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"It's like having BBC and YLE in your head"

Cultural identity of Finnish-English bilinguals

Master's Thesis

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ABSTRACT

Due to migration and immigration, bilingual families are growing at a record rate. Even though there is already large amounts of research on bilinguals and their identity, this research aims to examine and understand the cultural identity of Finnish-English bilinguals, raised in Finland, with one English and one Finnish speaking parent. The study aims to recognise what role language plays in the identity construction of bilinguals.

The theoretical section of this work discusses research on bilingualism and identity construction, with a focus on language, identity, and biculturalism. A qualitative research approach is used, and the eight semi-structured interviews are analysed using categorical-content analysis. In addition to the interviews, a language self-assessment form was employed in this study, in order to be able to cross analyse the interviews against the participants' language self-assessment forms.

The analyses uncovers the participants' diverse language skills and different understandings of their identity. The majority of the participants identify themselves as primarily Finnish, whilst the degree of how much the participants identify themselves as English varied dramatically depending on their cultural experiences, time spent in the United Kingdom and language skills. While some participants identify themselves as bicultural and transcultural, others identify less so, and one neglected any identification towards the English culture at all.

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1   INTRODUCTION

Global migration has seen enormous growth over the past 30 years, due to the increased ability of people residing outside of their homeland. Increase in migration figures are a result of a wide variety of reasons ranging from seeking refuge, study, work, or to be with loved ones. With steep growth in migration also comes increase in the amount of bicultural and bilingual marriages, which in turn results in raised figures of bilingual families. Finland, being part of the European Union, is no exception to an increased number of migrants who have chosen to reside and create a life in Finland. This significant demographic change has resulted in a steady rise of bilingual and bicultural individuals in Finland and the identity of English and Finnish bilingual and bicultural individuals is what is to be explored in this study.

1.1   Background

Throughout the last few decades, the number of foreigners selecting to reside in Finland has risen. According to Statistics Finland, total immigration from abroad to Finland amounted to 31,510 in 2014. Immigration of persons from EU countries to Finland totalled 15,380, a 1,590 increase from the previous year. (Statistics Finland 2015) Through these figures we learn that migration in Finland is at an all-time high and developing a more multicultural society which increases likelihood of intercultural partnerships and families.

In Finland, families constructed of parents from different countries, cultures and with diverse mother tongues are steeply on the rise. Multiple combinations of languages between partners and between child and parent have been rapidly growing over the past 20 years in Finland. According to Statistics Finland, partnerships between Finnish man and foreign woman grew from just below 4,000 in 1990 to 20,000 in 2010, a staggering five times increase. Similarly, foreign man and Finnish woman rose from 6,000 in 1990 to 19,000 in 2010. Foreign mothers in Finland have risen dramatically from 500 in 1990 to over 6,000 in 2010. (Statistics Finland 2015) Foreign partnerships and multilingualism goes hand in hand, and therefore it is now becoming more common for children to be

raised in multilingual and multicultural families, often speaking two or more languages. With this increase of multiculturalism and multilingualism, the question of one's identity is raised.

There is already great discussion in Finland regarding the topic of bilingualism due to Finland being a bilingual country; both Finnish and Swedish are national languages of Finland, with 88.7% of the population speaking Finnish as their first language and 5.3% speaking Swedish as their first language. (Statistics Finland 2016) The remainder 6% of the Finnish population speak languages other than Finnish or Swedish as their mother tongue; of these English and Russian are the largest language groups.

Language and identity are bound and linked, and language can be perceived as having a big influence on the construction of one's identity. Languages can be used as a signal or a symbol of belonging to a certain social group or nation, just as much as dialects and accents can play a huge role in symbolising which specific geographic group of people one belongs to. Thus, a language can be enough for people to socially identify a person and assume one's identity. Language can influence how we are able to think and our mother tongue could be imperative to understanding how we perceive ourselves. (Veltkamp et al. 2012: 496–498)

1.2   Literature review

Bilingualism, language, and identity are highly researched areas and therefore one is able to access large amounts of previous research when discussing this field. Studies conducted almost 70 years ago now may be considered out of date today, although immense progression has been achieved in this field throughout the last 20 years.

Linguists such as Haugen (1950) and Weinreich (1953) focussed on the field of sociolinguistics. One of Haugen's most important works includes 'The Norwegian language in America; A study in bilingual behaviour.' This examination observed acculturation whilst concentrating on specifically Scandinavian dialects. Haugen is classed as one of the first to research and question how we understand bilingualism, sparking his fellow scholars to do the same.

Weinreich (1953) similarly is among the first to write about bilingualism with special reference to Switzerland. He based his doctoral research around language contact in Switzerland in the 20th century focussing on the French-German linguistic border and German and Romansh in the canton of Grisons. Weinreich (1953) characterized the ideal bilingual as an individual who "switches from one language to the other according to appropriate changes in the speech situation (interlocutor, topics, etc.) but not in an unchanged speech situation, and certainly not within a single sentence." (Weinreich 1953: 73 in Beardsmore 1986: 77)

Gumperz (1982) is recognised for his significant contribution to research on bilingualism. His work 'Language and social identity' seeks to apprehend how human interaction and the role of communication plays a part in the reproduction of social identity. The work looks at language as interactional discourse and looks to understand identity and how it is affected by various parameters. This study not only analyses language linked to identity but also related to culture and ethnicity. (Gumperz 1982: 1)

Beardsmore (1986) contributed to the research of bilingualism by constructing a perfect introduction to this mosaic and complex subject. Beardsmore uses pervious scholars' research in his work in aiding himself to carve out his own understanding of bilingualism. His book 'Bilingualism: Basic Principles' analyses and discusses definitions from Bloomfield (1935), Gumperz (1982), Weinreich (1953) and Poplack (1980) offering a broad perspective of bilingualism and allowing Beardsmore to discuss common difficulties with definitions. The book looks into the effect bilingualism has on the personality whilst dispelling any myths related to bilingualism. (Beardsmore 1986)

Romaine (1995) has explored both the psychological and linguistic aspects of bilingualism investigating societal features of being bilingual, whilst alongside analysing the behaviours of bilinguals in their speech, such as code-switching. Romaine (1995) uses Gumperz's (1982) definition of code-switching, as "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems." (Gumperz 1982: 59, quoted in Romaine 1995: 111) Romaine also assesses the positive and negative standpoints of being bilingual from a cognitive, social and academic advancement perspective.

One researcher who has completed studies most related to the topic of this thesis is Koven (2007). Koven's work 'Selves in two languages: Bilinguals' verbal enactments of identity in French and Portuguese' is a substantial and influential study on bilinguals' experiences, which should be taken into consideration when commencing this academic work. 'Selves in two languages' explores "how the same speakers experience and display different personas across their two languages." (Koven 2007: 2) Koven focusses specifically on bilinguals of French and Portuguese and uses narrative analysis to examine how they perceive past events in each of their two languages. In the study Koven also examines the participants "own reflections about the impact of two languages on context and self." (Koven 2007: 61) This character of analysis will also be carried out in the research within this thesis.

The works of these linguists have been adopted and expanded into new territories and new ways of perceiving bilingualism today, by authors that are regarded as more up to date in the discussion of language and identity. Authors such as Shin (2013) introduce the social and educational aspects of bilingualism. Shin's book 'Bilingualism in Schools and Society' offers an in depth discussion of life with multiple languages and living and raising bilingual children in a globalised world.

Aneta Pavlenko (2014) conducted research called 'The Bilingual Mind', which poses one main question: "If languages influence the way we think, do bilinguals think differently in their respective languages?" (Pavlenko 2014) This study of language and cognition will aid this research to discover how language can affect one's cultural identity and what happens to bilinguals' cognitive function when they speak two languages.

Additional authors that are regarded as more relevant and up to date, and who discuss bilingualism, identity and cultural personality, include Romaine (1995), Norton (1997), Koven (2007), Grosjean (2008) and Shin (2013). These authors discuss aspects of bilingualism and biculturalism. Other authors discuss their own experiences with being bilingual including Monica Heller (1999), Adrian Blackledge (2010), and Aneta Pavlenko (2014).

Research and investigations within the areas of bilingualism, language and identity have been accomplished as shown. Language specific studies have also been completed by

authors like Koven (2007), and have offered a deeper insight to how bilinguals are thinking and identifying in their two languages.

Work in regards to Finnish and English bilinguals has not been attempted to date. More common combinations are Finnish with Scandinavian languages due to Finland's location within the Nordic countries, and Finland's close relationship to these countries in history. Some examples of research conducted regarding Finnish and Swedish bilinguals include Slotte-Lüttge (2004), who has shown research on Finnish-Swedish bilingual children and their positioning in Finnish dominating schools. Sjöholm (2007) has researched the changing conditions of the Swedish minority in bilingual Finland. This thesis aspires to fill this research gap and produce insight into Finnish-English bilinguals' experiences of being bilingual and their cultural identity.

1.3 Framing the research, methodology, aims and questions

This research endeavours to acknowledge and recognise how bilinguals of Finnish and English, who were raised in Finland, culturally identify themselves and how they appreciate the connection between language and identity when constructing their personal cultural identities. Relationships between heritage language at home and in society, and the relationship to interviewees' cultural identity will be explored in this study. The research will investigate only bilinguals from one English speaking and one Finnish speaking parent, raised in a bilingual home, in Finland.

The research aims of this work are therefore bounded by the following questions:

1. How do Finnish-English bilinguals, raised with one English speaking and one Finnish speaking parent, who were raised in Finland, culturally identify themselves?
2. What is the link between the candidates' self-assessment of their languages and how they culturally identify themselves?
3. What is the link between the bilinguals' exposure to cultural experiences and how they identify themselves?

For the purpose of this research, the term 'cultural experience' will be understood as cultural traditions, holidays and norms followed and celebrated in the home. Examples of cultural experiences could be holiday traditions such as Christmas and Easter, spending time in the country of the heritage language, and culture in the form of books, music and film.

This research engages in a critical perspective in the analysis of bilinguals' cultural identities through eight semi-structured interviews, which are recorded and transcribed to allow content analysis. Eight participants that fit the criteria of being bilingual, having one English and one Finnish parent, and raised in Finland are interviewed. The data from the interviews will be sorted into separate categories, which participants have discussed during the interviews, to allow the contents of each category to be analysed. In addition to the interviews, the participants are asked to complete a language self-assessment form which requires participants to grade their confidence in both English and Finnish. This assessment form will offer understanding as to how the participants view their own language abilities. Both the interviews and the language self-assessment form will aid in a better understanding of how individuals appreciate language and identity when constructing their personal cultural identity.

1.4   Structure of the Thesis

This research begins with an introduction which presents the subject, and aims of this research. Main theories that are applied in this research are introduced and discussed including bilingualism, language, and identity, and the current condition in Finland including English language uses in Finland. The work continues with the methodology and data collection of this research, followed by the analysis and discussion of the interviews conducted for this research. This work concludes with a discussion of the findings.

2   BILINGUALISM

Humbly, bilingualism is the capability to use two languages, although defining bilingualism has proven difficult because the abilities of bilinguals vary greatly. Classifications span from minimal language proficiency to advanced language proficiency, when a speaker can appear native. A person may be bilingual from being raised and learning two languages simultaneously, or a person may have become bilingual from learning a second language to an advanced ability during their life time. Bilingualism means different things to different people, and therefore in this section, definitions of bilingualism will be explored, taking into consideration older and more classic views of bilingualism, such as Bloomfield (1933) and Weinreich (1968), before arriving at some more current definitions, from Shin (2013), and a more narrowed and precise understanding of what it means to be bilingual.

Bilingualism has been addressed in countless studies to date and therefore it has been widely reflected by many scholars and researchers. This study does not aim to research identity issues across all bilinguals, however the theoretical framework in this study provides the background to study and analyse Finnish-English bilinguals.

2.1   Defining Bilingualism

Definitions of bilingualism are varied and open ended, ranging from expansive to constricted classifications, some include linguistic and psychological features, whilst others regard people or countries, and therefore this has become a complex term to define. There are no clear boundaries to the term and there are countless aspects to consider when defining bilingualism. It depends on which perspective we choose to define the term bilingualism from, which effects the definition produced. For the purpose of this study, we will look at definitions of bilingualism from an individual person's perspective.

To begin, the English Oxford Dictionary states the term bilingual means "speaking two languages fluently" or "a person fluent in two languages" (Oxforddictionaries.com 2015). It should be recognised here that statements such as these are modest and do not address

the depth of the term. Weinreich (1968) states in his book 'Languages in Contact', "the practice of alternately using two languages will be called bilingualism, and the person involved, bilingual" (Weinreich 1968: 1, quoted in Hoffman 1991: 15). Similarly, Bloomfield's (1933) clear understanding of bilingualism is "native-like control of two languages" (Bloomfield 1933: 55, quoted in Hoffman 1991: 15). Definitions like these above have been questioned in more recent works. Generalisations in definitions such as these offer very little explanation as to how well these two or more languages need to be known by an individual in order for them to be positioned under the definition of bilingual. These explanations fail to regard additional communicative activities such as reading, writing, listening and speaking. Definitions such as those above also say nothing about the uses of the languages, or requirements when using the languages.

Fishman et al. (1971) points out that it would actually be quite impossible for a bilingual to be "equally fluent in both languages about all of the possible topics" (Fishman et al 1971, quoted in Baetens Beardsmore 1986: 9). It could be understood that bilinguals may use their languages for separate experiences in their lives. An example of this could be, one language is used for work and business and the second language for family and relationships. The vocabulary required for these two different scenarios are probably quite different.

In agreement with this, Shin (2013) has taken this further. There are many variations of people who can be classed as bilingual. A person does not necessarily have to be equally fluent in both languages to determine themselves as bilingual, one language can be stronger than the other yet they still can classify themselves as bilingual. Therefore, it appears that there are different levels of bilingualism, and it can be difficult to measures the level of bilingualism in a person. (Shin 2013: 4–5)

Shin (2013) introduces the term 'balanced' bilinguals, meaning those that are of the same proficiency in both of the languages. Although, according to Shin, this idea of 'balanced bilinguals' is rather uncommon amongst bilinguals and is actually a "myth" (Shin 2013: 4). Shin explains that it is too often assumed that 'true' bilinguals are equally fluent in their two languages with competence comparing to that of monolinguals, when in reality however, Shin states that "bilinguals will rarely have balanced proficiency in their two

languages. […] Rarely will any bilingual be equally proficient in speaking, listening, reading and writing both languages across all different situations and domains" (Shin 2013: 4). This statement is crucial to understanding bilingualism especially when associating it with identity.

There are terms used by Shin such as 'full', 'balanced' and 'unbalanced' bilingual, which indicates that a person can be equally proficient or unequally proficient in their languages. Shin explains that the concept of 'unbalanced' is much more realistic in bilinguals than 'balanced', and that it is imperative to understand that the proficiency in one or either language may be weaker than that of a monolingual. Even though it may be the case that one language is weaker than that of a monolingual we must note that when taken together, the two languages that the bilingual has are greater than the monolinguals only language. (Shin 2013: 4)

It is possible that a bilingual has a lower level of proficiency in both of the languages; this can be defined as "semilingualism". The term semilingual has been used to refer to people, mostly young students or children, who lack full proficiency in both of their languages. (Martin-Jones & Romaine 1986, quoted in Shin 2013: 6) Many difficulties have been found in semilingual children for example, restricted vocabulary, incorrect word order, limited grammar. This is one of the negative effects of bilingualism, when a child falls short in both languages. There are many reasons why children lack proficiency in one or both of their languages, for example, migrant or immigrant children that move to a new country and begin school in a new language can often reject their heritage language (a language that is not dominant in the community or society that one lives in). Reasons for rejection can range from embarrassment of speaking the heritage language in the new society, or fear of speaking the new language in the new society. In addition, bilinguals from birth can also reject one language if they begin to lack proficiency in that language. It is not common but can be possible for children and students to resist speaking one or both of their languages for varied reasons. (Shin 2013: 6–8)

After deliberating and examining previous versions of how bilingualism can be defined, it would be valuable here to offer a definition that captures the understanding required for

the purpose of this thesis. Grosjean, a respected writer within the field of bilingualism writes,

> The bilingual is a fully competent speaker/hearer; he or she has developed competencies (in the two languages and possibly a third system that is a combination of the two) to the extent required by his or her needs and those of the environment. The bilingual uses the two languages – separately or together – for different purposes in different domains of life and with different people. Because the needs and uses of the two languages are usually quite different, the bilingual is rarely equally or completely fluent in the two languages. Levels of fluency in a language will depend on the need for that language and will be extremely domain specific. (Grosjean 1985: 471)

Grosjean's explanation here is perfectly tuned while addressing and identifying the key concepts regarding competency and fluency in bilinguals.

Döpke (1992) introduces the principle of 'one parent-one language'. (Döpke 1992: 1) This means the parents speak their own language to the children. Döpke expresses "the degree of bilingualism achieved by the 'one parent-one language' principle varies considerably" (Döpke 1992: 1). She explains the importance of keeping up the child's exposure to the heritage language in the home, which is often limited only to the parent who speaks the minority language. (Döpke 1992: 1)

Finally, these classifications denote merely one aspect of bilingualism, language proficiency, and are subsequently disregarding other aspects of bilingualism such as cultural, societal, psychological, and psycholinguistic aspects of bilingualism. According to Bachman (1990), being completely proficient in a language does not simply include the linguistic fundamentals of the language but also a level of societal and cultural knowledge as well. He explains that cultural figures of speech, dialects and cultural norms and behaviours are crucial to being truly proficient in the language. (Bachman, 1990: 87)

Mohanty (1994) raises this idea by explaining how bilinguals have an ability, through their two or more languages, to interact with other speakers and fulfil the communicative demands of others and in the society. (Mohanty 1994, quoted in Hamers and Blanc 2000: 7) Hamers (1981) illustrates how bilinguality is the psychological state of mind of a person who can speak more than one language, and that bilingualism deals with many

dimensions such as "psychological, cognitive, psycholinguistic, social linguistic, social, sociological, sociolinguistic, sociocultural and linguistic" (Hamers 1981, quoted in Hamers and Blanc 2001: 6). This suggests that bilingualism can be regarded as more than concerning just language proficiency and one should also take into respect the psychological and social effects behind being bilingual.

2.2   Measuring Bilingualism

A suitable definition for bilingualism has been identified above, but still the question of proficiency remains. What language proficiency does a person need to have in order to be classed as bilingual? And how do we measure language proficiency related to bilingualism?

It can be assumed that many people today have limited language skills in at least one language other than their mother tongue. So is this level enough to define one as being bilingual? Subsequently, exactly how much language knowledge is needed before one can define themselves as bilingual? The answer to this question alters depending on how people define language proficiency. Beardsmore (1986) claims that all tests surrounding the second language signifies an effort of measuring bilingualism (Beardsmore 1986: 85). Perhaps it is so that a language test consisting of reading, writing, listening, speaking etc. could determine the level of proficiency in the second language and therefore give a measureable idea to how bilingual that person may be.

The idea of measuring a person's level of language breeds cynicism in some for example,

> It is doubtful whether bilingualism per se can be measured apart from the situation in which it is to function in the social context in which a particular individual operates linguistically. The only practical approach […] is to assess bilingualism in terms of certain social and occupational demands of a practical nature in a particular society. Here again the criterion is to be 'bilingualism for what?' Purpose and function are the main determinants. (Malherbe 1969: 50, quoted in Baetens Beardsmore 1986: 86)

Mackey (1968) suggests "there are four questions which a description of bilingualism must address: degree, function, alternation and interference" (Mackey 1968: 555, quoted in Romaine 1995: 11). The area of degree regards a person's proficiency in that language. Function concerns one's use of the language and what role it plays in their life, when they use it and where. Alternation regards the bilingual's ability to switch between the languages. Finally, interference discusses how the bilingual manages to keep their languages separate. (Romaine 1995: 11–13)

From this we understand that it is possible to measure a person's language proficiency, and grade them depending on the results, but is this always the best way? For example, it can be the case that certain people naturally perform better or worse in examinations than others. It could be true that some bilinguals only have speaking and listening skills that they use very well in their everyday life and in social situations, whereas if these people were tested, they could perform very badly in the reading a writing part of the examination, scoring them less proficient in that language. If we class language proficiency as being able to communicate fluently in the language with another person, then this test result would be incorrect in displaying the proficiency of that language.

Ultimately Bialystok (2001) recommends that "language proficiency must include both formal structure and communicative application; it must evolve from a prepared mind and be nurtured by a supportive context; it must set clear standards of use and include disparate (but systematic) variations of the rule" (Bialystok 2001: 14). We must understand that there are many human and social aspects that have to be taken into account also when measuring language proficiency. Simple issues relating to individual circumstance must be taken into consideration, such as age for example. Language proficiency testing would not be feasible to carry out on small children as they have not yet reached their maximum language ability. Therefore, if we were to test the language proficiency of adults, it should be kept in mind to take all aspects of their personal lives, childhood, along with test results into account when measuring. (Bialystok 2001: 14)

2.3   Bilingualism and Code-Switching

Hoffman (1991) explains that bilinguals often code-switch and mix much more when they are communicating with other bilinguals than with monolinguals. Reasons for this vary from signalling a group identity to expressing thoughts easier. (Hoffman 1991: 95) This thesis will investigate bilinguals who have been raised in a bilingual home, and discuss their experiences and cultural identity. Code-switching must be addressed here in order to understand communication patterns amongst bilinguals.

Real research into code-switching began in the 1970s and at present has advanced into its own research field attracting great attention. In the 1990s, the European Science Foundation funded research called 'Network on Code-switching and Language Contact' which aimed to construct a terminological agreement within this field (Kovács, 2001: 62).

The expression 'code-switching' was first used by Vogt in 1954 (Alvarez-Cáccamo 1998: 32, quoted in Kovács 2001: 61). The fathers of bilingualism research, Haugen (1950) and Weinreich (1966) described the language change of bilinguals in speech with the word 'switch' (Kovács, 2001: 61).

Hoffman (1991) states that the concept of code-switching has captured the curiosity of researchers for many years now, and is "potentially the most creative aspect of bilingual speech." (Hoffman 1991: 109) Even though by some, code-switching has been considered to be the "sign of linguistic decay", which could imply that bilinguals are not capable of separating their two languages successfully. (Hoffman 1991: 109)

Hoffman (1991) defined code-switching as:

> The alternate use of two languages or linguistic varieties within the same utterance or during the same conversation. In the case of bilinguals speaking to each other, switching can consist of changing languages, in that of monolinguals, shifts of style. (Hoffman 1991: 110)

Code-switching can be defined as when a speaker of two or more languages switches and alternates between the languages, in the context of a single conversation. According to Gumperz (1982), code-switching is "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange

of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems" (Gumperz, 1982, quoted in Romaine, 1995: 111).

One of the most interesting features of bilingualism is that one person possesses two languages. The bilingual is at times in monolingual mode when communicating with other monolinguals, but at the moment that two bilinguals, sharing the same languages begin communication, this means that they will usually switch languages. Grosjean (2008) suggests the idea of bilinguals possessing a base language and a guest language. He explains one way of code-switching would be to borrow one lexical item from the guest language and include it into the base language. This would be a basic example of code-switching. (Grosjean 2008: 119)

Poplack (1980) suggests that there are three types of code switching which can occur within one or the same discourse. These include tag-switching, intersentential switching and intrasentential switching. (Poplack 1980, quoted in Romaine 1995: 112–115)

Tag-switching involves inserting a tag from one language into an utterance that is entirely made up of another language. For example, *'Du weißt nicht wo der hund ist, right?'* (English tag) (Poplack 1980, quoted in Romaine 1995: 112–115)

Intersentential switching involves a completed language switch at phrasal, sentence or discourse boundaries. For example, a speaker may voice his thoughts in one language, and then begin his continuing thought in another language, which comprises of a switch at the end of a clause. This is a little different in that this type of switching usually consists of two sentences, normally one will be said in one language and one will be said using the other language. (Poplack 1980, quoted in Romaine 1995: 112–115)

Intrasentential switching involves a complete language switch in the middle of the sentence, usually performed without hesitation or pause. For example, *'Sometimes I'll start a sentence in English **y terminó en español**.'* (Poplack 1980, quoted in Romaine 1995: 112–115)

Grosjean (2010) explains how code-switching has been criticized not only by monolinguals but also by bilinguals. He clarifies that many people feel that "it creates an unpleasant mixture of languages, produced by people who are careless in the way they

speak" (Grosjean 2010: 52). Many negative thoughts about code-switching often hold the belief that bilinguals are lazy, or maybe even 'semilingual' as they do not have full proficiency in one language, therefore they have to mix. This is not the case and Poplack writes:

> Code-switching is a verbal skill requiring a large degree of linguistic competence in more than one language, rather than a defect arising from insufficient knowledge of one or the other . . . [R]ather than representing deviant behaviour, [it] is actually a suggestive indicator of degree of bilingual competence. (Poplack, quoted in Grosjean, 2010: 57)

Code-switching can often be confused with other terms that sound similar but actually have a different meaning, borrowing for example. Borrowing can be used to explain a word in one language that had been changed and adapted for the use within another language. It must be noted here that borrowing is different from code-switching even though the two can sometimes appear the same. Borrowing is often used when one language possesses words that are simply not translatable or have no equivalent in another language, therefore borrowing must take place. Romaine (1995) explains that it occurs very frequently that the chosen borrowed word involves cultural specific items that do not exist in the language being spoken, for example, types of food, typical dress, cultural activities or holidays. (Romaine 1995: 50–66)

Grosjean (2010) tells that bilinguals code-switch for many reasons, sometime because they feel that certain notions are simply better expressed in another language. The analogy that Grosjean created was "having cream with coffee instead of just having it black" (Grosjean 2010: 53). Meaning, the word or expression in another language adds something more precise and clear-cut, instead of trying to directly translate into the other language, which may not portray true meaning.

It is believed that bilinguals also use code-switching and borrowing when they do not know or cannot remember the word they wish to use in the language that they are communicating in, although, one could argue that bilinguals simply have an additional choice of words to choose from. Lipski illustrates that the phenomena of code-switching

in bilingual speakers is of great intrigue to linguists and psychologists, as it allows a vision into the workings of the systems of languages. (Lipski 1978: 250–264)

One idea behind code-switching is to ease the task of communicating for bilinguals. If something can be said better in another language, and the speaker and the listener both understand that other language, there becomes less need to translate and potentially find a worse alternative in another language. Typically code-switching will only occur between two people who can both communicate in those languages. It could be agreed that code-switching is actually the opposite of lazy and truly requires skill in order to execute the code-switch correctly.

3 LANGUAGE, CULTURE, AND IDENTITY

Language and identity have been thought to be somehow linked. Researchers have illustrated the fact that identity and self are linguistically constructed and therefore have understood the construction between language and identity as "an intimate and mutually constitutive relation". (Belz 2002: 16, quoted in Val and Vinogradova 2010: 2) This section of the research introduces the ideas of heritage language and identity whilst presenting cultural identity, bilingualism and identity before touching the topic of bi- and trans-culturalism.

3.1 Culture and Identity

Culture and identity have frequently been placed together and linked in research and previous studies. The term 'culture' can be defined and understood in numerous ways, ranging from an intellectual person, an evening celebrating the arts, such as theatre and music, to describing the way in which a group of people live. For the sake of this research, the term 'culture' will be defined and understood in the sense of sociology.

The simple definition of culture according to Kidd and Teagle is "the way of life of a group of people" (Kidd and Teagle 2012: 7). The social patterns within a group of people including the 'normal' way to do things, the way we are expected and not expected to behave in our daily lives. These include "customs, attitudes, beliefs, traditions and rituals of a society." It is pointed out that there are many different cultures and just because something is socially accepted in one culture does not mean it is accepted in all cultures. Additionally, cultures progress and change over time, so something that is a cultural norm in one culture today may not have been in the past and may not be in the future. (Kidd and Teagle 2012: 7)

Oxford Reference (2016) defines cultural identity as "the definition of groups or individuals (by themselves or others) in terms of cultural or subcultural categories (including ethnicity, nationality, language, religion, and gender)." This relates to a person

identifying themselves with a specific culture of people and feeling a sense of belonging towards that culture.

The British anthropologist, Sir Edward Burnett Taylor who was considered as the founder of 'cultural anthropology', defined culture as "that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Rai & Panna 2010: 3).

Other authors have taken this definition further today and we can now combine these classifications to assume that culture is a way of life of people in a certain geographic area, a collective custom that is inherited and passed on from one generation to the next. Culture is a structure of learned normal behaviours and life style that is moral and spiritual. (Richardson 2001: 1–5) Richardson goes as far to say that there is nothing in this world that is not constructed by culture. That "almost all human activity serves culture in one way or another and results in the production of cultural evidence." (Richardson 2001: 3) The way in which we build our houses, the way we eat our food, the way we establish our working patterns and the way in which we practice religion are all foundations of culture. Culture is not biologically given to us, but learned in social contexts. Culture is transmitted through the engagement of people and groups, and is based on signs, symbols and most importantly language. Our identity is formed in relation to how we understand and learn the culture surrounding us. (Richardson 2001: 3–10) Kidd and Teagle agree that identity can be expressed through culture and culture can help us identify who we are. Some sociologists state that people can belong to multiple cultures and have more than one identity. (Kidd and Teagle 2012: 7)

According to Ferguson et al. (2016), the term 'enculturation' refers to "the implicit and covert aspects of cultural transmission". Fundamentally, enculturation aims at "developing persons into competent members of a culture including identity, language, rituals and values" (Ferguson et al. 2016: 166–171). Therefore cultures are acquired and learnt through absorption of rituals and customs, language, social habits, history, family, schooling, friends, television, books, food and drink. This typically occurs from birth and we are not aware of it.

Table 1. Methods of enculturation (Ferguson et al. 2016: 166–171)

Methods of enculturation	Examples
Interactions	Home conversations, school, society
Observations	Watching food be prepared, attending religious services
Coaching	Social conventions

Zittoun and Gillespie (2015) explain the idea of culture and cultural experiences that a person has during their lifetime has the ability to 'layer up' within people. Subsequently, this forms a complex foundation of culture within people, "thus creating the tensions that underlie the dynamics of the mind." (Zittoun and Gillespie 2015: 477) Zittoun and Gillespie continue to propose the concept of symbolic resources. These cultural experiences can be made up of symbolic resources or cultural artefacts which refer to books, films and songs. Zittoun and Gillespie state the cultural artifacts are merely words or pictures on a screen, yet the experience itself, of watching the film, listening to the song, or reading the book, become personal. The person adds their own personal memories or emotions to the artifact making it mean much more than the symbolic resource it is. (Zittoun and Gillespie 2015: 483–484)

The term culture has been discussed and analysed here, along with how people learn and acquire culture. The topic of biculturalism will now be discussed for the sake of this research.

3.1.1 Biculturalism

To begin with, the debate of bilingualism and identity would not be complete without discussing the idea of biculturalism, although it is important to mention here that bilingualism and biculturalism are not coextensive. A bilingual will not necessarily be bicultural and it is possible to be bicultural without being bilingual. Countries can have the same languages or similar languages, yet have completely different cultures, and it is possible for a person to belong to both cultures while remaining monolingual. Take for

example, the United Kingdom and Australia. Both countries speak the same language but the cultures remain very different, therefore a person can be bicultural without being bilingual. Subsequently, just as it is uncommon for a bilingual to have the same levels of proficiency in both languages, it is also rare to have a bicultural person to have an equal sense of belonging to both cultures, one will normally outweigh the other, although this is not always the case.

The concept of biculturalism is originally derived from Szapocznik, Kurtines & Fernandez (1980), quoted in Schwartz and Unger (2010), who considered individuals bicultural if they could "speak both the language of their heritage culture context and the language of their receiving cultural context, have friends from both cultural backgrounds, and watch television programs and read magazines from both cultural contexts" (Szapocznik, Kurtines, & Fernandez 1980, quoted in Schwartz and Unger 2010: 27). This definition has been developed and today Renn (2004) and Root (2001) define biculturalism as follows:

> Bicultural/biracial identity" is generally defined as an individual whose identity is composed of dual cultural/racial heritage influences with one parent from a particular racial group or culture and the other parent from another distinct racial group or culture. (Renn, 2004; Root, 2001, quoted in Toomey, Dorjee & Ting-Toomey, 2013).

Grosjean (2008) characterises biculturals by at least three traits:

1. They take part, to varying degrees in the life of two or more cultures.
2. They adapt, at least in part, their attitudes, behaviours, values, languages, etc., to these cultures.
3. They combine and blend aspects of the cultures involved. Certain characteristics (attitudes, beliefs, values, behaviours, etc.) come from the one of the other culture whereas other characteristics are blends of these cultures.

(Grosjean 2008: 214)

In agreement with Grosjean's characteristics of a bicultural, other writers suggest that biculturalism involves blending both heritage and receiving cultures into a personal and unique culture of one's own. (Benet-Martínez, Leu, Lee, & Morris 2002, quoted in Schwartz and Unger 2010: 27) This would entail that the individual would personalise both of the cultures into one's own culture which could be completely unique to just that person. Schwartz and Unger (2010) argue that biculturalism involves more than just cultural behaviours, and that one must possess "cultural practices, values and identifications" of both cultures to be defined as truly bicultural. The bicultural person should mix their heritage culture with the receiving culture in regards to cultural practices, values and identifications. (Schwartz and Unger, 2010: 27)

The idea of belonging to two different cultures is called biculturalism and it is necessary to understand that one person belongs to both culture A and to culture B. Grosjean (2008) clarifies that the process of biculturalism is dual, from both the members from culture A and culture B and from oneself. He explains,

> Others will take into account your kinship, the languages you speak and how well you do so, your physical appearance, your nationality, your education, your attitudes, and so on. The outcome, in each culture you belong to, will often be categorical: you are judged by friends, acquaintances, and others to belong to culture A or to culture B, but rarely to both cultures. (Grosjean, 2008: 116)

From this statement we can understand that biculturalism stems from both the bilingual, and the cultural group that one identifies themselves with. It may not constantly be the case that the cultural group will be accepting of that person into the group as a judgement is carried out upon the person. Therefore it can be very difficult to define ones cultural identity when bilingual. Additionally biculturalism varies, and a person can sometimes feel more belonging towards one group, and then the other, it is not a fixed feeling of belonging at all times.

Grosjean explains that as people we belong to many different cultures. He uses the terms 'minor and major cultures'. Cultures that relate to daily life, for example, work, hobbies and sports would be related to minor cultures, whereas national culture and religions relate to the major culture. We are all members of many minor cultures but to be bicultural

relates to the grouping of major cultures. It identifies how a person can be German and English for example. (Grosjean 2010: 216)

Additionally, Grosjean (2010) states that it is more common for a bicultural to be unequally weighted in their two cultures, "one culture often plays a larger role than the other" (Grosjean 2010: 216). As Grosjean points out, this does not make the person any less bicultural, just as it is more common for a bilingual's language proficiency to be unevenly weighted, they are still bilingual. Grosjean also shows that just as a bilingual can become less confident in one of their languages over their life time, a bicultural can also adapt their feelings toward their cultures. "In a bicultural's lifetime, cultures can wax and wane, become dominant for a while before taking a secondary role." (Grosjean, 2010: 111) This statement from Grosjean illustrates that change is constant. We are continually adapting and moulding ourselves through our cultures and languages.

Cunningham-Andersson and Andersson (1999) explain the great difficulties in raising children in a bilingual home as bicultural.

> Children can acquire a language simply by having it spoken to them and being in a situation where they are motivated to use the language for communication. It is far more difficult to arrange for children to acquire knowledge of a culture in the same uncontrived way. (Cunningham-Andersson and Andersson, 1999: 88)

Cunningham-Andersson and Andersson (1999) illustrate that it is challenging to try and teach aspects of both cultures when the child is spending the majority of its time in one culture. They explain that the best way for a child to learn and understand norms of the minority culture is for them to spend time within the country. (Cunningham-Andersson and Andersson, 1999: 89) As a result of this, family trips and visits are often classed as great learning experiences for children from bicultural families. There is not a more effective way than exposing them to the culture within the country. This will not only aid with their social behaviour, and building relationships with family, but it will also allow them to understand the language they speak in a new exciting way. For example,

> Knowing about the culture builds memories and makes the concepts/words of the minority language come alive and real. (Andreas Schramm, quoted in Cunningham-Andersson and Andersson, 1999: 90)

This statement above was found from a child who was raised in a bilingual and bicultural home and was found in Cunningham-Andersson and Andersson (1999). It reveals clearly how culture and language are linked and to understand the culture of a country enables the bilingual to also be able to understand their language much clearer.

Some characteristics of culture that are relevant for this study are cultural traditions, food and drink culture, social behaviour, feeling at home, and travel and spending time in the second country. Deciding whether to celebrate cultural traditions of the society's minority language can prove difficult amongst bilingual and bicultural families. If the tradition is celebrated in both countries then this dilemma tends to be easier, although it is still easy to let celebrations slip by unknown to the child/children. Some bilingual families opt for alternate years in each country for example, to offer the fairest exposure to the child/children. (Cunningham-Andersson and Andersson, 1999: 98)

Typical food and drink and especially meal times differ greatly across the globe, therefore it can be hard trying to combine two food and drink cultures in a bilingual home. Families combined of multiple cultures can often create a compromise and mixture of food cultures, often taking the best from each tradition. Table manners and culinary norms are also a large important part of food and drink cultures. (Cunningham-Andersson and Andersson, 1999: 101)

"People in different societies have diverse norms of behaviour" (Cunningham-Andersson and Andersson, 1999: 93). There are many different cultural variations that mean polite and well behaved, and children's behaviour differs greatly in different cultures. Words such as "please" and "thank you" simply do not exist in all languages, and greeting like kissing or shaking hands are very different depending on country, culture and age. (Cunningham-Andersson and Andersson, 1999: 93)

Parents of bilingual children may expect the child/children to intuitively know the culture of the heritage language at home, although this is not always the case. Bilingual children

can often feel like visitors in grandparents' and extended families homes in the country of the minority language. Some aspects of the family heritage culture are best learnt as a child, through TV, books and games. "Childhood memories are an important part of being native of a culture." (Cunningham-Andersson and Andersson, 1999: 89)

"The best way to become familiar with the culture of a country is to be in that country as much as possible" (Cunningham-Andersson and Andersson, 1999: 90). Spending time in the country of the second culture can have a faster and greater effect on learning about a new culture and what it entails. Spending time with people from the culture can also offer an intense learning curve as we humans feel the need to "fit in" and "be one of the group", cultural norms are picked up fast in these situations.

3.1.2   Transculturalism

In addition to biculturalism the term transculturalism now presents itself more frequently and finds itself relevant to this study. The Oxford English Dictionary defined the term 'transcultural' as "transcending the limitations or crossing the boundaries of cultures; applicable to more than one culture; cross-cultural" (Oxford English Dictionary 2016).

We understand 'transculturalism' to mean the cultural processes that are shared across cultural and national borders (Schulze-Engler and Helff 2008: 38). Therefore, a transcultural person would be someone who for example, could have lived in many countries and been a member of many different cultural groups. That person would combine and blend small parts of each of the cultures they have been in and mould them into their own personalised culture. Welsch (1999) describes transculturalism as a web woven with different threads. The threads could relate to the different parts of the culture that are engaged, whilst the web could refer to the total mix of these cultures, overlapping and blending with one another to form one's personal culture. Welsch states that culture no longer complies with geographical or national boundaries, rather follows a "pure cultural interchange process." (Welsch 1999: 194–213)

The term 'transnational' has become a term used in anthropology to describe "any cultural phenomenon that extends beyond or cross-cut state boundaries" (Welz 2008, quoted in

Schulze-Engler and Helff 2008: 38). The social anthropologist Ulf Hannerz argues that "as people move with their meanings, and as meanings find ways of travelling even when people stay put, territories cannot really obtain cultures." (Hannerz 1996, quoted in Schulze-Engler and Helff 2008: 37–38)

Both with increased migration and mobility and people residing in countries other than their homeland, the idea that culture is bound to one place, one geographical location or one group of people is now being challenged. Cultural boundaries are now harder to identify and with the expansion of airline travel, telecommunications, tourism and migration, we see growth in transculturalism and transnationalism.

3.2   Heritage Language

The term 'heritage language' refers to the group of languages that are not dominant languages in the community or society that one lives in. The 'heritage language' is commonly learnt and/or spoken at home with family and possibly friends. Kelleher (2010) states that often 'heritage language learners' are people who are learning a language that is not the dominant language in the society and will usually have a cultural association with the language (Kelleher 2010: 1–2). All participants of this study are heritage language speakers, as they all speak English in Finland, where English is not a dominant language, which was learnt at home through an English parent. The heritage language speakers also have a cultural association with the heritage language, in this case, English.

Bilinguals who also speak a heritage language, and who are brought up in a country in which the society's dominant language is not their native language are more likely to negotiate their identities with the spoken languages (Peyton, Ranard, & McGuinnis 2001 quoted in Val and Vinogradova 2010: 3). Therefore it is an absolute necessity to understand how identities are created amongst these language communities.

In order to understand how the identity of a heritage language speaker is constructed, researchers have come up with two concepts for heritage language speakers: 'language

as cultural capital' (Bourdieu 1999) and 'subject positioning' (Maguire & Curdt-Christiansen 2007: 50, quoted in Val and Vinogradova 2010: 3).

Heritage languages belong to a heritage culture and these are mainly upheld by families, communities, or heritage language schools. Furthermore, identification with the heritage culture does not presuppose knowledge and proficiency in the heritage language, as some people identify themselves with a heritage culture without being able to speak the language. (Val and Vinogradova 2010: 5)

Shin (2005) explains that negative experiences with heritage languages can result in a decrease in identifying with the heritage language and culture. When a situation like this occurs, it will usually involve the bilingual to navigate through their identities and shift. (Shin 2005, quoted in Val and Vinogradova 2010: 5) Repositioning occurs frequently with bilinguals. Often heritage language speakers can identify themselves with the heritage culture as they feel a sense of understanding and belonging to the language and culture community, whereas other times, heritage language speakers may identify themselves as different from the heritage culture and adopt the other language identity or even a mainstream identity. (Val and Vinogradova 2010: 6)

Wallace (2001) illustrate four types of subject positioning with heritage and mainstream cultures in Val and Vinogradova (2010).

Table 2. Types of subject positioning with heritage and mainstream cultures (Wallace 2001, quoted in Val and Vinogradova 2010: 6)

Model Type	Description
Home base/visitor's base	Heritage language speakers consider one culture as home base and the other culture as a "frequently visited" environment which is familiar but language and cultural practices are not as strong as in the home base culture.
Feet in both worlds	Heritage language speakers balance their identity across both cultures, feeling equally as comfortable in both cultures and speaking the dominant and heritage languages in both.

Life on the boarder	Heritage language speakers see themselves on the edge of both cultures. This is a challenging identity for bilinguals who sometimes create a border culture.
Shifting identity gears	The heritage language speaker is able to easily change gears according to their linguistic and cultural environment. This is the most comfortable place for bilinguals.

It is uncommon for heritage language speakers to select only one culture to fully associate with, as the identity process involves a constant negotiation between language and culture. It is common to feel more belonging to one culture or language community but this can also change from external elements.

3.3   Language and Identity

> There is a reason why the language we inherit at birth is called our mother tongue. It is our mother, forgiving, embracing, naming the world and its emotions. Though I have lived for the last forty years in cities where English or French is the language of the majority, it's Bangla that exercise motherly restraint over my provisional, immigrant identity. (Bharati Mukherjee 2004, quoted in Shin 2013: 97)

Bharati Mukherjee (2004) highlights the significance of our mother tongue. It suggests that we identify and relate to our mother tongue more than we appreciate. Therefore, if we accept that a bilingual has two mother tongues, would it be fair to suggest that they have two identities?

In order to be able to define identity, one must first acknowledge what type of explanation fits this study. There exists numerous definitions of identity which are often in contradiction of each other. Quite simply the term identity means "knowing who one is" (Kidd and Teagle 2012, 7). It relates to how people understand "who they are" and what is important to them. Itulua-Abumere states that these understandings are constructed

through several main bases, including "gender, sexual orientation, nationality or ethnicity and social class" (Itulua-Abumere 2013: 3).

Sociologists often speak of two types of identity, which include, 'social identity' (Tjafel, 1979) and 'self-identity'. These classifications differ slightly in meaning but remain very closely linked. 'Social identity' refers to a person's sense and understanding of who they are, constructed by their memberships within certain groups (McLeod 2008). The term 'self-identity', refers to the process of self identification in which we create our uniqueness and develop our relationship with the world around us. Self identity is our personal sets of values and beliefs (Itulua-Abumere 2013: 3–5).

If we accept that our identity is shaped by the world around us, the groups that we are members of, the people and the values presented within those groups, then it could be agreed that language plays a role in identity. It is suggested that the language that we speak plays a significant role in shaping what we are capable of thinking, and that it may be crucial to how we feel, how we understand ourselves and appreciate our own personalities (Veltkamp et al., 2012: 496). It is believed that different languages carry different types of tones and emotions and people behave and feel differently when speaking one language compared to another (Pavlenko 2008, quoted in Veltkamp et al. 2012: 497). This leads to the question of whether speaking another language can change the dimensions of a person's identity. Tsai, Knutson & Fung (2006) suggest that culture provides a script like way to express thoughts and feelings and it is this that occurs through language (Tsai, Knutson & Fung 2006, quoted in Veltkamp et al. 2012: 497).

Learning a language is fundamentally linked to the values and norms within the specific culture of the language. It may be possible for bilinguals and multilinguals to have an ability to tap into those cultural systems and switch and act accordingly to the desired culture of the inherent language. (Veltkamp et al, 2012: 496–504) Although, it must be noted that this is not the case for all bilinguals and multilinguals. Koven (2007) suggests that through different languages we have different ways of expressing our thoughts and feelings, which is inevitably linked to the culture that is engraved into the language (Koven 2007: 61–65).

Languages can be used as a signal or a symbol of belonging to a certain social group just as much as dialects and accents can play a role in symbolising which specific geographic group of people one belongs to. Thus, a language can be enough for people to socially identify a person and assume one's identity. Furthermore, Fishman (1991) claims that the mother tongue is the most important aspect of identity since viewed as inherited from birth (Fishman, 1991).

The topics of language and identity have been discussed in the section and understanding of how they can be linked and tied has been gained. We have now identified how language and identity can be related and therefore we must now look at how this affects bilinguals, who in theory have two mother tongues. In which ways are bilingualism and identity related and does bilingualism have any effect on a bilingual's identity?

3.4   Bilingualism and Identity

It has been proposed by Koven (2007) that many bilinguals often feel that they are a "different person" in each of their two languages (Koven, 2007: 1). Tsai, Knutson & Fung state that culture provides formulaic ways, much like a script, to express thoughts and feelings (Tsai, Knutson, & Fung, 2006, quoted in Veltkamp et al., 2012: 497). All languages possess different ways and styles of expressing politeness and rudeness, for example. Although, here it should be noted that it is not the language itself that makes a person feel different when speaking it, rather the emotional and personal ties that the person has connected to that language. Grosjean (2010) poses an interesting argument with regards to bilinguals, "people who are bicultural and speak two languages may unconsciously change their personality when they switch languages" (Grosjean 2010: 213–220). This change in personality when speaking the different languages stems from the emotional and personal experiences that the bilingual has connected with their languages.

Aneta Pavlenko, who is herself bilingual, has researched the topic of bilinguals and multilinguals and their feelings towards both of their languages. She suggests that languages carry different tones of emotion, and bilinguals and multilinguals feel and

behave in different ways when speaking one language compared to the other. Pavlenko explains her own feeling towards using her two languages, and states that "emotions and bilingualism thus produce a very complicated and also very personal reality that has no set rules." (Pavlenko, quoted in Grosjean, 2010: 133) She writes about her own feelings:

> Each language…ties me differently, with bonds I can not shake loose. And so, on a daily basis, I have no choice but to use both English and Russian when talking about emotions. "I love you" I whisper to my English-speaking partner. "Babulechka, ia tak shuchaiu po tebe [Grandma, I miss you so much]," I tenderly say on the phone to my Russian-speaking grandmother. (Pavlenko, quoted in Grosjean, 2010: 133)

Grosjean also illustrates this idea of feeling different when speaking different languages clearly through bilinguals own experiences, for example:

> A Greek-English bilingual noted:
>
> "In English my speech is very polite, with a relaxed tone, always saying "please" and "excuse me." When I speak Greek, I start talking more rapidly, with a tone of anxiety and in a kind of rude way, without using any English speech characteristics."
>
> Finally, a Russian-English bilingual wrote:
>
> "I find when I'm speaking Russian I feel like a much more gentle, "softer" person. In English, I feel more "harsh," "business like." (Grosjean 2010: 122)

Here it is interesting to see from bilinguals' point of view that the same person can feel different when speaking their languages. From these examples, we can appreciate the persons' own personal emotions and experiences expressed through their feelings when speaking different languages. It is the speakers themselves who connects these emotions to the languages, through previous experiences.

Statements such as these above have challenged our beliefs about the relationship between languages and 'one's self'. It could be understood that language is a tool for communication and the idea that identity goes much deeper within the person than language could ever go, but some researchers have been successful in identifying different emotions when bilinguals speak their two different languages.

As mentioned when discussing code-switching and borrowing, there are definitely certain concepts that do not work as well in one language as they do in another. Koven (2007) carried out research in her book 'Selves in two Languages' which investigated how bilinguals felt different when they spoke their different languages. In the case of this research the interviewees spoke French and Portuguese and the results were as follows.

Reasons that were given as to why bilinguals felt different when they spoke French and Portuguese were very varied. 87% of people agreed that the two languages were more different than similar to each other and one said that "French is cold and rude; Portuguese is warm and singsong." Other reasons given were lack of vocabulary in one of the languages which meant it was often harder to express the same information in one language than it was in their other language. Different sensations when speaking, different voices that they used when speaking, different ways of expressing anger, using different identities that they had created when living in the country of the language, relating more to one language than the other, and different perceptions from others regarding the language they spoke were all reasons why bilinguals felt different when speaking their different languages. (Koven, 2007: 69–79)

The main conclusion from this research was that it was easy for the interviewees to simply state that they felt different when speaking either French or Portuguese, but it was much more challenging for them to explain exactly how they felt different and why this was. This could be due to subconscious connections made between personal experiences and feelings and language. (Koven, 2007: 69–79) It is possible that people can also connect certain common cultural stereotypes to languages which may offer reason to feeling different when speaking different language.

As has been displayed in this section, language, culture, and identity are without doubt connected in multiple ways. Culture has been defined and understood here, along with which people can be classed as bicultural and transcultural. Additionally, the relationship between language and identity were discussed, followed by bilingualism and identity in order to define and clarify if being bilingual affects how bilinguals identify themselves.

4   ENGLISH LANGUAGE USE IN FINLAND

The spread of the English language globally has been researched and discussed worldwide, but while English has successfully established itself in many countries, what is the current situation in Finland? This section illustrates the contextual background for the analysis of the current situation of languages in Finland and current English language use in Finland. The most up to date statistics regarding language customs in Finland will be discussed, along with Finns' attitudes towards the use of English language in Finland.

4.1   Languages in Finland

Finland is officially a bilingual country, although on a societal level Finland can be described as a multilingual country, where 148 languages are spoken as the mother tongue. 88.7% of the population speaks Finnish as their first language while 5.3% of the population speak Swedish as their first language. (Statistics Finland 2016) These are both national languages of Finland. The remaining 6% of the population speak other languages as their first language, the most common of those being Russian and English.

Table 3. Population structure (Statistics Finland, Population Structure 2016)

Language	Unit	1900	1950	1990	2000	2010	2015
Finnish	%	86,8	91,1	93,5	92,4	90,4	88,7
Swedish	%	12,9	8,6	5,9	5,6	5,4	5,3
Russian	%	0,3	0,1	0,1	0,5	1,0	1,3
Other	%	0,0	0,1	0,4	1,4	3,2	4,7

The Finnish language is closely related to Estonian and belongs to the Finno-Ugric language family, which is part of the Uralian family of language. Other Uralian languages include Estonian, which is similar to Finnish, and Hungarian, which is different from Finnish but still holds some similarities. (Helsingin kaupunki 2015)

Swedish belongs to the group of North Germanic languages and is similar to Norwegian, Danish and German. Even though both Finnish and Swedish are spoken in Finland they have very different languages origins from different language groups. (Helsingin kaupunki 2015) The official status of the Swedish language has historical roots due to Finland being part of the Swedish realm from the 13th century until 1809. Swedish is mostly spoken along the west coast of Finland, and in some areas on the southern coast. In Finland, public authorities are required to offer societal needs in both Finnish and Swedish, and therefore social services and education are provided in both languages. (Helsingin kaupunki 2015)

Additionally, "the Constitution of Finland guarantees the Sámi the right to maintain and develop their language and culture" (The Constitution of Finland, 1999, quoted in Keskitalo, Maeaettae & Uusiautti 2013: 9). The Sámi people live in four countries including Northern Finland, Sweden, Norway and Kola Peninsula in Russia. Totally there are around 100,000 Sámi people, of which 40,000 speak the Sámi languages. Sámi people form a nationality that does not have a nation or national boarders, instead a common base language, culture and history. (Keskitalo, Maeaettae and Uusiautti 2013: 9) The Sámi language belongs to Finno-Ugrian languages and nine Sámi languages remain in the Nordic countries and Russia, all of them being endangered (Keskitalo, Maeaettae and Uusiautti. 2013: 9).

4.2   English language uses in Finland

Before discussing the presence of the English language in Finland, we must first discuss the growth and spread of the English language globally and especially in Europe today. It can be generally accepted that the use of the English language has spread around the world, and is now recognised as a global lingua franca. Today, more so than ever before, English is being used as a lingua franca or medium in context of people with different linguistic backgrounds to meet and be able to communicate. (Motschenbacher 2013: 1)

Outside of the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland, the English language in Europe has been viewed as foreign, unlike former British colonies such as India, who

viewed English as a second language. Although, more recently there seems to be a rapid change emerging in Europe regarding the position of English. (Anderman and Rogers 2005: 12) In Europe today, English is predominantly used as a lingua franca, "a language which is used as a means of communication among people who have no native language in common" (Trudgill 2000: 132, quoted in Motschenbacher 2013: 20). Although, it is important to note that interactions which use English as a lingua franca can also include native English speakers at times.

There is no doubt that the majority of Europeans would not like to see English replace their mother tongues, although the importance of being able to speak English is stressed by many Europeans. In 2001, a European Commission survey reported that "71% of Europeans felt that everyone in the EU should be able to speak one European language in addition to their mother tongue, and almost the same proportion agreed that this language should be English" (Eurobarometer 54 2001, quoted in Anderman and Rogers, 2005: 9). The significance of being able to speak explicitly English in Europe has grown.

If we look at Finland specifically, like many other European countries it has not been immune to the rise of the use of the English language. Leppänen et al. (2011) illustrate important factors linked to the gradual spread of English in Finland. Post-war Finland alongside the increase of globalisation are the two main factors accounting for the rise of English language use. "Modernisation, urbanisation, technologisation and internationalisation within society" are some of the influences named. (Leppänen et al. 2011: 17) A significant change for Finland was the political situation after the Second World War, in which Finland gradually repositioned themselves towards the western world, resulting in Finland becoming more open to European and American culture, of which English language was the symbol for one. English gradually became the most desired foreign language to learn and study. Decisions made by the Finnish broadcasting companies also made the possibility of hearing English on a daily basis within the home possible. By choosing subtitling rather than dubbing, Finns were immediately exposed to English on TV and film. This activity also became an informal way of learning English for many Finns. (Leppänen et al. 2011: 17–20)

Finns are speakers of two relatively small languages, and in order for Finns to be able to communicate in international contexts, they study languages. "English has gradually become the most popular and widely studied foreign language in Finland." Thanks to effective language teaching and students studying English in school, Finns English proficiency is generally high. (Leppänen et al. 2011: 20)

Finland has one of the most advanced educational systems in the world, and being global leaders in Information Technology and Engineering, Finland also boasts gender equality and low levels of corruption, and therefore has fast become an attractive country for foreign students to study. According to the 'Study in Finland' homepage for foreign students, in 2009 there were over 14,000 foreign degree students studying in Finland. The most common countries of origin of foreign degree students were China and Russia, but also growing numbers of students come from Nepal, Vietnam, Ethiopia and India. (Studyinfinland.fi 2015) With an increase in foreign students, the use of English language has increased too. Students coming from oversees often study and communicate in English. Today, institutions in Finland provide over 450 degree and non-degree programmes in English (Studyinfinland.fi 2016).

Universities are not the only place where studies are carried out in English, all around Finland there are numerous day cares, lower schools, and upper schools that supply teaching and studies in English. Whilst most of these English schools situate themselves in Helsinki, there are also 9 other locations, spread all over Finland that offer education in English language. (Brady, 2004)

In Finland, English is not only being used by people who have it as their mother tongue, but also native Finns. English has now spread to the point where it is being used more and more in peoples work, along with in their free time.

It is clear that the growth and spread of the English language globally has had its effect on Finland, and that today English in Finland is more present than ever before. So how do the Finns feel about this change? And how much to Finns actually use English in their own daily lives?

4.3   Finns' attitudes towards English language use in Finland

The National Survey on the English language in Finland: Uses, meanings and attitudes was carried out by the University of Jyväskylä. The survey was carried out in 2007 in cooperation with Statistics Finland, and was published in 2011. Its main purpose was to discover how Finns use English, and their opinions and attitudes towards using English. It should be noted here that this study was targeted at the whole nation and not simply at certain age groups or social classes, therefore one can have a wide and balanced understanding of the use of English in Finland today. (Leppänen et al. 2011)

The results of this investigation showed that firstly, Finns appreciate their own language and do not believe that it will lose its importance in Finland. While stating this, Finns also admitted that it was important to have English language skills for different contexts such as work, travel, and often said that they encountered English in their daily lives. (Leppänen et al. 2011: 161) Young and city residents viewed English as significantly more important than older respondents and those living in the country side. In cities, 73% of respondents regarded English as very or moderately important to themselves. (Leppänen et al. 2011: 65)

In order to discover how the English language is present in Finns lives, the study asked Finns to indicate whether they hear or see English and where. From the results, it displayed that English was most visible in public and urban settings, although the results indicate that English is present in a variety of public areas.
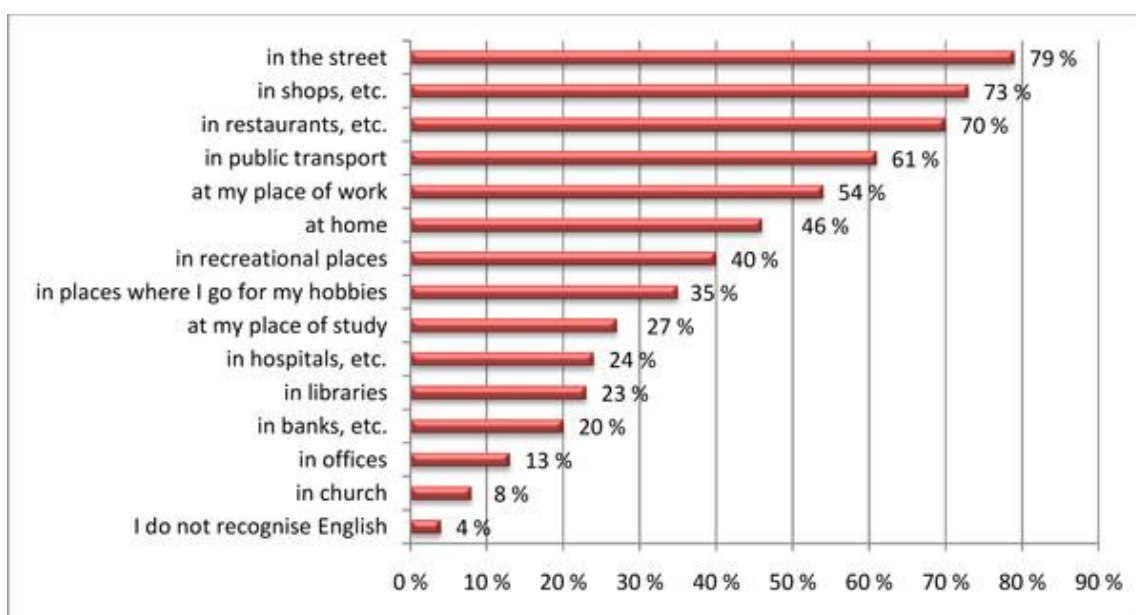
Figure 1. Frequency of seeing or hearing English in different places. (Leppänen et al. 2011: 69)

To follow, Finns attitudes towards English were studied. With increase in English language learning in schools, and international companies choosing to have English as their corporate language, Finns were overall very positive about English language uses in Finland.
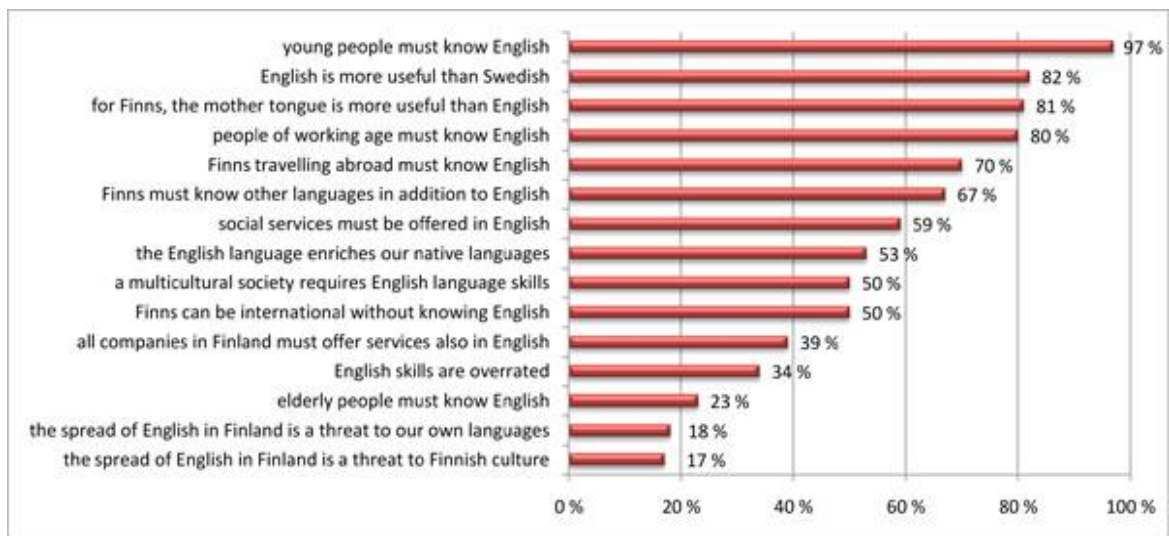
Figure 2. Percentage of respondents who agree with the statements about the importance of English in Finland. (Leppänen et al. 2011: 80)

Results show that the majority of Finns were in agreement with the positive statements regarding the English language. Participants generally agreed that English was more useful than Swedish and that young and working people should know English. Additionally, a lower percentage of Finns agreed with the negative statements regarding English, including English skills are overrated and English is a threat to Finnish language and culture. Interestingly, over 50% of Finns felt that the English language enriched and influenced the Finnish language in a positive way.

Leppänen at al. (2011) explain that "English is associated with trendsetting, and is basically seen as something that modern people should be proficient in." 90% of respondents stated that English skills enhance mutual understanding on a global scale, and 74% felt that to be up-to-date, one should know English. (Leppänen et al. 2011: 93)
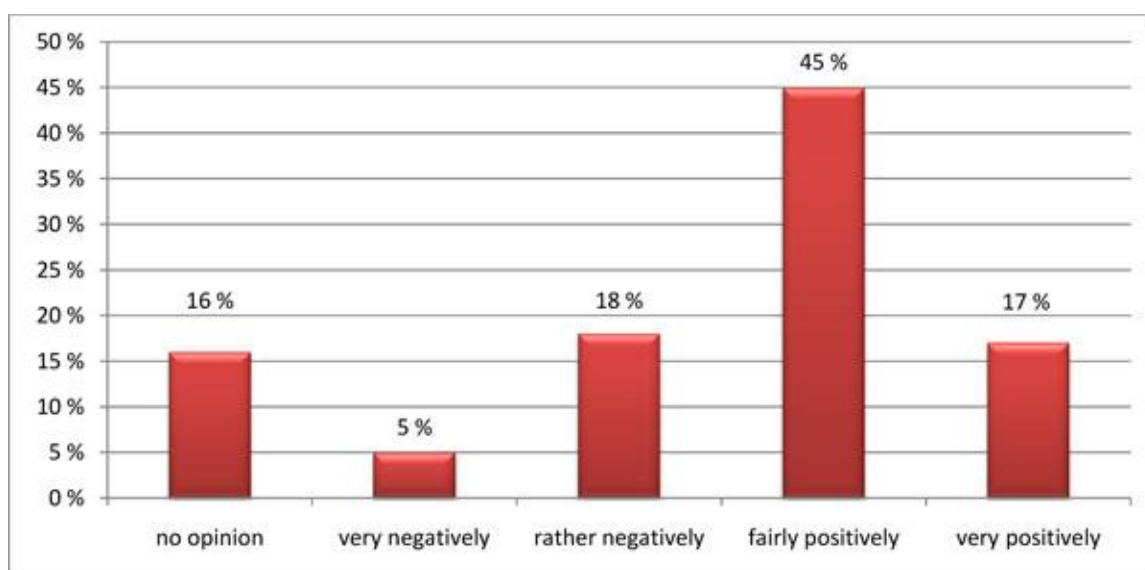
Figure 3. Attitudes towards English as the internal language in Finnish companies. (Leppänen et al. 2011: 75)

Results show that the majority of Finns feel positive towards English being used as the internal language in Finnish companies. Only 23% of Finns viewed this to be negative. (Leppänen et al. 2011: 75)

The respondents were questioned about where they use English the most, with over half of Finns use English in their free time and 27% use English for work purposes. Finns were also asked about their general uses of English and when they found themselves using it. Almost half of Finns use English overall at work, while 56% of respondents said that they used English when reading web pages. An interesting discovery was that 16% of Finns used English when 'speaking with Finnish speaking friends'. This figure, although only small, can indicate the growth and importance of the English language, when respondents are choosing to use English with friends of the same mother tongue. (Leppänen et al. 2011: 114–115)
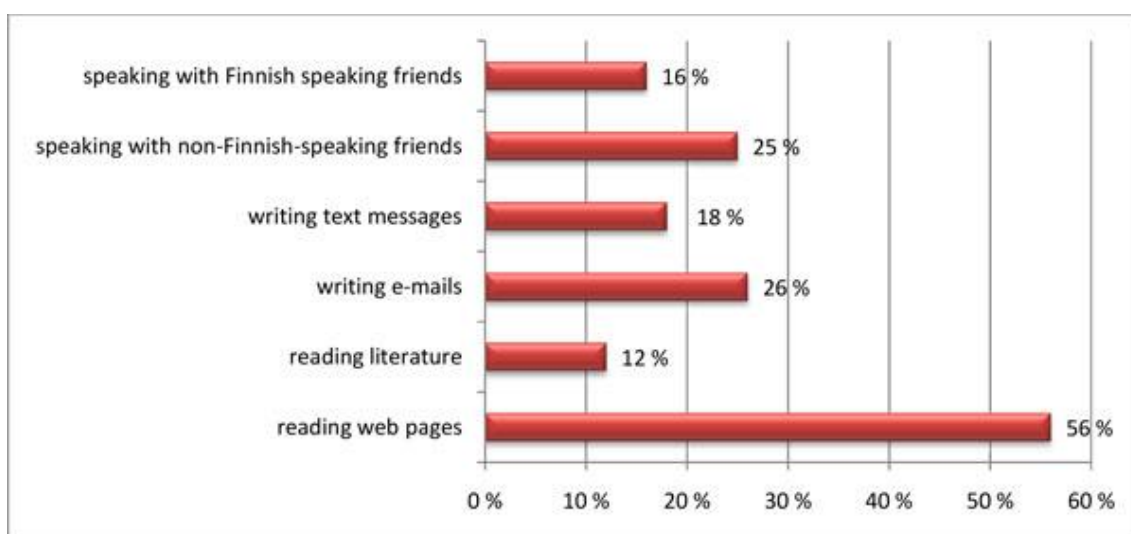
Figure 4. Use of English in free time, at least every month. (Leppänen et al. 2011: 114–115)

Respondents were asked about which languages they used in their lives, and English was the most commonly used language after their mother tongue, followed by Swedish and then German. (Leppänen et al. 2011) This clear statement illustrates the importance of English in Finland today. It could be more natural to assume that due to Finland's status as a bilingual country of Finnish and Swedish, the second most spoken language after the mother tongue of either Finnish or Swedish would be Finnish or Swedish yet it is English. When participants were asked to evaluate their own proficiency in English, around 50% of respondents said that they would class themselves as fairly or moderately fluent in English. (Leppänen et al. 2011: 95)
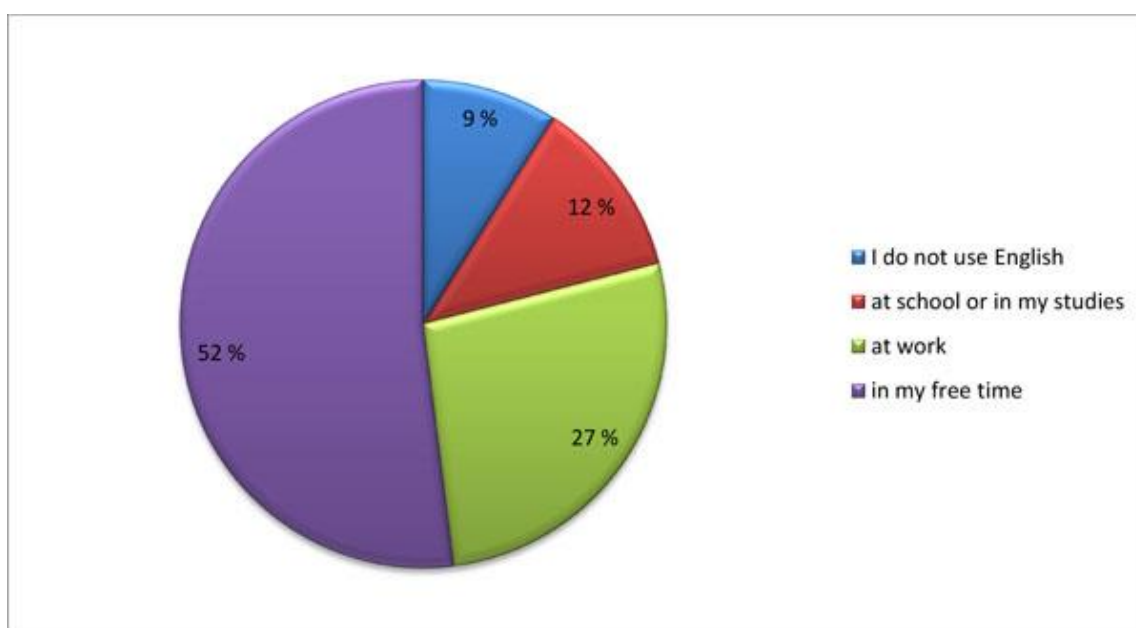
Figure 5. Places where English is used the most. (Leppänen et al. 2011: 108)

Unsurprisingly most Finns use English language in more social situations, for example, their free time or surfing on the internet, watching a movie or TV. 64.2% of Finns said that they only use English when they are travelling. (Leppänen et al. 2011: 58)

Due to English language use having increased in the Finnish schooling system in recent years, the survey also touched upon Finns opinions of Finnish children being sent to English speaking schools. The results were overall very positive with almost 90% of the Finns viewing children attending English speaking schools as positive. (Leppänen et al. 2011: 74)

The respondents were questioned about their feelings towards mixing English with their mother tongue, for example code-switching, and to explain how often they would do so. The results show that over half of Finns felt positive about code-switching between English and Finnish or Swedish, whilst only a third of Finns had a negative view on it. When asked with who participants usually code switch between, the most common answer was with friends at 93%. (Leppänen et al. 2011: 129–135) Reasons for code-switching ranged from in order to use professional terminology, to create an affect,

finding another suitable expression is difficult, but the most common reason was not even being aware that they are doing it, at 76.4%. (Leppänen et al. 2011: 136)

Maybe one of the most anticipated sections was regarding the future of the English language in Finland. When asked about the future of the English language, 90% of Finns said that they think the importance of English will have increased in Finland in 20 years time. At the same time, the majority of the Finnish respondents estimated that English will 'rather unlikely' becoming an official language in Finland within the next 20 years. (Leppänen et al. 2011: 141)
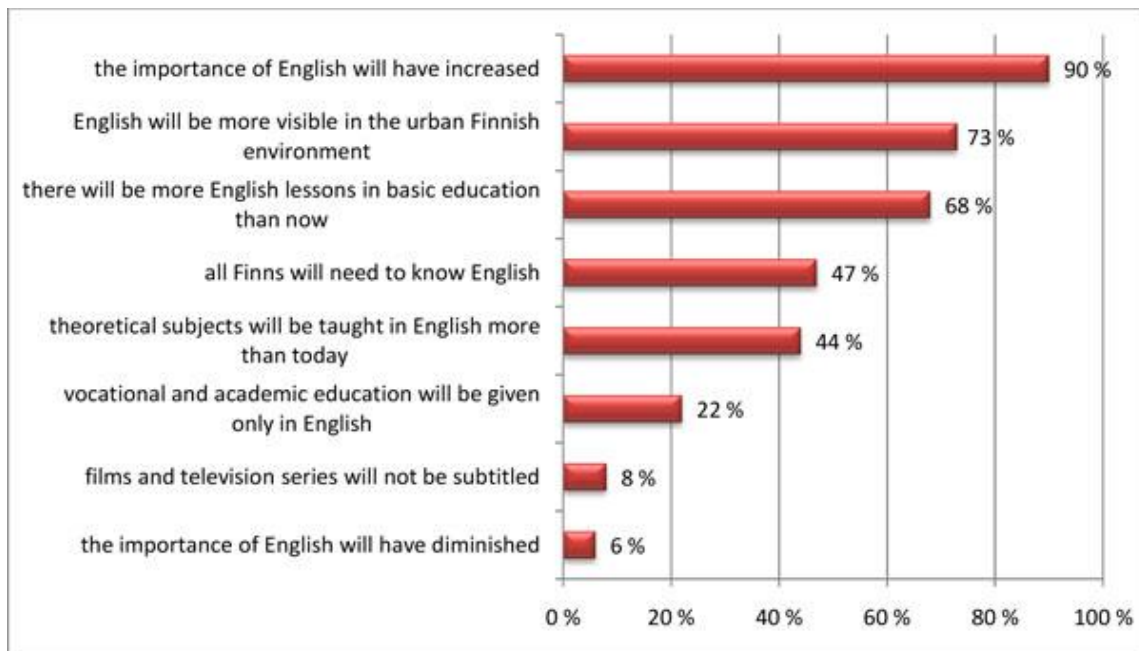
Figure 6. Percentages of respondents who agree with the statements about the possible status of English in Finland in 20 years time. (Leppänen et al. 2011: 143)

Finally in 2013, Yle released an article that stated that "English remains by far the most-studied foreign language in Finnish comprehensive schools." It was said that roughly 217,000 youngsters take English language as their main foreign language per year, demonstrating that English is more popular than Swedish, Finland's second national language. (Yle Uutiset, 2013)

From this national survey and news article, it can be appreciated that Finns do use English a lot in their daily lives whether it is at work, in their spare time or talking with friends and family. Not only do Finns use English, but they also show positivity surrounding the use and learning of English which definitely has a very important presence in Finland.

It is understood that English has an important status in Finland today and that more Finns than ever before are using English in their lives. But what is the situation with bilingual families living in Finland today, and how many of those families are English and Finnish bilingual families? The current situation of English and Finnish bilingual families in Finland today will now be discussed.

4.4   Statistics of bilingual families in Finland

According to Statistics Finland, in only 88% of all families in Finland, both parents speak Finnish as their first language. 4% of families have Swedish as their mother tongue whilst another 4% of families have one Swedish speaking and one Finnish speaking partner. Other combinations vary between many different languages even though Russian remains the largest group among foreign-language speaking families. (Statistics Finland 2016)

In 2010, roughly 23,000 Finnish or Swedish speaking men were married to or living with a foreign language speaking woman. The equivalent amount for Finnish or Swedish speaking women with a foreign language speaking partner was around 19,000. (Statistics Finland 2016)

Figure number 7, taken from Statistics Finland 2016, illustrates the figures of different language combinations between partners from 1990–2010. The figures for the categories of 'foreign speaking mother/father', 'Finnish speaking man and foreign speaking woman' and 'Finnish speaking women and foreign speaking man', or in other words, bilingual/multilingual and bicultural/multicultural partnerships, have all increased dramatically over the past 20 years. The category of 'foreign speaking mother/father' has increased ten times since the year 1990. (Statistics Finland 2016)

From looking at this table we can appreciate the rate in which bilingual families have increased in Finland over the past two decades. It is necessary to understand how this effects the amount of bilingual and multilingual children that are being raised and living in Finland.

Corrected on 24 January 2012. The corrections are indicated in red.					
Man/woman speaking Finnish/other language	Year				
	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010
Finnish speaking man and finnish speaking woman	1 088 742	1 081 473	1 089 232	1 105 316	1 114 828
Finnish speaking man and swedish speaking woman	16 544	16 876	17 394	17 904	18 337
Finnish speaking woman and swedish speaking man	22 734	22 822	23 445	24 218	24 552
Finnish speaking man and foreign speaking woman	4 020	7 636	11 094	16 062	21 772
Finnish speaking woman and foreign speaking man	5 951	8 679	10 236	13 181	17 441
Finnish speaking mother/father	162 209	174 554	174 861	166 741	161 302
Swedish speaking man and swedish speaking woman	53 348	50 845	49 198	48 190	47 881
Swedish speaking man and foreign speaking woman	300	483	655	982	1 434
Swedish speaking woman and foreign speaking man	410	597	678	943	1 261
Swedish speaking mother/father	8 489	8 871	8 609	8 147	7 953
Foreign speaking man and foreign speaking woman	1 832	7 425	11 668	16 944	27 638
Foreign speaking mother/father	762	2 709	4 893	7 374	10 674

Figure 7. Families speaking Finnish, Swedish or other language in 1990–2010. (Statistics Finland 2016)

The statistics shown are from 2010 and therefore slightly out of date, but unfortunately, Statistics Finland have not released any up to date figures after this, and therefore, these will be used to aid the research and emphasise the need of this study.

Figure number 8 also illustrates the increase in number of families made up of foreign citizens in Finland over the past 20 years. From this figure it is recognised that not only have the figures of families of foreign citizens increased dramatically in the last 10 years; the figures have at least doubled, with the highest group consisting of Finnish husband and foreign woman. This also indicates that more and more families within Finland are bilingual and bicultural as the percentage of families with one foreign parent is increasing rapidly every year.
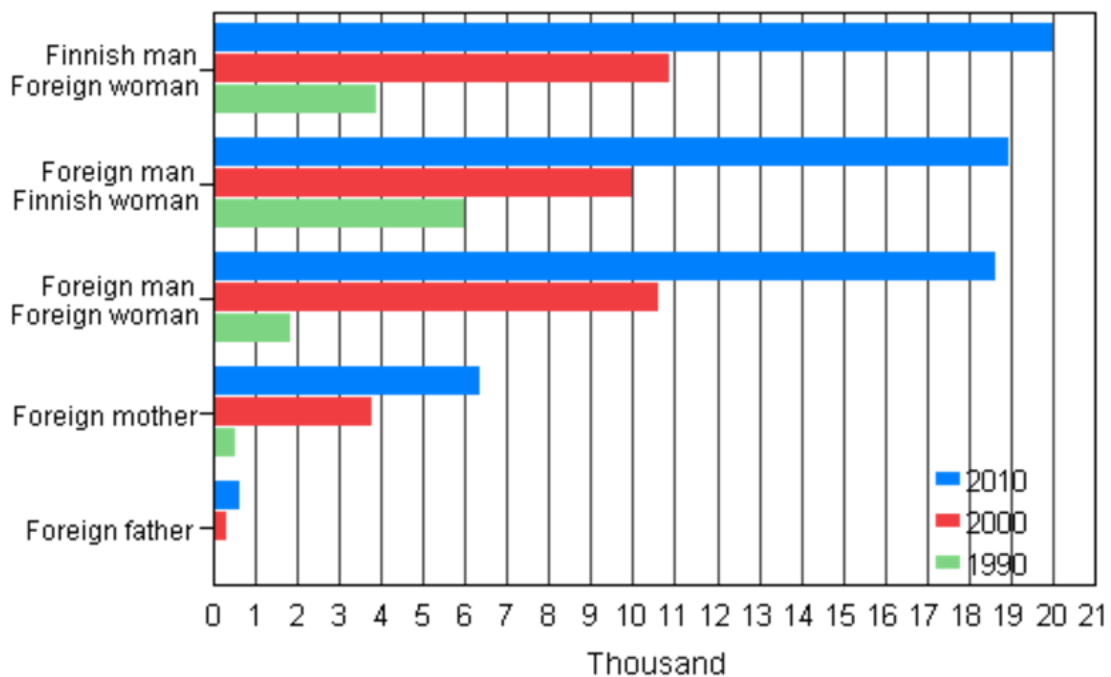
Figure 8. Families of foreign citizens in 1990, 2000 and 2010. (Statistics Finland 2016)

Figure number 9, illustrates the statistics for 'Finnish speaking wife/mother and English speaking man/father' and 'English speaking wife/mother and English speaking man/father' (Statistics Finland 2016).

Language of wife/mother	Total	Language of man/father									Family without a father
		Finnish	Swedish	Russian	Estonian	Thai	Chinese	English	Somali	Other or unknown	
All families	1 455 073	1 182 571	75 535	9 463	4 242	128	1 369	4 667	1 161	26 286	149 651
Finnish	1 290 489	1 114 828	24 552	1 254	870	57	119	3 627	76	11 438	133 668
Swedish	73 764	18 337	47 881	37	42	10	8	307	7	850	6 285
Russian	19 873	7 445	299	7 658	361	2	7	66	1	605	3 429
Estonian	7 678	2 747	157	168	2 803	-	2	23	3	201	1 574
Thai	3 602	3 073	165	1	5	51	1	11	-	36	259
Chinese	2 226	759	53	6	5	-	1 133	25	1	92	152
English	2 078	1 253	128	6	3	-	10	300	-	162	216
Somali	1 858	21	-	1	1	1	-	3	1 006	16	809
Other or unknown	23 227	6 474	632	189	43	6	65	236	18	12 305	3 259
Family without a mother	30 278	27 634	1 668	143	109	1	24	69	49	581	-

Figure 9. Families by language of spouses/parents on December 31, 2010. (Statistics Finland 2016)

From this we appreciate in Finland in 2010, there were 3627 partnerships with 'Finnish wife/mother and English man/father', and 1253 partnerships that were a combination of 'English wife/mother and Finnish man/father'. (Statistics Finland 2016) Additionally according to Statistics Finland, 4,427 people from the United Kingdom, and around 18,000 people with English as their mother tongue are currently residing in Finland (Statistics Finland, Population structure 2016). Not only do we see a rise in British people choosing to live in Finland, but we also see a rise in families with one British parent. The result of this could be a positive rise in the figure of English Finnish bilinguals residing in Finland.

Finally, this chapter has discussed the current situation of languages in Finland today, which languages are being spoken and by who. The spread of English language across the globe and in Europe was discussed, and English as a lingua franca was defined. Finns attitudes towards and uses of the English language were discussed followed by finally looking at the current situation of bilingual families in Finland and namely English and Finnish bilingual families.

5   DATA AND METHOD OF ANALYSIS

This chapter outlines the methodology and presents the approaches applied to collect and analyse the data. This study employs a qualitative method of analysis. Riessman's (2008) narrative analysis, Rubin and Rubin (2005) qualitative interviewing and Lieblich et al. (1998) categorical-content analysis are used in order to extract the maximum information from of the data collected which consists of eight semi-structured interviews and a language self-assessment form.

5.1   Research method and analysis

Definitions of 'narrative' vary considerably depending on the theoretical approach, methodology and framework. Commonly though, narrative is defined "in relation to event" (Wells 2011: 5). Similarly, Labov (1972) suggests that all "narratives are stories about a specific past event" (Labov 1972, quoted in Riessman 2008: 17). According to Boje (2001), in order for something to be a narrative it "requires a plot, as well as coherence" (Boje 2001: 1). Personal narratives rank higher than stories, even though these words are often used as synonyms. Wells (2011) defines narrative as a story that has great value to someone. He explains that it has a clear end point, and contains points that are relevant to that point. The narrative will usually occur in a logical order, normally linear in time, and provides a sense of clarification of the point. (Wells 2011: 5)

As narratives are ways of people understanding their experiences, it is possible to analyse narratives in order to understand how people construct their experiences. This is called narrative analysis and will be conducted in this study as it is in line with the objectives that have been set out in this study.

Narrative analysis according to Wells (2011) is the process of a researcher taking a person's story as the central source of data and examining the 'content, structure, performance or context' of the narratives as a whole. (Wells 2011: 7) Leiblich et al (1998: 2–3), similarly defines narrative research as the analysis of narrative materials, which have been gathered through interviews or literary work, and which present themselves as

a story. The act of telling stories allows people to depict and understand their life experiences. Narrative analysis has proven successful in the collection of research surrounding identity and culture, due to the narrator having control of their stories and therefore representing their identities through story. (Lieblich et al. 1998: 8)

The use of narrative research and analysis means that the results are unique. Lieblich et al. (1998) explains that gaining a story through an interview is like capturing a still photograph. The narrative from that moment in time is written and made into a text which freezes the moment. (Lieblich et al. 1998: 8) "The use of narrative methodology results in unique and rich data that cannot be obtained from experiments, questionnaires or observations." (Lieblich et al. 1998: 9)

There is a wide scope of ways to analyse narratives, which often depends on the type of narrative and framework one is analysing. Lieblich et al. (1998) offers four types of narrative analyses: holistic-content, categorical content, holistic-form and categorical-form. (Lieblich et al. 1998: 13)

Table 4. Four modes of reading a narrative (Lieblich et al. 1998: 13–14)

Narrative Analyses	Description
Holistic-Content	This mode uses the complete life story of an individual and focuses on the content presented by it. When analysing separate sections of the story, the researcher analyses the meaning of the part in light of content that emerges from the rest of the narrative of in the context of the story in its entirety.
Holistic-Form	This mode finds the clearest expression in looking at the plots or structure of complete life stories. Does the story ascend or descend to a specific period or situation? The researcher may search for a climax or turning point in the story, which sheds light on the entire development.
Categorical-Content	This mode is more familiar as "content analysis". Categories of the studied topic are defined, and separate utterances of the text are extracted, classified and gathered

	into these categories/groups. Categories may be narrow or broad.
Categorical-Form	This mode focuses on discrete stylistic or linguistic characteristics of defined units of the narrative. Defined instances are collected from text as in the categorical-content mode.

This study conducts categorical-content narrative analysis on the interviews with the participants. Categorical-content analysis was chosen as the research method of this study due to this method's ability to analyse specific topics and issues that participants raise in the interviews. This method of analysis also allows narrow categories to be analysed and comparisons to be drawn from the interviews.

In the field of social sciences it is recognised that interviews are often used in research that has been carried out. (Mishler 1986: 19) When collecting data for narrative research, interviews are often used as a means of gathering the data that will be analysed. Generally, people are natural storytellers and according to Leiblich et al. (1998), narratives are the doorway that provides us an opening to people's identity and personalities. The story told is the person's identity, which has been created, revised and retold throughout a person's life. (Leiblich et al. 1998: 7) For example, Weiss describes why we interview:

> Interviewing can inform us about the nature of social life. We can learn about the work of occupations and how people fashion careers, about cultures and the values they sponsor, and about the challenges people confront as they live their lives. We can learn also, through interviewing about people's interior experiences.… We can learn the meanings to them of their relationships, their families their work, and their selves. We can learn about all the experiences, from joy through grief, that together constitute the human condition. (Weiss 1994: 1)

Rubin and Rubin (2005) describe interviews as "night vision goggles" allowing researchers to study data that is not ordinarily seen. (Rubin and Rubin 2005: 1) Interviews permit us to take a deeper look inside another's understanding of themselves, their history, and their culture. Rubin and Rubin (2005) explain how through these interviews, we can appreciate others experiences, and learn to reconstruct happenings that we were not

present for. (Rubin and Rubin 2005: 3) Nevertheless, some candidates do not always feel comfortable or at ease with their own narratives or sharing them. Gillham (2007) states that often during the interview process, participants will need reassurance and guidance in order to gain the most natural offer of information.

> The expectation that people will give their account in detail without 'interruption' is itself naïve, presuming, as it does, that respondents are readily organized and do not require direction or encouragement. And speakers who are getting no verbal feedback may start to doubt themselves, that what they are saying is not relevant or that, quite simply, they are boring you. (Gillham 2007: 49)

This study includes a language self-assessment form that has been borrowed from research conducted by Claire Thomas 'Growing up with Languages – Reflections on Multilingual Childhoods' (Thomas 2012: 240) The language self-assessment form consists of two tables, each table referring to one of language. The form askes the participants to state how confident they feel completing a range of tasks in both of their languages. The range of tasks including; speaking with friends and family and with strangers, writing a personal letter and writing a report, reading a personal email, and reading an official letter. It was intended that this form would be very subjective, as the aim of the form was to see the comparison of their two languages, and eventually cross analyse the results with what the participants stated about their identity in the interview. It should be noted here that no formal language assessments were conducted in this study. This type of subjective analysis is difficult, and it must be understood here that it is possible that participants would have checked the same or different levels of confidence in each language. This language self-assessment form does not examine or test the participant's actual level of language proficiency, rather aims to understand how the participants feel in regards to their own language abilities in their two languages. If the participant states that they feel confident in speaking then it is understood simply as that.

The language self-assessment forms were used as additional qualitative means to compare the results against the interviews with the participants. This was done in order to gain an understanding of if there was a positive link between how the participants identified themselves, and how confident they felt in each of their languages, the self-assessment

forms were compared to what the participants said in their interviews. Links and connections were discovered from the self-assessment forms and the interviews.

This language self-assessment forms did not offer a huge amount of data to this study in that, the participants were asked clearly during the interviews how confident they felt in each of their languages and if they felt that one language was stronger than the other. Data received for this method was effective in offering an understanding of how participants evaluated their language skills in each language. The language self-assessment form was a benefit in understanding in exactly which areas the participants felt confident and not so confident in, for example, reading, writing or speaking, which was not discussed in the interviews. The language self-assessment form offered a deeper and visual understanding of how the participants evaluated their proficiency levels in each language.

5.2   Data collection and research process

Participants were contacted to take part in an interview for this research mainly via Facebook and Facebook groups including 'British people living in Finland' and 'Second generation Finns living in the UK'. In addition to Facebook, some interviewees were found through other participants, such as friends or siblings who fit the requirements and were willing to take part. Interviewees were provided the criteria that they had to meet in order to take part in the interview. Those participants who agreed, were provided with a language self-assessment form, which they were asked to complete before the interview took place. This gathered some background information on the participant including where they were born, where they have lived, and parent's mother tongues.

While occasionally it proved trying to find suitable candidates who fit all of the criteria to take part in the interview, eight semi-structured interviews were completed for this research. All of the interviews were conducted in English language.

This research aims to draw a comparison between the interviews with the participants and the language self-assessment form that each participant completed. The language self-assessment form will give a personal insight into how each participant assesses their own proficiency in both of their languages, Finnish and English. The self-assessment of

language will then be compared to the interview in regards to the participant's identity and how they culturally identify themselves in order to detect or obtain a relationship between confidence in language and identity.

Table 5. Profile of Participants

Interviewee	Age	Gender	Place of birth	Currently residing	Mother's nationality	Father's nationality	Years living in Finland
P1	27	F	Finland	Espoo	Finnish	English	27
P2	23	M	Finland	Espoo	Finnish	English	23
P3	28	F	South Africa	Hämeenlinna	English	Finnish	25
P4	17	F	Kenya	Uusikaupunki	English	Finnish	12
P5	47	F	Finland	Helsinki	Finnish	English	45
P6	38	F	Finland	Turku	Finnish	English	35
P7	36	F	Finland	Helsinki	Finnish	English	25
P8	42	F	Finland	California, USA	Finnish	English	32

Participant 8 was the only participant interviewed that was not currently living in Finland. All 7 other participants were currently residing in Finland at the time of the interview. The decision to include participant number 8 in the study was based on curiosity to discover if living abroad in the later part of a bilinguals life could change the way they identify themselves. The participant was born and raised in Turku, Finland, studied in Finland and did not move to California until she was 32. This case was interesting to understand the possible identity shifts when moving to another country as an adult.

Table 6. Data of Participants

Interviewee	Duration of interview (minutes)	Method of interviewing	Completed self-assessment form
P1	89	Face-to-face	Yes
P2	29 + 9	Skype	Yes
P3	38	Skype	Yes
P4	24	Skype	Yes
P5	46	Skype	Yes
P6	33	Skype	Yes
P7	9 + 14	Skype	Yes
P8	51	Skype	Yes

The interviews for this research were semi-structures interviews and were conducted in a way that permitted the participants to explain as much or as little as they felt they wanted to. The use of semi-structured interviews allows the participant and the interviewer to speak freely during the interview, with a more conversational like approach rather than a list of questions. A list of questions was created prior to the interview, although each participant was unique, and therefore required different follow up questioning or probing about different aspects within the interview.

Four main areas were discussed during the interviews including language patterns in the home, to obtain knowledge about the languages spoken at home and with who. Cultural celebrations and traditions were discussed in order to understand which cultural traditions were present in participant's childhoods. Participant's language proficiencies and feelings towards the languages was discussed, to understand which language the participant feels stronger in if any and why, and how this makes them feel. And finally, the topic of identity was discussed to discover how the bilingual identifies themselves in regards to all the topics mentioned above.

The language self-assessment form that was used for this research allowed the participants to complete the tables in the privacy of their own home with no one around them. This means that participants should have been as honest as they could regarding their language proficiency levels, and how confident they feel when completing tasks in each language.

6   FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This chapter presents a short overview of the participants' current situation, outlining how they became bilingual, where they grew up and if they have any siblings. This will then be followed by the analysis of the participants' interview data and language self-assessment form. The main themes that were presented in the interviews are identified and discussed in relation to the theoretical concepts that were outlined in the theoretical section of the current work. The most significant and prominent themes will be examined here in detail. The determination of this analysis is not to make general judgements or simplifications but to raise key and significant themes that all participants mentioned, in order to understand and make sense of the stories and experiences of the interviewees.

6.1   Overview of participants

Participant number 1 is 27 years old, was born in Helsinki to a English father and a Finnish mother and raised in Espoo. She has lived in Finland for 25 years, spending one year in England, and one year in Gothenburg, Sweden, for study years aboard during her Bachelor's studies. She explains that her mother worked as a researcher at Helsinki University and went to England for internship work, where she met her father. After one or two years her father then moved to Finland and she was born one year later. The participant currently resides in Helsinki.

Participant number 2 is 24 years old, was born in Helsinki and raised in Espoo with his English father and Finnish mother. He has lived in Finland his entire life. The participant currently resides in Espoo.

Participant number 3 is 28 years old and pointed out that her mother is English and her father is Finnish, they met in Australia whilst her mother was training for work and her father was working there. The participant was born in South Africa and lived there for one year before moving to Helsinki, Finland, where she was raised and spent most of her life. The participant has also spent 1 year in Scotland and 1 year in England. The participant currently resides in Hämeenlinna.

Participant number 4 is 17 years old and was born in Nairobi, Kenya to an English mother and a Finnish father. She lived in Kenya for 4 years after she was born, moved to Uganda for one and a half years before moving to England for 2 months and then Finland where she now resides permanently. The participant currently resides in Uusikaupunki.

Participant number 5 is 47 years old and was born and raised in Espoo with her Finnish mother and English father. She has spent periods in the United Kingdom, consisting of 3 months in Sheffield aged 23, 1 month in Bournemouth aged 27, 1 month in Dublin, Bournemouth and Torquey aged 28, followed by 1 year spent in Birmingham aged 30–31. She then returned to Finland at the age of 31 and lived in Turku for 7 years and now resides in Helsinki.

Participant number 6 is 38 years old and was born and raised in Turku, Finland with her Finnish mother and English father. She lived in Scotland for 3 years where she worked in a library. The participant currently resides in Turku.

Participant number 7 is 26 years old and began the interview by explaining that her father is in fact half English and half Canadian, whilst her mother is Finnish. She tells that her parents met in France shortly before moving to Finland together. The interviewee explains that she was raised in Lohja, Finland and lived in Espoo for 6 years, Helsinki for 1 year and spent 1 year travelling in Taiwan when she was 23 years old. The participant currently resides in Helsinki.

Participant number 8 is 42 years old and was born and raised in Turku, with a Finnish mother and an English father. At the age of 20 she moved to Helsinki to study. At 28 the interviewee completed a 6 month residency in the US, where she met her husband, and after living in Finland for 3 years together, they now live in Silicon Valley, California, USA.

Participant number 8 is the only participant that does not currently reside in Finland. The choice to include her in this study was based on the interest in understanding how she would identify herself today having been born and raised in Finland, resided in Finland for 32 years, before moving to the US. The interests also grew upon discovering that the

participant now lives in the US, a country that shares one of her mother tongues but has a very different culture compared to the United Kingdom.

6.2   Bilingualism and language patterns within the home

All participants that took part in this study are bilingual if we apply the understanding of bilingualism given by Grosjean (1985). All participants were raised in Finland with one Finnish speaking parent and one English speaking parent. Even though no real language assessments were carried out for this study, the participants' English skills differ depending on external factors such as age, frequency of travel, and work situation. Subject to if the participant has ever lived in an English speaking country, the accent and dialect of the participants differs greatly. Those participants who have never lived in an English speaking country generally had stronger Finnish accents when speaking English, compared to those who had lived in an English speaking country for a period of time, who had relatively good British or American accents.

Participants were asked about typical language patterns with family in the home when they were growing up, for example with parents and siblings. Interestingly, interviewees had very similar experiences with language choices and use of language with certain family members.

> (1)   I would say 80% of the time we speak in English, and then if there is something that me or my brother say to mum like 'remember to do this, blah blah blah' then we would switch to Finnish. (P1)

Participants typically told that they spoke English with their English speaking parent and Finnish with their Finnish speaking parent. When the parents and family were all together, language patterns differed. Bilinguals with English speaking parents who do not have good knowledge in Finnish stated that the conversation at home was always in English. Participants with English speaking parents who had a good level of Finnish, explained that sometimes the conversation would go in Finnish, as the English speaking parent had some understanding of Finnish, and then would switch to English if or when the English

parent joined in. Most common was for the conversation to be in English, and switch to Finnish when speaking directly to the Finnish speaking parent or sibling.

(2) I speak English with my mother and English with like the rest of my mother's family or the family from my mother's side. But then I speak Finnish with my father and Finnish with like all other relatives. (P3)

(3) But then my dad might intervene in English and then the language changes again and we speak to mum and my brother in English but only if it's kind of like public speaking together. (P1)

(4) I only spoke English with my father and Finnish with my mother. (P2)

(5) Erm it was I think it was quite strict, I think that at one point they even consulted someone they knew that was a linguist and who had erm I remember my mother saying that they had been talking to them and saying that this is how they've arranged it and they had said that sounds good so you should go about it that way and yeah that's how it happened. […] My father spoke Finnish but when we were together we spoke English mainly. He did speak fairly good Finnish. (P5)

Participant 1 tells about the language patterns at home with her parents and her brother. She explains clearly that if the whole family are in conversation then they will use English, whereas if she wants to say something directly to her mother or brother, then she will use Finnish. Only if her father interrupts the Finnish conversation in English, will the conversation then switch to English.

(6) They always spoke English together, and they still speak English together, and err…but me and my brother always speak Finnish. Me and my mum usually speak Finnish. But if we are in a situation where for example, we are all sitting round the table, we would speak….if we directly speak to mum we would speak in Finnish, but if our dad goes 'what?' then, we all change to English. […] Or then if someone is annoyed, for example if my brother is doing something stupid then I say it in Finnish to him. But then my dad might intervene in English and then the language changes again and we speak to mum and my brother in English but only if it's kind of like public speaking together. (P1)

Participant number 7 contradicts herself when describing the language patterns amongst her and her family. At first she states that it is a mixture, although more English because her dad does not speak any Finnish. She continues to then say that she uses Finnish with her mother and her brothers and that Finnish is more commonly used. This confusion can

be common and normal amongst bilinguals. Often bilinguals may not even know what language they are speaking when.

> (7)   Well we usually, when we've all been together we spoke I guess a mixture, more English maybe because my dad didn't understand Finnish as well as the rest of us know English. Erm but I speak English with my dad and then my Mum I speak Finnish with her and with my brothers, we usually speak Finnish. Finnish is more commonly used. (P7)

All participants admitted to remaining rather strict with their language uses with specific people. This could be likened to the principle of bilingual upbringing 'one parent, one language', which is a popular method among parents trying to raise bilingual children. (Döpke 1992: 1) It literally means each parent consistently speaks only their or one language to the child. This means that once a relationship has started in one language, it often then harder and less common to switch to another language.

Participant 1 explains how she would never mix English and Finnish together, even from a young age.

> (8)   So in that way my dad said that he sometimes spoke also Finnish to me, but of course his Finnish was so bad, so I started speaking English to him. And he said I learnt really quickly to speak, so, so I was speaking both languages, but I never mixed the two languages, which was weird. And it was very like strictly to one person, if I had started speaking English to one person I wouldn't speak Finnish to that person anymore, and the other way around. And my dad said that was probably why I didn't mix the languages, because it was so like focused on the person I was speaking to. (P1)

Here we see participant 1 explaining how she would not mix English and Finnish language together, and that if she started talking to someone in Finnish then she would only speak Finnish to them, and not switch back to English with them. This illustrates that the participant had created a strict relationship between language and person even from a young age.

Participant 8, whose father had learnt Finnish very well, explains the language patterns in her home when she was growing up.

(9) That said when we were growing up he was the early bird person, so he was always up super early with us so we would always speak English with him at breakfast at breakfast time. Erm and then he would read us English books for bedtime far past the point where we were actually in need of bedtime stories. (P8)

The participant illustrates the amount of English she was exposed to as a child, emphasising that her father would read to the children much past the point when they needed to be read bedtime stories too. This could indicate that bedtime stories in English were a family activity conducted only in English. The participant also goes on to name many typically English books that she remembers reading with her Father. This reoccurring activity results in a memory linked with a feeling or an emotion that is tied only to the English language for her.

(10) Erm so when I was born, English was the family language, and at some point when the family settled in Finland my father decided that he would learn Finnish and he set about that at an absolutely terrifying pace of study and you know memorising 50 words a day. And he became he was always, by the time, so when I was very little I think I heard a lot of English, but by the time I was in my teens, I think my dad had even slipped to the point where he would speak Finnish to us kids. And he mastered like all of the local dialect nuances, but always have a thick English accent. (Laughing). […] Yes by the time we were teenagers we had to say dad can we talk English. (P8)

This refers back to the idea of 'One parent, one language', in that the participant wanted to speak English with her English speaking father, whilst he was learning Finnish.

When discussing the participants' language uses with their siblings, experiences were very similar amongst all of the participants. All participants explained that they speak Finnish with their siblings. Some participants stressed that they were not even sure why they speak Finnish with their siblings but they just do.

(11) Erm I have one little brother, 5 years younger, he was born right before we moved here. He grew up speaking I think more Finnish, because we only spoke English with my mum. But when I was growing up I was more fluent in English because everyone around us was speaking English. So there was only dad to speak Finnish to. […] Erm with him I speak Finnish, unless I'm like around my mum then it's English. (P4)

Participant number 3 explains how she must have spoken English with her brother at some point, but nowadays they communicate in Finnish together.

(12) Erm, we must have spoken English together, like he's about three years younger than me, o like when he started speaking we probably spoke English together. But nowadays we speak Finnish together. Unless if there's someone who doesn't speak Finnish, then we will like between us also speak English. (P3)

Some participants found that they could not explain the reasons why they spoke Finnish with the siblings.

(13) Yes a younger brother. We speak Finnish, I have no idea why it's just… (P6)

(14) I have a younger brother, he's 3 years younger than I am. We communicate in Finnish. (P5)

When discussing the topic of wider family, some participants agreed that they often translated for English speaking relatives who could not understand the Finnish speaking relatives.

(15) Erm my Finnish grandparents don't or didn't speak English very well but still they would try to say some words in English and then we would try to translate but my English relatives don't know any Finnish, a few words maybe, but its not as useful. (P7)

(16) I remember just being a full time translator. It was fun I enjoyed it, and my brother, has done it too a lot. But usually, every time that happened, if we had relatives from England coming to Finland, we with my brother felt this really big responsibility in some how being the link between, because we knew how awkward it would be. Like my grandmother, she can't speak English at all. So she would just be like 'mmm mmm mmm' and she would be looking at us like 'say something' or like 'tell her she has a very nice hat'. (P1)

Participant number 1 describes the situation of having both English and Finnish relatives in the same room as "awkward", whilst simultaneously stating that she was a "full time translator" and that she "enjoyed it". She states that she felt a big responsibility to be "the link" between the families, which could stem from the participant having some

transcultural understanding and feeling a connection to both of the cultures and languages, and therefore taking the role of mediator between the two cultures and languages.

When the participants recall periods of translating or mixing languages, it was never with a negative tone rather a neutral feeling, and that it was normal. Most interviewees had similar experiences regarding language usage within the home expressing that, still today, they speak English with their English speaking parent and Finnish with their Finnish speaking parent. This commonality is normal amongst bilingual or multilingual families and it is uncommon to switch languages with someone where a language has already been initiated. As some participants stated, it may be possible that if the English speaking parent has knowledge in Finnish that the some parts of the conversation may go in Finnish, which the English speaking parent can understand. Even though, it was made clear from most participants that for the majority of the times, when the English speaking parent is present or in the conversation, the language used will be English.

All participants that took part in this study stated that they used Finnish with their siblings. It was mentioned by a few that if the English speaking parent is present then the siblings will opt to use English in order for the English speaking parent to understand. When communicating with siblings one on one or in more direct conversations, the language used is Finnish.

Most participants mentioned speaking English with English speaking relatives and Finnish with Finnish speaking relatives. It was only mentioned by two participants about being translators when the two sides of the families have met previously. This was spoken about with positivity and a sense of pride. Other participants mentioned that it is not common for their English and Finnish families to meet, and that they have only met once or twice totally so translation was not an issue.

From the discussions, we see that there are clear language patterns within the homes of bilingual families. In cases where the English speaking parent is present, the language of communication would be English, even so if the English speaking parent has a good level and understanding of Finnish. Bilinguals stated that they would always choose to communicate in the language of the parent. In the circumstances where the English

speaking parent is not present, the language of communication amongst Finnish speaking parent and siblings, was Finnish.

It should be mentioned that bilingual families establish their own language norms. What works for one family does not always work for another, and varying degrees of language proficiency from the parents and children will result in different language patterns. Even though these issues have been raised here in this section does not mean this is true for all bilingual families.

6.3   Positive and negative attitudes of bilingualism

All participants were raised and schooled in Finland, and depending on the age of the participant, childhood memories vary. During the interviews with the eight participants, many positive, negative and mixed memories, feelings and experiences were raised and discussed.

All participants agreed that being bilingual and growing up with two languages was an added bonus that other people didn't have. The type of words chosen by participants to be used when describing how they feel about being raised bilingually were only positive and optimistic.

> (17)   Grateful about it. (P5)
>
> (18)   I always thought of it as some sort of skill that other people didn't have. (P1)
>
> (19)   And of course because I realised that it's just a bonus. (P5)
>
> (20)   I always thought it was a privilege or an advantage. (P2)
>
> (21)   So I do realise that I, that there's a lot of space for some real gratitude and I'm just really grateful actually. (P5)
>
> (22)   I think it's been more than helpful and err, I think its like a, err I don't know if you say like richness. So it's been helpful and it's always, like been an advantage for me. (P3)
>
> (23)   I think it's been like really beneficial. (P4)

(24)   I think it's been a great advantage. (P7)

(25)   Oh I'm so happy about it. (P8)

Participant number 3 explained how she feels grateful that their English parent continued to speak English with her throughout her life, which in turn made the entire process of learning a language easier.

(26)   I've been like all together very thankful for the fact that we did or mummy did keep up the English. And that like I have been able to speak it all the way along, and it's been, or I've been very happy about the fact that it has been very easy, so to say. (P3)

Some participants stressed the feeling that being bilingual has only helped them during school, especially through their English classes and matriculation examinations.

(27)   […] and it's made life easier you know at school because everyone learns English. (P7)

(28)   […] especially in like school, because nowadays people use like the internet like so much and it's like so beneficial then because I can speak English so well. (P4)

(29)   And I was also very happy, back in a certain moment when we were doing, or I was doing my matriculation examination, then I was very happy because like English was the only subject where I didn't have to practice very much, so I could focus on practising on other or different subjects. (P3)

(30)   […] like meeting the exchange students that came to our school this year, we had one from Italy and like no one could speak to her because they don't speak English very good. (P4)

(31)   And a lot of my studies are in English. Probably so yeah it has given me an advantage that things have always been a bit easier. (P7)

Some participants explained that they feel being bilingual has given them an edge when applying for work and being able to have a successful career.

(32)   […] being bilingual was the one last thing that turned it over so that I got the job. (P3)

(33) I feel that it's a real asset, and I know that a lot. If I think about how my life has turned out, a lot of things I have got because of that. A lot of my work I have lots of international contacts at work, I work for European funded projects, I do other things as well, I work for an adult education institution and erm, a lot I know that because of my language skills. (P5)

(34) I mean being a professional I work in consulting for 9 years and I've worked in house researching for 1.5 years in an English environment in an American culture. (P8)

(35) Well I mean sure just knowing English well is a really big advantage in Finland because it's sort of expected that everyone knows English. (P7)

Some participants mentioned that being able to speak English was such a benefit because they are "bad at learning languages".

(36) Erm well it was mainly the school and the fact that people automatically assumed that just because I'm good at English I'm good at other languages, which I'm not, I did poor in Swedish and my French is just abysmal. (P6)

(37) […] definitely like English grades school, maybe, because like I'm really bad at languages otherwise like probably because I was so late at practicing words, its good that I can speak English so well, or like already. (P4)

Overall during the interviews with the eight participants, the attitude and atmosphere towards being bilingual was very positive and optimistic. The words that the participants chose to use to describe how they felt about being raised bilingually were only enthusiastic and cheerful. Additionally, this was the only question where all participants agreed and felt the same.

In comparison, there was one common negative memory that the majority of participants had from being raised bilingually and that was their names. Some participants pointed out that their names were often the target of teasing in school, due to their names being slightly less Finnish and maybe more English or international.

(38) […] my mother was really concerned that the other children would make fun of me, my name... (P2)

(39) But sometimes I did feel like I was different for example I didn't like that my name was [xxx], because it was such a rare name. (P1)

(40) I don't understand why but they celebrate people's name days quite a lot and I was not in the name days calendar. (P5)

(41) […] so sometimes it feels a bit like I'm a fraud so I've just got this funny name ha-ha and nothing else. (P5)

(42) Because there are always questions like 'oh you've got a weird name'. (P6)

(43) I mean my name is weird so I leant to spell it out very quickly. (P7)

This issue was raised by five out of eight participants. It is understandable that this may have been a relevant problem during the '70s, '80s and maybe '90s in Finland, with little influence from anything outside of Finland. With such influx of migration, immigration and English as a lingua franca today, it may be possible that these problems faced by the participants interviewed, may not be a current problem for bilinguals being born and raised today in the 2000s.

6.4   Learning traditions and customs

During the interviews, participants were asked about their exposure to cultural experiences for both Finnish and English cultures, for example, family trips and vacations, food, books, TV shows, etc. This was discussed in order to understand how much influence there was from each culture when the participant was being raised, and if this in turn affected how they identify themselves today, and if they view themselves as bicultural. It must be noted that there was definitely a stronger feeling of belonging towards the English culture, if the participant had had more exposure to that culture and more cultural experiences during childhood, and if the participant had lived in the UK for a period of time, during their adult years.

Participant number 2 explains how in his family they always celebrated two Christmases, and that everyone enjoyed that. He then tells of his father's interest in "skeletons and death and all earthy things" (P2), as well as monsters and ghosts, and therefore the interviewee associates all English traditions with darkness. He describes that his father would search for ghosts at their summer cottage and read books about monsters.

(44) I mean that was really dark. Always when we are at our summer cottage he tries to find ghosts. I remember when we were really young he had this big book of monsters, this old book, and he was going on about these monsters and things. (P2)

He contrasts this with a comparison of Finnish traditions, which in his opinion are "celebrations of light". The interviewee sees Finnish traditions as more positive and pure compared to English traditions, in which he raises the English tradition of Guy Fawkes and defines it a "really dark".

(45) So yeah English traditions were really dark, compared to Finnish traditions, like we have all these celebrations of light and on the other hand there's all this death and dark and like earthy things. (P2)

Interestingly, the participant explained that he feels more understanding towards the Finnish culture than the English culture. He justifies this feeling by explaining that all of his family and friends are in Finland and not England. The participant states that he could never go to England and state that he is English even though he is "half and half". This comment indicates that the participant himself may see himself as "half and half", meaning half Finnish and half English, yet he would not feel comfortable going to England and stating that he is English. He describes how it feels natural for him to say that he is Finnish.

The participant recalls asking his father a lot about England when he was growing up, but felt that his father was reluctant to answer and felt as though his was always keen to learn more about Finnish culture. He clarifies that he thinks his father wanted to adjust to Finland and to be "Finnish." The participant feels as though his father neglected to discuss details of English culture, because the participant believes that his father wanted to adapt fully to the Finnish culture. This analysis from the participant of his English father declining the English culture in order to fully adapt to the Finnish culture could explain why the interviewee finds it more natural to identify himself as Finnish. Additionally, the participant associates English culture with darkness and death, due to his father's love for Halloween and Guy Fawkes celebrations that the participant experienced as a child. He now associates all English culture with being darker, in comparison to Finnish traditions

which he views as "light". The participant has drawn his own associations to the traditions from his childhood experiences.

Participant number 1 explains the cultural traditions that were celebrated in her childhood home whilst she was growing up and how she felt about them as a child. She tells of how much her father loved British traditions and holidays and she feels that her family celebrated things in a very "English way". She stated that she thought this was very important to her father while living in Finland, and that he would buy lots of decorations, make Christmas cake and celebrate Halloween, which was not a popular celebration in Finland in the '90s. The participant lists celebrations such as English Christmas, watching the Queen's Speech, Halloween, Bonfire Night, and Easter as some of the traditions that her family would celebrate.

(46) But the funny thing was is that my dad is obsessed with Halloween, and when I was a kid, Halloween wasn't celebrated in Finland, nowadays it is because kind of the American thing that has come but it wasn't, like people knew about it and there might have been something happening like a horror movie on the TV but not really like celebrations. And it happens to be my dad's favourite so, dad actually bought like big paper skeletons and erm those cobwebs on the ceiling and everything and it was a really Halloweeny place our home and my friends came and there's loads of skeletons around and their like scared obviously like what is this, and I'm just explaining like 'erm, it's an English thing, we have this' and I remember being like really embarrassed even though I loved it, because we always invited all of our relatives and friends for Halloween for a big party and that's why he was doing all these decorations but it was so hard to explain as a child to other children why we only have this weird dad who is putting these decorations up. (P1)

(47) I never told about that to my friends because it was so weird. I knew when I was a kid it was a bit weird and I remember my mum being a bit sceptical about the burning of the man. And I remember loving it, it was really nice, it was a fun thing, but it was very hard to explain. In Finnish culture, that would be something that we would never do in Finland, because in Finland, people think that criminals also have, not all people think, but in a way it would be very morally wrong to burn something that looks like a human. But you don't question it in England. And I didn't question it until I had to explain it to a Finnish person. So that was a weird thing. (P1)

The interviewee tells about celebrating Guy Fawkes in Finland and how even when she was a child, she would not tell her friends about this celebration because she knew it was a bit "weird". She goes on to say that she loved the celebration and that it was fun, but very hard to explain to her Finnish friends. This participant experiences feeling of enjoyment and difficulty simultaneously when celebrating said English cultures in Finland, even as a child. This could be due to her being bicultural, meaning that she understands both the English way of celebrating this culture, whilst at the same time being about to understand how Finns would view how odd this celebration is. She can see both sides of view and therefore experienced both joy and trouble with these celebrations.

The interviewee continued to describe one of the biggest cultural differences between Finland and England in her opinion, which would be the way people speak to and greet each other.

(48)   For example, situations where in England people don't speak about bad things as much as in Finland and you kind of want people to like you in a way, at least when you're speaking to them, I don't know how to explain it, for example, I think English people are much more conscious of how people see them compared to Finnish people so you have to make a little bit more of an effort when you get to know people. (P1)

Participant number 1 draws comparisons between the English and Finnish cultures that she has learnt through previous visits to England and also spending time with English and Finnish relatives simultaneously. Here it is clear that the participant is experiencing cultural understanding towards both Finnish and English culture meaning she is able to compare and see differences in them, something which she is only able to do because she has lived and experienced both cultures.

Participant number 5 mentions that during her childhood they used to celebrate two Christmases. They would open some presents on the Christmas Eve and some on Christmas Day and that it was "nice". She continues to explain that even though she grew up in Finland, there were also some typical Finnish traditions that she missed and was able to enjoy as an adult. She tells that she thinks this is because her parents couldn't celebrate all English and all Finnish traditions, but they celebrated as much as they could. She discloses that her father tried to make an effort when he would visit the United

Kingdom for business, to bring home to Finland Books and LPs in English of actors reading fairy tales.

> (49) Yes and no it was nice to have both but there were things like Finns err I don't understand why but they celebrate peoples name days quite a lot and I was not in the name days calendar. So, I know that there is a name day when (NAME) can celebrate but we never made a fuss about it, everyone else got sort of cake, and I felt a bit odd. (P5)

> (50) But erm I think that a lot of the things my dad he tried to make an effort when he went back home for business or when he went to meet his parents he would make an effort to get us, I still have some LPs where you have actors reading fairy tales and things that we would somehow hear English and he'd bring us books and things from the UK so that we would somehow be acquainted with the language. It was good because he worked a lot so he wasn't at home as much as my mum. (P5)

Participant number 5 experienced mixed exposure to both Finnish and English culture when growing up in Finland. She recalls specific traditions such as the name day celebration in Finland that she was not able to celebrate as her English name was not recognised in the name day calendar. She recalls feeling a bit odd. The participant expresses that her father's efforts of buying English books and LPs was much appreciated as her father was not as home as much as her mother was, therefore she still received additional exposure to the English language.

Participant number 6 admits that she remembers the traditions "leaning towards Finnish" more than English when she was growing up. The only English tradition she remembers celebrating was Easter and Easter Egg Hunts, which she explains "Finns don't really do that". The participant continued to divulge that she remembers eating banana sandwiches, marmalade and drinking tea with milk, all English traditional foods and drinks that were not common in Finland at that time.

> (51) Err we err a bit more leaning towards Finnish. We celebrate Christmas Eve. The only English thing I can really remember is the Easter egg hunt. Because Finns don't really do that, or they might now but not really. But then again midsummer's eve it's just another day in our family because we never had a cabin or, we've always lived in the city. We used to go to my grandparents when they lived in the country side. Yeah but midsummers eve is not really celebrated at our house, also because none of us really

> drink so. Its erm ha-ha, you can't really do Finnish strong traditions without drinking. (P6)
>
> (52) Err, well yeah it's my mum made us erm like erm you have sandwich with banana mashed on what you give the kids, eating marmalade, we've always done that. I think a bit more maybe towards the English. Drinking tea with milk, proper tea, erm not properly tea but I mean actually leaving the tea bag in. I don't really go for these fruit teas that you just basically dip the tea bag once and that's it. It's like proper tea. That's like that's basic you know. Yeah so I think that's more towards the English. (P6)

The participant states that she felt the cultural celebrations in her childhood home were more Finnish than English, naming only Easter as the typical English holiday her family would celebrate. The participant explains foods and drinks that she would typically have in the home as a child, and that she felt that they were more typically English than Finnish.

6.5   Relationship between language and feelings

The participants were asked if they feel different in some way when speaking either of their languages. The answers from the interviewees were very interesting and similar in many ways. Most participants admitted to feeling "different" when speaking either English or Finnish but found it hard to point out exactly how. Interviewees used words such as "lighter", "more easy", "confident", and "more polite" when describing how they feel when they talk in English.

The questions posed to the candidates have aimed to uncover if the participants do feel or act differently in each of their respective languages, in this case English and Finnish. Not all eight participants agreed to feeling different, 6 out of 8 did, and their attempts to explain these differences follow.

Participant number 5 expresses that she feels "lighter somehow" when speaking in English. She thinks this is due to growing up in Finland which she sees as a "serious country" with "serious people". She tells of when she was younger that Finns would say that she was "a bit shallow" and she believes that this is to do with being able to make "small talk" like an English person.

    (53) I remember going to this art college before going to university for half a year, and people saying that oh your not deep you talk rubbish, you use small talk. (P5)

The participant continued and described feeling "slightly more easy going in English" compared to when speaking Finnish. It could be mentioned here that the interviewee herself views Finns as serious and therefore the Finnish language as a more serious language. She links the "small talk" and "shallowness" to the English language and therefore feels this way when communicating in English.

Participant number 1 discusses how she feels when she speaks both English and Finnish. The interviewee makes contrasts to feeling different when speaking both of the languages. She justifies this by stating that the words involved in each language are so different and therefore the uses of the language differ for her. The interviewee explains that she definitely feels more "polite" when speaking English compared to when speaking Finnish, and explains that one can be more "ignorant" when speaking Finnish. She describes her feelings towards each language and states that the Finnish language is "more straight forward" and doesn't have words such as "please" in the language. She will tend to use Finnish if she is "really angry", whereas, if she is trying to describe something "more nice" then she finds it easier is English as there are more "kind words". She also explains that if something is important or meaningful to her, she may use English language as there are more kind words to be used.

    (54) […] for example, if I err, become very angry I find it very much easy to speak Finnish because it is so much more straight forward, you don't have these nice kind of 'please' and other words in the whole language. And if I'm trying to explain something more, like more good or nice or something that really important to me, I think that's maybe easier in English because there's more kind of words. And I think that one reason why if we really want to insult our dad we use Finnish because it's such an aggressive language compared to English. But I don't know if it's just the language or if it's like a mind-set thing. (P1)

Here we see that the participant has projected her emotions onto each of the languages. Depending on how she feels when speaking both Finnish and English, is how she describes the characteristics of the languages. This experience with the languages may of

course be completely different for someone else, who relates different experiences and emotions to the same languages.

Participant 3 describes how she feels in herself when speaking English or Finnish, and there is a clear change in emotion when speaking English compared to when speaking Finnish. The participant contrasts the Finnish language as being "rough" compared to feeling "happier" when speaking English.

> (55)   Maybe because the Finnish language is a little bit rough compared to English and of course when I use English mainly with like my mother and, and, if I'm talking to grandpa or granny and those are people who I see less and its always like I miss them and….sorry (crying) sorry, its always a happy situation to talk to them (crying). So in that way, I'm usually a little bit happier talking English. And even though I'm like, I wouldn't say that I am definitely not sad speaking Finnish or anything like that but maybe it's somehow related. (P3)

There is definitely a link between emotion and language for this participant. She explains how she usually feels a little happier when speaking English because on the occasions that she is speaking English, then she is usually speaking with her English grandparents who she does not get to see very often and misses a lot. There was a change in emotion during this part of the interview as the participant began to cry when talking about speaking English with her English grandparents. She explained that she feels happy when she speaks English because she is talking to her grandparents, but sad because she misses them. Therefore this participant links the feeling of happiness to speaking English because on most occasions when she speaks English, she is speaking to her grandparents which makes her happy. A feeling of happiness from speaking to her grandparents is linked to speaking English.

Participant 6 explains how she uses her different languages for different aspects of her life, and links a language not only to a parent but what she usually talks about in that language. The participant discloses that when she speaks Finnish, with her mother for example, she will usually speak a lot about her feelings and issues that are close to her.

> (56)   The way I see it is that I speak Finnish with my mum, and usually when I talk about emotions, and you know 'ohhh my boyfriend left me' or whatever, I talk to my mum. (P6)

Whereas when speaking English with her father, she explains they may discuss topics to do with imagination as they are both "book worms".

> (57) I mostly do my reading in English so all the stuff to do with imagination or books and movies and music, that's all in English. I do some writing on my own and that all in English. (P6)

The interviewee continued to admit that because she used English when working aboard in Scotland she feels different when speaking English. She states that the Finnish side of her is more family orientated than her English side.

> (58) So I think erm the Finnish side of me is more to do with family and being a daughter or a sister or a granddaughter whereas my English is different. (P6)

This interviewee spoke of herself in terms of sides, "Finnish and English side", clearly portraying that she feels like a different person when speaking each of her languages and will use and link certain languages to certain activities and specific feelings. She uses the example of different radio stations to describe how she feels when switching between Finnish and English language.

> (59) Yeah erm I have a habit of say that its like having BBC and YLE in your head and it depends which company you are in you tune your head to which frequency you are in. (P6)

Finally, participant number 8 differentiates between her English and Finnish language as personal and work languages. She explains that her English language proficiency can at times surpass her Finnish language proficiency, when talking about certain specific work related subjects, for which she uses English for. She then states that at the same time, she has the ability to detect any Finnish dialect, and has much more trouble trying to work out American dialects or accents. Finally she states that to her, Finnish is "richer" and describes it as the "extra sauce" that she doesn't have in English.

> (60) But I would say that my fluency in English surpasses in Finnish in some professional areas, on par in some areas, and is only a little bit behind in other. So put it in this context. I think that I can make sense of pretty much any Finnish dialect. I know that there will be some English dialects that will stump me. I don't have a good sense. Where I feel more handicapped.

I have a trouble figuring out American dialects. To me the sound similar, unless they are super exaggerated. Like Long island, I can pick that up now. Or I can say oh that sounds pretty southern drawl. Other than that I have a pretty hard time listening to Americans and picking where they are from. (P8)

(61) Yes. I … these days thinking of things in Finnish is…its richer because of so many different ways of saying the exact same thing. Just tiny tiny tiny tiny difference. I like playing with words, I like playing with dialects, I like. That the sort of extra sauce that I sort of don't have that well in English. (P8)

This participant separates her two languages into personal and work language it appears. It is natural that she feels more fluent in English at times due to the years she has worked in an English speaking environment. It is normal to have more knowledge about the work subject in the language that one uses at work. Therefore the participant naturally would not have knowledge of key common work vocabulary in Finnish. Secondly, the participant uses the word "richer" when describing her Finnish language. This could be for a number of reasons, for example, that she was born and raised in Finland, spoke more Finnish with her mother and eventually with her father when he learnt Finnish to a very high standard. It could also be possible that the participant is able to express herself better in Finnish, she states, Finnish has the "extra sauce" that she doesn't have in English. She explains that there are many different ways of expressing the same thing in Finnish and that she has the ability to play with words and dialects, all pointing towards the idea that the participant finds it easier and more natural to express more in Finnish rather than in English.

6.6   Sense of belonging

Sense of belonging and understanding towards a culture was one of the central themes during the interviews. All participants who took part in this study can be considered bilingual, but does that mean that they are also bicultural, if we understand biculturalism as defined by Grosjean (2008). A bicultural person will take part, to some extent in the life of two cultures. They will have the ability to adapt, at least in part, their behaviours,

attitudes, values and languages to these cultures. They will combine and blend aspects of both cultures involved, certain characteristics will come from one and some from the other culture. (Grosjean 2008: 214)

Most participants considered themselves as bicultural with two exceptions. Participant number 2 did not view himself as bicultural and choose to identify himself solely as Finnish with an orientation towards the Finnish culture only. Participant number 8 viewed herself as transcultural. Here we understand 'transcultural' to mean, "transcending the limitations or crossing the boundaries of cultures; applicable to more than one culture; cross-cultural." (Oxford English Dictionary 2016)

Participant number 2 expressed that he would not class himself as bicultural, he stated that he really does not feel that he has that much English in him.

> (62) I really couldn't see myself moving to England and stating that I am English, even though I am half and half. It's like natural to say that I am Finnish. (P2)

> (63) I really don't feel that I have much English in me. I wouldn't consider myself English. I feel that you have to earn it. I've never lived in England so I don't feel that I should be privileged to be anymore English than another Finnish person. I just have an English father who happens to speak English. It doesn't make me English. (P2)

> (64) Yeah Finland of course. Because when I was growing up I often asked about England about my father. And he would be really reluctant about speaking anything about England and he was also that he's never going back and that he loves Finland and Finland is so much better, and he was always talking that he wanted to learn more and more about Finnish culture, even more than my mother. So he really tried to adjust and he really wants to be a Finnish earthy man. Yeah so I think that's really err it's always been hard to talk about, my father about English culture, he's been so, he doesn't want to talk about it. Of course that, and all the family, we rarely talk to our English relatives. (P2)

Above we see participant number 2's justifications as to why he does not class himself as bicultural. He states that he has never lived in England and therefore questions why he should have more rights to be English than another Finnish person. He makes his own justifications as to why he thinks he does not feel a strong connection with England. He tells that his English father was very interested in Finland upon moving to Finland, and

set out to learn as much as he could about Finland, maybe at time neglecting or ignoring his own English culture. He argues that is was hard for him to discuss English culture with his father, and that they rarely speak with their English relatives, resulting in a lack of connection to the English side of his family.

Participant number 8 viewed herself as transcultural. When discussing the topic of biculturalism and how the interviewee feels, she admits that she doesn't know if the definition "bicultural" would be enough and offers the classification "transcultural" herself. She rationalises this feeling by the use of a story that an exchange student once told her.

> (65) Here's what he said…. He was from the UK and said that he had to go to the design school in Italy to understand what it is to be English, and he had to go to the design school in Finland to understand what it was to be Italian. (P8)

The interviewee continues by explaining that the more places one goes to and the different things that one does and tries the more one understands how many ways things could be.

> (66) So I think all in myself bicultural is not an adequate handle because I am more than that. (P8)

This self identification of being more than "bicultural" could stem from growing up with a Finnish mother and an English father in Finland, occasionally visiting the United Kingdom, now living in the US for the last 11 years and married to an American with a family of her own. The interviewee has many depths and layers to her identity now, not only Finnish and English, but now a large part of her identity is American and more explicitly Californian.

> (67) I mean I am now surrounded by west coast liberal American culture which is not mainstream American by any stretch of the imagination it's not east coast its definitely west coast left coast silicone valley where we are in the middle of one of the craziest tech bubbles there is. It's then the more you see the more you know that all these different things exist and that there are so many different ways to live and understand the world. I mean in some ways part of our identity isn't about country. (P8)

The interviewee then explains how fragmented the identity process is, and that she has taken parts of each culture to build and create her own identity in which she is happy with. From the Finnish culture she describes the parts that she has chosen to keep and treasure.

(68) So it's much more fragmented but at the same time it is what it is. I have chosen to cherish and polish the things about Finnishness that I love. The loving nature, thinking about nature as a place, thinking of nature as a state of mind. Erm you know practical skills. Those parts of the identity that work well for me I want to amplify and to protect. Those parts of American culture that I like are those that I try to adopt, like to make pleasant small talk and make people feel at ease. You know I need that professionally because my job is to talk to people as a researcher. I need those skills, I need to be able to look at people in the eye when I talk to them without wanting to look away, because that's a way that I need to interact here. So some of those things take work. (P8)

And finally the interviewee described briefly some parts of the English culture that she identifies herself with and enjoys maintaining.

(69) There are things about my British experience, like I love the books I love the stories, I like lots of dried fruits in all sorts of things. It's a sort of you build your own cosy kind of experience. (P8)

Here are some example of participants that viewed themselves as bicultural. Participant number 1 expresses clearly that she classes herself as bicultural, explaining how she feels belonging towards both Finnish and English cultures and can feel at home in both England and Finland.

(70) I can feel like a foreigner in both cultures and I can feel at home in both cultures, it's weird. I think I realised it when I lived in England, when I did my exchange there because I lived with some English guys, and I totally saw my dad in them somehow, I understood you know all that football stuff which doesn't happen in the same way here, I felt like I had no problem with understanding what they are like or understanding their culture. But in a way of course there was something that was different and I remember I really loved it in somehow I felt like I was coming back to something I already knew but that was also exciting and new at the same time. So in a way when I go to England I feel much more confident than if I were to be going to another foreign country. I would say I find it much easier to just do things and it would be much easier for me to move to England than to any other country. […] But then again in Finland there have been many times that I have felt 'uhh I just don't understand this

because I just don't understand this type of culture'. For example, situations where in England people don't speak about bad things as much as in Finland and you kind of want people to like you in a way, at least when you're speaking to them, I don't know how to explain it, for example, I think English people are much more conscious of how people see them compared to Finnish people so you have to make a little bit more of an effort when you get to know people. I don't mean it would be more difficult for example, you are more polite, you ask questions, and Finnish people might just be like 'uh' and they might go to a situation where there are new people and they don't make an effort to get to know these people at all they wont probably even shake hand or say 'oh I haven't met this person before' 'hello' 'my name is blah blah blah'. And I feel so…I hate those situations because I feel so embarrassed for the other Finnish people, I feel like I have to take control and be like 'Hello, this is this and this'. So, especially if there is another foreign person and I know that 'ohhh' so in that way I feel like I am not the same as the Finnish people in that situation. And then in the same way when I came back from England, I remember feeling like 'ohh' in Finland I understand some things that you know they wouldn't understand because I've just lived with these people for my whole life. (P1)

The participant illustrates clearly how she feels understanding and thoughtfulness towards both Finnish and English cultures. She describes when living in England how she understood parts of the culture that a Finnish person would never understand, and upon returning to Finland, recognised that she understands parts of the Finnish culture that an English person would never understand. She compares the Finnish and English cultures and ways of greeting people in different cultures. She expresses her feelings towards Finns not being very good in social situations and states that she hates it. She uses examples such as acting as a middle man in social situations between Finns and foreign people, and states that she feels that she has to take control of the situation and introduce people. This feeling of needing to take control of a social situation between Finns and people of other nationalities could come from the participant's cultural knowledge of both the Finnish and English cultures. She is aware that, in her opinion, Finns are not good at communicating in social situations, and she states in that moment she does not feel the same as them, she feels different and therefore she can act as communicator between cultures. This shows that the interviewee feels in the middle of the two cultures and acts as communicator of norms between the cultures. This could be due to having done this

amongst her Finnish and English relatives throughout her childhood, but also that she feels she understands both cultures so well, that she can help ease the cultural differences.

Interviewee number 1 also stated that she would probably say that she was Finnish first, but would straight away know that she wasn't telling the "whole truth". She explained that when she says that she is Finnish, she feels that she is "lying in a way". She then went onto explain that usually people ask very quickly about her situation, typically asking how she speaks English so well, or that she has a very unique name and how to spell it. She said that if she would explain her situation to a person who she was getting to know she would probably say:

> (71) […] but I have lived in a family that has two cultures, so in a way I couldn't honestly say that I am Finnish. (P1)

The participant relates to having "two cultures" in her family, and therefore not fully identifying herself wholly with one culture but more a mix of the two.

Participant number 5 admits to feeling bicultural and that she can feel at home in England, when visiting and also when she lived there for one year. The participant has a very good understanding of both Finnish and English cultural norms and can navigate easily in both cultures.

> (72) I have a very strong feeling I'd like to be part of both societies. For example I feel a bit sorry for example that I can no longer vote now there's the EU referendum that's coming up next month, erm because I've been, I have, I am registered as a voter in the UK but I cant because I've been outside of the country for over 15 years. I can't. So I have never even though I feel at home here in Finland, especially until I got my Finnish nationality, I was first a British national and then I got my Finnish passport when I was 18, I never felt that I fully belonged because, because, so I don't really feel, sometimes I don't really feel that I belong to either, sometimes I feel that I belong to both, so so…both cultures are very important to me and what I watch read listen to I think is quite strongly influenced by both. (P5)

Participant number 5 makes it very clear that she classes herself as bicultural and that she relates to both Finnish and English culture well, and wants to be part of both societies.

Participant number 6 viewed herself as bicultural, and admits to not feeling belonging to either and both at the same time. She confesses to having both cultures as part of her identity and can not bind herself to one or make herself choose between one.

When discussing if the interviewee felt more belonging to one culture that the other, she portrayed that she would like to be a member of both cultures.

> (73) Erm I think I feel both. I erm. I have a very strong feeling I'd like to be part of both societies. (P5)

This participant makes a conscious effort to remain part of both Finnish and English cultures and societies, by reading, listening to radio programmes in both languages, and by keeping up both of her languages to a mother tongue standard and native sounding. Therefore this participant feels equally as confident in both her English and Finnish language abilities, and also identifies to both cultures similarly.

Participant number 6 confesses to having both cultures as part of her identity and can not bind herself to one or make herself choose between one.

> (74) I actually find myself like both and neither. Erm over here I know, in Finland I sense and I know that I'm not completely Finnish, then again when I lived in UK I realized that I'm not completely English either. Half and half in between not really belonging to anything firmly. (P6)

Participant number 3 explains that due to being raised and currently still residing in Finland, that there is simply more Finnish culture surrounding her everyday. On the other hand she feels as though she has an understanding towards the English culture as well, explaining that she is aware of English cultural taboos. The participant tells that even though she feels more belonging towards the Finnish culture, she still understands certain aspects of the English culture, that she knows how to act and be around English people. The participant has the ability to differentiate between Finnish culture and norms and English culture and norms, including cultural taboos.

> (75) Yeah like if you ask 'how are you doing?' and the Finnish people will answer the, they will answer the actual how's it going and if it's not positive then they will give out the negative. And then when the British speaker, British people, would expect just something a little more diplomatic. (P3)

The participant admits that she has tried to keep up and maintain some aspects of the English culture in her daily life, in order to preserve her English culture. She lists certain cultural aspects such as, being polite and saying thankyou, something that she states Finnish people do not do as much.

In addition, it was clear from the interview data that those participants who have spent an extended period of time or lived in the UK in their adult life, possess more cultural understanding towards the British culture, and identify themselves more with the British culture, than those who have never lived in the UK.

> (76) Err first I went, the first time I lived in the UK I went on a university exchange to Sheffield and I stayed there. And err, I actually when I returned, it was a long time ago, it was 24 years ago, but when I came back I felt very confused at that time because I suddenly had realised a whole lot of things, and also, even though we spoke English at home I realised that I got a lot that I finally sort of got everything together, like the accent, it was like the cherry on top and I, it actually confused me a lot in sort of identity wise. I think before that I had felt slightly more Finnish than British even though I had been brought up and this identity and feeling of both. (P5)

Four out of the eight participants interviewed have spent at least one year living in either England or Scotland, and these participants showed more belonging towards the British culture than those participants who have not lived in the UK. One out of the eight participants has lived in USA for 11 years, and it is this participant who views herself and transcultural. Even though this participant has not lived in the UK, the fact that the participant views herself as transcultural, could suggest that the time spent living in another country adds to how people identify themselves. Therefore it can be understood that spending a period of time in the heritage language country aids in the construction of the bilinguals' identity. Those who have lived in the UK identify with the UK and with the British culture more than those who have never lived there.

6.7   Relationship between confidence in language and identity

The participants were asked to complete a language self-assessment form which consisted of a list of different language activities and a self grading range from 'very confident' to 'not at all confident'. The participants completed the language self-assessment form in their own time on their own in which they could self analyse how confident they feel performing different tasks in both of their languages, Finnish and English.

To begin, from the results of the language self-assessment form and the participants interviews, that in this case, there is a clear link between if a person feels more personally confident and proficient in a language, and their identity. In all eight cases, participants felt more confident in Finnish language than English language, and in three cases, participants felt that their Finnish and English language skills were on par. The reasons they gave behind their feeling of confidence was not linked with personal identity but the fact that they are exposed more to Finnish language daily and simply have a richer and broader understanding of the Finnish language due to having been raised and schooled in Finland.

Six of the eight participants stated that they felt bicultural and felt connections with both Finnish and English culture. The majority of these participants who identifies themselves as bicultural felt more confident in Finnish language, although two of the participants felt equally and confident in both Finnish and English.

One participant out of the respectful eight identified himself as monocultural, not identifying himself with English culture at all. This participant also felt more confident in Finnish language compared to English language, but actually not overly confident in either Finnish or English.

The final participant identified herself as transcultural, and stated that she identifies with Finnish, English and American culture, after having lived in the US for 11 years. This participant also felt equally as confident in both English and Finnish.

6.7.1 Monocultural identity

One participant identified himself as monocultural. The participant's completion of the language self-assessment forms illustrates that he feels almost equally confident in both English and Finnish. During his interview, the participant does state that he feels stronger in Finnish than English, although then continues to contradict himself and describe linguistic problems that he encounters with Finnish on a daily basis.

Table 7. Participant number 2 - Language Self-Assessment Form

Language Number 1. Finnish	Very confident	Quite confident	Not very confident	Not at all confident
Talking and listening to a member of your family	x			
Talking and listening with a friend socially	x			
Reading a personal email/letter	x			
Reading a professional email/letter		x		
Talking to a professional e.g. doctor, lawyer			x	
Talking to a work/school colleague			x	
Talking at work to a client/customer (ignore if you do not work)			x	
Writing a personal email/letter			x	
Writing an official letter				x
Writing a report for work or similar (ignore if you do not work)				x
Making a speech in a formal setting		x		
Writing something to be published			x	

Language number 2. English	Very confident	Quite confident	Not very confident	Not at all confident
Talking and listening to a member of your family			x	
Talking and listening with a friend socially		x		
Reading a personal email/letter	x			
Reading a professional email/letter	x			

Talking to a professional e.g. doctor, lawyer		x	
Talking to a work/school colleague		x	
Talking at work to a client/customer (ignore if you do not work)			x
Writing a personal email/letter				x
Writing an official email/letter				x
Writing a report for work or similar (ignore if you do not work)				x
Making a speech in a formal setting			x
Writing something to be published				x

It can occur amongst bilinguals that they do not feel strong in either of the languages. Strong here meaning the proficiency level of a monolingual. During the interview with this participant, he does explain that he has significant struggles in both English and Finnish. He tells of his struggles with remembering words in both Finnish and English. He explained that he can often picture the image of the word he is searching for, yet struggles to remember the word in one or either languages sometimes.

(77) But I do remember that I have some difficulties even now thinking of Finnish words or English words, if I don't think of the 'animal' first like for instance, I can't remember the word 'siili' that means hedgehog, if I don't go through hedgehog first. (P2)

(78) I think it's because I'm bilingual that I have really hard time remembering words for things. Like for instance tools. Like a wrench or a screwdriver… So I usually have to explain the functionality of the thing, and this really irritates people, and it really makes this hard, and I remember it made things hard in the army, in the workplace. And I think that because I've always had to explain things when I've never remembered the names in English or Finnish and I think it's kind of stuck. So I don't know if that's interesting. Well for example like really simple things like the fork incidence, I just can't remember the word for it like I can picture the thing and I can explain what it does. But this goes down to like basically anything like 'channel changer' as a teenager I always used to say 'the block that changes channels' I just can't think of the word even though I know the word. Or even through repetition I just don't learn. (P2)

This participant expresses problems that he has in both English and Finnish, especially not being able to remember word for objects. The participant then draws his own conclusion as to why he thinks he has these problems remembering words. Even though the participant experiences some problems with recalling and remembering words in both English and Finnish language, he does admit to being stronger and more confident in Finnish and to feeling more understanding towards the Finnish culture. He explains that he was raised in Finland and has lived here for his whole life, that he does not feel so much connection to England and sees the English language as more of a "perk" than anything else.

The participant does not link language and identity together and identifies himself as monocultural, with more understanding towards the Finnish culture. That fact that he is bilingual, fluent in English and has been raised with an English father does not mean for him that he can identify himself as English. He raises a point about not having lived in England and therefore not having earned it more than any other Finnish person, which suggests this.

6.7.2   Transcultural identity

One participant identified herself as transcultural during the interviews. From her language self-assessment form below it is clear that participant number 8 feels equally as confident in both English and Finnish. Having established that she feels equally as confident in both English and Finnish language, the interviewee explains why she identifies herself as more Finnish than English, but at the same time, transcultural. She explains that the differences she feels from Americans or any other culture or country is down to "being Finnish".

Table 8. Participant number 8 - Language Self-Assessment Form

Language Number 1. **Finnish**	Very confident	Quite confident	Not very confident	Not at all confident

Talking and listening to a member of your family	x			
Talking and listening with a friend socially	x			
Reading a personal email/letter	x			
Reading a professional email/letter	x			
Talking to a professional e.g. doctor, lawyer	x			
Talking to a work/school colleague	x			
Talking at work to a client/customer (ignore if you do not work)	x			
Writing a personal email/letter	x			
Writing an official letter	x			
Writing a report for work or similar (ignore if you do not work)	x			
Making a speech in a formal setting	x			
Writing something to be published	x			

Language number 2. English	Very confident	Quite confident	Not very confident	Not at all confident
Talking and listening to a member of your family	x			
Talking and listening with a friend socially	x			
Reading a personal email/letter	x			
Reading a professional email/letter	x			
Talking to a professional e.g. doctor, lawyer	x			
Talking to a work/school colleague	x			
Talking at work to a client/customer (ignore if you do not work)				
Writing a personal email/letter	x			
Writing an official email/letter	x			
Writing a report for work or similar (ignore if you do not work)	x			
Making a speech in a formal setting	x			
Writing something to be published	x			

(79) I attribute those to being Finnish I think the ways in which I am significantly not the same as others is because I am Finnish. It's not being I'm half English it's because I am Finnish. How I interact how I speak how I think about honesty and speaking my mind and being reliable. (P8)

This participant admits to identifying herself as Finnish, whilst simultaneously handpicking and adopting certain parts of other cultures that she enjoys and likes, and integrating them into her identity. This participant views identity as fragmented and ever evolving and changing throughout ones life and experiences.

6.7.3   Bicultural identity

Those participants who identified themselves as bicultural displayed mixed results in their language self-assessment forms. Generally, six participants identified themselves as feeling bicultural, and of those six participants, three evaluated their language skills as equally confident in Finnish and English. The other three participants had mixed levels of confidence in each of the languages, but all claimed to feel more confident in Finnish.

When completing the language self-assessment table for Finnish language, participant number 1 marked that she felt "very confident" in 100% of the categories offered. Upon completing the table for English language, the interviewee marked "very confident" for all categories but two in the table. These categories included "Writing an official email or letter" and "Writing something to be published".

Table 9. Participant number 1 - Language Self-Assessment Form

Language Number 1. **Finnish**	Very confident	Quite confident	Not very confident	Not at all confident
Talking and listening to a member of your family	x			
Talking and listening with a friend socially	x			
Reading a personal email/letter	x			
Reading a professional email/letter	x			
Talking to a professional e.g. doctor, lawyer	x			

Talking to a work/school colleague	x			
Talking at work to a client/customer (ignore if you do not work)	x			
Writing a personal email/letter	x			
Writing an official letter	x			
Writing a report for work or similar (ignore if you do not work)	x			
Making a speech in a formal setting	x			
Writing something to be published	x			

Language number 2. English	Very confident	Quite confident	Not very confident	Not at all confident
Talking and listening to a member of your family	x			
Talking and listening with a friend socially	x			
Reading a personal email/letter	x			
Reading a professional email/letter	x			
Talking to a professional e.g. doctor, lawyer	x			
Talking to a work/school colleague	x			
Talking at work to a client/customer (ignore if you do not work)	x			
Writing a personal email/letter	x			
Writing an official email/letter		x		
Writing a report for work or similar (ignore if you do not work)	x			
Making a speech in a formal setting	x			
Writing something to be published		x		

Interestingly, during the interview with participant number 1, when asked about which language she feels is stronger she states that she feels stronger in English as she has studied for a long time.

> (80) This is really difficult to say because I definitely write better in English. Definitely. My Finnish is good because it my mother tongue but I would say but English is better because I have been studying English for such a long time. (P1)

This clearly does not reflect the language self-assessment form, and the participant justifies her grading in the language self-assessment form by explaining that she worries that she has only spoken English with her father, and that maybe some of the vocabulary that he uses is now out of date and no longer in use in England anymore.

(81) The only thing is, is that some words that I haven't heard in English…. Like sometimes I feel that the language has already changed in that time like the 27 years or something that my dad has lived in Finland, so I haven't really erm, there might be some words or some way of saying something, that have just appeared in the language after he moved, so I have never heard them. So that's what makes me a little unconfident, like when I just wrote, writing an official letter. Like I would think, are these words, or does this sound like Shakespeare has written it? (P1)

Table 10. Participant number 3 - Language Self-Assessment Form

Language number 1. **Finnish**	Very confident	Quite confident	Not very confident	Not at all confident
Talking and listening to a member of your family	x			
Talking and listening with a friend socially	x			
Reading a personal email/letter	x			
Reading a professional email/letter	x			
Talking to a professional e.g. doctor, lawyer	x			
Talking to a work/school colleague	x			
Talking at work to a client/customer (ignore if you do not work)	x			
Writing a personal email/letter	x			
Writing an official email/letter	x			
Writing a report for work or similar (ignore if you do not work)	x			
Making a speech in a formal setting	x			
Writing something to be published	x			

Language Number 2. **English**	Very confident	Quite confident	Not very confident	Not at all confident
Talking and listening to a member of your family	x			

	Very confident	Quite confident	Not very confident	Not at all confident
Talking and listening with a friend socially		x		
Reading a personal email/letter	x			
Reading a professional email/letter		x		
Talking to a professional e.g. doctor, lawyer			x	
Talking to a work/school colleague		x		
Talking at work to a client/customer (ignore if you do not work)		x		
Writing a personal email/letter	x			
Writing an official letter		x		
Writing a report for work or similar (ignore if you do not work)		x		
Making a speech in a formal setting		x		
Writing something to be published		x		

The form above suggests that the participant feels much more confident in all aspects of Finnish language including speaking, reading and writing. She has noted that her confidence in the English language is not as high as Finnish, by marking "quite confident" in most areas. The participant has marked "very confident" for personal tasks which include talking with family members, reading a personal email/letter or writing a personal email/letter. Therefore the participant feels more confident when communicating with members of her family, or close people around her, but feels a little less confident in English when communicating with someone who she does not know for example.

This participant explained that she would say she is Finnish but that she has British citizenship. For this participant, language was an important part of her identity and speaking English was very important for her. She explained that she thinks learning the culture of the country adds a lot but mainly that being taught the language gave the most meaningful purpose.

> (82) The fact that I would think in English and even see dreams in English like it's quite strongly a part of me. (P3)

Table 11. Participant number 5 - Language Self-Assessment Form

Language Number 1. Finnish	Very confident	Quite confident	Not very confident	Not at all confident

	x			
Talking and listening to a member of your family	x			
Talking and listening with a friend socially	x			
Reading a personal email/letter	x			
Reading a professional email/letter	x			
Talking to a professional e.g. doctor, lawyer	x			
Talking to a work/school colleague	x			
Talking at work to a client/customer (ignore if you do not work)	x			
Writing a personal email/letter	x			
Writing an official letter	x			
Writing a report for work or similar (ignore if you do not work)	x			
Making a speech in a formal setting	x			
Writing something to be published	x			

Language number 2. English	Very confident	Quite confident	Not very confident	Not at all confident
Talking and listening to a member of your family	x			
Talking and listening with a friend socially	x			
Reading a personal email/letter	x			
Reading a professional email/letter	x			
Talking to a professional e.g. doctor, lawyer	x	x		
Talking to a work/school colleague	x			
Talking at work to a client/customer (ignore if you do not work)	x			
Writing a personal email/letter	x			
Writing an official email/letter	x			
Writing a report for work or similar (ignore if you do not work)	x			
Making a speech in a formal setting	x			
Writing something to be published	x			

From participant number 5's language self-assessment form we see that she feels equally as confident in both English and Finnish language. The interviewee tells that she was once very confused "identity wise", after returning to Finland from a university exchange

to Sheffield when she was 24. She explains that upon returning to Finland she realised a lot, and that before she went she probably felt a little bit more Finnish than English even though she had been raised feeling both.

> (83) But when I came back for a time, for a while I was confused and a bit depressed. (P5)

For this interviewee, spending time in the United Kingdom whilst she was young, clarified and helped her form her identity as a bilingual bicultural person. She clarifies that her father passed away when she was quite young, only 18 years old, and from that moment, they did not speak English in the home any more. The interviewee explains that after her father and the rest of her family in the United Kingdom passed away she sometimes felt like a "fraud", depicting that she only had a "funny name and nothing else".

To finalise, during this section we see that six out of the eight participants identify themselves as bicultural. We see from their language self-assessment form that those who identify themselves as bicultural still have different levels of confidence in both of their languages. Three out of the six participants analyse themselves as equally confident in both English and Finnish, while the other three bicultural identifying participants illustrate mixed confidence levels. One participant identifies himself as monocultural and simultaneously shows that he is not very confident in either English or Finnish. He describes his difficulties with remembering words in both Finnish and English. The last participant of the eight identifies herself as transcultural, identifying herself with Finnish, English and American culture, after having lived and worked in the US for 11 years now. She illustrates that she felt equally as confident in both English and Finnish language.

6.8   Summary

Eight interviews were conducted for this research and analysed using categorical-content analysis. The concentration was on the individuals' construction of their own identity in regards to their own evaluation of their language proficiency and their cultural

understanding. All participants have one Finnish speaking Finnish parent and one English speaking English parent and were raised and schooled in Finland. All interviewees used in this study are bilingual even though their proficiencies in the languages and their attitudes towards the languages differed. Some interviewees classed themselves adequately stronger in Finnish whilst others evaluated themselves on par.

Overall, all participants believe that being bilingual is a huge benefit and expressed great gratitude and gratefulness for being bilingual. All participants expressed what a benefit it is to be bilingual and all participants agreed that being bilingual helped with schooling and careers later in life. Some participants explained that being bilingual has helped them to secure jobs that they otherwise would not have been successful in getting, whilst other participants stated that being fluent in English helped them during school and university, for example, English classes, matriculation exams, and courses in English at University.

Six out of the eight participants identified themselves as bicultural, one participant identified himself as monocultural and the last participant of the eight identified herself as transcultural. Those who viewed themselves as bicultural had mixed levels of confidence in English and Finnish. While three out of the six participants who identified themselves as bicultural, stated that they felt equally as confident in both of the languages, the other three participants stated they had mixed confidence levels, but all felt stronger in Finnish. The participant who identified as monocultural illustrated that he did not feel very confident in either Finnish or English, although stated during his interview that Finnish was definitely stronger for him. The participant who identified herself as transcultural, analysed her language skills as equally as confident in both English and Finnish on the language self-assessment form, yet during her interview expressed that she felt her Finnish was "richer" on a more personal level.

Whilst being raised in Finland by one English speaking and one Finnish speaking parent, the participants were exposed to different amounts of cultural experiences from the second country, England. Even though the level of exposure differed, it was still clear from talking to the participants that all eight interviewees had good understanding of the English culture. Some participants discussed cultural differences, such as food and cultural holidays celebrated, that were not common in Finland, whilst other participants

raised the differences between Finns and English people, illustrating situations where they have felt that they have understood both cultures and felt in the middle. Some participants explained customs and norms in England or in Finland that only they would understand, due to their exposure and understanding of both cultures.

Eight interviewees classed themselves as Finnish while seven of the participants stressed that they also felt a part of them was British/English and that they often quickly expressed to people that one of their parents was from England. Only one participant felt solely Finnish and did not identify with being partly English or feel any sort of belonging towards the British/English culture.

All eight participants analysed their level of confidence in their two languages, English and Finnish, and all interviewees identified that they felt more confident or better in Finnish language, with three participants stating that they felt more balanced or equal in their language abilities. Therefore, in this study it could be said that there is a positive relationship between language and identity with the results from these participants. All participants mentioned that either Finnish was their stronger language, Finnish was easier for them, or that they could express more in Finnish, meanwhile all participants stated that they feel more cultural belonging towards Finland, than England. Six of the eight participants then stated that they feel bicultural, with one participant identifying as transcultural, but all participants naturally identified with being Finnish first and foremost.

7   CONCLUSION

This study undertook the objective to explore and understand how bilinguals, with one English and one Finnish speaking parent, who were raised in Finland, identify themselves. More specifically, this research aimed to identify if bilinguals' more confident language, assessed by the bilingual themselves, was also the language culture that the bilinguals' identified themselves more towards. To carry out this work, qualitative research with a categorical-content analysis was conducted. The most key bilingualism, language, and identity theories were laid out in the first section of this work. Eight semi-structured interviews were completed with bilinguals of English and Finnish, who have one English speaking English parent, and one Finnish speaking Finnish parent, and of whom have been raised in Finland. The interviews were analysed using Leiblich et al's. (1998) categorical-content analysis. The language self-assessment forms, which the participants completed in privacy, were used as additional qualitative means. All participants are bilingual and the interviews were conducted in English either via Skype or face-to-face.

All 8 participants initially class themselves as Finnish while seven of the eight participants stressed that they also felt a part of them was English/British, and that they often quickly expressed to people that one of their parents was from England. Only one participant felt solely Finnish and did not identify with being partly English or feel any sort of belonging towards the English/British culture.

Six out of the eight participants identify themselves as bicultural. Those who viewed themselves as bicultural showed mixed levels of confidence in English and Finnish. While three out of the six participants who identified themselves as bicultural, stated that they feel equally as confident in both of the languages. The remaining three participants stated they had mixed confidence levels, but all felt stronger in Finnish. The participant who identified himself as monocultural illustrated that he does not feel very confident in either Finnish or English, although he stated during his interview that Finnish was definitely stronger for him. The participant who identified herself as transcultural, analysed her language skills as equally as confident in both English and Finnish.

All eight participants initially identify themselves as Finnish, although the degree differs for different interviewees depending on their cultural experiences and exposure. Those participants who have previously lived in an English speaking country, lean more towards identifying themselves with English/British culture or with their English roots from their parent. They still primarily identify with being Finnish first, but tend to quickly raise the subject of being bilingual, bicultural or having an English parent. These participants tend to be more confident in English language and express the feeling more that they are part English/British, or half and half.

Those participants who have never lived in an English speaking country incline to identify more with feeling Finnish, than those who have lived in an English speaking country. These participants understand the English/British culture well and can differentiate between cultural norms and taboos, and typical cultural traditions, yet they still identify with feeling more Finnish than English, and all state that they feel more of a belonging in Finland. These participants justify feeling more Finnish by stating that they are surrounded by Finnish culture, they speak Finnish more, they have more Finnish friends, and that they are influenced by Finnish culture more. In addition, these participants happened to be less confident in communication in English and were generally more convinced that they were stronger in Finnish language than English.

This study concentrated on bilinguals who were raised in Finland with one English and one Finnish speaking parent. The number of interviews that were conducted was eight. Owing to their depth of discussion and findings, this amount proved adequate for this size of research. Nevertheless, in order to expand this study and gain true complexity of the results, the amount of participants should be increased.

Even though, these were the results for this study, it should be recognised here that only eight bilinguals were interviewed for this research and therefore these results do not reflect all English and Finnish bilinguals. Different levels of culture exposure, spending time in the country of the heritage language and varying habits of languages spoken at home, will produce different constructions of identity from bilinguals.

Future research in this field could position itself towards a gender interest which could produce interesting results. A further study of this research could take a look into the gender of the bilingual in comparison to the gender and parent role of the English parent in order to identify any link between mothers and fathers, daughters and sons, and their identity.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1.   Interview Questions

1. Can you just explain to me how it came about that you are bilingual?

2. Where did you grow up spend most of childhood?

3. Can you just describe to me the language patterns at home with your parents, siblings and wider family?

4. What languages did you speak with your wider family grandparent's aunts and uncles cousins?

5. Were there ever moments when you were proud or happy that you are bilingual?

6. Were there ever any moments when you wished that you did not speak two or more languages?

7. Did you ever go through phases when you refused to speak one language? Do you remember any specific reason?

8. Growing up did you celebrate both English and Finnish traditions and holidays when you were growing up can you give a few examples? Were you always happy to celebrate both cultural holidays?

9. Growing up did you used to read and watch tv in both languages? Or more one than the other?

10. Growing up did you eat any foods or drinks typical to the English culture?

11. Did you visit the UK a lot as a child or did you spend a lot of time there?

12. Do you feel more belonging or understanding towards one culture or language community and why?

13. Do you ever feel that you don't fully belong to one of the two cultures? How?

14. Do you class yourself as bicultural and why?

15. Would you say that you are as fluent in each of your languages? Why?

16. What language would you say was your 1st/stronger language and why?

17. Do you find that you behave or feel different depending on which language you are speaking? How?

18. How do you feel about the fact that you were raised bilingually? Why?

19. How would you identify yourself today and why? What do you tell people? Why?

Appendix 2. Language Self-Assessment Form

<u>Information about Interviewee</u>

Place of birth:

Age:

Places lived and duration:

Interviewee's Languages:

1.
2.
3.

Mother:

- Mother Tongue:
- Other Languages:

Father:

- Mother Tongue:
- Other Languages:

Languages of others living in the house:

Sisters and Brothers Languages:

Interviewees Occupation:

Interviewees Education:

Language Self-Assessment Form

Name:

Which languages did you speak as a child?

1.
2.

Thinking about the language that you wrote down as number 1, please indicate how confident you would be today to carry out the following tasks in that language without making mistakes.

Language Number 1.	Very confident	Quite confident	Not very confident	Not at all confident
Talking and listening to a member of your family				
Talking and listening with a friend socially				
Reading a personal email/letter				
Reading a professional email/letter				
Talking to a professional e.g. doctor, lawyer				
Talking to a work/school colleague				
Talking at work to a client/customer (ignore if you do not work)				
Writing a personal email/letter				
Writing an official letter				
Writing a report for work or similar (ignore if you do not work)				
Making a speech in a formal setting				
Writing something to be published				

Language number 2.	Very confident	Quite confident	Not very confident	Not at all confident
Talking and listening to a member of your family				
Talking and listening with a friend socially				
Reading a personal email/letter				
Reading a professional email/letter				
Talking to a professional e.g. doctor, lawyer				
Talking to a work/school colleague				

Talking at work to a client/customer (ignore if you do not work)				
Writing a personal email/letter				
Writing an official email/letter				
Writing a report for work or similar (ignore if you do not work)				
Making a speech in a formal setting				
Writing something to be published				

Appendix 3. Facebook post on Facebook groups:

Facebook groups included:

- British people living in Finland
- Finn-Guild's Second Generation Finns

Posted on the 09.05.2015

Hello all, I do hope it is OK that I post this here, please let me know if it is not.

I am a British student studying a Master's degree in Intercultural Communication and Administration at the University of Vaasa. I am currently in the final stages of writing my Master's Thesis in which I need interviewees for to help me complete this research.

I am researching into the field of cultural identity and specifically how people (+16 years old), who have been raised bilingually in Finland, speaking Finnish and English, with one Finnish and one English speaking parent (can be from UK, USA, Canada, Australia etc.), identify themselves.

I would like to conduct research into the language spoken by the mother and the father and if this plays a role on the majority language spoken within the home and how the child eventually identifies themselves.

I am searching for people to take part in a short interview with me over skype, (camera does not have to be switched on.) The interview should take around 30 / 40 minutes and consist of 13/14 questions and a language self-assessment form. The interviewees should be older than 16 years old and it is absolutely fine if a parent is present during the interview. There would be only voice recording, no video recording etc. It would be really great if you could get in contact with me on here or through private message if you think you would like to be involved or if your child or anyone you know would be happy to be involved.

I have completed 4 very successful interviews so far and I would need 6 more for my research to be accepted :)

I thank you very much in advance!!

Katie