

Investigating the language practices and
perspectives of language students in a Finnish
university

Bachelor's thesis

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract <p>Globalisoituvassa maailmassa omaa kielellistä repertuaariaan on yhä helpompi kasvattaa, kun kielelliset resurssit tulevat helpommin saataville. Muutokset kielten jakautumisessa ja käytössä ovat synnyttäneet uudenlaisia tapoja määritellä kielen käsitettä, joista yksi on transkieleily – merkitysten luominen sosiaalisissa tilanteissa käyttämällä erilaisia semioottisia resursseja nimettyjen kielten sijaan. Transkieleilyn teoria haastaa aiempia monikielisuuden määritelmiä, sillä se pystyy hyvin kuvaamaan monikielisten ihmisten monipuolista ja joustavaa kommunikaatiota.</p> <p>Tutkimuksessa tutkitaan suomalaisten yliopistossa kieliä opiskelevien henkilöiden kielenkäyttöä heidän arkielämässään. Tavoitteena oli selvittää, voidaanko heidän kommunikaatiotaan kuvailla transkieleilyksi. Lisäksi pyrittiin saamaan selville osallistujien omia kokemuksia heidän kielenkäytöstään ja identifioitumisestaan monikieliseksi. Tutkimukseen osallistui kaksi kielten opiskelijaa, ja tutkimusaineisto kerättiin päiväkirjatyypin kellotehtävän sekä siihen pohjautuvan haastattelun avulla. Aineisto analysoitiin laadullisen sisällönanalyysin avulla.</p> <p>Kumpikin osallistuja käytti arkielämässään eniten suomea ja englantia, mutta myös ranska ja ruotsi nousivat esiin kellotehtävän kautta. Suomi oli kummallekin luontevin kommunikaation kieli, mutta myös englanti tuli heille joissakin tilanteissa luonnostaan. Sen lisäksi englanti oli vahvasti sidoksissa kouluympäristöön sekä viihteeseen. Osallistujien kielenkäyttö oli kontekstisidonnaista ja se oli osittain transkieleilyn teorian mukaista. Toinen osallistuja koki olevansa monikielinen, kun taas toinen kuvaili olevansa vähän monikielinen, sillä joidenkin hänen osaamiensa kielten roolit jäivät hänen mukaansa vähäisiksi.</p> <p>Tutkimuksen tulokset antavat tietoa suomalaisten nuorten yliopisto-opiskelijoiden monipuolisesta kielten käytöstä arkielämässä. Olisi mielenkiintoista tarkastella suomalaisnuorten käytännön transkieleilyä tarkemmin, sillä tämän tutkimuksen laajuus ei mahdollistanut läheisempää käytännön tutkimista, eikä Suomessa ole tehty paljon vastaavanlaista tutkimusta.</p>	
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Table of contents

1 INTRODUCTION	1
2 LANGUAGE IN THE GLOBALIZING WORLD	3
2.1 The changing notion of multilingualism	3
2.2 Linguaging as a process of meaning making	4
2.3 Translanguaging – the hybrid and flexible practice of multilinguals	5
3 THE PRESENT STUDY	8
3.1 Research aim and questions	8
3.2 Participants	8
3.3 Data collection and method of analysis	8
4 PARTICIPANTS’ LANGUAGE PRACTICES AND PERSPECTIVES	10
4.1 The participants’ use of their linguistic resources	10
4.2 Translingual characteristics of communication	13
4.3 Identification as multilingual	14
5 CONCLUSION	16
BIBLIOGRAPHY	18
APPENDICES	21
Appendix 1: The clock task form	21
Appendix 2: Interview questions in Finnish	22
Appendix 3: Interview questions in English	23
Appendix 4: The interview extracts and their translations	24

1 INTRODUCTION

In recent years, globalization has greatly affected language-related matters. According to Aronin and Singleton (2012), it has influenced the distribution and use of language in the present-day world. For example, geographical and social mobility, technological breakthroughs, and the interrelationship between the local and the global have faced shifts that permit instantaneous interaction over vast distances (Aronin & Singleton, 2012). This, in turn, makes languages more available to learn and use, which helps with accumulating language skills (Aronin, 2018: 20). It is indeed common to have linguistic skills in multiple languages nowadays, thus rendering individuals' linguistic repertoires vast. Accordingly, the globalization phenomenon is agreed to be a major contributor in shaping multilingualism to how it is currently experienced as characterized by mobility and diversity (Aronin & Singleton, 2012).

The changes in language distribution and use have also resulted in new ways of defining and describing the notion of language. From these, I focus on languaging, and more specifically translanguaging. Languaging is the social action of meaning making where individuals draw on semiotic resources such as named languages (Moore, Bradley & Simpson, 2020). Furthermore, I am especially interested in the complex multilingual communication of today's world, for which a more suitable term is translanguaging (García & Wei, 2014), as it transcends single systems and mere alternation between named languages (Prada & Nikula, 2018).

In the present study, I will discuss multilingualism and the way of regarding language as a social action through the notion of translanguaging. There has been plenty of research of translanguaging in educational settings (e.g., García & Wei, 2014; Nikula & Moore, 2019; Prada & Nikula, 2018), as well as studies of translanguaging of children in multilingual families (e.g., Choi, 2019). Research of multilingual practices of people has also been done with languaging as part of the theory (e.g., Møller, 2010), but less with translanguaging theory. Thus, this thesis provides a new setting for the study of translanguaging as the language practices of young Finnish people will be investigated. More specifically, under investigation are Finnish students studying English as their major in a Finnish university, with the goal of learning how they use language in their everyday lives. The reason for interest in language students is not the educational context per se, but the fact that they are likely to be

oriented towards the themes of the globalizing world characterized by multilingualism and to have the skills to successfully evaluate their language use. This offers a great possibility to examine the language practices of young Finnish people in the current globalizing world, and to see if they can be described as translingual. By conducting interviews with the participants and analyzing them with qualitative methods, valuable information of their own perceptions of their language use can also be acquired.

The thesis is structured as follows: I will begin by discussing multilingualism and its changing definitions in the current world. The theories of languaging and translanguaging are then defined. Practical ways to translanguage are also discussed. Subsequently, the present study is presented; the participants, the means of collecting the data, and the method of analysis. Lastly, the results are presented and discussed in more detail.

2 LANGUAGE IN THE GLOBALIZING WORLD

In the globalizing world, multilingualism is becoming increasingly common. Its scope has spread even to traditionally monolingual countries and is thus a part of most human activities (Aronin, 2018). Accordingly, individuals' linguistic repertoires are getting vaster than before. The term linguistic repertoire refers to people's linguistic skills, their set of resources. In addition, new ways of thinking of language have emerged. This has led to new developments on the theory of language, as well as to the creation of new terms to describe language use. In this section, I will discuss the changing language views and practices through the notions of multilingualism, languaging and translanguaging.

2.1 The changing notion of multilingualism

The term multilingualism is not easy to define as theories and perspectives behind it are manifold, and emphasis has been given to different aspects of language acquisition and use (Aronin & Singleton, 2012; Aronin, 2018). A broad definition by Franceschini (200: 33-34; cited in Aronin & Singleton, 2012: 6-7) describes multilingualism as the capacity of societies, institutions, groups, and individuals to engage in everyday life with more than one language. There are cases where multilingualism is restricted to the societal level, and other words are used to refer to individual multilingualism; for example, multilinguality (Aronin & Ó Laoire, 2004; cited in Aronin & Singleton, 2012: 7), plurilingualism (e.g Choi & Ollerhead, 2018) and polylingualism (Møller, 2010). However, in this study, the term multilingualism is used to refer to the individual's capacity to use diverse linguistic resources.

There is also discussion of the possible differences between multilingualism and bilingualism. It has been contemplated whether they both refer to the same phenomenon with the difference of multilingualism exhibiting more complexity (Aronin & Singleton, 2012). Aronin and Singleton (2012: 4-6) state that both notions have often been considered interchangeable in academic discussion but that there are, however, qualitative distinctions between bilingualism and multilingualism. They state that multilinguals have a larger linguistic repertoire, and the number of language situations they can participate in is more extensive. Thus, when multilinguals face gaps in their knowledge of a given language, they can draw on all the languages in their disposal (Aronin and Singleton, 2012: 6). Recently, the distinction between bilingualism and multilingualism has become more apparent with emphasis on the complexity of multilingualism (Aronin, 2018).

Traditionally, multilingualism has been more prevalent in areas where minority languages are spoken but the spread of English as a lingua franca due to globalization has changed this (Cenoz, 2013). Finland is a bilingual country with two official languages (Finnish and Swedish), which means that every Finnish student has learned both languages at least to some degree in school. In addition, the role of English is getting more important in Finland as well. English is often used in Finland even in situations where people's native languages could also be used, which is a good example of Finland's change towards multilingualism (Leppänen et al., 2009: 15). This is in accordance with the discussion of globalization enabling the spread of multilingualism (Leppänen et al., 2009). It will be interesting to study the participants' views on their language use and their possible identification as multilinguals when the focus is not only put on the two official languages, but all the available linguistic resources are taken into account.

Recently, the traditional notion of multilingualism has been expanded on in order to have a more flexible view on language and language use (Wanyu, Mingyue, & Hult, 2020). This has been due to theoretical developments of languaging and translanguaging, which I will discuss in the following sections.

2.2 Languaging as a process of meaning making

In this study I take on a deconstructed view of languages. Instead of understanding languages as bounded and discrete entities, I will regard them as sets of linguistic resources. However, as Karrebæk, Madsen and Møller, (2016) explain, named languages do not cease to exist. They state that linguistic resources are associated with the traditional 'languages' on an ideological, socio-cultural level. This approach to languages and language use is referred to as *languaging*. Karrebæk, Madsen and Møller (2016) define languaging as individuals using their linguistic resources to communicate and make meaning – they do languaging. The resources can be anything from detailed knowledge of a feature to only knowing what to use it for in a certain context (Jørgensen, 2008). In short, languaging is a practical social action, where an individual draws on a repertoire of semiotic resources, including named languages (Moore, Bradley & Simpson, 2020).

Languaging can be seen as the re-assembly of resources, which is used as a tool by individuals to understand and influence the world, organize social life, and construct relationships and identities (Karrebæk, Madsen & Møller, 2016). Jørgensen (2008) states that languaging is

intentional and has a communicative aim. According to him, when languaging, the interlocutor is considered by adjusting our behavior accordingly: the language user has an aim for the communicative situation, and by adjusting the language use for each situation, the aim can be met. Individuals can, for example, show belonging to peer groups and communities, as well as negotiate their identities through language use (Jørgensen, 2008).

García and Wei (2014) suggest that *languaging* is not quite sufficient to describe the complex multilingual situations of today's world. They propose the term *translanguaging* to describe these situations, the languaging that creatively draws on features from individuals' resources without considering "socially and politically defined language labels or boundaries" (Mazzaferro, 2018; Otheguy et al., 2015: 297, cited in Mazzaferro, 2018: 3).

2.3 Translanguaging – the hybrid and flexible practice of multilinguals

Translanguaging theory is based on languaging, as the basic idea of individuals possessing independent language systems is disregarded, and the process of meaning making is described as language users deploying features from their linguistic repertoire (Vogel & García, 2017). Translanguaging theory also recognizes and discusses the fact that named languages have different statuses and thus impose different social constraints and expectations upon the language users (Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015: 13, in Vogel & García, 2017). The external perspective on language that translanguaging takes on recognizes that the fluid language use goes beyond languages as social constructs, giving the prefix *trans* to translanguaging (Vogel & García, 2017). Translanguaging entails the idea that individuals have a unitary linguistic repertoire that is learned through social interactions, from which features are selected considering context and purpose (Vogel & García, 2017). Therefore, translanguaging refers to processes of meaning making transcending language systems: instead, it is done using semiotic, multimodal, and cognitive resources (Mazzaferro, 2018: 5).

Other terms such as polylinguaging (Jørgensen 2008) and translingual practices (Canagarajah, 2013) have also been suggested by scholars to describe this theory, but in the current study, the term translanguaging is used. This is because I think it best reflects the current situation of fluid, mobile, local, and global resources that people have, as Moore, Bradley, and Simpson (2020) describe them. In addition, translanguaging still recognizes the existence of named languages, which is not the case with the term polylinguaging, for example (Karrebæk, Madsen & Møller, 2016).

The fact that translanguaging suggests a perspective that favors speakers' own linguistic and semiotic practices instead of nations' and states' named languages, challenges previous models of bi- and multilingualism (Vogel & García, 2017). For example, Wanyu, Mingyue, and Hult (2020) explain that the term translanguaging entails the hybrid, flexible practices of multilingual people in their everyday communication. They state that in addition to these fluid practices with linguistic, semiotic, and multimodal resources, a special orientation to communication is also taken. This adds other resources, such as the body, objects, and social networks to the repertoire (Wanyu et al., 2020). Accordingly, in this thesis, translanguaging is considered as a way for multilingual people to communicate with their linguistic resources. Due to the limited length of this study, other resources will not be in the focus.

When it comes to translanguaging in practice, Møller (2010) explains that people ascribe values and norms for the use of linguistic features, which can differ depending on the situation. With them, for instance, identity work or relation negotiation can be done, with labels being attached to the features and thus the speaker (Møller, 2010). In other words, the choices done when deciding what linguistic resources to use, can be meaningful to the speaker themselves as well as the interlocutor. According to Choi (2019), translanguaging theory highlights multilinguals' use of language as purposeful – it is used to meet their conversational aims. In other words, translanguaging is contextual. Wanyu, Mingyue and Hult (2020) conducted a study of translanguaging in international higher education, and its findings showcase this contextuality: the participants used multilingual and multimodal practices contextually with different people. Participants were shown to communicate by meshing appropriate, diverse resources in accordance with the situation and the interlocutors' repertoires. Overall, translanguaging is a creative way to communicate that is fitted to each situation.

According to Choi (2019), the process of translanguaging can encompass various practices. In her study of a trilingual child's language practices, she names the following: translating, language mixing, code-switching, paraphrasing, and inventing. Zhang and Ren (2020) name another way to realize translanguaging practices – the (re)invention of scripts, personally motivated manipulation of language. In Møller's (2010) study of linguistic practices of teenagers and men in their twenties in late modern Copenhagen, the participants are found to use languages in a creative way that are similar to the ways described before. For example, tags from another language are embedded in the speech for different effects, and two named languages are used side by side in a sentence. In the context of English as translingual, Canagarajah (2013: 68) adds the mixing of words and grammatical structures of one language

into the syntax of another, as well as the creation of new and creative constructions. These are some of the ways that translanguaging can be done in practice, and it is evident that the practices can vary.

3 THE PRESENT STUDY

3.1 Research aim and questions

The aim of the study is to investigate young Finnish people's everyday language practices in the present-day world. The objective is to find out what kind of language practices the participants report having in order to discover if these practices can be described as translingual. Furthermore, the participants are canvassed for their own views on the matter to investigate the possible reasons for their language choices.

My research questions are:

1. What kind of linguistic resources do the participants have and how are they utilized?

The participants' own descriptions of their linguistic resources and the way they utilize them to communicate are investigated. The aim is to see if the participants' language use could be described as translanguaging.

2. What are the participants' own views of their language practices?

I will explore how the participants view themselves as language users and whether they would describe their language practices as translanguaging. In addition, it is examined if the participants consider themselves multilinguals.

3.2 Participants

The participants in the present study are language students at a Finnish university. An invitation to participate was sent to the English student association's mailing list, and the two volunteers who responded were selected for the study. From now on, the participants will be referred to by pseudonyms: Helmi and Anna. Both participants are Finnish students with English as their major, and Anna also studies French as a minor. Both are in their early twenties, and Helmi is on her second year of studies in the university, while it's the third year for Anna.

3.3 Data collection and method of analysis

The data was gathered by conducting semi-structured interviews and utilizing a clock task (see Mäntylä, Pietikäinen & Dufva, 2013). First, the participants were given a digital picture of a clock, to which they were asked to fill in their language use during a day (see Appendix 1).

They were asked to do it according to the situations they were in, whether it was written, read, heard, or spoken language, and they were asked to fill it in when communication situations arose, approximately hourly. The language use they were tracking includes information of the people with whom and the situation in which linguistic resources were used. This task allows the participants to track their language use while simultaneously working as a tool for the participants to become more aware of their practices (Mäntylä, Pietikäinen & Dufva, 2013: 31). The clock task method can also generate information that would not have come up with just interviewing, since the participants do the task independently and thus bring forward their own views without the influence of the interviewer (Sirkeinen, 2008).

After completing the clock task, semi-structured interviews based on the task were conducted (see Appendix 2). Interview was chosen as the method of data collection as it is a useful way to collect qualitative data, and it allows the participants to delve into detail with their answers. The semi-structured interview type was chosen because it allows flexibility with the order of the questions and a possibility for follow-up questions when needed (Guthrie, 2010, p. 120). Discussions with the participants elaborated the course of their day of language use so that more information about the language practices could be gained. In addition, the interview enabled the procurement of the participants' own perceptions of their language use. The interview questions were divided into three categories: firstly, general questions about the participants' relationship to languages; secondly questions about the clock task and their language use; and finally, questions about their thoughts on their language use.

The method for analyzing the data was qualitative content analysis. This method was chosen because it is a commonly used method for analyzing interview transcripts with the goal of deriving meaning from them (Given, 2008). First, the interviews were transcribed and then, as Given (2008) suggests, categorization to themes was done. Lastly, interpretations of the participants' answers were derived from the categories. This refers to observations and conclusions relating to the research questions about the participants' language practices.

4 PARTICIPANTS' LANGUAGE PRACTICES AND PERSPECTIVES

Certain themes emerged from the clock tasks and the interview transcripts: linguistic resources, language use, translingual characteristics of communication, and identification as multilingual. I will begin the analysis by describing the participants' linguistic resources and their use. Subsequently, the translingual characteristics of their communication is discussed. Finally, I will examine the participants' identification as multilinguals.

4.1 The participants' use of their linguistic resources

The first objective of this study was to discover the linguistic resources that the participants have, and the ways they are utilized. The first language of both participants was Finnish, and they both named English as their second strongest language. Both also named Swedish as being one of the languages in their linguistic repertoires. In addition, Helmi has some experience with Russian, whereas Anna knows French and studies it as a minor.

The participants were given the option to choose either Finnish or English as the language of the interview, and both chose Finnish. When asked for the reason behind the decision, both said that it would be easier to answer questions in Finnish. Anna also stated that it is easier to express herself more accurately in Finnish. She said that using English makes her slightly nervous, which affected her choice. It can be deduced that the first language can be a more comfortable language to use, especially in situations where it is important that the wanted message is articulated clearly.

Helmi described the role of Finnish in her life as being the language she speaks with friends, family, and her dog. This was the case with both spoken and written language. She said that Finnish is the language she uses in her everyday life with “*normal communication*”. When going through the clock task entries, it could be seen that this everyday communication included for example customer service situations in the grocery store. This is to be expected as this study is conducted in Central Finland where the commonly used language is the other official language, Finnish. Anna also used Finnish to communicate with people close to her. However, Anna also added that for her it is the language of thinking and expressing herself:

Example 1

Suomi nyt on, ehkä on semmonen, niinku vahvin ilmaisukieli [...] ehkä että eniten just sillei semmosen oman ajattelun kieli [...] se on ehkä niinku semmonen siellä pohjalla

Finnish is, is maybe the strongest, like language of expression [...] maybe the most just a kind of language of your own thinking [...] it's maybe like there as a base

She told that if she must use another language, for example when writing an essay, she often first thinks of things in Finnish before translating them into the other language.

When it comes to the less used languages, Helmi stated that she had studied Swedish and Russian in school, but that they are not as strong as her English skills. According to her, she would no longer be able to manage with those languages:

Example 2

[...] mut ne on kumpiki nyt tosi huonolla tolalla, et niitä niin vähän tulee käytettyä et ne on jo aika lailla unohtunu et ei niillä enää pärjäis

[...] but they are both in a pretty bad way now because they get used so little, so they're pretty much forgotten already so I wouldn't get by with them anymore

Helmi stated that Swedish and Russian do not really have any role in her life now, which was supported by the fact that her clock task did not include any entries of them. Anna also stated that her Swedish skills have remained somewhat limited, and the language does not get used much because there are not many naturally occurring situations with Swedish in Central Finland. However, her day of language use contained some Swedish in the form of TV shows. Even as a mainly Finnish speaking region, Swedish can be present in the everyday life of inhabitants in Central Finland through media, as there are Swedish radio and TV channels in Finland. Globalization can also be seen to affect the availability of content in other languages, as it has brought the world and languages with it "closer to us". The availability of languages does not automatically mean that everybody becomes multilingual, but one's own motivation and actions affect what languages they encounter or familiarize themselves with.

Anna has studied French nearly as long as English, but she feels that her French skills are not as good as her English skills. This was also the result of few opportunities to use the language in Finland and not hearing the language. When discussing the clock task, Anna said that French was used in an educational setting: she used it to do research for schoolwork, and it was also used in a lecture where certain words, such as names, were said in French while the rest was in Finnish. She mentioned that she had done some schoolwork for a French class with another student who does not speak Finnish, and that they communicated in English. As they both are French students, this could be thought as an opportunity to use the language. Anna explained,

however, that since her French skills are *still developing*, she gets nervous of speaking the language, and even if there was an opportunity for it, she might opt for English instead. This could create a loop of not getting to speak the language because of anxiousness and thus not developing the skills because of the lack of practice. As Anna said:

Example 3

[...] että ei just oo niitä tilanteita missä sitä (ranskaa) pääsis käyttämään ja sitte tavallaan myös se kun ei oo ollu niitä tilanteita niin sitä ei oo päässy harjottelemaan, ja sit sen takia se on just ehkä jääny niinku öö semmoseks minkä käyttäminen jännittää enemmän

[...] that there just aren't those situations where it (French) could be used and then in a way also because there have not been those situations so there hasn't been possibilities to practice, and then because of that it has maybe remained as like um something the use of which makes me nervous

Both participants study English as their major in the university and described it as their strongest language right after Finnish. It is the language they have studied for the longest and that they use most alongside Finnish. They described the role of English in their life to be significant because of their studies and as many courses are executed fully in English. Helmi went into detail in her clock task and said that in one lecture she listened to the teacher speak in English, read English texts, and participated in group discussions in English. The role of English extends to other subjects too: Anna gave the example of the French course where she uses English with her pair when doing schoolwork. This was because she considers English to be the primarily language of communication when the first language is not shared. Helmi pointed out that the amount of English used and the way it is used varies according to her school schedule. For example, if she has a day without lectures, she might watch TV shows in English instead – something she does not have as much time to do when she is busy with school.

English was indeed used in other areas of the participants' lives too. For example, Anna lives with housemates that do not speak Finnish, so they communicate in English at home. English was also one of the languages of entertainment alongside Finnish. Both participants had entries of social media, such as Facebook and Instagram, where they used English and Finnish. In addition, Helmi listened to Finnish podcasts where also English was used, whereas Anna had two entries of listening to music in English. TV shows were also part of the entertainment where the participants use English. However, Anna stated that it is the easiest to watch shows in

Finnish because then there is no need for processing the language like in the case of unfamiliar words in shows that are in other languages.

4.2 Translingual characteristics of communication

From the participants' accounts of the roles and functions of English (and French in the case of Anna) in their lives, and of the ways they use these languages, a connection to translanguaging could be seen. They both stated to occasionally think of things in English in everyday situations where they would normally use Finnish. They did not consider this to be a planned or premeditated but described it as things *coming to mind* in English. The way the participants used English in these situations can be defined as language switching. Helmi stated that the use of English and Finnish varies:

Example 4

Vaikka tälle arkikielessä ja arkielämäs muuten et mie puhun suomeks mut aina välillä on semmosii että joku ilmasu saattaaki tulla mielee eka vaik englanniks tai jotenki tulee helpommin joku englannin kielinen sana ni sit tulee sellai semmosta pientä vaihteluu siihen normi puheeseenki

Although in my everyday language and everyday life otherwise I speak in Finnish but every now and then there are times when an expression might come to mind first, let's say, in English or somehow some English word comes to mind more easily so then there's kind of small variation in the normal speech

Such switching is a creative use of the resources that the participants have, thus portraying translingual characteristics. This is comparable to Møller's (2010) study mentioned before, where participants embedded tags of one language into another and used two named languages in a single sentence. Similar language use was also present in the podcast Helmi listened to – it was mainly in Finnish, but it included English quotations and phrases. In addition to switching, Anna's description of her language mixing is also an example of translingual language use:

Example 5:

[...] Välillä sekottaa just jos ei keksi vaikka suomennosta jollekki englanninkieliselle sanalle tai pystyy paremmin ilmasemaan ajatuksensa englanniks niin sit saattaa niinku käyttää vähän niinku Finglish-kieltä

[...] Sometimes I mix just like if you can't come up with a translation for some English word or can better express thoughts in English so then (I) might use kind of like Finglish-language

Furthermore, the way in which Anna does research for an assignment can be regarded as translingual. She was preparing a French slideshow, for which she did research in French,

English, and Finnish. This displays the ability to use all the available linguistic resources to perform a communicative task.

The study of Wanuy et al. (2020) found that translanguaging is contextual and often done in accordance with the repertoires of the interlocutors, which was also true with Helmi and Anna. The incorporation of English into their language use depended on the company they were in. Both mentioned that the use of English is more likely with other language students. Helmi stated she considers her language choices more carefully when she is speaking with friends that are not language students. In that context she was more likely to try to find a Finnish equivalent for something she thought of in English. Anna did the same with people who she knew did not like language mixing, for instance.

4.3 Identification as multilingual

The participants were asked how they would define the notion of multilingualism. Helmi defined it as the ability to speak more than one language. She was not sure if there should be a certain level of competence to be multilingual. She used herself as an example and stated that if she did not speak English, she would not be sure if she would identify as multilingual. This was because, according to her, she would not get by in everyday life with only her skills of Swedish and Russian. She thus concluded that at least some basic skills are needed – it is not enough to simply know how to say thank you. With her skills in English also considered, Helmi does identify as multilingual.

Helmi tied her identification as multilingual to her competences in different named languages. This view is consistent with the definition of multilingualism as the ability to master separate language systems, but it does not conform to the translanguaging theory of favoring individuals' own linguistic practices over named languages. From a translingual perspective, having any knowledge of the resources of multiple named languages could be considered multilingualism.

Anna defined multilingualism through describing a multilingual person. According to her, a multilingual person's communication is versatile, and they can express themselves in multiple languages. She also tied multiculturalism to multilingualism as languages have characteristics that are linked to cultures, as well as history. Anna discussed the possibility to expand one's thinking by being able to use these culturally loaded languages. Based on her definition of multilingualism she concluded that she might be *a little* multilingual since she mostly uses

Finnish and English, while French and Swedish do not have such a significant role in her life. Their faint visibility in her everyday life, as well as the fact that some of her language use is to some extent limited to the university setting, influence her perception of herself as multilingual. However, French has influenced her way to view things, which she stated as another reason why she is multilingual to some extent.

Anna's depiction of her multilingualism is consistent with the theory of translanguaging. Linguaging as the process of individuals linguistically interacting with the world entails learning new cultural practices and ways to interact (García & Wei, 2014: 8). This knowledge of cultural practices and ways of interacting can be seen as the resources that individuals have in their linguistic repertoire. Anna's description concurs with this translingual idea of having resources and the knowledge how to utilize them.

5 CONCLUSION

The first aim of the study was to examine the participants' language practices. They had a wide set of linguistic resources with four named languages each to their repertoire. However, not all of these languages were utilized in their everyday life for various reasons, and in addition to their first language, Finnish, the most importance was given to English. This can partially be explained by the fact that the participants studied English in university, and therefore English is an essential part of their everyday lives. Another reason for the role of English in their lives can be attributed to globalization and its effects on language distribution. English has gotten a status as a lingua Franca and its importance in Finland is also significant. The importance can be seen in the participants language practices.

A clear disregarding of independent language systems characteristic to translanguaging did not become evident from the tasks or interviews with the participants as they had somewhat clear functions for the languages in their lives. However, translanguaging theory recognizes the statuses of languages and the social constraints and expectations they impose (Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015: 13, in Vogel & García, 2017). This could be behind the reasons why the participants chose to adhere to a certain language in a certain situation. For example, Helmi's trips to the grocery store were done in Finnish, which can be explained by the fact that Finnish is the official and most used language in Finland and thus expected to be used in the grocery store.

The participants mainly chose their way of communicating based on pre-determined ideas on what language should be spoken in each situation. However, their communication was also occasionally characterized by the contextual implementing of resources typical to translanguaging. The participants made meaning by using their linguistic resources according to the context of communication as well as the purpose of the communication, which is typical to translanguaging. This could especially be seen in their creative uses of English and Finnish when they code switched or paraphrased their own thoughts in one language to another language. Therefore, the participants' language use had translingual characteristics. However, some translanguaging practices, such as language manipulation or insertion, were difficult to investigate in the scope of this study. Therefore, it cannot be determined to what extent their communication can be described as translanguaging, but some translingual traits were clearly present.

The second aim of the study was to investigate the participants' own views on their language practices. It became evident in the interviews that they felt more comfortable using Finnish and English than the rest of their linguistic repertoire. This was due to Finnish being their first language and English being the second strongest language. However, Anna's clock task and interview answers showed that she did use French and Swedish throughout her day as well, just in the form of reading or listening instead of talking. The participants were also asked about their possible identification as multilinguals. Helmi identified as one because of her skills in English, and Anna said she might identify as one to some extent due to the role of English in her life, as well as the influence of the French language.

Translanguaging can be considered a way for multilinguals to communicate using their linguistic resources and based on the conclusion that the participants' communication can be characterized as translingual, it would be fair to determine that they are indeed multilingual people.

The current study showcases the language practices of two young university students, which gives an insight to how language can be used in contemporary Finland. As the study included only two participants, any further generalizations cannot be made from the findings. The fact that both participants were English students also has its effects on their language skills and use, and thus investigating people outside this context could give different results. Further research on a larger scale could be conducted in order to reveal the trends of language use in Finland. In addition, investigation on the more detailed and practical ways of translanguaging could be done to get more precise insights on Finnish people's ways of using language.

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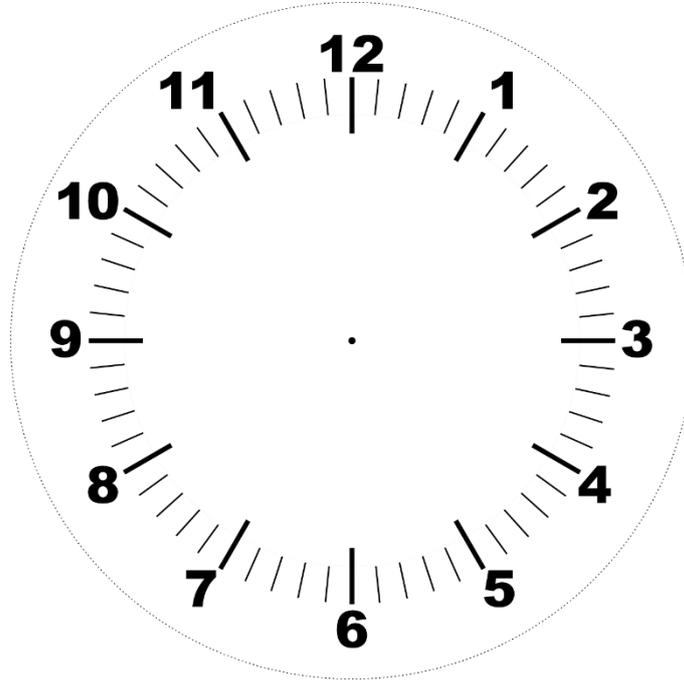
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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: The clock task form



Appendix 2: Interview questions in Finnish

Yleiset kysymykset

1. Haluatko käydä haastattelun suomeksi vai englanniksi? Miksi?
2. Kuinka vanha olet?
3. Kuvaile kielellistä repertuaariasi: mikä on äidinkieleni ja mitä muita kieliä osaat?
4. Miten olet oppinut osaamasi kielet?
5. Mitä kieliä opiskelet yliopistossa? Kuinka kauan olet opiskellut niitä yliopistossa?
6. Mitkä ovat osaamiesi kielten roolit elämässäsi?
7. Mitä funktioita osaamillasi kielillä on? (Esim. käytätkö niitä vain tietyissä konteksteissa tai vain tiettyihin tarkoituksiin)

Kysymyksiä kellotehtävästä

8. Käydään tehtävä läpi
 - a. Kenen kanssa kommunikoi?
 - b. Miten käytit kieltä tilanteessa? (Kokonaisia keskusteluja tietyllä kielellä, kielten sekoittamista tai koodinvaihtoa, kielellisten elementtien yhdistelyä; esimerkiksi yhden kielen sanaston ja toisen kielen kieliopin yhdistely...)
 - c. Miksi valitsit juuri kyseisen tavan kommunikoida tilanteessa?
 - d. Poikkesiko tämä päivä jotenkin tavallisesta päivästäsi?

Osallistujien näkemykset

9. Kuvaile kielenkäyttöäsi – valitsetko aina tietyn kielen, vai valitsetko tarkoitukseen parhaiten sopivan tavan kommunikoida?
10. Miten määrittelisit monikielisyyden?
11. Koetko itse olevasi monikielinen? Miksi/Miksi et?

Appendix 3: Interview questions in English

General questions

1. Would you like to be interviewed in Finnish or in English? Why?
2. How old are you?
3. Describe your linguistic repertoire: what is your native language, and what other languages do you speak?
4. How have you learned the languages you speak?
5. What languages do you study in the university? How long have you studied said languages in university?
6. What are the roles of the languages you speak in your life?
7. What are the functions of the languages you speak? (e.g., do you use them only in certain contexts or for certain purposes)

Questions regarding the clock task

8. Let's go through the task
 - a. With whom did you communicate?
 - b. How did you use language in the situation? (Whole conversations with a certain language, language mixing or switching, combining features like lexicon from one language and grammar from another etc.)
 - c. Why did you opt for the chosen way of communicating in the situation?
 - d. Did this day in some way differ from your average day?

Participants' views

9. Describe your language use – do you always choose a certain language, or do you choose a way of communicating that best suits the purpose?
10. How would you define multilingualism?
11. Do you identify as multilingual? Why/why not?

Appendix 4: The interview extracts and their translations

Example 1

Suomi nyt on, ehkä on semmonen, niinku vahvin ilmaisukieli [...] ehkä että eniten just sillei semmosen oman ajattelun kieli [...] se on ehkä niinku semmonen siellä pohjalla

Finnish is, is maybe the strongest, like language of expression [...] maybe the most just a kind of language of your own thinking [...] it's maybe like there as a base

Example 2

[...] mut ne on kumpiki nyt tosi huonolla tolalla, et niitä niin vähän tulee käytettyä et ne on jo aika lailla unohtunu et ei niillä enää pärjäis

[...] but they are both in a pretty bad way now because they get used so little, so they're pretty much forgotten already so I wouldn't get by with them anymore

Example 3

[...] että ei just oo niitä tilanteita missä sitä (ranskaa) pääsis käyttämään ja sitte tavallaan myös se kun ei oo ollu niitä tilanteita niin sitä ei oo päässy harjottelemaan, ja sit sen takia se on just ehkä jääny niinku öö semmoseks minkä käyttäminen jännittää enemmän

[...] that there just aren't those situations where it (French) could be used and then in a way also because there have not been those situations so there hasn't been possibilities to practice, and then because of that it has maybe remained as like um something the use of which makes me nervous

Example 4

Vaikka tällei arkikielessä ja arkielämäs muuten et mie puhun suomeks mut aina välillä on semmosii että joku ilmasu saattaaki tulla mielee eka vaik englanniks tai jotenki tulee helpommin joku englannin kielinen sana ni sit tulee sellai semmosta pientä vaihteluu siihen normi puheeseenki

Although in my everyday language and everyday life otherwise I speak in Finnish but every now and then there are times when an expression might come to mind first, let's say, in English or somehow some English word comes to mind more easily so then there's kind of small variation in the normal speech

Example 5:

[...] Välillä sekottaa just jos ei keksi vaikka suomennosta jollekki englanninkieliselle sanalle tai pystyy paremmin ilmasemaan ajatuksensa englanniks niin sit saattaa niinku käyttää vähän niinku Finglish-kieltä

[...] Sometimes I mix just like if you can't come up with a translation for some English word or can better express thoughts in English so then (I) might use kind of like Finglish-language