
**ENGLISH IN FINLAND: OPINIONS AND ATTITUDES ON THE
USE OF ANGLICISMS**

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DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.12795/elia.2014.i14.05>

As the lingua franca of the moment, English is widely used in Finland. In the first three sections, we offer an overview of the political, linguistic and social situation of English in that country. Despite the widespread use of English, no risk of displacement for Finnish seems to exist, mostly due to a balanced social diglossic configuration aligned with current globalizing forces. Section 5 focuses on the opinions and judgements of 15 randomly selected native Finnish speakers with regards to the use of anglicisms in Finnish, and other cultural-linguistic related issues including technology, social media, research, and health care. These data, collected through surveys and interviews, show divided opinions. On the one hand, despite the general accepted use of anglicisms, 3 Finnish participants hold negative views towards these borrowings. Specifically, these speakers think that using anglicisms instead of their equivalent native words is a “shame”, that their widespread use may bring “social

inequality,” and that English is “taking over” Finnish. On the other hand, the other 12 speakers think that by being “open and flexible” one can “work its way” through situations where English is not only helpful but also necessary. These opposing stances, however, can be best viewed as points along a continuum of acceptance of English influence on Finnish, whereby even the most reluctant speakers use, sometimes unconsciously, anglicized Finnish speech. Finally, in section 6 we conclude by stating that English seems to hold the status of a second rather than a foreign language in Finland. This is due to the emerging English-Finnish bilingualism between young people and their consideration of English as a “language of identification” (House 2003). What the attitudes and opinions of our participants also show is that living abroad and studying a foreign language may be factors that create a more welcoming and open attitude towards English influence, and by extension, to that of other languages and cultures.

Key Words: English, Finnish, anglicisms, social domains, attitudes, prejudices.

En Finlandia el uso frecuente del inglés, la lengua franca del momento, es indiscutible. En las tres primeras secciones, hacemos un repaso de la situación política, lingüística y social del inglés en ese país. A pesar de su uso frecuente, no existe riesgo de que el finés sea desbancado ya que existe una situación de diglosia social finés-inglés en consonancia con las tendencias globalizadoras actuales. En el apartado 5 se presentan las opiniones y valoraciones de 15 hablantes nativos finlandeses seleccionados al azar respecto al uso de anglicismos en su lengua, y respecto a otros fenómenos lingüístico-culturales, entre ellos la tecnología, las redes sociales, la investigación y los sistemas de salud públicos. Las opiniones de los participantes, recogidas a través de cuestionarios y entrevistas, son diversas. Por un lado, a pesar de ser generalmente aceptados, tres finlandeses piensan que usar anglicismos en lugar de palabras nativas es una “pena”, que su uso frecuente puede causar “desigualdad social” en su país, y que el inglés acabará dominando al finés. Por otro lado, doce hablantes piensan que siendo “abiertos y flexibles” se pueden “sobrellevar”

las situaciones en las que el inglés no sólo es útil sino necesario. Estas posturas aparentemente opuestas pueden, sin embargo, concebirse como puntos en una escala de aceptación de la influencia anglosajona en el finés, que muestra que hasta los hablantes más reticentes a dicha influencia usan, inconscientemente, un finés impregnado de inglés. En la sección 6, finalmente, afirmamos que el inglés es más una segunda lengua en Finlandia que una lengua extranjera. Ello se debe a un bilingüismo finés-inglés emergente entre los jóvenes y a su consideración del inglés como una “lengua de identificación” (House 2003). Las actitudes y opiniones de nuestros participantes también revelan que vivir fuera de su país y estudiar una lengua extranjera pueden ser factores que promuevan una actitud más abierta y receptora hacia la influencia anglosajona, y por extensión, a la de otros países y culturas.

Palabras clave: *Inglés, finés, anglicismos, esferas sociales, actitudes, prejuicios.*

1. Introduction

English is undoubtedly the main linguistic influence on global communication, trade and education. As such, English has spread not only to former colonies, where it was already a second language, but also to traditionally monolingual countries, among which we can find most European countries. Finland is not an exception, but represents a remarkable case within the European Union (henceforth EU) context due to its idiosyncratic, historical and national development. The extensive spread of English also seems to be pervasive in the northern land of the Finns. The socio-historical circumstances of Finland —first under the Swedish rule from the 12th century to 1809, and then under Russian rule from 1809 to 1917— have brought about an ideology of fear towards perceived foreign encroachment upon Finnish identity. The Finns are known for their *sisu*, i.e., their strong resistance and endurance against adversities like these historical invasions.

Immigration rates in Finland have been among the lowest in Europe. The reasons for that cannot exclusively be found in the particular socio-historical configuration of the country and the attitude of Finns, but also on the reluctance of foreigners to migrate to such far northern lands. In fact, Finland ranks tenth out of 42 countries in the *Travel & Tourism Competitiveness Index* of Europe for 2013, and is one of the most welcoming countries for foreigners in the world (Blanke & Chiesa, 2013). Other statistics, however, point in a different direction. According to the International Migration Database, Finland received in 2009 the lowest number of immigrants within the list of countries in the study in sharp contrast to the top two, the United States and Germany. Data from the 2014 “Migration” report of Statistics of Finland shows that the amount of immigrants in Finland was as low as 31,278 in 2012 and 31,941 in 2013.

As in many other societies, long-term political oppression in Finland led to an increase in political extremism, like the foundation in 2008 of the national-social nazi *Kansallinen Vastarinta* (“Finnish Resistance Movement”), or to strong ideologies with respect to the original Finns, their identity, physical appearance, and language use. During the second half of the 19th century, this ethnolinguistic tradition was encouraged by the Finnish national philosopher J. V. Snellman, who promoted the Finnish language and the markka, the currency supplanted by the euro in 1999, as among the basic components of the emerging independent nation of Finland. As recently as the European Elections of May 2014, we still see signs of this closure and self-protection against the foreign in the 3rd most voted political force, the *Perussuomalaiset* (see data from the Ministry of Justice of Finland). These “True Finns” advocate a more restrictive immigration policy which, in general, would permit only foreign workforce able to adapt to modern Finnish culture to reside in the country. Their political manifesto is full of bucolic, idealized dreams of true nationalism and of harsh criticisms against the recent migration policies of the Finnish Government (Jungar, 2011). This nationalist upheaval hinders the natural course of society and its global linguistic practice, where the view is of ‘dangerous multilingualism as part of the debris of high modernity still affecting late modern societies’ (Blommaert, Leppänen, Pahta & Räisänen,

2012, p. 18). In simple terms, the present, “high modern” Finland seems to drag, as many of its European neighbors, some of the cultural and linguistic prejudices of its less recent, “late modern” period.

Our awareness as researchers must be directed to the current hostilities between modern and postmodern times. The inherent instability of today’s society and the fragmentary composition of communities and cities in some cases compromise this ideal of multicultural and multilingual ways of doing and living. A parallel can be made regarding this (post)-modern dichotomy and the more specific tension between the ideology of “monoglot” nation states based on the imaginary of purity, normality and stability of the modernity, and the multilingual, mixing-mode linguistic reality of today’s “nations”, those of the postmodernity (Blommaert, Leppänen, Pahta & Räisänen, 2012, p. 1-18). Are the radical factions of Finnish society going to prevent the fast-changing trend of multilingualism, with English ahead of other languages? Or are the linguistic practices of Finns domain-specific, with English and/or Finnish used according to the needs and global cultural influences on the population?

This paper aims to bring to the forefront the issues of multilingualism, situations of language contact, and specifically, the influence of English on different Finnish societal domains. Multilingualism, though undoubtedly proven beneficial by research (cf. Bialystok *et al.*, 2009; Bialystok, 2011), causes controversy between diverse sectors of Finnish society. Aside from theoretical considerations, the praxis and convergence of multiple languages in social contexts is problematic. For instance, the influence of dominant languages over minority ones can be seen as a threat or as an enrichment (cf. Baker, 1992; Gorter, Marten & Mensel, 2012). This is still an unresolved problem as manifested in the attempts to reform educational and labour laws to be able to integrate and assimilate incoming foreign workers and students. Despite so, the general attitude of Finns is positive towards a diglossic Finnish-English situation, making it possible to view English as a second, and not foreign, language. In our attempt to cast light upon the issue, we add material from interviews in which interviewees showed both a favourable and an unfavourable attitude towards the use of English-influenced Finnish speech.

2. The status of Finland in the European Union

Finland joined the EU in 1995, thus positioning the country in a coalesced network of mutual educational, social and labour exchanges among the member states. Nonetheless, all Nordic countries and their policies towards the union have been reluctant throughout the years: Iceland remains exclusively bound to the continent by the European Economic Area (henceforth EEA), Norway belongs to the Council of Europe, the EEA and the Schengen Area whereas Denmark is part of the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe and the EU itself. Sweden and Finland have been inside the EU from 1995, although only Finland has adopted the euro as its official currency.

Finland, with its idiosyncratic historical evolution and geographical remoteness, has nowadays come to a befitting and balanced social status. Its educational system scores are among the highest in the PISA (Program for International Student Assessment) studies, and the country's overall economy ranks as one of the world's most developed. The mass of foreign immigrants is rather scarce and their native languages accounted only for approximately 4.5% (or 244,827) of a total population of 5,401,267 in 2011, according to Official Statistics of Finland (henceforth OSF). Nevertheless, the use of English is increasingly expanding in diverse areas such as education, business, tourism and the mass media.

A *de facto* case of the role of ELF (English as a *lingua franca*) within the EU Parliament is presented by Melchers & Shaw (2003). Finnish native speakers (henceforth NS) are used as translators from their native tongue to English because NSs of English do not always have enough proficiency level in Finnish. The translation from English to the other languages present in the EU Parliament is in turn done by NSs of those languages. An obvious outcome that benefits the language of the Brits is that 'since the pivot will often be in English, the position of English will be strengthened' (Melchers & Shaw, 2003, p. 182) and its role as *lingua franca* bolstered. This creates the opportunity for non-native speakers (henceforth

NNS) to define their own variety of English through this increasing use but decreasing role for NSs (Melchers, 2003). For every four NNSs of English today, there is only one NS (Graddol, 1997), an unsurprising fact considering the global trends of mobility and accessibility to information, places and people worldwide. Let us glance now at the linguistic panorama of native and foreign languages in Finland in more detail.

3. English language proficiency in Finland

The linguistic situation in Finland allows a three-way distinction: Finnish and Swedish are official languages, spoken by 90.04% and 5.39% of the population respectively (see OSF's *Population structure: Language*), whereas English is the expanding lingua franca with a 78% of the population having a communicatively efficient competence in that L2 (see data from *National survey on the English language in Finland: Uses, meanings and attitudes*, 2011, henceforth, NSELF). According to Eurydice, a network on education systems managed by the Education, Audiovisual and Culture Executive Agency at the EU, 99.3% of students learn a foreign language at Finnish high schools (see Eurydice's *Key data on teaching languages at school in Europe* 2012), and 60% of the pupils attending primary school studied English either as a compulsory or optional foreign language (see OSF's *Education: Majority of comprehensive school pupils study English*).

As shown in surveys by the General Statistical Office in Finland, around 72% of the population knows a L2 at a basic level (not including the second official language of the country, Swedish). The hegemonic global position of English is represented by the 10% of the population that has a high level of proficiency in this language. Out of the comparatively high percentage of people with knowledge of at least one L2, the majority acquired it at primary or secondary compulsory levels. 'Even if foreign language study in adult age is popular (8% of all), [...] the main contributor to language proficiency is basic general education before entry to the world of work' (Takala, 1998, p. 425). The statistics also show that the overall foreign language competence of Finnish women is higher than that of men.

Finland has also met the recommendations in foreign language matter made by the EU (*White Paper*, 1995) with 60% of adults, more than 80% of people aged 35, and 96% in the younger generation claiming knowledge of two foreign languages.

According to the NSELF (Leppänen et al., 2011), English is still seen in Finland as a foreign language instead of as a second language¹. English had foreign-language status until the 1960s, gaining ground and visibility in the last four decades. However, the historical Swedish-Finnish bilingual situation seems to be shifting the role of English now from EFL to ESL (English as a Second Language) in correspondence with the evolution of foreign language domains in neighbouring countries such as Sweden, Norway or Denmark (Taavitsainen & Pahta, 2003). Leppänen and Nikula (2007, p. 368) acknowledge that ‘English can often be regarded as a second language rather than a foreign language needed simply to get along with non-Finnish speakers’. It is most Finns born after the 1950s that study English as a second language instead of French or German as happened earlier in the century (Takala, 1998). The motivation for this shift towards English lies in its current high “communicative” or “Q-value” (de Swaan, 2001). Its calculation arises from the principles of centrality and prevalence of the language. Its centrality is determined by the proportion of people that the speaker can establish contact with through that language. Its prevalence reflects the connection between the language in question and other languages based on how many multilingual speakers out of a pool speak that language. English seems to achieve high scores in both. Leppänen and Nikula (2007) explain this rise in English through the functions of group membership, of contextual necessity in settings where one of the members knows no Finnish at all, and of cultural, social and mediating tool that the language exerts in particular domains.

In that same survey, two polarized groups of people, representing 6% and 16%, are the ones that either retain a normally rural, mostly monolingual life or enjoy a more European, urban and technological way of living. As expected, the first group matches the older generation of the country, whereas the younger one is responsible for that 16% of the population. The so-called “have-nots” are those aged far above 45 years

old, most of whom live in and have jobs related to the countryside, and whose level of education rarely reaches tertiary levels. However, doubts may be raised with respect to that taxonomy since the group closer to 45 years of age have studied English at school and have a life as modern as younger generations. Vis-à-vis this older group of people outside the circle of influence of English, the “have-it-alls”, are young metropolitan people, mostly university-educated and with specialized jobs in innovative sectors like business, technology and education.

The *NSELF* (Leppänen et al., 2011) also acknowledges the future tendency towards a homogeneous proficiency of English but also sets up the context of a higher rate of immigrants encountering two new languages in Finland: English and Finnish. Scholars predict a shining future for Scandinavian societies in the linguistic, communicative and social spheres due to their eagerness to learn foreign languages, and their comparatively high command of them. Modiano’s (1993, 2000, 2002) work on English competence and use in Sweden explains the Scandinavians’ more robust command of today’s *lingua franca*: their pivot point towards both British and North American varieties (i.e. Mid-Atlantic English) supplied them with adroit adaptive skills in unexpected situations and a more comprehensive intercultural capacity (Modiano, 2009). This prognosis is undergirded by the eagerness of the Finnish population to learn languages and open themselves to the world more than some of the other EU countries (Taavitsainen & Pahta, 2003). For example, Finns are honest self-evaluating their general reading skills (Takala, 1998). This shows their capability to sustain higher rates of immigration while they maintain good standards in foreign and native language proficiency.

Particularly worth mentioning are the radical stances on multilingualism in the Nordic country, which advocate for protectionist and conservative linguistic policies towards Finnish. The feeling of total (Laurén *et al.*, 2002) or partial (Hiidenmaa, 2003; Taavitsainen & Pahta, 2003) loss of their native language creates in Finnish society certain nationalistic avowals, usually of an extreme and politically right nature, calling for the language’s protection (Leppänen & Nikula, 2007). Modiano (2009) alludes to ‘conservative factions in mainland Europe that support

native-speakerism and prescriptivism' (2009, p. 221) as sources for the non-consolidation of English as a *lingua franca* in Europe. In addition, these same parties could be responsible for the minimal but existing open reluctance to "anglicization" in Finland. An extant phenomenon still worrying sectors of the population is that of "broken English". This variety of the language taught at schools by teachers who are NNSs of English is seen as corrupted, unworthy of recognition and forced upon students in CLIL (Content and Language Integrated Learning) classes. In fact, teaching content-based subjects in English has been recently proven unsuccessful in some contexts (Sylvén, 2013). This "broken" or "bad" English may be seen in the eyes of skeptics as operating within the EU through the use of NNSs of English for translating between Finnish and other languages, as cited before. Notwithstanding these extreme and polarized factions, there is no doubt of the irrepressible and ubiquitous expansion of the English language.

Regarding the social uses and motivations for the cursory expansion of English, several sources (Takala, 1998; Taavitsainen & Pahta, 2003; Leppänen & Nikula, 2007; Leppänen & Nikula, 2012) shed light on such phenomenon. After an analysis of varied data, Leppänen and Nikula (2007) determine that today English is not a cultural threat for Finnish society. In most cases, it is native speakers who choose to use it in contextually specific situations for diverse purposes. *De facto*, Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003) remark the unexpected threat that Finnish and not English is felt to represent for the approximately 5% of the population that speaks Swedish in the country. This paper provides similar data to Takala (1998) based on Finland's *Adult Education Survey* containing percentages of foreign language proficiency in different age groups. Those figures were already provided at this section's outset. The use of English in educational institutions, in everyday social interaction and in highly globalized economic contexts, as shown in section 4, is the key to fully understand the integrated linguistic lattice found nowadays in Finland.

House (2003) argues as well against this outspread belief that English is a threat to multilingualism. She distinguishes between "languages for communication" that attend to both the cognitive/individual

and social needs of speakers, and “languages for identification”, that attend to emotional and personal needs stemming from past experiences of speakers. The situation within the EU may be better qualified as diglossic since speakers seem to use English in specific contexts to communicate with other non-natives, whereas they reserve their L1 to more intimate and identity-related everyday activities. In some cases, even the opposite effect comes about. While making use of English for communicative purposes, local identities are strengthened as we see in, for instance, the emergence of folk German Bavarian music that House cites.

4. Domains of use of English in Finland

The concept of “domain” is applicable to how language is distributed within the social sphere. It was taken by Fishman in his *Language Maintenance and Language Shift as a Field of Inquiry* (1964) to represent the socio-interactive situations in which language plays a role, and more specifically, to explain cases of bilingualism. The domains *per se* do not make use of linguistic factors, but of sociocultural factors such as roles of members, specific events and situations, in short, the occasions when a variety or language is spoken. One of the earliest taxonomies of domains of language, that of Schmidt-Rohr as cited by Fishman (1964), includes family, work, religion, literature, the media, the military, the court, and education as instances of “domains”. We will make use of some of them, and others that we have deemed suitable to the social reality of our times, in the attempt to understand the interaction of English and Finnish in the Nordic country. Language in social domains (whatever those domains are in specific settings) is used as a tool for communication and consequently forces efforts for mutual comprehension and common cultural construal. A non-native language as English in Finland, due to the expansion and extensive use of its cultural and linguistic paradigms, strongly demarcates attitudes and perceptions of Finns. This valuation, to which Fishman (1964) devotes a whole section, is discussed and documented through excerpts from interviews in section 5. Let us now focus on the domains of economy, labour, education, and the media with regards to English in Finland.

4.1. Economy

Forces of economic globalization have increased the contact among international and Finnish companies that, by force, take English as their means of communication (Virkkula-Räisänen, 2010). In the world of business and trade, these daily basis transactions imply the use of a *lingua franca*, in this case, English. Nordic-based multinationals have chosen English as their language of internal use (Louhiala-Salminen, 2002) unfolding the tendency for English to dominate the economic sphere. For instance, Nokia shifted its working language from Finnish to English in 1992 when the first foreign member joined their board. In addition, in the 2000s, the Swedish banking crisis in 1991 caused the merging of several Nordic banks resulting in Nordea and the Finnish-based mobile company Nokia was effectively sold to Microsoft in 2014 (Sajari, 2014). That made English a tool for communication between the different branches and parties of these companies.

Other strategies comprise the adoption of a more vernacular means of communication between Nordic companies. We are referring here to the “skandinaviska” or Scandinavian language, which is used as a common language that unites economic, strategic and cultural interests. However, that intent of unification represents a mismatch for Finnish, according to Martin (2012), in that this language is quite distinct historically from the other Scandinavian, Germanic-rooted, languages. This leads, in turn, to problems of identity and miscommunication, especially with immigrants in Finnish society. The Anglo-Saxon influence, however, seems to pervade everything in economy. And even the American way of doing things, based on a free market and neoliberal policies, also permeates the business and economic spheres in Finland. Unfortunately, this was accompanied by the unexpected decline in the inward investment of foreign capital in this new century after a period of economic boost. Against that, Steinbock (2011) proposes the successful branding of Finland to attract international capital again.

Not only incoming money, but the internationalization of companies via the adoption of English as the working language is also a product of the willingness to increase their financial and commercial networking. In Piekari, Oxelheim & Randøy's study (2013), the effects of the increasing use of English in corporate boards is analyzed in nine Nordic companies, three of which (Biohit, Nokia at that time, and Outokumpu) are Finnish. These authors discuss the two only cases of failed language upgrade out of those nine companies. The boards in Biohit and Outokumpu become silent, inhibited and discomforted because the abrupt transition towards English left the employees unprepared, leading to "emotionless", less challenging and more technical discussions. However, those where a step-wise, smooth process was undertaken for the shift in language obtained satisfactory results and have allocated both foreign and native workers in an equal playing field. As Kankaanranta and Lu (2013) report, Chinese and Finnish colleagues became adapted to each other in their English-based professional interactions, dismantling the myth of the "shy Asians". The factors of that convergence were age, vocation and the use of English as a *lingua franca*. This and other cases reflect the harmless use of English for communication in business settings, if introduced non-disruptively by companies.

Despite the recent loss of economic power and the occasional failures in internationalization cited above, Finns feel that English is a tool for international communication and business as useful as ever. This empowerment is supported by recent studies, like the *Fragile States Index* for 2014 by The Fund for Peace which, taking into account factors such as "poverty and economic decline", "uneven development" and "public services", ranked Finland for 4 consecutive years as the least fragile state in the world. The natural use of English as a tool for the expansion and promotion of Finnish businesses plays a role there.

4.2. Labour and tourism

Increasing number of immigrants who permanently move to Finland demand a common language in the social and professional arena. A

controversial issue nowadays is the perceptions of the community with regards to the linguistic skills needed by these incoming professionals. Virtanen (2011) reports on a case study about Philippine nurses working in Finnish hospitals. The author acknowledges, drawing from data in interviews, that non-verbal communication seems to be as important as verbal one. Some authoritarian voices claim that the health of patients and their right to interact in Finnish in medical environments are at risk in those situations. Philippine nurses are in many cases believed to either have or not have the required linguistic skills for their job. Other sectors of society, however, seem to place responsibility on the community as a whole, which is the broader social environ in which foreign nurses can become motivated, encouraged and finally immersed in the language and culture. It is precisely these sectors that evaluate the nurses' linguistic skills as sufficient and amenable. English is in many cases resorted as a useful and mediating tool between Finnish patients and Philippine nurses, or more generally, between immigrant workforce and the Finnish population using public services. Interestingly enough, not only the actual practices at the workplace have witnessed a change but also the general process of job search in Finland, including the way jobs are advertised. Anglicisms, especially labelling the name of the position offered, with the rest of the ad in Finnish are rare. Nonetheless, ads for jobs are increasingly being found solely, though not predominantly, in English in cases where the aim is to attract international personnel (Hurme, 2013). English thus remains useful both in work practices and job search in some professional fields.

An atypical though important field of battle for integration in which English plays a role is the tourism industry. The United Kingdom has been and still is one of the most popular destinations for Finns to go on holidays. According to *The Travel & Tourism Competitiveness Report 2013* of the World Economic Forum, the United Kingdom ranks fifth worldwide as an apt country for tourism, only behind Switzerland, Austria, Germany and Spain (Blanke & Chiesa, 2013). Since the massive rise of tourism in the 1960s, the need for English increased dramatically (Heinonen, 2008) not only for travelling purposes but also for the reception of Euro-tourists in their own land. Latomaa and Nuolijärvi (2002) acknowledge that

increased immigration, both temporal and permanent, has led to intensified multilingualism within Finland. This need for multilingualism best manifests itself in the skills needed by Finnish workers in tourism-related jobs including guides, tourist information providers, taxi and bus drivers, and personnel at museums, churches and galleries. As in some of the other domains in this section, controversy sprouts from the least expected place. As reported by Yle Uutiset (2012), a plan for the constructions of a Guggenheim-branch museum in Helsinki was rejected in 2012 by the City Council, and is being re-assessed as of 2014. Claims for the projected benefit to the New York-based institution to the detriment of local art institutions echoed the fear for linguistic and cultural “anglicization” of other sectors and finally prevented the project from completion. Though today’s massive tourism calls for English as the predominant means of communication between travellers, skepticism still arises in Finland in what concerns respecting their cultural heritage and artistic tradition.

4.3. Education

The educational field has been well-documented in networks such as Eurydice, GENE (*Global Education Network Europe*), VARIENG or Eurypedia (*European Encyclopedia on National Education Systems*), most of them framed within cooperation projects in the EU. Numerous studies (Takala, 1998; Taavitsainen & Pahta, 2003; Nikula, 2007; Mauranen, 2010) show the effect of strategic and planning policies in the educational field. The process of anglicization that Nordic countries, including Finland, seem to be undertaking does not match the educational policies promoted. The trend of Nordic governments and language organizations is to preserve their native languages as a sign of identity while maintaining societies competitive enough through the use of English (Laurén *et al.*, 2002). Takala’s article (1998), for instance, presents the topic of language planning supported by a case study of Finland’s educational system. These policies include the Council of Europe’s *Common European Framework of Reference* (henceforth *CEFR*) basic guidelines, such as communicative approaches to language learning and real-life oriented frames that allow the negotiation of meaning in the L2.

Notable hits in the history of Finnish primary education are the introduction of the study of a foreign language, and of the CLIL curriculum in the 70s and 90s, respectively. The study of a foreign language was included as compulsory within the Finnish educational curriculum in the 1970s. This initial trend was later supported by policies from the EU, and since then students from the age of 9 are taught a foreign language at schools. The clear dominance of English as a foreign language to be studied in Europe is shown in a Eurydice study (2008), which reveals that 90% of students in primary and secondary education learn English at some point. English is viewed by minority sectors as an impediment to the development of linguistic skills of young Finns because their efforts are focused on English. Some of our interviewees supported, as shown in section 5, this view by claiming that the use of anglicisms reduces the skills of Finns in their own native language.

Even the internationally acclaimed investment of Finland in its educational programs is decreasing now. The estimates on the budget of the Finnish Government on education shows this still small-scale, though already noticeable, fall. The *National Sheets on Education Budgets in Europe* (2013) evince how the Finnish government decreased its investment on education by a 2,9%. Whereas less money was spent on new infrastructures, scholarships and vocational programs, aid to immigrants in the form of preparatory classes did increase. This in turn leads to an acrimonious, edgy attitude with foreign incoming students because some sectors believe they are being favored and “pampered” in opposition to the decrease in resources for the general student population. The government, is adding fuel to the fire by planning to charge tuition fees at universities to non-EU students. Waves of migration have challenged the education policymaking of Finland in use until recent times when the gap between native and non-native student widened. The clash between practices inside and outside class, namely what was taught by teachers following the established curricula, and the real situations encountered by immigrants with their peers and neighbors, has been recently brought forth into discussion. These students’ low performance and non-adaptability to the school’s new environment were taken as the cause of that native/non-native gap.

Likewise, CLIL-based classes promote a bilingual education not only in Finland but in the rest of European countries. The introduction of English-based CLIL curriculum in schools in 1991, in turn, led to initial reactionist attitudes seeing that program as a loss and demeanish of the L1 to the detriment of pervasive, powerful and heritage-less English (Leppänen & Pahta, 2012, p. 150). Even though ‘Finnish speakers have to overcome the extra burden of entering the world of languages that belong to a different language family’ (Takala, 1998, p. 427), their results in comparative studies of foreign language proficiency are average or slightly above it. No straightforward answer has yet been found: he concludes by saying that little is known about either the success of language planning policy in Finland in the last decades or what costs the investments in L2 teaching policy will have in the future. A more recent study (Nikula, 2007) has enlightened the issue by carrying out research in CLIL classes in Finland. Though finer-grained analysis should be made, she ratifies the *CEFR* strategies of focusing on content rather than on form and of empowering L2 students within communicative frames. ‘CLIL instruction could well serve as an arena for students to put their skills into practice and act as active participants in classroom interaction’ (Nikula, 2007, p. 221). English thus becomes a procedural language, used in performing other tasks, instead of simply being taught as declarative knowledge. Emerging bilingualism is also glimpsed by Nikula in the available data, which in turn could lead to a dominance of the three languages present in Finland nowadays, namely Finnish, Swedish and English. This already hints to the consideration of English by Finnish native speakers as a second, instead of a foreign, language.

The higher education system (including the world of academia) have also encountered the omnipresence of English. Within the Nordic hemisphere, ‘English is replacing Swedish as the language of Nordic cooperation in academic teaching and research’ (Taavitsainen & Pahta, 2003, p. 8), confirming the general tendency for countries to retain their native language but to encourage a L2 use of English, or Swedish in the case of Scandinavia, as a *lingua franca*. With the advent of the XXth century computerized revolution, the academic world hatched to a large

extent, making of English the language of science (Haarmann & Holman, 2001; Mauranen, 2010).

Nowadays the amount of universities with English-based curricula is higher than ever before signaling a predominance of this language in higher education research and teaching. Some of them have even chosen to teach English-only masters, as with the business program at Aalto University (Yle Uutiset, 2013). Still, that does not mean that institutions are giving up on the L1 of the country where they are based. In initial stages, English as a medium of instruction may be appealing to international students who bring new income and sometimes pay higher fees. To date, university education is completely free for everyone in Finland. Nonetheless, recent release from the Finnish government announced the introduction of university tuition fees for non-EU students in 2016, a measure already implemented by the Danish and Swedish governments in past years. English is also useful as a common arena for issues of problem solving and collective agreement. Later on, as in the case of German institutions, the native languages are gradually introduced as a common ground for international students in their cooperation with the community and in the culturally-bounded process of local adaptation. House describes English in this context as ‘a class of its own’, a supranational, auxiliary means of communication’ (2003, p. 570-571). Although this stance seems reasonable, our informants questioned, in section 5, the benefits of English-based programs in Finnish universities with regards to the level of knowledge attained in the subject, the proficiency level of professors in English and the inconveniences for Finnish native speakers in those programs.

Another major part in university life is academic staff. Incentives to researchers at universities is, unlike in other countries like Iceland, the Netherlands and Sweden, controversial in Finland, according to Eurydice’s *Higher Education Governance in Europe: Policies, Structures, Funding and Academic Staff* report (2008). That is so because the traditional values associated with academia, those of scientific interest, community benefits and whole devoutness to their research, clash with entrepreneurial, money-based direct compensation. And an unavoidable step in this process of

homogenization is the increase of English-based instruction and research. Will this necessary internationalization of the Finnish higher education system be maintained without that extra influx of money of the typical neoliberal economies?

4.4. Mass media and technology

Mass media in Finland as in other Nordic countries mostly broadcasts foreign programs and films in the original language. This measure has greatly fostered the growth in English proficiency of not only children but also adults and seniors through the television and the radio. Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003) corroborate that ‘exposure to English is heightened by the fact that in the Finnish broadcasting system, all foreign-language TV programs and news items have authentic voices with subtitles instead of dubbing’ (p. 5). This subject is mentioned by our interviewees in comparison to other countries of Southern Europe where programs are dubbed in the native language. Another dimension of mass media in which English is used are reality shows like *Big Brother* where participants are subject to ongoing observation through cameras in their daily activities. Kääntä *et al.* (2013) analyze the learning process of Kaki, a participant in the 2006 edition of the Finnish *Big Brother*, regarding English words like “wife beater” and “second hand”. In their analysis, it is manifest that informal learning contexts created by this inhabitant serve as the means for interacting in conversations where those items show up while learning them, and for a more general self-integration and self-identity construction in the dynamics of the house. Not only do we see identity building processes at the individual level, but also countrywise, as reported by Aslama and Pantti (2007) with regards to the Finnish version of the *Extreme Escapades* reality show and the “banal nationalism” emerging from both the participants behaviour and the marketing-oriented focus of the program.

The use of English expressions and idioms in advertisements, music and youth-related activities has been corroborated since earlier

times until today (Sajavaara, 1978). Young Finnish people (though not exclusively) are very frequently bound to Anglo-Saxon music, movies and comics, thus exerting a direct influence on their linguistic expression and creativity. Thence, if comics, movies, fashion, and music are massively produced by Anglo-Saxon industries, people with such hobbies become inherently familiar with their jargon, which in most cases, is in English. And what is more, Finland's fascination for Anglo-American culture after the Second World War is perceived in the success of the *Jenkki* (an obvious evocation of the word 'yankee') chewing gum whose ads showed cowboy hats, buffalos and even the Beatles. The ubiquity of American and British sitcoms, movies and iconic culture permeates all social strata, resulting in the "anglicization" of those domains and their language of expression.

The use of anglicisms in advertising is explained by Paakkinen (2008) through a social vision of loan words, especially from English, as fashionable, dynamic and international, thus bringing success and higher sales rates to Finnish companies even among the local population. One can easily come across examples of such words used in advertising, such as the slogan *Design on nyt jokaisen ulottuvilla* 'Design is now within everyone's reach' from the furniture shop Vepsäläinen. Eckerö Line, a ferry company that operates between Helsinki and Tallinn, advertises its most comfortable cabins by stating *Matkusta extra-tyylikkäästi Extra Class*, thus encouraging their passengers to travel with "extra style". Paakkinen (2008) shows as well that the amount of loan words in magazines, newspapers and other media is relatively small, being more frequent in slogans and catchy phrases in advertisements.

The success of new technologies such as computers, phones and the Internet, virtually accessible to everyone everywhere in Western societies, has brought forth a new use and maintenance of linguistic usages. The rigid, almost artificial boundaries, of how languages are used, especially in school settings, have been replaced by the fluidity and incommensurability of digitized media. People use English (mostly EFL) to communicate internationally, use their own languages or dialects to communicate locally and use *ad hoc* jargons in very specialized contexts of significance in their

daily lives. If this praxis goes against ideals of the purity and uniqueness of languages, then a drastic thorough revision must be made to this concept of postmodern abnormal linguistic usages.

The world wide web has drastically veered our habits in almost every field. The Internet has considerably accelerated our global cultural awareness in the two last decades accompanied by a pervasive use of English as its *lingua franca* (Leppänen & Piirainen-Marsh, 2009), Finland being no exception in these matters. Leppänen and Nikula's (2007, 2012) rich account of the uses of English in Finnish society reveals that 'information and communication technologies, and also the media, have a crucial role in the spread of English in Finnish people's everyday and domestic lives' (2007, p. 367). Be it in weblogs, chats, video games or online shopping, young users incorporate English both intra- and inter-sententially to their speech. These authors characterize this discourse as a 'single code of mixed origins' and English as a 'domesticated resource' (2007, p. 367), useful for Finns to communicate with foreign users and interact with media products of other countries. However, be it at schools, on television and radio, on the Internet or in stores and advertisement campaigns, Finnish people hold a strong, though sometimes contradictory, stance on the roles their native and non-native languages must play in their society, as attested by Leppänen and Pahta (2012). Section 5 deepens on the topic of Finns' attitudes and demeanors towards the English language.

5. Opinions and attitudes on the use of anglicisms in Finnish

Geographical isolation and reticent attitudes towards foreign influence has not led to borrowings into the Scandinavian (including Danish, Swedish, Norwegian and Icelandic) and Finno-Ugric (here Finnish) languages *in extenso*. Based on Graedler's (2004) newspaper-based project on loan words from different languages into Nordic ones, 'the average proportion of loan words in running text ranges from approx. 0.2 % in Finnish and Icelandic to 1% in Danish' (2004, p. 10). If compared to the borrowed words of other European languages, the percentage in Finnish is negligible.

Illustrating the case of the language attitudes that the Finnish population holds regarding current anglicization, a range of diverse attitudes are reported by Tamminen-Parre (2011) and Leppänen and Pahta (2012).

Tamminen-Parre (2011) shows that, despite the generalized purist attitude of Finnish speakers regarding their language, foreign influence, especially from English, is pervasively present in certain domains. An interview with a 32-year old flight attendant, a native speaker of Finnish and Swedish, for instance, reveals a pro-Finnish attitude in her statements but an underlyingly unconscious use of English words, especially in the fields of business and advertising. She cites words like *business* (instead of *liikeneuvottelu*), *coach* (instead of *valmentamiskoulutus*) and *workshoppi* (instead of *palaveri* or *ryhmätyö*) as essential and more effective in *brändäyskysymys* ‘the question of branding things’. Using material from the *Helsingin Sanomat* newspaper, Leppänen and Pahta (2012) collect numerous metaphors that citizens use in their letters to the editor to talk about the “threat” of English towards Finnish. Among them, we find the view of English and anglicisms as a natural force flooding and erasing the Finnish language and culture, and also a source of pollution, immorality, heresy, and corruption of Finnish. The perceptions of English derived from those newspaper letters present two “good” and two “bad” Englishes (2012, p. 163). The former Englishes are the respectable varieties spoken by native speakers and by non-native speakers. The latter Englishes are the one acting as a menace to Finnish society, language and culture, and the one being corrupted and uglified by Finns.

In a similar fashion, we analyze the relation between English and Finnish, and impingement of the former on the latter, based on the perspectives and opinions of native speakers of Finnish. We conducted interviews in English with 15 randomly selected participants. 12 of them were members of staff at the CIMO Finnish language course celebrated at the University of Turku (Finland) during the summer of 2014. The other 3 were Fulbright Finnish language assistants at the University of California, Berkeley (United States). All the participants, 11 women and 4 men, were native speakers of 27 years old by average. They had studied either English

or Finnish Studies at Finnish universities and had lived most of their lives in Finland.

Roughly two groups of speakers that reflect opposed attitudes towards the influence of English, and especially the use of anglicisms, in Finnish are outlined. Those two groups are the more reluctant and skeptical speakers, protective and self-aware of their own native language, Finnish, and the more open and welcoming speakers, with no fear of the use of anglicisms and with full acknowledgement of their specific function in Finnish speech. The more skeptical interviewees were those that had done Finnish Studies and had not lived in an English-speaking country for longer than an academic year. Some of them had, however, lived abroad. The more receptive interviewees were more mixed: most of them had completed an English degree, though some had done a Finnish degree. They also varied in whether they had lived in an English-speaking country or not. The guiding materials for the interviews were drawn from lists of anglicisms (see Appendix 2). More specifically, 247 anglicisms from 5 very common letters, namely “A”, “B”, “C”, “E” and “M”, from Görlach’s (2005) dictionary and from Weaver and Chela (2011) were used to prompt the discussion. They were classified in three categories, as they appear in the dictionary, namely “anglicisms of fully accepted use”, “anglicisms used in restricted contexts” and “anglicisms not present in the language”. An additional miscellaneous category was added to include those from the second work or that came up during the discussion. Our way of initiating the interview was to conduct a short survey, with ten gradable statements, about whether they believed the effect of English on Finnish and Finland in general was positive or negative, and whether it was natural and/or (un) avoidable. What is presented in what follows are the most representative and revealing excerpts from those interviews, a summary of the responses in the questionnaire, and our analysis of them.

The questionnaires (see Appendix 1 for model) yielded divergent results. 10 of the interviewees agreed on the fact that anglicisms do not specially enrich the Finnish language. They also agreed on characterizing the style of a speech riddled with anglicisms as “cool”, flexible, updated, mostly used in spoken language, and typical of young people, as the

question suggested. Very strong accord was also shown with regards to this phenomenon as an inevitable change in language and as a sign of social development. Surprisingly, most interviewees think that anglicisms do not impoverish Finnish, but that they diminish the skills of speakers in their own native language. They seem to understand that although the influence of English in Finnish, and more specifically, of anglicisms is a lexical resource that provides them with more expressive power, Finnish may be used quantitatively less in certain contexts and thus become “underdeveloped”. However, a greater division in opinions is found on whether anglicisms have an effect on the native spelling of Finnish words. We suspect their strong disagreement arises from a misunderstanding with respect to what was being asked because one of them cited English words, like *facebookata* or *facebukata*² and *anonymi* or *anonyymy*, on whose spelling she had doubts. The question, however, addressed possible effects on the spelling of Finnish native words. The participants also disagreed on whether anglicisms have a particular role in Finnish or not, showing a division of opinions between those who see English as an “outsider” and those who see it as befitting in the language. Finally, there are 8 participants who think that anglicisms are unnecessary in Finnish.

Taking gender into account, we found out that 3 out of the 4 men in the group had moderate purist attitudes regarding the influence of English in Finnish. The 11 women, nonetheless, belonged to the group of speakers fully welcoming that influence. These results, though limited, are in agreement with the gender paradox (Labov, 2001, p. 293) in sociolinguistics, which states that women usually conform more closely to linguistic norms, but they can be initiators of linguistic change. In our case, we see how, at least, women’s attitudes conform to that more innovative attitude. It remains to be seen whether their use is in fact more innovative than that of men, by including more anglicisms in their Finnish speech.

Some non-natives of English are interested in the aiding role English plays in certain domains of their lives, but not in becoming a native of the language or replacing their cultural values and linguistics practices with those of English. Efforts to maintain native words, for instance, are conspicuous in Finnish as in *puhelin* (‘speech-instrument’)

for ‘telephone’, *tietokone* (‘knowledge machine’) for ‘computer’, *sähköposti* (‘electric mail’) for ‘e-mail’, *linja-auto* (‘route-car’) for ‘bus’, *ohjelmisto* (‘programmatter’) for ‘computer software’ or *ilmatyyny* (‘air cushion’) for ‘airbag’, some of which were brought forth in the interviews. This serves the so-called ‘goal of lexical self-sufficiency’ (Görlach 2002, p. 263) by which the lexical resources of speakers are exploited, usually unconsciously, to express new concepts in the native language. In Finland, this trend has been bolstered by public contests and surveys in magazines and national newspapers where people vote for their favorite names for new products. That happened with the anglicism *tabletti* ‘tablet’ in 2010. Out of 11,900 email responses and 6,700 different names proposed, it was chosen by experts from the newspaper and the *Kotimaisten Kielten Keskus* (Institute for the Languages of Finland) among some alternative native words like *sormitietokone*³ (literally ‘fingercomputer’), *lätty* ‘pancake’ or *täppäri* (from *lappari* ‘laptop’ + English *tap*). Others, however, like *pehmelö* ‘smoothie drink’, have failed. Three of our informants profile, in general, this type of Finnish speaker, whose attitudes are more protective and self-conscious with respect to his native language.

The noun “shame” showed up several times in the speech of one of the interviewees. He firstly referred to Finnish-based words, for example *lähtöselvitys* ‘check-in’, being replaced by anglicisms as a “shame”. Then he described the menace and pervasiveness of English over the culture and entertainment of other European countries as a “shame” since ‘there’s so much happening in Europe, but we don’t get so exposed to it’. And last but not least, he talked about the “shame” he feels when people do not know the old, literal meanings of words which are metaphorically used now. He himself, however, shows no full command of them.

What for me is a shame is these words, that have two meanings, a concrete and an abstract meaning. And people know the abstract one, but not the concrete one because it has something to do with an object that is not used anymore [...] For example, this *pohtia* “to think hard”, but then, I’m not sure, it has something to do with heating something up. Or *välttää* is “to avoid something”, but then when you are in a field, and you are removing the soil and preparing

the field for harvesting. Or for example, *keksiä* is “to come up with an idea”, but also when you pick up logs on the river.

One of the participants openly admits that he tries to ‘keep the language enriched by, like as many variants as possible, because I don’t want to lose one variant’, and regarding grammar cases and less used structures, he also tries to ‘keep them alive. It’s great, it’s nice, it’s funny’. As we see, this more protective attitude need not be conservative or xenophobic with respect to foreign languages at all. It is an encouragement of his own heritage while he declares that he is ‘not terrified by Finnglish’. His attitude is even egalitarian toward his comrades, although the problem he sets in the following excerpt is worded somehow intensely.

When I see someone on Facebook having a conversation, this Facebook friend who likes to talk about “big stuff”, society and stuff, these very intense debates going on there. And then I see people formalizing their very complex ideas, and wanting to say “I have this ideology” [...] and then if they use some English words, I find it really, really annoying. For example, there’s this “in my humble opinion”, that can have this really elegant... For me it’s rubbish, but they think themselves that it’s elegant [...] I don’t know, these examples from Latin or French, I’m like “ok”. I can go “extempore some word” and I don’t really mind. So it must be something ideological in my head. In some deep level I’m afraid of English [laughter]. Because I think that when you’re discussing something that concerns everybody, everybody should be able to understand it [You mean in Finnish?] Yeah, in Finnish.

This participant talks about one of his friends being particularly pedant on Facebook by using anglicisms while formulating an ideologically complex speech. He qualifies that as “rubbish”, as “really annoying” and unelegant. When we told him about many of the Latinate expressions that are used in academia, he showed more acceptance towards them, admitting that it may be something within him that models his more or less (un)sympathetic perceptions. Probably the idealization of older times and civilizations, as presented in the school curriculum, partly explains

the vision of Latin-based expressions as more “acceptable” than English-based ones. He jokingly claims that ‘in some deep level I’m afraid of English’. What is clear is that, even though his stance is firm and in some way drastic, he has a reason for it, namely that every Finnish person should be able to understand what he is saying. He justifies himself by appealing to the distinction between written and spoken language, and the stability of the Latinate expressions. In the following excerpt, he also brings forth the possible social effect of using English in Finnish speech, namely “social inequality”, and the fear it causes him, especially coming from a country where equality is a social basic pillar.

When people speak and make quick decisions, then it’s ok to use those words [anglicisms]. But then when people are writing something, when they’re making a good solid opinion, then they should have time to look up the Finnish word. So I’m afraid that they don’t know the Finnish word. With *ex tempore*, more time has gone by, and it’s more stabilized [...] Some people have their thesis in English [In Finland?] In Finland, and they cannot discuss their field of specialty at all. It’s losing status as a language of knowledge. In a way, I’m like afraid that it will cause social inequality, it’s English speaking elite and people who cannot understand [...] That’s making those people [the ones who do not understand English] outsiders.

Especially controversial are social domains, like science and research, where English is the dominant language. As he notes, people who do research in English are sometimes unable to discuss their subjects in Finnish, making it lose status. Similarly, in another participant’s opinion, through the pervasive use of scientific English, Finnish becomes “poorer”, “underdeveloped” and causes “worry” to native speakers.

Because the language of research is mostly English, so that it makes the Finnish language much poorer. Now come new things, technology, you know, and we don’t invent new words because we are using the English words. In that way, so that people in the Finnish language, you know, they are worried about that. Finnish as a language of science, later, later, in the future, you know, in

30 years will be underdeveloped, yeah, or something like that, and also you are able to make your degree only in English [...] It doesn't make people study Finnish, cause they can do it in English. But it's an attraction.

Despite this more distrusting attitude, the speaker still acknowledges the appealing side of English-based curricula at universities, an attraction that may bring internationalization to the Finnish economy. Nonetheless, a conflicting view from another participant from the more open group claims the opposite, i.e. the belief that almost no benefits arise from these academic programs entirely taught in English.

Well, I've heard some less-than exciting experiences, I've heard that sometimes it leads to the teaching not being that high quality. Often the professors or the teachers in those courses they are not necessarily proficient enough to be as fluent in English as they would be in Finnish. There are some complaints from Finnish people, also from foreign people who are taking the courses because sometimes they [the professors] have such a strong Finnish accent that the foreign people have difficulties in understanding. So who does it benefit then? If they wanna keep those programs, or even increase them, they should improve the language skills of the professors.

She proposes, however, a self-evident solution which lies at the basis of the problem. Basically teachers should be very proficient in English before using that language as their medium of expression in class. This questioning of English continues to the point that the interviewer and another interviewee come up with the metaphor of Finland as a factory where raw material is converted into a finished product and then shipped somewhere abroad. In her own words, Finland is sometimes 'a factory where things come and go, but nothing remains in the country'. Funnily enough, one of the participants ended his interview with a comic remark on how he did not 'believe there's Domsday coming for Finnish'.

However, it is not the case that the overall Finnish population is against anglicisms and other forms of Anglo Saxon influence on the

language. Weaver and Chela (2011) assert the degree of acceptance that Finnish linguists in the *Kotimaisten Kielten Keskus* have for foreign words, be it from English, Chinese, Baltic or other Nordic languages. Some of the English borrowings and new Finnish creations they mention were used as part of our data. Most of the interviewees fit into this depiction of Finnish speakers as open to anglicisms and to the occasional, if not frequent, use of English in certain domains, as we mentioned in section 4.

Linguistically speaking, English words transferred to Finnish are morphophonologically accommodated, as in the pronunciation of *sci-fi* as [skifi], and the verb *googlata*, from the English verb ‘to google’, which shows the morphology of type 4-verbs. Following the criterion of nativization of words, we can see examples like these as borrowings, thus relatively stable in the language, rather than as part of codeswitching practices. This adaptation of anglicism into Finnish was acknowledged and broadly commented by almost all the interviewees as a sign of idiosyncrasy of their culture and language. My impression was that they were trying to show me how Finnish does not sell itself short. One of them even noted that ‘Finnish is not that easy to adapt’. Another interesting aspect was the context of use of English-influenced Finnish. Although they claimed in the questionnaires that it was mostly used in oral conversation by young people, one of the speakers noted that chats, emails, Facebook and, WhatsApp conversations also contain words of English origin, even though they are written. This supports the view that genres and media have no clear-cut boundaries, especially in tech-based communication.

With regards to the usage of anglicisms, all participants openly admitted it to be frequent. They mentioned examples like *aftershave*, *cornflakesit*, *sori*, *fülis*, *downshiftata*, *check-in* and *friikki* as common. However, the attitudes of these participants and the ones of the more reticent participants clash at times. Whereas one of the reticent speakers declared that he tried to use *jäättää huomiotta* ‘ignore’ instead of *ignoorata*, the anglicism, as much as possible, another more receptive speaker stated just the opposite. Her use of *ignoorata* is much more frequent and natural. And a similar point was made with regards to the English word *check-in*.

He, however, would put to use frequently the native equivalent, namely *lähtöselvitys*, and he would encourage its use among his friends. And similarly, he acknowledged the use of the anglicized *ottaa taksi* ‘to take a taxi’ instead of *mennä taksilla* ‘go by taxi’, showing his compliance with the general trend of the language towards the use of anglicisms.

“Lähtöselvitys”, I find it nice. I think it’s because, our language, you can see through it [...] You know, it’s my personal opinion, but it’s a shame that some words get replaced, like some clear words and then you get something more opaque [...] Another example would be “ivory”, in Finnish it’s “norsunluu [lit. elephant-tooth]”.

Anglicisms were characterized by approximately half of our interviewees as transient, simply sprouting because of fashion. An example given by one of them is the use of *brand new* in Jukka Pokia’s song “Brand New Ihanuus”, which may have prompted its use in common, though temporary, discourse among young people. In her own words, ‘what we take from English, it comes and goes’. And another participant said that ‘some things are just fashionable, so they go about, they come and they go’. Their use is acknowledged in the sense that it expands the Finnish vocabulary, in spite of the answers provided in the questionnaire where Finnish was, in their opinion, not particularly enriched by anglicisms. It seems contradictory to us, however, the fact that having more vocabulary in a language does not, in their opinion, increase the expressive and combinatorial possibilities of a language.

The act of creating native words for new concepts is, however, not a productive means in many cases. The English words are commonly used by these speakers, as in *airbag*, *brunssi* ‘brunch’, *eyeliner* and *meikki* ‘make-up’. The participants appeal to the natural flow of language and a denial of the artificiality that it would cause to make up new unfitting words. Although there are some exceptions like the native word for keyboard, *näppäimistö*, she states that a reasonable balance exists between already established, perfectly usable Finnish words and appealing, “cool”, English-based incoming words.

If it's for Facebook, social media, there's not even a need for it, we don't want to come up with a Finnish word [...] If the Finnish word already exists, the Finnish word will always dominate. If the English word fits well, or if it doesn't sound too strange, or if the pronunciation is not too difficult...

One of these interviewees mocks people with a more radical stance towards English in Finnish by imitating how they would react if a foreign nurse, unable to speak in Finnish, was to assist them in hospital. She admits that by having an "open and flexible" attitude, as she herself has, things would go well.

I think it's a question of your own attitude towards the situation. So if you think "I'm in Finland, and I'm entitled to speak my own language. What is this foreign nurse doing here?", I can see how that might be a problem. But if you're willing to stay open and be flexible, then I think you can work your way through it.

And finally, one of the participants admits that English is for her almost a second language, as reported in Leppänen and Nikula (2007, 2012). In this case, it serves the function of remembering with more authenticity the time she spent in the United States.

If I'm writing to friends of mine in the States, and when we were there, even if our mutual language is Finnish, but we hang out with a lot of people who speak English, it kind of became sort of our "second language".

After that, she commented on why Finnish people, including her, may think of English as their second language. In her opinion, it is not a matter of proficiency but rather of attachment. For her being a student in an English-speaking country bounded her to, not only a language, but a culture and its people. This goes against House's (2003) view of English as a "language of communication" rather than one for identification in countries like Finland. The interviewee, in this case, is attached also emotionally to her non-native language.

As a summary we compiled in the table below the expressions, in a simplified version, used by the participants to evaluate the influence of English in Finnish. Our purpose, qualitative in

nature, is to represent the two distinguishable groups of speakers depending on their beliefs on the Anglo-Saxon incoming influence in Finnish.

Table 1. Positive and negative evaluations of interviewees about the influence of English in Finnish.

Positive Evaluations	Negative Evaluations
<p>English is an ATTRACTION.</p> <p>English is NOT necessarily A THREAT, NOT A BAD THING.</p> <p>English is our SECOND LANGUAGE.</p> <p>I am BOUNDED to American CULTURE AND ITS PEOPLE.</p> <p>He is NOT TERRIFIED by Finnglish.</p>	<p>There is TOO MUCH English.</p> <p>English makes Finnish POORER.</p> <p>People are WORRIED about not having native words for certain things.</p> <p>Finnish will be UNDERDEVELOPED in science.</p> <p>Finnish people are humble and Finnish is NOTHING.</p>
<p>You can SEE THROUGH Finnish, it's a TRANSPARENT language.</p> <p>If the Finnish word exists, it will ALWAYS DOMINATE.</p> <p>If you are OPEN AND FLEXIBLE with regards to the use of English, you can WORK YOUR WAY THROUGH it.</p>	<p>English is TAKING OVER Finnish.</p> <p>There are LESS-THAN-EXCITING experiences with English-based programs at Finnish universities.</p> <p>Finland is a FACTORY where things COME AND GO.</p> <p>It is a SHAME that some Finnish words get replaced by English ones.</p> <p>I am AFRAID OF English at some deeper level.</p> <p>Using an English expressions when a Finnish equivalent is available is RUBBISH.</p> <p>Using English words to sound more academic is REALLY, REALLY ANNOYING.</p>

	<p>Finnish is LOSING STATUS as a language of knowledge.</p> <p>I am AFRAID that using English will cause SOCIAL INEQUALITY.</p> <p>Finnish people who do not speak English will become OUTSIDERS.</p> <p>It is a SHAME when people do not know the old meanings of words.</p>
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6. Conclusion

For most scholars and global citizens, English as a *lingua franca* eliminates barriers, fosters understanding among cultures and enables a global and enriching environment for learning. Previously we have viewed how the integration of Finland within Europe has had positive effects in social and economic terms, increasing the mobility and transference of both human and monetary capital from and to the Nordic country. The enriching coexistence of Finnish, Swedish, and English is possible due to a diglossic distribution of languages: Swedish and Finnish are widely used for everyday communicative purposes among the local population while English stands out in the fields of advertising, business, tourism, media and youth culture. From our and most Finns' perspective, aside from English:

‘it is equally important to acknowledge the importance of the mother tongue to one’s own identity in order to have a positive impact and contribute to the international community in an optimal way, and take up the challenge of globalisation without losing one’s identity’ (Taavitsainen & Pahta, 2003, p. 10).

Despite extremist minority sectors of the population, Finland stands as an exemplar model for language integration policies, idiosyncratic promotion and preservation of national ideologies within a globalized

framework. Regarding the future of English in the country, ‘it may be fairly safe to assume that English will continue to grow in importance in Finland’ (Leppänen & Nikula, 2007, p. 368). The unsubstantiated danger of English replacing Finnish does not pose any risk to the prominence of the Finns’ native language in their own country (Leppänen & Nikula, 2007, 2012).

MacKenzie (2009) claims that ‘in the less-than-best of cases, most Europeans will not be receptively plurilingual, but will continue to converse in an English that is neither a fixed ‘NNS’ variety (a so called ‘Euro-English’), nor a variety of native English’ (2009, p. 234). Nonetheless, we have presented four reasons to believe that English is more than a foreign language in Finland. The status of Finnish as a second language comes firstly from the fact that there is emerging bilingualism (Nikula, 2007) among much of the young Finnish population. Some of those speakers also feel not only communicatively comfortable using English, but emotionally attached, and thus think of English as a “language of identification”, in House’s (2003) terminology. Moreover, our interviews show similar results to those of Tamminen-Parre (2011), namely that even the seemingly most “conservative”, pro-Finnish speakers inevitably use anglicisms in certain social domains and particular contexts. Finally, we profiled two types of speakers, the more reluctant ones, conscious of their linguistic choices and promoters of native Finnish words for new concepts, and the more open speakers that acknowledge their frequent use of anglicisms as a mechanism that enriches their own speech. For ones, English may be “taking over” Finnish and may cause “social inequality”, and for others, it is “not necessarily a threat” and it is an “attraction”. What our data shows is that, within our participants, the more conservative and purist speakers with regards to English influence can be profiled as people who completed Finnish Studies at university and have not lived abroad for at least an academic year. The more welcoming and open speakers to that influence, however, cannot be profiled since they may have studied either English or Finnish, and they may have or may not have lived abroad. Despite the gradable distinction and varying opinions, the two stances sometimes converge and evince the solid role that English plays in Finnish society

as a second language. Therefore, living abroad and studying foreign languages can be a factor in being more tolerant and welcoming towards English influence in Finnish. These conclusions may be preliminary extended to other foreign languages. More interviews, supplemented with questionnaires, must be conducted in order to support that hypothesis.

Our study only glanced at the attitudes on the use of anglicisms in Finnish. A fruitful avenue of research in the future may be to look at whether the use of anglicisms coincides or not with the attitudes that we showed here. If use and attitudes agree, plans on the integration of English in the already bilingual Finnish society will cause no controversy. If there is a mismatch, however, other strategies including, for example, raising the level of awareness of the benefits of a multilingual society, should be undertaken by government and local authorities.

Acknowledgements

This study was possible thanks to the support awarded to the first author by the joint sponsorship MFU2011-0025 of the Fulbright Program and the Spanish Ministry of Education, Culture and Sports. Additional support for the Turku-based interviews was provided by CIMO (Centre for International Mobility). It was also made possible through a summer research stay of the first author at the University of California, Berkeley, under the guidance of the second author. Finally, we are very grateful to Amanda Pirilä for her useful remarks on an earlier version of this paper. All errors remain our own.

Notes

¹ The present discussion adopts the distinction between a foreign language and a second language made by Taavitsainen and Pahta: ‘the main distinction between a fluent EFL speaker and L2 speaker depends on whether English is used within the speaker’s community (country, family)

and thus forms a part of the speaker's identity repertoire; it is a question of identity, a speaker's judgement of his/her own self" (2003, p. 4). Thus, English as a L2 is seen as belonging to the commonly used linguistic and identity repertoire of the NNS, while EFL is conceived as an alien influence on the NNS, external to her everyday values and beliefs.

² Both seem to be accepted, as shown in their entry in the *Urbaani Sanakirja* online (<http://urbaanisanakirja.com/word/facebookkata-feisbuukata/26311/>).

³ Information about the contest can be found on the *Helsingin Sanomat* newspaper website (<http://www.hs.fi/tekniikka/Mik%C3%A4+nimeksi+tabletille+osa+2/a1305638905877>, also <http://www.hs.fi/talous/artikkeli/Sormitietokone+voitti+HSn+nimikilpailun/1135262607064>), and also on the website of the *Kotimaisten Kielten keskus* (<http://www.kotus.fi/index.phtml?s=4136> and <http://www.hs.fi/tekniikka/Suurin+osa+HSn+kyselyyn+vastanneista+kutsuisi+tablettia+t%C3%A4pp%C3%A4riksi/a1305641231132>).

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APPENDIX 1: Questionnaire

Name:

Age:

City of Origin:

Scale: 1 (completely disagree), 2 (disagree), 3 (neutral), 4 (agree), 5 (completely agree).

1. Anglicisms in Finnish impoverish the language:
2. Anglicisms in Finnish enrich the language:
3. Anglicisms in Finnish diminish the skills of speakers in their native language:
4. Anglicisms in Finnish make speakers have doubts on native spelling:
5. Anglicisms in Finnish make your style be more flexible and updated, and

make it sound more “cool”:

6. Anglicisms in Finnish are a particular feature of the language of young people:

7. Anglicisms in Finnish are more frequently used in spoken than in written language:

8. Anglicisms in Finnish are another form of inevitable language change:

9. Anglicisms in Finnish are a particularly dangerous threat for Finnish language, culture and identity:

10. Anglicisms in Finnish are unnecessary:

11. Anglicisms in Finnish have their specific role in native speaker’s linguistic usage:

12. Anglicisms in Finnish, as part of the current globalized world, is nothing more than another sign of the development of society:

13. Anglicisms in Finnish can be parallel to other situations of language dominance in history, like Latin in the Middle Ages and French in the Renaissance:

APPENDIX 2: List of Anglicisms Used in the Interview (Based on Görlach, 2005, and Weaver and Chela, 2011)

Degree of Use of Anglicism in Finnish	Examples
Anglicisms of fully accepted use	<i>Action</i> (exciting activity/fight, conflict/demonstration/action film), <i>aerobikki</i> , <i>airbag</i> , <i>airedale</i> (terrier, a breed of dog), <i>baby</i> , <i>bacon</i> (also <i>pekoni</i>), <i>bleiseri</i> , <i>body</i> , <i>boiler</i> , <i>booli</i> , <i>bokseri</i> , <i>bokserit</i> , <i>broileri</i> (a chicken to roast or broil), <i>brunssi</i> , <i>keksi</i> , <i>cartoon</i> , <i>chips</i> , <i>chow-chow</i> (Chinese-breed dog), <i>city</i> (commercial part of a town or financial district), <i>crack</i> (drug), <i>cup</i> (mug, sports contest, prize of that contest), <i>eyeliner</i> , <i>meikki</i> (make-up), <i>merkkaus</i> (marker pen), <i>mastiff</i> (a dog of a large strong breed), <i>molotovcocktail</i> .
Anglicisms used in restricted contexts	<i>Acid house</i> , <i>arrowjuuri</i> (from arrowroot), <i>baby boom</i> , <i>babydoll</i> , <i>beibisitteri</i> , <i>backgammon</i> , <i>bufferti</i> , <i>benji-hyppy</i> , <i>kantteri</i> (a gentle gallop), <i>kartting-ajot</i> (place for car races), <i>coach</i> (also <i>valmentaja</i>), <i>colt</i> (a type of revolver), <i>manageri</i> , <i>milkshake</i> , <i>mikseri</i> (from <i>mixer</i> , device to mix sensory input), <i>moonbootsit</i> , <i>maastopyöra</i> (mountain bike).
Anglicisms not present in the language	<i>Acid rock</i> , <i>Afro-look</i> , <i>aftershave</i> (<i>partavesi</i> instead), <i>AIDS</i> , <i>all right</i> , <i>all round</i> (versatile in many respects), <i>aquaplaning</i> , <i>autocar</i> , <i>back</i> (defence in football), <i>background</i> , <i>backhand</i> (a stroke with the hand in tennis), <i>badge</i> , <i>badminton</i> (<i>sulkapallo</i> instead), <i>barbecue</i> (<i>grilli</i> instead), <i>barkeeper</i> , <i>barman</i> , <i>barter</i> (exchange of goods without money), <i>basketball</i> (<i>koripallo</i> instead), <i>battledress</i> (a soldier's dress), <i>beeper</i> , <i>big band</i> (large pop orchestra), <i>Big Brother</i> (a powerful and inescapable dictator), <i>big business</i> , <i>biker</i> , <i>bitter-lemon</i> (non-alcoholic drink), <i>black box</i> (instead <i>musta laatikko</i>), <i>blackjack</i> , <i>blackout</i> (temporary loss of vision, dictatorship, electricity shortage), <i>blank verse</i> , <i>bluegrass</i> (type of American music), <i>blue jeans</i> (<i>farmarihousut</i> instead), <i>bluesman</i> , <i>bobsleigh</i> (<i>käytettävä kelkka</i> instead), <i>bodybuilding</i> (<i>kehonrakennus</i>

instead, although *bodybuilding* cited as translation in sanakirja.org), *body-check* (obstruction of player in sports), *bodyguard* (*turvamies* instead), *body lotion*, *bookmaker* (*vendonvälittäjä* instead), *bowling* (*keilaulu* instead), *boyfriend*, *Boy Scout* (*partiopoika* instead), *brain drain* (*aivovuoto* instead), *brainstorming* (*aivoriihi* instead), *brain trust* (*aivotrusti* instead), *brainwashing* (*aivopesu* instead), *breeches*, *broker* (*arvopaperivalittäjä* instead), *bubblegum* (*purukumi* instead), *buggy* (horse-drawn cart), *building*, *bulk carrier* (*bulkkialus* instead), *business class* (*liikemiesluokka* instead, although *bisnesluokka* and *bisnes* listed in sanakirja.org), *butler*, *butterfly* (stroke in swimming, *perhosuinti* instead), *button* (badge), *bye/bye-bye*, *caddie* (golf player, *toimia mailapoikana* but also *caddie* in sanakirja.org), *call-girl* (prostitute by phone, *ilotyttö* instead), *camcorder* (*videokamera* instead, an anglicism in itself), *camper* (person who camps out/vehicle, *leirytyjä* instead), *cape* (*viitta* instead), *cardigan* (*villatakki* instead), *carpool* (*kimppakyyti* instead), *carter* (a gear case), *cash* (*käteinen* instead), *casting* (sport with a fishing rod/test for artists, *roolijako* instead), *catch-as-catch-can* (wrestling), *catcher* (*sieppaaja* instead), *catering* (*muonitus* instead, although *catering* listed in sanakirja.org), *catgut* (thread made of sheep), *CD-player* (*CD-soitin* instead), *center forward* (*keskushyökkääjä* instead), *challenge*, *challenger*, *champion*, (*taistella* instead, but *sampioni* listed in sanakirja.org), *chart* (list of most current popular songs), *check-in* (*lähtöselvitys* instead), *check-up* (thorough medical examination, *jälkitarkastus* instead), *cheeseburger* (*juusto hampurilainen* instead), *cherry brandy*, *chewing gum*, *chopperipyörä*, *clean* (from criminal records), *clinch* (participants closely and physically engaged), *cluster*, *cockpit* (compartment for pilot, *ohjaamo* instead), *cocooning* (living isolated as a lifestyle, *privatismi* instead), *cold cream*, *comeback* (*paluu* instead), *comic* (although sanakirja.org lists *koomikko* and *koominen*), *commonsense*, *computer* (*tietokone* instead), *conveyor*,

	<p><i>copyright</i>, <i>corduroy</i> (<i>vakosametti</i> instead), <i>corned-beef</i>, <i>cottage</i> (<i>maja/mökki</i> instead), <i>couch</i>, <i>countdown</i> (<i>lähtölaskenta</i> instead), <i>craker</i> (<i>voileipäkeksi</i> instead, but sanakirja.org also lists <i>krakkeri</i>), <i>crash</i> (violent accident, financial collapse), <i>crew</i> (<i>miehistö</i> instead), <i>cross-country</i>, <i>cruise missile</i>, <i>cut away</i> (man's formal dress), <i>cutter</i> (<i>leikkaaja/leikkuri</i> instead), <i>cyberspace</i> (<i>cyberavaruus</i> instead), <i>economy</i> (a flight tariff), <i>ecstasy</i> (a drug), <i>egghead</i> (an intellectual), <i>ego trip</i> (trip devoted to oneself), <i>elf</i> (<i>tonttu</i> instead), <i>engineering</i> (<i>rakentaminen</i> instead, but also <i>insinööri</i> listed in sanakirja.org), <i>escapism</i> (but sanakirja.org cites <i>eskapismi</i>), <i>establishment</i> (group or society that dominates and imposes its culture and values), <i>evergreen</i> (song of great popularity, <i>ikivihreä</i> instead), <i>expander</i> (apparatus to strength muscles, <i>levitin/avarrin</i> instead), <i>macadam</i> (material using in building roads, <i>seveli</i> instead), <i>mackintosh</i> (a type of fabric, <i>sadetakki</i> instead), <i>madison</i> (a type of dance), <i>mainstream</i> (<i>valtavirtaa</i> instead), <i>manage</i> (organize work, or a musician), <i>management</i> (<i>hallinto/johto</i> instead), <i>manchester</i> (strong corduroy), <i>marketing</i> (<i>markkinointi</i> instead), <i>masters</i> (sports competition), <i>matchwinner</i>, <i>medley</i> (collection of items arranged as a whole), <i>merchandising</i>, <i>microchip</i> (<i>mikrosiru</i> instead), <i>midshipman</i> (a naval officer), <i>mildew</i> (fungai from wine), <i>mimicry</i> (imitation), <i>missing link</i> (hypothetical link between humans and apes, <i>puuttuva rengas</i> instead), <i>mixed double(s)</i> (tennis game with couples of different sex playing against each other), <i>mixer</i> (device for mixing food, <i>sekoittaja</i> instead), <i>mob</i> (collective bullying), <i>moleskin</i> (a type of velvet), <i>money</i>, <i>monitoring</i>, <i>mop</i> (although sanakirja.org lists <i>moppi</i>), <i>mouse</i> (<i>hiiri</i> instead), <i>Mr. X</i> (a male whose identity should be kept secret), <i>mulch</i>, <i>mull</i>, <i>multiple choice</i> (<i>monivalinta</i> instead), <i>mumps</i> (<i>sikotauli</i> instead), <i>music box</i>, <i>a must</i>.</p>
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Others	<i>Bed and breakfast, best-seller, Bloody Mary, boarding card, bumerangi, breakdance, karavaani, clown/klouni, koktaili, coffee shop, college, commuter, condom, conrflakes/cornflakesit, meili/maili, megabyte/megatavu, muffins.</i>
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First version received: July 2014

Final version accepted: October 2014