissa. Pikaruoka on tullut jäädäkseen Suomessakin, mutta Ridge ei. Toivotaan, että tulevat salolaiset osaavat solkata englantia edes hieman paremmin, ovathan he kasvaneet 'kansainvälisessä' ympäristössä.

-en grabb-

\*Veijo Virtanen kehoittaa Helsingin Sanomien mielipidepalstalla suomalaisia käyttämään vain yhtä kieltä kerrallaan. Virtanen katsoo, että englannin kielen käyttö normaalissa puhekielessä uhkaa suomen kielen puhtautta. Vaikka päältä päin näyttäisi siltä, että suomalaiset osaavat englantia hyvin, Virtasen mukaan englannin kielen taitomme on kuitenkin loppujen lopuksi kehnoa.

Olen eri mieltä asiasta. Ensinnäkin englannin kielisten ilmausten käyttö suomen kielen ohessa ei uhkaa kieleemme puhtautta. Tällaisten ilmausten käyttö on melko vähäistä ja sitä ilmenee yleensä vain nuorison keskuudessa. Toiseksi vähäinen puhe-englannin käyttö ei johda siihen, etteivätkö suomalaiset osaisi lainkaan korrektia englantia, että suomalaisten kielitaito rajoittuisi joihinkin pinnallisiin puhekielen ilmaisuihin. Suomalaiset puhuvat muita kieliä huomattavasti paremmin kuin esimerkiksi etelä-eurooppalaiset. Tuskin brittiläiset kielieksperit tulevat kolkuttelemaan

ovillemme. Toisin kuin Suomessa, Intiassa englanti kuuluu virallisiin kieliin, ja näin ollen huomion kiinnittäminen intialaisten englannin kielen käyttöön on jossain mielessä perustettua. Pitäisikö Suomessakin englannin kielen käyttöä vahdata samalla tavoin kuin Ranskassa, jossa kielipoliisien toiminta on paisunut naurettaviin mittoihin?

**\*DI Veijo Virtanen** ilmaisi lehdessänne (HS päivämäärä?) mielestäni varsin oikeutetusti huolestuneisuutensa suomalaisten "sekakielenkäytön" vuoksi. Kaikkialla maailman valloitustaan tekevä englannin kieli onkin saavuttanut kiistämättömän ykkösaseman varsinkin nuorison keskuudessa niin Suomessa kuin lukuisissa muissakin maissa. Suomea on sanottu amerikkalaisemmaksi maaksi kuin Amerikka itse on, eikä ihan syyttä, kun katsoo Virtasen kirjoituksessaan esittämää englantia pursuavaa sanalistaa. Johtuisiko englannin valtava suosio Suomessa ehkä siitä tosiasista, että me suomalaiset emme todellakaan halua olla missään tekemisessä itäisen suurvaltanaapurimme kanssa, ja tältä pohjalta ehkä tiedostamatta haluaisimme korostaa toisen "vastakkaisen" suurvallan arvoja ja elämäntapaa? Suomessa havaittava kehitys on yleinen toki muuallakin, mutta ehkäpä siinä silti on perää, että me suomalaiset olemme harvinaisen amerikkalaismyönteisiä.

Virtanen viittaa myös siihen, että kansainvälisillä areenoilla, siellä missä pitäisi todellakin kommunikoida englannin kielellä, suomalaiset loistavat joko poissaolollaan tai sitten kömpelökielisyydellään. Tässä tullaankin isomman ongelman eteen. Suomalaista kielenuoretusta olisi uudistettava siten, että omaa puheen tuottamista ja yleensäkin viestintätaitoja korostettaisiin paljon enemmän. Se on ainoa keino poistaa suomalaisten "tankeromainen" kansainvälisillä areenoilla! Tämä ei luonnollisestikaan koske vain englantia vaan myös muita meillä opetettavia vieraita kieliä.

Lopuksi haluaisin tuoda esille sen, että tiettyyn kieleen sisältyy aina tietty rakenne, tietty sanavarasto ja siten tietty kieli aina eräessä suhteessa määrää ajattelun. Siksi onkin hyvä, että EU:hun liittymisen myötä myös muutkin kielet ovat nostaneet suosiotaan. On toki totta, että englanti on kansainvälinen ja paljon puhuttu kieli, mutta niin on moni muukin kieli (esim. venäjä, ranska, espanja) eikä niitä missään nimessä pitäisikään unohtaa. Sitä paitsi tulevaisuudessa töitä saavat varmimmin ne, joilla on hallussaan jotain mitä eivät ihan kaikki toiset osaa. Liika yksipuolisuus saattaa olla pahasta, parempi onkin antaa kaikkien kukkien kukkia.

**\*Olen samaa mieltä Veijo Virtasen kanssa englannin kielen asemasta Suomessa.** Meidän suomalaisten tulisi oppia arvostamaan omaa, kaunista äidinkieltämme niin paljon, että tajuaisimme hieman huolehtia siitä.

Toisaalta pidän hyvänä asiana sitä, että osaamme vieraita kieliä, lähinnä juuri englantia, niinkin hyvin kuin osaamme. Pienelle kieliyhteisölle maailman valtakulttuurien joukossa on tärkeää osata maailman pääkieliä tullakseen ymmärretyksi.

Tiedotusvälineitä seurattaessa tulee ihmeteltyä, miksi englantia käytetään niin paljon teksteissä, joissa sitä ei tarvittaisi. Ainoa selitys tuntuu olevan se, että englanninkielistä kulttuuria, etupäässä amerikkalaista, ihannoidaan kriittikittömästi. Palatakseni alussa esittämäni ajatukseen, meidän suomalaisten tulisi etsiä identiteettimme omasta kulttuuristamme, omasta kielestämme.

#### **\*Englanti - markkinoiden myyntivaltti**

Ei voi kuin yhtyä Veijo Virtasen kommenttiin suomalaisten englannin kielen käytöstä. Ei enää päivää ilman anglismia; englanninkieliset sanat ja lauserakenteet väännetään viehkeästi suomalaiseen asuun - vaan kun olisi tarpeen käyttää oikeaa englantia, kauhistuu suomalainen ja päättää kansanluonteensa mukaisesti vaieta.

Englannin vaikutus näkyy nykyään jo lähes jokaisen kielitajussa. Muuten tuskin voisi ollakaan, sillä jo hiustenpesu- ja hoitoainetta ostaessa täytyy hallita ainakin termit *shampoo* ja *conditioner*. Pyykinpesuaineiden vaihtoehtoina tuntuvat olevan *Color* ja *Futur*. Siinä on äkkiä somi suussa ikääntyneellä ihmisellä, jonka koulusivistykseen kuuluvat vain ruotsi ja saksa, jos nekkään.

Englannin kieli on muotia, ovat päättäneet markkinointi- ja mainosmiehet. Englanninkielinen nimi tai iskulause myy - vai myykö? Teennäisen hienot nimet, jotka keskivertosuomalainen ääntää väärin, alkavat kyllästyttää. Ylenpalttista englannin kielen käyttöä ei voi ainakaan vielä perustella ulkomaalaisten määrän kasvulla: Suomessa asuu vain noin 70 000 ulkomaalaista. Ei liene kohtuullista, että heidän takiaan yli 4,5 miljoonaa suomenkielistä vaihtaa käyttökielekseen englannin.

Toisinaan nimikkarit vieläkin kehittelevät lähes suomen kieleltä kuulostavia nimikkeitä. Luonnollisesti ne täytyy pilata kirjoittamalla väärin, kuten on pilattu uuden pankkimme nimi *Merita Pankki*. Markkinointimiehet päättivät jatkaa tutulla yhdyssanalinjalla esimerkkeinä *Yhdyspankki* ja *Kansallispankki*, mutta kirjoitusasu muunnettiin englantilaisittain sanaliitoksi. Yritä siinä sitten puhua opiskelijoille suomen kielen oikeasta käytöstä, kun vastaavia esimerkkejä ovat mediat ja kadunvarret täynnä. Englannin ylivaltaa ei voi estää, onhan pääosa medioiden vieraskielisestä tarjonnasta angloamerikkalaista alkuperää. Silti ei liene vielä syytä ryhtyä ranskalisittain lakeja laatimaan suomen kielen suojaksi. Kaikkia anglismeja ei kielestämme saa karsittua kuitnkaan, puhutaanhan meillä *televisiosta* ja *radiosta* täysin luontevasti. Sen sijaan systemaattinen englannin karsinta siellä, missä anglismit ovat tarpeettomia, voisi olla paikallaan: ostan mieluusti tuotteita ja asioin liikkeissä, joiden nimen voi ääntää kuten ne kirjoitetaan.

Mainosmiehet ja toimittajat suomalaisten sanojen kurssille! Ei meiltä sanat kesken lopu, ja jos loppua uhkaavat, keksitään lisää. Ei varmasti ole liioittelua väittää, että suomen kielen kohtalo on niiden kynän kärjellä, jotka kieltä työkseen käyttävät.

\*Englantiko toinen äidinkielemme?

Olen Veijo Virtasen kanssa samaa mieltä siitä, että käytettäköön yhtä kieltä kerrallaan ja oikein. Haluan korostaa oman suomen kielemme nykyistä aliarvostusta.

Pelkäämmekö suomenkielisen ilmauksiemme huonomuutta, kun näemme jokapäiväisiä ilmiöitä englanninkielisinä? Koemmeko kenties paremmuudentunnetta matkiessamme muita? Emmekö uskalla olla enää suomenkielisiä? Markkinoijien ja mainostajien pitäisi rohkeammin käyttää omaa äidinkieltämme.

Englanninkielisistä elokuvista tietyt lausahdukset ja slangi jäävät korostetusti mieliin ja niitä käytetään puhekielessä. Tekstitys ei suomenna kaikkea, mitä puhutaan. Saksalaiset arvostanevat omaa kieltään päällepuhumalla vieraskieliset televisio-ohjelmat. Miksi emme mekin? Vieraskielisiä ohjelmia voisi kuitenkin lähettää ilman teksti- tai puheäännöstä niille, jotka osaavat ja haluavat kehittää vieraan kielen ymmärtämistään.

\*Suomalaiset ihannoivat amerikkalaista elämänmenoa, mikä näkyy myös kielenkäytössämme. Englanninkielisiä sanoja vilisee suomenkielen seassa, kuten "Englantiko toinen äidinkielemme?" -kirjoitus osoitti. Olen sitä mieltä, että myös meidän suomalaisten tulisi varjella äidinkielemme puhtautta ja opettaa lapsemme puhumaan ja kirjoittamaan kunnollista suomea. Lapsemme olisi opetettava arvostamaan ja kunnioittamaan omaa äidinkieltään ja suomalaisuuttaan ja olemaan ylpeä juuristaan ja kielestään. On toki tärkeää osata nykymaailmassa englantia, mutta vähintäänkin yhtä tärkeää on säilyttää oma äidinkielemme unohtamatta sen rikkautta ja kauneutta. Taistelkaamme kielemme säilyvyyden puolesta!

\*Ei olisi Veijo Virtanen voinut enää osuvammin kirjoittaa suomalaisten jokseenkin naurettavasta englannin kielen käytöstä artikkelissa "Englantiko toinen äidinkielemme?"

Säälittää ihan ajattelakin, että jonkun suomalaisen lapsen nimeksi täytytetään jonkun saippuaopperalaisen nimi (Ridge, Brooke jne.) Pitäisi vähän ajatella lapsen tulevaisuutta. Koulukiusaamisen kohteeksi, kun tänä päivänä saattaa joutua vähemmästäkin kuin typerän nimen ansiosta. Ja eiköhän kaikelle muullekin vierasperäiselle sanastolle löydy ihan hyvä vastine meidän omasta moninaisesta kielestämme.

Joten joku raja tälle monikansallistumisvillitykselle.

\*Veijo Virtanen, olen samaa mieltä kanssasi suomalaisten töpöistä yrityksistä käyttää englantia toisena äidinkielenään. Suomen kieli on hyvin persoonallinen ja kaunis ääntelymuoto, varsinkin ilman hömpäntuntuja "in-englis-pliis" -sekoitteita. Suomen takapajuinen kansa yrittää jälleen kerran apinoida suuren ja paremman (?) maailman tapoja. Jopa vastanaineet (hääparit) tulkkivat autonsa "koristeeksi" rujan just married -kyltin. Näyttäisikö suomalainen versio vasta naineet tai vastanaineet jotenkin perversitiltä??!

Puhdas englantia on parhaimmillaan taidetta! Miksi sitä täytyy väänellä rumiksi suomalaiseen "sisu ja sauna, kateus ja kauha" elämänmuotoon sopivaksi? Kukin pitääköön puhtaan kielensä!

nim. Vastarannan kiiski

\*Kyllä, englannin kieli on tarttunut suomalaisiin jäädäkseen. Se on kieli, jonka hallitsemme, mutta jota olemme hiukan ujoja käyttämään. Englanninkielen taitoamme auttaa huomattavasti TV:stä tulevat jenkki-saippuaopperat joita ei ole dupattu, kuten Keski-Euroopan maissa. Ei ihme, että Suomea kutsutaan mini-Amerikaksi. Ihannoimme jenkkisarjoista omaksumaamme jenkkielämäntyyliä. Jokaisella nuorella on NHL-lippis ja levikset, baseball-takitkin ovat lukioikäisten keskuudessa in. On myös cool'ia heittää keskustelun väliin "painsanoja" englannin kielellä. Onko tämä jenkki-ihannointi mennyt sairaalloiseksi? Missä on suomalainen kulttuuri? En tiedä.

\*Hyvä Veijo Virtanen, DI

Englantilaisten huoli kielensä tärvelymisestä vieraiden kansojen parissa on aivan perusteltu. Kun joissain maissa väännetään englantia oman maan kielioppien muottiin niin tietysti englannin kielen asema järkkyy.

Mielestäni Suomessa ei olla kuitenkaan sorruttu tähän vaan englannin kielestä on otettu yksittäisiä sanoja värittämään kieltämme ja edistämään esimerkiksi nuorisokulttuuria. Onhan kielessämme myös paljon lainasanoja, ainakin ruotsista. Mitä viittasitte suomalaisten kielitaitoon, on nuoremmalla sukupolvella jo nyt maailmanlaajuisesti erittäin korkeatasoinen englannin kielen taito. Käytännön kehuja on opiskelijapiireissä ulkomaalaisilta tullut paljon. Joten käännetään asenteita siihen suuntaan, että maailma ja Eurooppa yhdistyy ja kansojen tavat sekaantuvat, näin elämästä tulee rikkaampaa.

T: H. L. (kohta markkinointitradenomi)

\*Henkilökohtaisesti yritän välttää tilanteita joissa joudun kuuntelemaan suomalaisten keski-ikäisten ihmisten englantia, koska se järjestään kuulostaa hirvittävältä. Nuoret osaavat sekä puhua, kirjoittaa että lukea (ja varsinkin lausua) paremmin englantia, koska sitä on heille opetettu pienestä pitäen. Eihän lainasanoista ja englanninkielisistä tuotemerkeistä haittaa ole, kieli elää ja muuttuu varsinkin nuorten suussa. Enemmän haittaa on juuri näistä edustustehtävissä sönkkävistä "korkeastikoulutetuista". Ehdottaisin jatkuvaa kielitaidon seuraamista, kohentamista

ja opettamista, eiköhän se siitä. (Sitä paitsi "Jyrki Spotlight" kuulostaa kieltämättä menevämältä kuin "Jyrki valokeilassa"...)

\*Ulkomaalainen, joka tulee Suomeen ensimmäistä kertaa saattaisi luulla Englantia toiseksi äidinkieleksemme. Katukuvassa suurin osa mainoksista ja liikkeistä on englanninkielisiä. Miksi ei ruotsiksi?

\*Veijo Virtanen kehoittaa mielipiteessään meitä puhumaan yhtä kieltä kerrallaan ja sitä oikein. Suomi ja suomen kieli maailmankartalla katsottuna on pieni. Toki toivoisin kielen säilyvän, eikä häviävän, kuten pelko viron kielen suhteen on. Kuitenkin maamme ja kansamme joutuu lisääntyvässä määrin kommunikoimaan ulkomaailman kanssa. Siksi valmiuttamme käyttää kieltä, joka ei ole äidinkieleemme, tulee kehittää.

Suomalainen kielenopetus on valitettavan paljon painottunut "täydellisyyteen", joka ei yleensä ole mahdollista edes esim. englantia äidinkielenään puhuvalle. Suutamme emme aukaise, jos pienikin pelko virheen mahdollisuudesta on. Meitä tulisi mielestäni enemmän rohkaista puhumaan vierailla kielillä, oli se sitten kieliopillisesti oikein tai väärin. Kunhan suomalainen saa suunsa auki, seuraa kielioppikoukerot väkisinikin perästä.

\*On todellakin totta, että Suomessa käytetään runsaasti englannin kielisiä sanoja lähes missä yhteydessä hyvänsä. Omasta mielestäni englanninkielisiä sanoja voi käyttää, mutta liika on aina liikaa. Yksi typerimmistä onkin esim. antaa lapselle englantilainen nimi, vaikka sukunimi olisi supisuomalainen. Hiukan järjeä käyttöön, pyydän! Kouluissa voitaisiin mielestäni lisätä englannin puheopetusta, kielioppiopetus ei puhumisvarmuutta anna. Vähentää pikemminkin, kun pelätään liikaa virheitä.

\*Suomen englannin kielen opetus on samanlaista kuin muiden teoria/lukuaineiden opetus. Eli pääasiassa on teoria ei käytäntö. Jos sitten ei välttämättä opi yksikön kolmannen persoonan "ässän" paikkaa on hukassa. Kuitenkin todellisuus on puhumista ja kommunikoimista englannin kielellä. Niitä valmiuksia ei koulusta saa. Englannin asema koulussa ja koko maassamme on liian yliarvostettu. Nimet muutetaan englantilaisiksi ja näin yrityksemme/ liikkeemme/ tuotteemme on kansainvälinen. Miksi kaunis suomenkielimme ei käy. Euroopassa pärjää myös muillakin kielillä saksa ja ranska ovat mielestäni yhtä tärkeitä kuin englanti, ja tulevaisuudessa englannin valta-asema tulee järkkymään.

\*Integraatokehitys on nykypäivää, ei vain Euroopassa, vaan muuallakin maailmassa. Rajat poistuvat vähitellen ja kaikenvariset ja -kieliset ihmiset sekoittuvat keskenään, mikä tarkoittaa sitä, että meidän armaassa kotosuomessakin meitä vastaan voi kävellä "siansaksaa" solkkaava muukalainen. "Miksi meidän sitten täytyy opetella niiden kieltä jos ne keran tulevat meidän maahamme, opettelisivat Suomea!" Meitä suomalaisia on niin vähän maailmassa, että meidän on suorastaan pakko opetella muita kieliä jos haluamme kommunikoida muun maalaisten ihmisten kanssa. Jos minä menisin Kiinaan asumaan, joutuisin todennäköisesti opettelemaan kiinan kielen, sillä ne kaikki miljardi kiinalaista tuskin opettelisivat suomea minun takiani. Siispä meidän on pakko opetella kieliä, jos ei muun niin ainakin sen takia, että vienti on merkittävä osa kansantalouttamme. Miksi emme siis tekisi sitä kunnolla? Antaisimme paremman kuvan Euroopan-laidalla-maastamme ja hyötyisimme siitä. Itseasiassa olen sitä mieltä että englannin opetusta, varsinkin keskustelua, pitäisi ehdottomasti lisätä kouluissa. Olen opiskellut 13 vuotta putkeen ja vasta nyt ensi kerran oikein todella jouduttiin puhumaan ja esiintymään englanniksi, mitä nyt satunnaisia ulkomaanelävien kanssa vaihdettuja sanoja ei oteta lukuun. Englanti on yleismaailmallinen kieli, sillä pärjää lähes kaikkialla maailmassa. Otetaan tavoitteeksi että jokainen meistä pärjäisi sillä!

Suomi-tyttö

\*Herra Virtanen on mielestäni syystä huolestunut. Kieleemme on päässyt sekoittumaan toinen toistaan omituisempia otuksia sanoina ja sanontoina. Mielestäni kieltämme pitäisi varjella, mutta toki kohtuudella ja ajatuksen kanssa. Hyvänä esimerkkinä pitäisin Islantia, jossa tietoisesti pyritään välttämään anglismeja ja muita sellaisia kielessä antamalla uusille asioille "omat" islanninkieliset nimet. (Vastaava "ranskalainen malli" on mielestäni naurettava.) Toisaalta kieli on elävä asia, ja vieraat kielet leviävät medioiden kautta ja iskostuvat jopa alle metrinmittaistenkin ihmisten tajuntaan ja käyttöön. Mielestäni on aihetta huoleen, mutta kuten sanoin, kohtuus ratkaisuihin!

\*On totta, että englannin kieli on tullut suomalaisten toiseksi äidinkieleksi.

Näkee enää harvoja mainoksia, joihin ei olisi "sotkettu" englanninkielisiä sanoja. Mielestäni asiaan pitäisi tulla muutos, olemmehan me Suomessa emmekä Englannissa tai Amerikassa. Englannin kielen oppii kyllä koulussa.

\*Mielestäni Virtanen on paljolti asiansa takana. Usein ärtyneenä kuuntelee 'englannista suomennettuja' käyttösanoja arkikielessä. Koska kuitenkin Eurooppa yhdentyy ja väestö liikehtii voimakkaammin maasta toiseen on tällainen kielten sekamelska täysin odotettavaa.

\*Jostakinhan se kielen opiskelu on aloitettava. Minusta on parempi katsella lastenohjelmia englanninkielellä kuin olla aivan ulkona Suomen rajojen ulkopuolella tapahtuvista asioista. Harva 50-vuotias jaksaa enää mennä kielikursseille! Suomessa opetetaan muutenkin liikaa kielioppia, kyllä ulkomailla ymmärretään, vaikka luettelisi vain sanoja peräkkäin. Vai tietääkö artikkelin kirjoittaja itse suomenkielen sanaluokat taivutuksineen niin hyvin, että on vara alkaa arvostella suomalaisten vieraiden kielten taitoa?

Nim. sanotaan niin kuin osataan

\*Englantia, englantia...

hyvä Veijo, olet aivan oikeassa: olisi hienoa käyttää englantia oikein ja virheettömästi. Mainitsemisiasi esimerkkitalanteissa englannista on tullut muoti-ilmiö. Se kuulostaa ja näyttää suuren maailman menolta, jota erityisesti nuoremmat halajavat ja ihailevat. Tämä on kansainvälisen kaupallisuuden tuomaa mainoksellisuutta, välillä tökeröä ja turhaa, välillä sopivampaa.

Onko paha asia, jos brittiläiset kielixpertit tulevat neuvomaan kielenkäyttöämme? Englanti ei ole mikään helppo maailmankieli, jollaiseksi esim. esperanto kehitettiin. Viestit menevät perille kyllä huonomminkin kielitaidolla, mutta uudet tuulet englannin opetukseen ovat tervetulleita.

Yhdentyvässä maailmassa on kaikille hyväksi, että jokin kieli saa standardin aseman. Yhteinen kieli on kaiken yhteydenpidon peruspilari. Englanti on tämän hetken standardein kieli ja siihen kannattaa panostaa.

Kansainvälisesti vertaillen suomalaiset osaavat englantia. Ilman englanninkielen taitojamme emme olisi internet-kehityksen huippumaa.

\*vastine kirjoitukselle ENGLANTIKO TOINEN ÄIDINKIELEMME?

Kirjoitit englanninkielisistä lainasanoista suomalaisten arkipäivässä. Olen kanssasi samaa mieltä siitä, että tämä on ristiriidassa suomalaisten kielitaidon kanssa.

Mielestäni kielitaitomme on kuitenkin parantunut viime aikoina, koska EU:n myötä kansainvälisyys on lisääntynyt, mutta parantamista on edelleenkin. Etenkin suullinen kommunikointitaitomme on englanniksi vielä vaikeampaa kuin suomeksi. Tämän ongelman voisimme kyllä ratkaista harrastamalla enemmän englanninkielisiä keskusteluja ja opetusta jo peruskoulussa. Mielestäni englanninkielen taito on erittäin tärkeä jokaiselle, koska se on ainoa kieli, mitä on mahdollista kuulla jokaisessa maassa. On kuitenkin turha moittia suomalaisia puutteellisesta kielitaidosta, koska siitä ei ole mitään hyötyä. Voimme korjata tilanteen vain ryhtymällä toimenpiteisiin eli harrastamalla englantia enemmän. Englanninkielisistä lainasanoista en sensijaan välitä, koska ne kuvastavat mielestäni liiallista amerikkalaisuuden ihailua ja jäljittelyä. USA:stahan näiden sanojen merkitykset ovat lähtöisin. Minulla ei ole mitään Amerikkaa vastaan, mutta toivoisin, että Suomessa pidettäisiin enemmän yllä omaa kulttuuriämme. Kulttuurissamme on joitakin ainutlaatuisia piirteitä joiden toivoisin säilyvän.

\*Veijo Virtaselle sanoisin, että suomen kieli ei kärsi yhtään vaikka englannin käyttäminen yleistyykin jatkuvasti. Sitä paitsi erilaisten palvelujen ja tuotteiden englanninkieliset nimet helpottavat maassamme vierailevien ulkomaalaisten elämää.

nim. Kansainvälisyys kunniaan

\*Sinänsä vieraskielisten nimien/ilmausten käyttämisessä ei ole mitään väärää. Oma rakas suomen kieleemme, kun ei ole mikään kaunis kieli.

On totta, että englantia on vallannut vahvan jalansijan päivittäisessä elämässämme. Syy ei kuitenkaan ole aina pelkästään tavallisen kengäkuluttajan, sillä jos tarkastelee esimerkiksi MTV3:n ohjelmistoa, ei tarvitse enää ihmetellä miksi asiat ovat näin. Ihminen, joka ei ihannoisi amerikkalaista (saippua)kulttuuria tuntee olonsa joskus varsin turhautuneeksi. Sarjat, jotka MTV3 lähettää ovat 95% amerikkalaisia, tai sitten suomalaista juttuviihdettä.

Koulut voisivat keskittyä avartamaan Suomen toivojen aivokoppiin muitakin kulttuureja kuin amerikkalaisen. Kielenopetus voisi monipuolistua ja ainakin puhumisen/keskustelun osuutta tulisi lisätä. Kielten opiskelu tulisi aloittaa jo lastentarhasta, sillä tarhaikäiset lapset kyllä oppisivat. Suomalaisten elinehto on osata vieraita kieliä, vaikka sitten englantia, sillä sehän on varsinainen "maailmankieli". Ehkäpä olisi aika painottaa myös saksan ja espanjan tärkeyttä, sillä niitäkin puhutaan!

\*Jokaisen yleissivistykseen kuuluu mielestäni englannin kielen osaaminen. Perussanasto ja small talk-taidot ovat ehdottomat kun maamme kansainvälistyy yhä enemmän ja Eu:ssakin olemme. Meidän täytyy osata kommunikoida turistien ja vieraiden kanssa. Matti Meikäläinenkin hyötyisi varmasti jos alkaisi opiskella englantia vaikkapa



kirjekurssina. Me (Suomi ja suomalaiset) emme ole enää vain Me, vaan Me-sana käsittää koko Euroopan. Täällä Suomessa viihtyisi englantia puhuvat kansat, kun kielitaito ei olisi esteenä suhteiden ja tuttavuuksien luomisessa!

\*Tottahan se on. Suomen nuoret ja nuoret aikuiset ovat suhteellisen vaivattomasti adoptoineet kielikotinsa englanninkielisiä ilmaisuja ja sanontoja. "Slicet" ja "mealit" ovat mielestäni tulleet kieleemme jäädäkseen vaikkeivat ne kaikkien suussa sopivasti äännykkään ja varsinkin vanhempi väki niitä vierastaa. Englanninkieliset ilmaisut ovat usein "muotia", vaikka vertaillessa, voisin sanoa, että suomen kieli on kielenä englantia moninaisempi, rikkaampi ja ilmeikkäämpi. Suomen kielestä on tullut fnglishiä ja mielestäni suurin syy tähän on kaupallisuus ja mainostajat, jotka eivät anna kuluttajille suomenkielisiä versioita nimistä ja sanoista, vaan tuotteet markkinoidaan niiden englantilaisperäisillä nimillä. Kansainvälistymisen kannalta en näe tässä mitään haittaa, onhan ihmisillä oltava yksi yhteinen kieli.

\*DI Veijo Virtanen Helsingistä osui naulan kantaan; Englanti on tullut, ja pysyy kuin p...a Junttilan tuvan seinässä suomalaisessa kulttuurissa ja kielessä. Kaikkia tosin ei häiritse syödä panpizzaslicejä ja seurata Hockey Nightia TV:sta. Suotakoon kansallemme tällainen itsetuntoa kohottava mahdollisuus - ainakin joidenkin kohdalla. Mutta olisiko aiheellista etsiä syytä ilmiöön ennen kuin torpedoimme Englannin kielen invaasion kulttuurimme. Tosiasiahan on ettei sinänsä kaunis suomalais-ugrilaiseen kieliperheeseen lukeutuva äidinkielemme sisällä kovin sujuvaa ja ylvästä vastinetta talk showlle, pizzaslicelle, Power Rangereille ja muille muuten mukaville ilmaisuille. Kukapa meistä kirmaisi riemurinnoin "aja sisään" -grilliin tai olusille "iloisien tuntien" aikana. Maun rajoissa sallittakoon "vieraskieliset" ilmaisut katukuvassamme. Itse kieleen sinänsä on syytä kiinnittää huomiota. Oleellista ei ole äännätkö täydellisesti ja hallitsetko kieliopin kuin vettä valaen vaan tärkeintä on tulla ymmärretyksi ja saada asiansa hoidetuksi - ainakin yleisellä tasolla. Suuta auki ja puhumaan vaikka huonomminkin.

\*Pitää paikkansa, että suomalaisten passiivisen englannin taito on parempi kuin ilmaisutaito. En näe tässä kuitenkaan minkäänlaista syy-yhteyttä englannin lisääntyneen käytön kanssa mainoksissa ja kauppojen yms. nimissä. Huonoon suulliseen ilmaisutaitoon on syitä etsittävä muualta. Englanninkielisen (Amerikkalaisen) kulttuurin tunkeutuminen Eurooppaan ei ole uhka. Se että se tunkeutuu Swarneggereiden yms. muodossa on uhka. Tällä ei ole mitään tekemistä kielenhuollon kanssa, vaan ennemminkin kulttuuripolitiikan. "Laatua vai roskaa?" Kaikki kielet ovat olleet kautta aikojen vaikutteiden alaisina. Kieli on ennen kaikkea viestintäväline. Mikäli viesti ymmärretään niiden keskuudessa, joille se on tarkoitettu niin asian pitäisi olla kunnossa.