“We should understand something before we can use the new language.” Adult learners’ perspectives on multilingualism in *Finnish as a second language* teaching

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Master’s Thesis
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Spring 2018

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1 Introduction

From a linguistic point of view, multilingualism is one of the key characteristics of contemporary society. The idea of a European monolingual nation-state, which once was a cornerstone in constructing national identity, has been contested by the realities of global movement and interaction. Moreover, the idea of a monolingual speaker as a norm has been questioned: multilingualism is seen as a default characteristic not only of the society, but of an individual as well. A multilingual language user draws on all the language resources available in any particular context. A key characteristic of language itself, from multilingual viewpoint, is variety.

In studies on second language acquisition (SLA), focus on multilingualism has brought into discussion, for example, the acquisition of additional languages after the second language. The benefits of multilingualism for the individual that have been widely acknowledged include metalinguistic abilities, such as comparisons between languages, and familiarity with language learning strategies (e.g. Cenoz & Gorter, 2011; De Angelis, 2011; Haukås, 2016). However, the language learner needs to be aware of these benefits and the ways in which multilingual language resources can be utilised. As has been noted in previous studies, the language teacher has a strong influence as a facilitator of learners' multilingualism (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García & Sylvan, 2011; Haukås, 2016). Accordingly, some previous studies have investigated teachers' beliefs about multilingualism (De Angelis, 2011; Haukås, 2016). These studies have shown that language teachers express positive presumptions towards multilingualism and its benefits for the language learner, but this does not automatically influence their teaching practices. On the other hand, some teachers seem to have beliefs about language learning which are not supported by current research.

This study switches the perspective from teachers to that of the students by asking how students experience multilingualism in Finnish as a second language (FSL) teaching. Studying the experiences of language learners is important to gain understanding of the learning processes of new languages (e.g. de Courcy, 2002, pp. 3–5). The target group of this study is adult immigrant learners of Finnish. In general, research on second language acquisition often focuses on language learning of children or

youth in school contexts. However, adult learners, who possess further developed analytic abilities compared to children, are a fruitful target group for SLA studies. Adult immigrants are, moreover, one key group of learners considering FSL teaching. Despite of this, to the knowledge of the author, previous research on their experiences of FSL teaching is scarce.

In this study, the following questions were set to explore multilingualism in FSL teaching:

1. From the students' perspective, is FSL teaching multilingual? How do students experience multilingualism; do they consider it as a resource?
2. Are students' multilingual resources taken into account in FSL teaching; and if yes, how?
3. What is the role of English in FSL teaching and as a part of the language repertoires of the students?
4. How does the students' use of languages in their FSL course differ from their use of languages in everyday life?

The research data was collected by a questionnaire designed for this study. The main parts of the questionnaire consisted of I Background information, II Finnish language teaching and III Use of languages in everyday life. Collected data were analysed qualitatively, employing methods of qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis. In addition, parts of the data were analysed quantitatively, to provide, for example, frequency and distribution counts.

The presentation of the research in this paper begins with a theoretical framework in chapter 2. In this chapter, an introduction to the variety of perspectives included in the study of second language acquisition (SLA) will be provided. The change of view in SLA from cognitive to social and interactional will be examined, concentrating especially on the sociocultural and ecological theories of language learning. A concept around which the whole study is formed is multilingualism. Because of the target group of this study is adult immigrant learners of Finnish, each of these aspects (adult learners, immigrant learners and Finnish as a second language) will be discussed as well.

The paper then moves on to introduce the methodology employed in the analysis of the data (chapter 3), before presenting the data in more detail (chapter 4). The last section in chapter 4 will introduce the respondents of this study, based on the responses they provided in part I of the questionnaire. The analysis in the following chapters is structured according to the two thematical sections of the questionnaire, II Finnish language teaching (chapters 5–6) and III Use of languages in everyday life (chapter 7). The findings of the study will be discussed and summarised in chapter 8.

By asking the students themselves, the objective of the study is to explore to what degree and in which ways student's multilingual resources are being utilised in FSL teaching, and how do the students experience this. The results of the study can contribute to the further development of FSL teaching in the area of multilingualism.

2 Perspectives on second language acquisition and multilingualism

The key concepts of this study are second language acquisition (SLA), Finnish as a second language (FSL) and multilingualism. All these concepts will be discussed in the following chapters. Here, the used abbreviations will be briefly explained. The term SLA is widely established in the research of language learning, and in connection to the term, languages are often categorised as L1s (first language, or mother tongue) and L2s, where L2 can stand for any additional languages learnt after the L1. The L2 can also be discussed as the target language.

In Finnish, Finnish as a second language is often labelled as *S2*, where *S* stands for 'Finnish' (*suomi*). There is some variation in the use of terms for Finnish as a second language in research published in English: the terms F2 and FSL have both been used. The abbreviation FSL used in this study is formed according to the model provided by the term ESL established in the international research for the study of English as a second language. English has longer traditions as the target language studied in SLA, and this choice of term aims for consistency when referring to Finnish as a second language within the international field of SLA research as well.

2.1 Second language acquisition

In this chapter, the field of SLA will be discussed with special attention paid to current sociolinguistically-oriented theories and concepts. First, one fundamental component of SLA, language, will be introduced to form a basis for the following exploration of theoretical approaches. In what follows, both older and current theories will be discussed. The theories of SLA have evolved and focus of inquiry has switched during the last decades, and therefore, in order to provide a better comprehension of the current perspectives, older approaches will be discussed as well: they form the basis from which the current thinking has evolved. Moreover, the field of SLA as of today includes varying approaches, the psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic theories as only one example of such variety. Finally, this chapter presents a concept belonging to the field of SLA that is of special interest

for the multilingual perspective dominant in this study: the dichotomy between the native speaker and non-native speaker.

2.1.1 Language

Language can be seen as a communication system with different, yet often interdependent levels, traditionally categorised as phonology, morphology, syntax, lexis, semantics, pragmatics and discourse (Mitchell, Myles, & Marsden, 2013, p. 6). The formalist view on language system focuses on the elements that language is seen to encompass (e.g. phonemes, parts of speech), and the rules or procedures by which these elements are combined together (Mitchell et al., 2013, p. 8). The functionalist view, by contrast, emphasises the communicative functions of language, and sees that the structures of language proceed from the function of meaning-making (Mitchell et al., 2013, p. 9). Or, as in a conceptualisation by van Lier (2000), language can be seen as objects (such as words, sentences and rules) or, on the other hand, as relations (of thought, action and power) (p. 251). The sociolinguistic approach to language acquisition further discussed in this study is founded on the functionalist view.

Sajavaara (1999) represents the functionalist view when he states that the most important function of language is social (p. 98). This means that together with, for example, lexical and syntactic elements, the learner must acquire what could be called 'social language'; Sajavaara talks about different social codes and behavioural patterns present in the speech community of the language (p. 98). The social nature of language (and learning) is emphasised in the sociocultural and ecological theories of language learning, as presented by Lantolf (e.g. 2000), van Lier (e.g. 2000) and Kramsch (e.g. 2000), among others. Both language and learning are central to SLA, and the sociocultural theory sees not only language, but also learning as essentially social. As has been mentioned above, the functional – or social – view of language emphasises the function of meaning-making, and at the same time, from sociocultural perspective, meaning-making is essential for learning. According to Kramsch (2002), this process of meaning-making is based on and emerges in collaboration and social interaction.

The social aspect of language is further seen in a consequence of language learning: it can open the way for the learner into a new speech community (Sajavaara, 1999, p. 98). Similarly, the functionalist view means that the aim of a language learner is not primarily to learn the forms and structures of the language, but to learn to understand and produce meaning (Sajavaara 2006, p. 14; see also Halliday, 1993). Sfard (1998), in fact, talks about the 'participation metaphor' as contrasted to the 'acquisition metaphor' as two alternative, yet potentially coexisting, metaphors for learning in general. Applied to language learning, the latter can be attached to the view of language as knowledge, as a set of rules to be acquired, whereas the former represents the view in which language use and the context, not the structures of the language, are central in learning (Pavlenko & Lantolf, 2000, pp. 155–156). According to Sfard, in the participation metaphor learning is seen not as an activity in which knowledge is acquired, but as action in which the learner is an active participant (p. 6). Indeed, perceived through the participation metaphor, learning is understood "as a process of becoming a member of a certain community" (Sfard, 1998, p. 6) and this entails "the ability to communicate in the language of this community and act according to its particular norms" (Sfard, 1998, p. 6). This is exactly the point that sociocultural theory makes as well. What is evident in this discussion is, firstly, that the discourse on language learning does not exist in isolation, but in close interaction with other related fields; and secondly, language is an inseparable component of learning, not only so when language is the target of learning.

2.1.2 SLA: Definition and theories

After the above introduction to language and learning, a number of theoretical perspectives into SLA will be discussed in what follows. As an example of the field of SLA, a definition presented by Doughty and Long (2003) will be analysed. Doughty and Long (2003) define that the scope of SLA includes "the acquisition and loss of second (third, etc.) languages and dialects by children and adults, learning naturalistically and/or with the aid of formal instruction, as individuals or in groups, in foreign, second language, and lingua franca settings" (p. 3). As can be seen already in this one example, the field of SLA includes various aspects and perspectives. Firstly, not only language acquisition, but also the loss of a language is considered; instances of this are discussed as language attrition (see e.g. Hansen,

2001). In the further discussion in this paper, however, the focus will be only on language acquisition, not loss.

Secondly, Doughty and Long (2003) mention that SLA includes **second or third, etc.** languages (p. 3): the word 'second' in the term can indeed be misleading, as many people learn more than two languages during their life (David Block, for example, problematises the use of 'second' in SLA; see Block, 2003). Children who attend the Finnish education system are a case in point: they all learn at least two 'second' languages at school, one of which is the second official language in Finland (i.e. Swedish for Finnish-speakers and Finnish for Swedish-speakers). One reason for using the word 'second' in SLA is that the first language, or mother tongue, is seen to hold a special status, and the term establishes a clear distinction between the L1 and any additional languages learnt after it (see e.g. Mitchell et al., 2013; Saville-Troike, 2006, pp. 16–24).

Thirdly, Doughty and Long (2003) mention both languages and dialects within the scope of acquisition (p. 3): this view takes into account dialectal variation within one language, but in a yet wider view any kind of language variation could be considered, including different registers, not only dialects. This wider view would be one considered along the lines of multilingual thinking, as multilingualism itself, as it is seen in this paper, does not perceive languages as clearly distinct entities and moreover, emphasises all linguistic variation.

Fourthly, the learners of an L2 can be children or adults (Doughty & Long, 2003, p. 3): learning a language is not restricted to, for example, early childhood or school years. Age has, however, been defined as an important factor in language acquisition. For example, it is often suggested that a speaker can only achieve native or native-like competence in a language that s/he has learnt in childhood (usually the age limit has been set around puberty; see e.g. Singleton, 2001, p. 79). Moreover, many SLA studies have focused on language learning of children and the institutional learning at school. In contrast to this body of research, the current study focuses on the experiences of adult learners; see chapter 2.2.2 for further discussion of adults as language learners.

Fifthly, Doughty and Long (2003) consider the setting of SLA as naturalistic and/or instructed (p. 3). The same differentiation has sometimes been defined as informal and formal learning. Along the lines of current research, for example Koivistoinen (2016) points out that the strict division of the settings of language learning into formal and informal has been questioned (p. 14). The new perspectives include sociocultural and ecological theories, in which an important aspect is the focus on language use in everyday environments, and according to which the learner's "active engagement in semiotic – not just linguistic – and interactional activity creates the affordances (or not) for language acquisition" (Candlin & Sarangi, p. xi). However, in practice, formal settings represent the still dominating traditional view of language learning (Koivistoinen 2016, p. 19). Koivistoinen summarises that this traditional view is manifested through teacher's self-perceptions, the design of learning environments, the pedagogy and tools used in language teaching and learning, as well as in the traditional learner's role pupils adapt to in school situations (pp. 19–20). At the same time, the new views of language learning are changing this traditional view: as Koivistoinen (2016) notes, "[t]he relationship between pupils' in-class and out-of-class language-related . . . practices is becoming a central concern in current language education when pedagogical designs are considered" (p. 20). In other words, the strict division between formal and informal language learning that has been established in both theories and practices of language learning and teaching seems to be fading. This study, in terms of the traditional distinction, covers both formal and informal settings of language learning. The fact that this distinction is fading is presented by examining the use of languages both in the Finnish class and outside the class, although the focus is on in-class language teaching.

Doughty and Long (2003) mention another aspect regarding the setting of SLA as well, i.e. the division into a foreign language, second language and lingua franca setting (p. 3). Block (2003) makes the same division, with the exception that instead of a lingua franca setting, he talks of a naturalistic context (p. 48–55). Foreign language is a language that is not being used in the social environment of the learner outside the learning context; it is learnt in a formal setting, for example the foreign languages learnt at school. Second language, in contrast, is a language that is used in the society, but is not the first language of the learner. This is the setting in the case of, for example, immigrants who are learning the language of their new country of residence. Second language learning, therefore, refers to both

formal and informal learning. The term lingua franca means a common language, or contact language, that often is not the first language of any of the speakers (see e.g. Canagarajah, 2007); this kind of situation could be, for example, a work place in Finland where English is used as the means of communication. In Block's approach, the foreign and second language settings are both formal settings, the opposite of which is the naturalistic setting (at the same time a second language setting in the sense that the target language is spoken in the surrounding community) (pp. 48–55). In this study, the concept SLA that includes the term 'second language' is used as a general term including both second and foreign language contexts, unless otherwise specified.

In the previous chapter (2.1.1), language was defined as a system of various levels, for example morphological and syntactic. One focus of SLA where these levels are clearly present is, for example, the analysis of learner's development of competence in a second language on these different levels (see e.g. Cenoz & Gorter, 2011, pp. 356–357). In the current theories in SLA, however, focus has shifted or widened to examine increasingly not only the 'what', but also the 'how' in language learning; that is, the emergence of language and learning. The current theories in SLA, of which the sociocultural and ecological theories have already been mentioned, perceive language and learning as social action, emerging in interaction. Central to these theories is their focus on meaning-making, context and affordances: the learner is an active participant, an agent, who is interacting with others as well as with and within the world (e.g. van Lier, 2000).

The sociocultural theory is based on Vygotsky's theory of human mind, according to which mind and the relationships between humans and the world – thus, also learning – are mediated (Lantolf, 2000, p. 1; van Lier, 2004, p. 80). These relationships are mediated with the aid of historical, cultural and social artefacts and activities, or tools (van Lier, 2004, p. 80). Language is one of the symbolic tools used in mediation (Lantolf, 2000, p. 1) – in addition to symbolic tools, mediation is done by concrete, physical tools as well (Tammelin-Laine, 2014, p. 26). Vygotsky saw learning as a dual process of internalisation, in which learning proceeds from the social to the individual level (Tammelin-Laine, 2014, p. 26). Similarly, van Lier (2000) traces the ecological approach back to Vygotsky's theories, together with those of Bakhtin, Dewey and Peirce. In addition, the sociocultural perspective connects

Vygotsky's theory to Leontiev's activity theory, in which activity is seen to consist of not only action, but also of motivation and spatial and temporal conditions (Lantolf, 2000, p. 8).

The sociocultural and ecological perspectives provide an alternative for the previously dominant psycholinguistic, cognitive view of language learning. Representing the sociocultural and ecological perspective, van Lier (2000) questions the cognitive conception of learning as a process operated by computational mechanisms taking place in the brain (p. 246) which is often seen through the metaphor of a container (p. 257). Another idea van Lier questions is that activity and interaction have only indirect relations to learning, as contexts that provide material for the cognitive processes of the brain (p. 246). That is, according to the cognitive perception, learning is "ultimately a matter of change in an individual's internal mental state" (Doughty & Long, 2003, p. 4), and the social serves only as a context that influences learning (Doughty & Long, 2003, p. 4). The ecological approach, on the contrary, suggests that social activity and especially the interaction in which the learner engages are central to learning, insomuch that "they *are* learning" (van Lier, 2000, p. 246). Thus, the learner – not the brain of the learner – is an active participant in the process that takes place as the learner is acting and interacting in and with the social context, through processes of meaning-making (van Lier, 2000, p. 246). In the sociocultural and ecological approaches, it could be said that the cognitive element is present in learning as the cognitive skills of the learner which come to use in the social context (Tammelin-Laine, 2014, p. 24).

According to van Lier (2007), learning requires an active agent (p. 53) who engages in meaningful action (2000, p. 252): "The fuel for learning in an ecological perspective is not 'input' or 'exercises', but engagement" (van Lier, 2004, p. 98). A meaningful environment that provides opportunities for action generates those affordances that are relevant to the agent (van Lier 2000, p. 252; 2004, p. 80, 92). An affordance is not a property of the environment, but a relationship between the environment (or an object) and the agent (van Lier, 2000, p. 252). Thus, the environment can only afford opportunities, but the agent determines which of them are useful, in other words, which of them become affordances (van Lier, 2000, p. 252). For example, a speaker of FSL can encounter many potential affordances in the everyday life, but if the speaker does not engage actively with this

environment, the affordances will not be realised, and learning will not emerge. This example highlights the centrality of interaction in learning, and the perception of both language and learning (and affordances) as relationships (e.g. van Lier, 2000).

Compared to the ecological approach, the traditional theories of language learning create a clear dichotomy between the learner and the social context: as has been traditionally depicted, the process of language acquisition emphasises the psychological process that takes places within the person or, more restrictedly, in the head or brain, whereas the social aspect is presented by language use only (Kramsch, 2000, p. 133). As the social has become central in the ecological and sociocultural approaches for conceptualising both language and learning, also a shift of view from a language learner to a language user has become apparent (e.g. Firth & Wagner, 1998; Kramsch & Whiteside, 2007; Larsen-Freeman, 2002). When the focus was on the learner, discourse would be viewed merely as a source of input, whereas the focus on the user perceives that language is learnt by using it to meaningful actions and achievements that are brought forth by the social setting itself (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2007, p. 909–911). Along similar lines, Pavlenko and Lantolf (2000) talk about participants instead of learners.

In this study, the respondents are positioned by the researcher as learners of Finnish, but the focus of study is indeed their (and their interlocutors') use of languages. The label of a 'student' in this study is based on the respondents' role established in the in-class learning situation, the language practices of which the study aspires to examine. Moreover, the students are identified as multilingual speakers of languages. Their multilingual profiles are drawn based on the data they provide on their language background and use of languages. This way, although they are positioned rather traditionally as learners of Finnish in the classroom, they are at the same time seen as users of languages – of both the target language and other languages. At the same time, the researcher recognises that the subject position of a learner is one given to the participants by the researcher herself. Furthermore, the participants, students of Finnish, are from the start seen as having multiple and shifting identities as multilingual users of languages, emerging in the social everyday situations and interactions.

2.1.3 Native speaker and non-native speaker

What is called a monolingual bias in SLA has included the measurement of second language competence in comparison to that of a native speaker (NS) (e.g. Cenoz & Gorter, 2011, p. 357). This view placed the learners in a position where they were defined by what they were not, that is, as non-native speakers (NNS) (e.g. Kramsch & Whiteside, 2007, p. 908). Consequently, learners could never achieve the level of competence they were compared to: at most, they could become 'near-native speakers' (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2007, p. 908). This meant that the categorisations of both NS and NNS were seen as pre-existing and stable, and the importance of, for example, the environment or the interlocutor for the NNS's performance would therefore be underestimated (Firth & Wagner, 1997, p. 294; Kramsch & Whiteside, 2007, p. 911).

The unattainable NS-like competence was based on an idealised view of a fully competent NS, and moreover, of a monolingual NS who would speak a homogeneous standard language (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2007, p. 910). This is the reason why these concepts and the way in which they were used are today seen as monolingually biased. As Kramsch and Whiteside (2007) summarise, this idealised NS was visible in the SLA research as well, as aims "to identify a teachable body of knowledge that would help the learner's interlanguage approximate, ever more closely, NS ways of speaking" (p. 908). Today, according to the changed view of the NS, the term interlanguage has also been replaced by the term learner language that is not restricted as a concept that defines a distinct end to the learning process (Firth & Wagner, 1998, p. 91), and can better accommodate concentration on the learner's skills rather than deficiencies.

This change of view from monolingualism to multilingualism has been motivated by the evident presence multilingualism: as Kramsch and Whiteside (2007) demonstrated already ten years ago, "[i]n the last 10 years, homogeneous speech communities made up of monolingual, monocultural nationals have become less and less of a reality" (p. 911). Today the multilingualism of speech communities, and of individuals, is the reality that has become recognised by SLA researchers as well. Thus, researchers acknowledge that a native speaker is actually an individual who has learnt other

languages, dialects or sociolects in addition to the native language – and the varieties of the native language the speaker speaks may not include the standard variety at all (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2007, pp. 917–918). Moreover, if language is seen as a dynamic, evolving system, its learning must correspond to this nature that is characterised by being never complete (Larsen-Freeman, 2002, p. 43). Evidently, from this perspective the concepts of NS and NNS become vague, and their meaning for language learning even more so.

2.2 Specific factors of SLA in this study

English has been the language that has been widely studied as the target language in SLA research, and consequently, many theories and generalisations are based on these studies. In the next chapter, the field of FSL will be discussed, and some notions that are specific to Finnish as the target language will be explored. In addition, two factors that are central for the forthcoming research, namely adults and immigrants as language learners, will be discussed in the following chapters.

2.2.1 Finnish as a second language

English as a second language (ESL) has been the dominating target language in SLA research, which is understandable considering the extent to which English is studied and spoken around the world: an estimate of 1.5 billion people in the world speak English, of which approximately only a quarter are L1-speakers (Statista, 2016). However, although many theories and processes of language learning may be essentially the same regardless of the target language, also language-specific research is needed. For example, Suni (2008) notes that the learning of morphology in interaction has not been studied much, because in an analytic language such as English these issues arise only sparingly (p. 14). Finnish, in comparison, is an agglutinative language characterised by its rich morphology, and thus morphology is central in the learning process of Finnish as an L2. On the practical and pedagogical level, the differences between languages affect the learning, and thus also teaching, of a language. On the other hand, research concentrating on a language that is not Indo-European can impact theories

that have been suggested based on research on these languages, and in addition, bring forth phenomena worth considering in the mainstream research as well (Suni, 2012).

The concept and discipline of Finnish as a second language is relatively new: it has emerged only during the 1980s–1990s, with the increased number of immigrants and refugees, and consequently the increased need to teach Finnish as an L2 (Latomaa & Nuolijärvi, 2005, p. 162; Suni, 2008, p. 29). Before that, immigrants would be offered Finnish courses at universities and by some third-sector providers; no large numbers of FSL students needed to be catered for. A longer tradition exists from the Finnish as a foreign language (FFL) contexts at universities around the world, but these contexts provide a very specific setting for a specific group of learners. This, and the experiences in teaching Finnish to the L1-speakers of Swedish in Finland, provided the background for the emergence of a distinct focus on FSL. (Suni, 2008, p. 30.)

The definitions of Finnish as a second language (*suomi toisena kielenä*) and Finnish as a foreign language (*suomi vieraana kielenä*) follow the general descriptions presented in chapter 2.1.2: FSL refers to a situation in which the learner is living in a Finnish-speaking environment, whereas FFL refers to a situation in which the learner is living in an environment in which Finnish is not spoken. As Suni (2008) notes, these definitions of FSL/FFL are equal in the sense that neither of the terms is subordinate to the other, whereas the English term second language is a general term, and thus superordinate to the term foreign language (p. 29). This difference between the English and Finnish terms reflects the much longer tradition of large-scale immigration and second language teaching in the Anglophone world (Suni, 2008, p. 29–30). Nevertheless, perhaps the almost ten years since Suni's dissertation have seen such changes in the Finnish FSL/FFL discourse as well that instead of speaking strictly of either FSL or FFL, the Finnish term *S2* is taking the place of a general term covering both (second and foreign language) situations. This paper follows the English-based tradition in the theory section when speaking about second language, unless otherwise specified, because this has been the convention practiced in the reference material. However, the specific setting of the present research is a second language (not a foreign language) context, and this meaningful difference is therefore clarified here.

Martin (1999) considers FSL research as an area within the Fennistic research tradition that has contributed new phenomena, new kinds of data and different methodological emphases to the research (p. 161). Perhaps the strong connection with Fennistic tradition partly explains the limited extent to which multilingual perspectives have been present in FSL research: Martin notes that learner's mother tongue and other previously learnt languages are always **in the background** in FSL research (p. 161). As areas of research interest that touch upon multilingualism, Martin mentions other languages' influence on the target language (Finnish), and the different learning processes of L1 and L2. Thus, an area of FSL research is, for example, comparing the learning processes of L1 Finnish in the case of Finnish children and L2 Finnish in the case of immigrant children. (Martin, 1999, p. 161.) In the present study, however, multilingualism is placed in the centre of attention, which means that while Finnish is considered the target language, the role of other languages in the learning process is being emphasised.

On the other hand, FSL research has connections to SLA research, especially to the cognitive tradition that acknowledges the differences in the learning processes of different languages. This means that instead of a universal grammar, language learners have learnt different linguistic skills according to their mother tongue and, likewise, they need different skills in the learning process of the L2 according to the target language, noticing for example similarities and dissimilarities between the L1 and L2. (Martin, 1999, pp. 162–163.) When FSL research leans on this tradition, it acknowledges that in order to study language learning, knowledge of both the target language and other languages in the repertoire of the learner is needed (Martin, 1999, p. 163).

On practical level, multilingualism is indeed present in the Finnish curricula: the current curriculum defines that the special aim of FSL teaching is to support the pupil's multilingual development. In addition, the curriculum states that all other languages that the pupil speaks are to be appreciated and utilised in the FSL teaching. (Opetushallitus, 2014, p. 118.) The same appears in the curriculum for adults' basic education as well, with the slight difference in the last statement that the **aim** is to utilise in teaching the other languages that the student speaks (Opetushallitus, 2015b, p. 67). The previous curriculum (Opetushallitus, 2004) defined that the target of FSL teaching was pupil's functional

bilingualism (p. 96) – an explicit change towards multilingualism can thus be detected on Finnish policy-making level as well.

However, according to Martin (1999), at the turn of the century, FSL research had not yet established itself actively within the international SLA research tradition, in terms of studying language learning from the premises of SLA theories (Martin, 1999, pp. 163–164; see also Suni, 2008, p. 29). Recently, attempts to establish these connections between FSL and SLA have been made (see e.g. Suni, 2012). In this study, connections are made to previous SLA research, and FSL research is viewed as a part of this wider context. Partly the connection between these fields is made because the researcher herself has background in both Finnish and English philology, but as said, this connection has also been called for from within the FSL field (see Suni, 2012).

Concerning language teaching and learning, studies within FSL have covered, for example, the learning progress of learners (e.g. the early development of FSL; see Suni, 2008); learner Finnish (e.g. Ivaska, 2015); teacher-talk ratio regarding the continuum between colloquial language and standard language (Storhammar, 1994); and the learning results of both school pupils (e.g. Suni, 1996) and adults (e.g. Korhonen, 2013). Recently, a study concerning the FSL teaching of illiterate adults has also been conducted (Tammelin-Laine, 2014).

The present study investigates students' perspective on multilingualism in FSL teaching. In recent years, multilingualism has become a much-discussed topic in many fields of research, which will be elaborated on more in chapter 2.3. Within the field of FSL, some Master's theses have recently discussed language ideologies and the use of languages in teaching from the perspective of the teacher (see Bogdanoff, 2016; Hänninen, 2014; Jäppinen, 2014). However, to the knowledge of the author, no research has been done that would have combined all the different factors present in this study: FSL, multilingualism, students' perspective and experiences and adult, immigrant students.

2.2.2 Adult learners

The present study focuses on adult learners of Finnish. Language learning is a process with individual variation, and some general factors that affect this variation have been identified (see e.g. Skehan, 1989). These factors have sometimes been divided into those that can be traced to the language learner as an individual, i.e. individual factors, and into those that can be traced to the learning environment, i.e. social factors (Sajavaara, 1999, p. 89; Abello-Contesse, Chacón-Beltrán, López-Jiménez, & Torreblanca-López, 2006, p. 7). According to Sajavaara (1999), one of the most often presented individual factors is the learner's age (p. 89; see also Singleton, 2001). In this chapter, some issues concerning the age factor are presented, concentrating on their relations to the adult learner.

A general proposition regarding the age factor in SLA is that the earlier the first exposure to the L2, the higher the attained level of proficiency (Singleton, 2001, p. 85). This generalisation has, however, been contested by individual cases in which L2 learning that has begun in adolescence or in adulthood has resulted in 'native-like' proficiency. Several of these studies have shown that, for example, some learners can acquire an accent in L2 (target languages being e.g. English, French and Dutch) "which is perceived as native by native speakers" (Singleton, 2001, p. 80; see also Bongaerts, Mennen, & van der Slik, 2000; Bongaerts, Summeren, Planken, & Schils, 1997). Similar results have been received on grammaticality judgement as well (e.g. Birdsong, 1992). In effect, this kind of results contradict the notion of a critical period after which language learning would not be 'complete' (Spada, 2015, p. 73), because this supposed period should be manifested through an unambiguous linkage between the attained L2 competence and the age of first exposure (Singleton, 2001, p. 83). Noteworthy as well here is the fact that considering the outcome of L2 learning, and in the discussion on the age factor in general, learner's competence is often compared to that of a NS. In analysing these studies, it has to be remembered that the evaluation methods used and the definition of target competence strongly influence the results and their suggested applications.

Despite the general observations of the advantages of children in language learning, and although the learning processes of adults and children are different from each other, Sajavaara (1999) concludes

that neither group has been proven to be ultimately weaker than the other (p. 89). The common illusion that children are better at learning languages arises partly from the length of time children are allotted for learning: considering the L1, children spend years before they, for example, begin learning literacy skills. In comparison, for example illiterate adult immigrants are in Finland expected to gain literacy in Finnish, i.e. in their L2, during a 10-month course. (See Tammelin-Laine, 2014.) Another point of view is provided by Singleton (2001) who argues that especially young immigrant children may switch their dominant language from the L1 to the L2 and this, in addition to the formation of the linguistic and cultural identity towards that of the natives in the host country, may result in the L2 becoming rather as an L1 for these children (p. 84). This is of course also a question of how bilingualism is determined, a discussion into which the extent of this paper does not allow entering in detail. If such a swift of an L1 is considered possible, however, the studies that compare the L2 proficiency of immigrant children and adults would obviously need reconsideration (Singleton, 2001, p. 84). Finally, most studies on the age factor have focused on L2 learning in the naturalistic environment, and the general observations of the advantages of children compared to adults have been based on these results. In studies that compare L2 learning in foreign-language contexts, older learners have actually been found to both achieve higher levels of proficiency, at least in some respects, and progress faster than younger learners. (Spada, 2015, pp. 73–74).

The discussion above has aimed at demonstrating the underlying controversiality of the perhaps seemingly straightforward issue of learner's age and its influences on language learning. In fact, recent studies have focused more on the environmental factors, for example the time spent in the host country and with the native speakers, as determinants instead of the age of the learner/speaker (Singleton, 2001, p. 84). These approaches might be more fruitful from the sociocultural and ecological perspectives as well.

However, even if age is not considered as a factor that inevitably determines the level of proficiency possible for the learner, it is a factor that has consequences for and should be considered from the pedagogical perspective. Adults differ from children already by their longer life-experience that has also included experiences in learning, if not in L2 learning as well. As the strengths of adult learners,

Sajavaara (1999) mentions their ability to consciously memorise learning content and their possibilities to rely on a wide variety of learning strategies (p. 89). In another list of the advantages of adult learners, Saville-Troike (2006) mentions learning capacity, analytic ability, pragmatic skills, greater knowledge of L1, and real-world knowledge (p. 82). In pedagogical practices, the application of these advantages and abilities of adult learners could mean, for example, the utilisation of learners' knowledge of and skills in other languages; real-life examples and references to learners' experiences and expertise; or consultation of the learners on their preferred learning strategies. One objective of the present research is to find out whether, and to what extent, the advantage of multilingual competence of adult immigrant learners is being utilised in some instances of FSL teaching.

In practical terms, adult FSL learners in Finland attend various kinds of Finnish courses organised by numerous different providers. The National Board of Education has formulated a national curriculum for integration training (*kotoutumiskoulutus*), and in addition, if adult immigrants have not participated in formal education before, they may attend schooling comparable to the Finnish comprehensive school[1] and high school[2], which also have a national curriculum (Opetushallitus, 2012a; 2015a; 2015b). Furthermore, there is a specific course for illiterate adult immigrants (Opetushallitus, 2012b). Otherwise, adult immigrants learn Finnish in different language courses organised by universities, private education providers and third-sector providers, among others. Therefore, the institutional settings and spaces in which the students are involved cannot be observed as one, but as various and many. Moreover, the options available vary from a city to another. In the present study, all students were participating in courses organised by the third sector.

[1] The Finnish comprehensive school covers the years 1–9, during which pupils are 7–15 years old. The comprehensive schooling for adults aims at providing students with the same learning content, although the subjects studied may vary. Students receive a certificate which allows them to apply for secondary education (i.e. high school or vocational school).
[2] The Finnish high school lasts approximately 3 years, is content-wise similar for both youth and adults, and ends with matriculation examination, which allows the students to apply for higher education.

2.2.3 Immigrant learners

From a societal perspective, being an immigrant could be considered as another characteristic of the learner: although immigrants form a heterogeneous group, they are subject to certain regulations and rights concerning their possibilities to Finnish language teaching and to the use and retention of their mother tongue. While the previous chapter discussed adult immigrants concentrating on adults as learners, this chapter will discuss some specific issues concerning, in particular, immigrants as learners.

Finland has become a recognisably multilingual, multicultural state only after 1970s, the decade that marks the beginning of noteworthy immigration to Finland, along with the first refugees taken to the country (Lehtihalmes, Stolt, Tarvainen, & Launonen, 2010, p. 4). Traditionally, Finland had been a country of emigration, not immigration (Latomaa, 2007, p. 180). Since 1970s, the number of immigrants to Finland has increased steadily, until the recent significant increase in the number of refugees and asylum seekers during years 2015–2016. In the following statistics, an immigrant is determined as a person who was born in another country than Finland, and resides in Finland permanently (according to the civic data).

The statistics show that in 1990, only 1.3% (64 922 people) of the total population in Finland were immigrants, while in 2015, the number of immigrants was 6.1% (337 162 people) of the total population (Statistics Finland, 2015a). Furthermore, in 2015, there were speakers of approximately 150 different languages (other than Finnish, Swedish or Sámi) listed in the statistics (Statistics Finland, 2016). The languages with most speakers were Russian, Estonian, Somali, English, Arabic, Kurdish and Chinese, which all had more than 10 000 speakers. In addition to these, there were over 5000 speakers of Albanian, Farsi, Thai, Vietnamese, Turkish, Spanish and German. The total number of people with a mother tongue other than Finnish, Swedish or Sámi was almost 330 000. (Statistics Finland, 2015b.) In comparison, in 1990 the number of speakers of foreign languages was less than 25 000 (Statistics Finland, 2015c). These numbers demonstrate the de facto multilingual reality in which people are living in Finland today.

Compared to foreign language teaching at for example schools, the FSL situation differs in that the learners and the teacher do not necessarily share a common language – other than Finnish, which is in the process of becoming such a language. This together with the fact that the FSL students have experiences from different communication and interaction cultures and practices are significant aspects in teaching immigrant learners. (See e.g. Suni, 2008, p. 30.) Moreover, immigrants have various educational backgrounds, which affects their FSL learning. Not only previously learnt languages, but also previous experiences in formal education teach students general learning skills. Tammelin-Laine (2014) notes that adult immigrants often come from countries of non-Western traditions in education (p. 74). Therefore, together with concentrating on teaching immigrant learners the Western and Finnish ways of teaching and learning, the learning process of immigrant learners might benefit from the teacher's switch of perspective to one more familiar to the students. Familiar practices support learning and create a feeling of acceptance, which is further beneficial for learning. (Tammelin-Laine, 2014, p. 74.)

The second language context of learning a language is beneficial when the everyday social contexts generate affordances for language learning. In practice, the possibilities of the immigrant learners of FSL to use Finnish in their everyday life vary: adult immigrants may – either by a deliberate choice or unwillingly – spend most of their time with fellow speakers of their L1, or with other non-Finnish-speaking contacts. In these situations, the linguistic environment is not an L2 environment in the richest sense of the term. Younger immigrants, in comparison, are perhaps forced to more Finnish contacts through the Finnish school system, and they might thus be involved more in informal social interaction in Finnish-speaking speech communities as well. (E.g. Halonen & Kokkonen, 2008, p. 137; see also Singleton, 2001, p. 84.) Here, some of the issues that need to be considered in teaching FSL to adult immigrant learners have been presented. The next chapter focuses explicitly on the concept that ties the whole theoretical framework of this paper together, i.e. multilingualism.

2.3 Multilingualism

The central approach in the present research is multilingualism; it is the lens through which the field of SLA and the phenomena under study are viewed. Multilingualism could be approached through the antonym of the term, monolingualism. As Blackledge and Creese (2010) demonstrate, at a communal level monolingualism is a fabrication or a myth (p. 7). The formation of the European nation-state was strongly based on monolingual thinking, i.e. an idea of 'one state, one language'. Language, from a monolingual standpoint, has been used in the construction of nationality and national identity. Consequently, multilingualism can be perceived as a threat to national identity and national unity. (Blackledge & Creese, 2010, p. 7.) For example, in Finland the formation of the nation-state caused the marginalisation of Sámi languages and assimilation of the speakers of these and other minority languages (Pietikäinen, 2010, p. 10). (The political dimensions of multilingualism will be further demonstrated in relation to experiences and opinions on multilingualism; see chapter 2.3.2).

As Pietikäinen (2010) states, however, the borders between languages and between speakers of languages are built by people (p. 8). A monolingual nation-state is a fabrication, because not all speakers of the same language are members of the same nation-state, and not all members of a nation-state speak the same language. The idea of the monolingual nation-state cannot withstand the "diversity and variety of language(s) spoken within many states" (Blackledge & Creese, 2010, p. 7). Moreover, languages are not static and immutable, unless they are to be regarded as extinct; languages need to adapt to the changing and new social and cultural contexts (see Blackledge & Creese 2010; Saarikivi, 2006). Immigrants form only one factor that challenges the nationalist discourse on language, and functions as a source of diversity and variation (Blackledge & Creese, p. 7).

Multilingualism could also be approached through a comparison to the term bilingualism. A strict view on bilingualism requires that a person has similar, NS-level competence in two languages, and extending this view to multilingualism would mean that a person is a NS of three or more languages. As has already become clear in the previous discussion in this paper, this kind of view of language competence and of the fundamental nature of languages is monolingually biased, and thus a wider

definition of multilingualism is called for. Instead of considering languages as coherent, separate entities in the possession of a speaker, languages are here seen as resources that become available for a speaker in the action and interaction in and with the world, in all their complexity and variability (e.g. van Lier, 2000; 2004). Therefore, humans, as well as human interaction, are considered essentially multilingual in nature.

The different linguistic resources that are and become available for the speaker in social interaction can be referred to as linguistic repertoire. The concept of repertoire is based on the functional view of language: it embodies the idea that linguistic resources (languages, dialects, styles, discourses, genres, expressions, and so forth) can be used to perform actions. Thus, linguistic repertoire and the resources it encompasses do not refer to or evaluate in any measure the level of language skills or proficiency. (See Pietikäinen, 2010, p. 14.) Instead, linguistic repertoire is a dynamic set of emerging resources that come into being through different functions and actions, founded on the performative nature of language. In addition, the term 'communicative repertoire' has been suggested, which further emphasises all the semiotic (not merely linguistic) resources available for the individual (e.g. Hall, Cheng, & Carlson, 2006, p. 232; Rymes, 2010).

The concept of linguistic repertoire can in some places question the classification of languages into L1s and L2s, or into first, second and foreign languages; in the multilingual world, a definite distinction of these can be ambiguous (Dufva, 2010, p. 26). For example, English is traditionally labelled in Finland as a foreign language taught at school, but in practice approximately 90% of Finnish people use English in their free-time at least sometimes (Leppänen et al., 2011, p. 106). The definition of an L1, or mother tongue, can also be problematic: these terms can refer to the first language in the order in which the speaker has learnt different languages; to the language of one or both parents; to the language spoken at home; to the language the speaker identifies with; to the language the speaker speaks the best or the most, to name but a few dimensions to the question (see e.g. Stevens, 1999). In addition, the L1 or mother tongue can be defined differently by the speaker and by an outside observer, for example researcher, teacher or institution. Finally, considering all these dimensions, a

speaker may have more than only one L1 or mother tongue, which in turn questions the categorisations of L1 and L2.

Mother tongue is, after all, only one label for a language within the linguistic repertoire of an individual. In the research on multilingualism, linguistic repertoire has been studied, for example, by methods of ethnography and discourse analysis. Studies have aimed at describing how language users experience their own linguistic repertoire and the possibilities and actions it both affords them and confines them to. (Pietikäinen, 2010, pp. 14–15.) Together with exploring the actual research questions posed, at the side the present study aims at making the multilingual backgrounds and profiles of FSL learners visible. In order to be able to encourage and support their students in using their multilingual resources in learning, the Finnish teachers must first be aware of the existence of these resources.

In this study, multilingualism is treated as an ideology and theory as well as a practice. According to Pietikäinen (2010), a language ideology means persistent beliefs about and conceptions of languages, their value and usability, their interrelations and their speakers (p. 13). Thus, the understanding of multilingualism as a resource and languages as resources with situated variation can be seen as ideological statements (Pietikäinen, 2010, p. 13). In a dictionary entry for multilingualism, The Oxford English dictionary defines: "The state or condition of being multilingual, or the policy of promoting this; the ability to speak many languages; the use of many languages" (Multilingualism, n. (n. d.)), which demonstrates this commonly understood dual nature of the term referring to both ideology and practice. Furthermore, multilingualism can refer to both an individual speaker and the social context (Dufva, 2010, p. 21), represented by, for instance, a speech community or the society.

Multilingualism is in this paper considered as a wide concept and term that ties together various current approaches to language learning and teaching. In the following chapter, these approaches are discussed as relevant in the SLA and especially in the FSL context.

2.3.1 Multilingualism in SLA and FSL

Perhaps surprisingly, the multilingual aspect in language learning has not been in the centre of attention in SLA research. Surprisingly, because today SLA researchers venture as far as to argue that multilingualism (or 'multilinguality') is the "default assumption in the description of language" (Dufva, Suni, Aro, & Salo, 2011, p. 109) and thus "a starting point" (Dufva et al., 2011, p. 109) when discussing language learning and teaching. As Sajavaara (2006) summarises, in the early days of the SLA research (in the 1940s and 1950s), behaviourism dominated the perception of learning and, consequently, the mother tongue of the learner was considered to affect learning, but only as a filter through which the new language would be learnt (p. 11). Attention was error-focused, and mother tongue was not considered to contribute any beneficial influence for SLA; on the contrary, the influence of mother tongue was perceived as interference (Sajavaara, 2006, p. 11). From this background emerged contrastive analysis which had both theoretical and applied orientation to comparison between different languages (Sajavaara, 2006, p. 12–13). Contrastive research is still conducted; an instance of this is Nissilä's (2011) study on the impact of Estonian language on the learning of Finnish.

Cognitive perspective on learning changed the focus of SLA research to language acquisition in natural settings where the mother tongue was seen to have little influence. Later in 1980s–1990s, the influence and interaction between the mother tongue and other languages was almost completely ignored or denied by many researchers. This thinking changed again in 1990s, this time to a view where all languages in the language repertoire of the speaker are seen to be in interaction with each other. (Sajavaara, 2006, p. 11–12.) In other words, not only the influence of the L1 on other languages, but also the influence of other languages on the L1 is acknowledged. Thus, the transfer from L1 or other languages to the target language, which was previously seen as interference, is now discussed under the terms crosslinguistic influence or bidirectional or multidirectional transfer – and rather than interference, the different aspects and occurrences of the phenomenon are in focus (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011; Pavlenko & Jarvis, 2002).

One instance in which the influences or interactions between languages have been focused on is the study of code-switching and code-mixing. As Cenoz and Gorter (2011) summarise, in the discussion of code-mixing and code-switching in relation to bi- or multilinguals the concepts 'soft boundaries' and 'hard boundaries' between languages have been introduced (p. 357). The first represents the multilingual speaker whose languages are in interaction with each other; the latter, on the contrary, describes the situation where languages are separated, for example in school contexts (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011, p. 357). The hard boundaries, in fact, emerge in connection with monolingual thinking, where each language is considered as its own, separate entity and interaction between languages is not desired. In fact, even a bilingual is then seen as "two monolinguals in one person" (Cenoz & Gorter, 2011, p. 357). Within FSL research, code-mixing and the wider field of interaction have been studied from the perspectives of both teachers and language learners/users by analysing, for example, the communication strategies of FSL learners (e.g. Kuisma, 2001; Vuontisjärvi & Halme, 2008), the interaction among multi-ethnic, multilingual youth in Helsinki (Lehtonen, 2015), the means teachers use in teaching vocabulary (Järvinen, 2001), and the language variation in a bilingual classroom (Lehtimaja, 2001).

Another instance of the discussion on multilingualism and language influences within the field of SLA could be presented through the concept of multicompetence. Cook (1991) has presented the term multicompetence to replace the L2 learner's comparison to a NS. This view emphasises that L2 learners and users are different from L1 speakers, and they should be considered and evaluated as such (Cook, 1991; 1999). Furthermore, Cook encourages teachers to use their students' L1s in teaching activities, even with a multilingual class and when the teacher cannot speak the L1s of the students (Cook, 1999). In the initial definition of the term, Cook (1991) formulated the definition of multicompetence as "the compound state of mind with two grammars" (p. 112) and this view of the languages as distinct systems roused criticism (e.g. Hall, Cheng, & Carlson, 2006). Hall et al. (2006) propose a usage-based view on multicompetence that sees language knowledge as dynamic, and responds better to contemporary multilingual thinking in that it acknowledges the multilingualism of 'monolinguals' as well. The cognitive and social processes that are used to construct language knowledge are similar, regardless of the number of languages a person speaks. What creates the

differences in language knowledge is based on the extent of exposure to variable linguistic forms and on the social contexts and activities different individuals have encountered. (Hall et al., 2006, p. 230.)

In the light of current theories, language variation is a central element in language use. Moreover, languages are seen as resources, which creates a privileged position for the multilingual individual who is able to employ a wide variety of these resources, for example by means of code-switching. Instead of being an indication of deficiency or inability to express oneself in the dominant language, code-switching, among other means, can be used to display identity. (Kramsch & Whiteside, 2007, p. 911–912.) It can be said that the negotiation of multilingual and multicultural identities is one of the central functions of language in the contemporary multilingual world.

As the examples above demonstrate, multilingual issues are sometimes approached from the premise of monolingual thinking. Another such example is the understanding of multilingualism as the parallelism of languages (e.g. the use of Finnish and Swedish in the Finnish society) or as the sequential order of languages (e.g. the teaching of foreign languages after the L1 has been learnt) (Dufva, 2010, p. 22). Multilingual thinking, in contrast, emphasises that there is more to multilingualism than the presence of multiple, separate languages at the same time or in the same context. The fundamental multilingual nature of language produces contacts between different linguistic codes, which further produces different appearances of hybridisation. (Dufva, 2010, p. 24.) Thus, multilingualism is both the starting point and the result of language use; it is a ubiquitous element of language and language use that cannot be restricted to any singular, distinct pattern.

The developments of research do not directly influence classroom practices, however. For example, the majority of teachers in a study by De Angelis (2011) agreed with a statement that previously learnt languages help students in learning additional languages (p. 222). However, many of the same teachers believed that frequent use of an immigrant's L1 delays the learning of the L2 or causes confusion for the student (De Angelis, 2011, p. 222). These views present a rather behaviourist understanding of languages and language learning (De Angelis, 2011, p. 227–228). In another study, language teachers estimated that their previous language learning experiences had benefited their

own further language learning, but nevertheless, they did not see multilingualism automatically as an asset for their own students (Haukås, 2016).

Yet another practical aspect of multilingualism is the tuition in the L1s of immigrants in the host country. This is an issue that has been discussed on the level of European policies as well (e.g. EC, 2006; CM, 2008). Latomaa (2007) concludes that the recommendations that have, in general, supported the tuition in L1 have been based on the understanding that this practice is beneficial for integration, strengthens the identity of the immigrant, advances learning abilities and skills, and supports the learning of the majority language as well. European countries have, however, different policies and practices regarding the tuition in L1, and not all member states offer this tuition at all within the formal education system (Latomaa, 2007, p. 80). In Finland, tuition in L1 is not enacted by law, although the state allocates financial support for schools for this purpose (*Oma kieli*, 2009, p.12). Despite the tuition in L1, when Finnish immigrant pupils' language skills in Finnish and in their L1s were compared in a study by Muuri (2014), the findings were that according to the pupils' own estimations, their language skills were stronger in Finnish.

Against this background on multilingualism, the next chapter will discuss some experiences and opinions that have been presented on this topic.

2.3.2 Experiences and opinions on multilingualism

Multilingualism has been a controversial issue in public discussion (see e.g. Block, 2007). For example, in the United Kingdom, politicians have claimed that multilingual support delays the learning of English and that multilingualism is a factor that separates the nation (Blackledge & Creese, 2010, p. 9–10). In France, similar arguments have been presented, and in addition, the insufficient French skills of immigrants were linked to the violent riots of 2015. In the Netherlands, public funding for the tuition in immigrants' mother tongues was ceased in 2004, and at the same time the amount of teaching in Dutch as a second language was increased. (Latomaa, 2007, p. 181.) Similar arguments have been presented in Finland as well, for example by a Member of Parliament Mr Halla-aho, who has claimed

that the tuition in immigrants' mother tongues should be ceased, together with any support regarding the cultural identities of the immigrants (Ovaskainen, 2011). Moreover, even professionals may perceive the teaching of FSL as a temporary step on the way to the status of Finnish as a new mother tongue (Suni, 2008, p. 32).

From this background, multilingualism as a part of FSL teaching, and in the wider context as a part of integration practices, can emerge as problematic. From the SLA perspective, these views correspond to the thinking that other languages interfere in the process of language learning. Or as Blackledge and Creese (2010) worded in their study, one question they explored was whether languages were "kept separate, to prevent one contaminating the other" (p. 6). The opposite view presented in this paper sees multilingualism as not only the reality today, but as a potential advantage: languages are seen as resources in the language repertoire of the student, in the sense that they become available for the student, together with other (also non-verbal) means, according to the situation, the existing need and such factors as power relations and the social value of each language (see e.g. Kramsch & Whiteside, 2008; van Lier, 2000).

As for the opposite views to the previously presented, the capability of using multiple languages has also been regarded as a characteristic that increases the intellectual capacity and social capital of an individual (Dufva, 2010, p. 21): "[M]ultilingualism contributes to developing creativity by allowing access to other ways of thinking, interpreting the world and expressing the imagination" (CE, 2008). Multilingualism can be seen as beneficial for the society as well: according to multilingual ideology, instead of being problematic, multilingualism promotes democracy and social cohesion (Dufva, 2010, p. 21; EC, 2008). Based on these views on multilingualism, the European policy of language education has set a target that "[a]ll European citizens should be able to communicate in at least two languages other than their mother tongue" (EC, 2003; Dufva, 2010, p. 21). The European Council and Commission have made various communications and acts in which the member states are invited to promote multilingualism (e.g. CE, 2002; CE, 2014; EC, 2003; EC, 2008), and one of these is a European strategy for multilingualism (CE, 2008).

As Blackledge and Creese (2010) summarise, the views of politicians proceed into education policies and practices (p. 10). Moreover, as can be concluded from this discussion, multilingualism is the reality today. SLA theories have already switched the focus towards multilingual aspects, and the practice of L2 teaching needs to follow this development. Multilingualism is also already present in both European policies and in the Finnish national curriculum. For its part, the present study is one attempt at taking a step towards multilingual teaching practices.

3 Methodology

Survey has sometimes been defined as the third form of research between quantitative and qualitative research, because it often combines methods from both of these two distinct research traditions (Brown, 2011, p. 191). Moreover, some researchers contradict the strict juxtaposition of qualitative and quantitative research altogether (e.g. Kohlbacher, 2006). The features with which qualitative research is defined often include its nature to understand phenomena, as opposed to the approach of quantitative research to describe phenomena (e.g. Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2006, p. 27–30; 66–67). Flick (2007) defines that qualitative research "uses text as empirical material (instead of numbers), starts from the notion of the social construction of realities under study, is interested in the perspectives of participants, in everyday practices and everyday knowledge referring to the issue under study" (p. 2). These aspects apply in this study, as will be demonstrated in the following chapters.

The methods of analysis employed in this study were applied qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis. The qualitative analysis was supported with some simple quantitative measurements that helped to process the results and clarify the distribution of answers. In following chapters, these methods and the process of analysis will be discussed in more detail.

3.1 Qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis

Qualitative content analysis is characterised by its aim of systematic and detailed description of data, which is arrived at through the process of coding (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2006, p. 105; Schreier, 2014, p. 170). Qualitative content analysis focuses on both manifest meaning and latent meaning (Schreier, 2014, p. 173). It applies a constructionist approach on meaning, in other words, it sees that meaning is not readily available and existing in the data, but the researcher needs to construct the meaning through the process of analysis (Schreier, 2012, p. 2).

Qualitative content analysis was first mainly used in social sciences, but later on it has been adopted by diverse disciplines, such as psychology, nursing science, education and literary studies (Schreier, 2012, pp. 9–12). Qualitative content analysis developed from quantitative content analysis, and some versions of the method still share more common features with the quantitative research tradition than others (Schreier, 2012, p. 18). An early developer of the method, Kracauer (1952), positioned qualitative content analysis in opposition with the quantitative version emphasising the complex, holistic and context-dependent nature of meaning (see also Schreier, 2012, p. 13). In addition, Kracauer stated that the number of times an aspect of meaning appears in a text does not necessarily correspond with the importance of that aspect. In other words, frequency counts can be used to process the data, but they alone do not take into account the complexity of meaning. (Kracauer, 1952, pp. 638–640; Schreier, 2012, p. 13.)

In this study, frequencies were counted, but the focus was on the variety of answers. Because of the relatively small number of respondents and the essentially qualitative nature of this study, the starting point was that the perspective of each respondent contributes to forming an understanding of the whole. Therefore, even aspects that were mentioned only once in the data will be presented. The answers were coded and categorised, but often the selection of categories includes a category Other, which consists of the aspects that did not belong into any of the categories or were mentioned less than three times. The distribution of answers between the categories will be presented in figures. The figures provide an overview of the distribution of answers, but again, the details and various aspects within each category will be discussed, and they form the main interest in the analysis.

The approach to the analysis in this paper is inductive, data-driven: the categories into which the answers were coded were not predetermined, but instead, they were formed based on the answers of the respondents. The basic principle of data-driven analysis is that the units of analysis are chosen from the data, and previous research or any theories should not influence the analysis (Tuomi & Sarajärvi, 2006, p. 97). At the same time, to some extent the analysis here is theory-guided. In theory-guided analysis, the units of analysis are constructed from the data, but these can be analysed in the light of existing theories. In theory-driven analysis, instead, the units of analysis would be determined

before analysis, and the aim of the research would be theory-testing. (Tuomi-Sarajärvi, 2006, p. 98–100.) In this research, the answers will be discussed in connection with the theoretical framework. The first stage of analysis is data-driven, but especially in discussion (chapter 8), the theoretical framework is brought into interaction with the data-driven analysis. For example, the responses will be contrasted with the idea of language learning in meaningful everyday interaction, and with the understanding of languages as resources that emerge in interaction.

The systematic process of qualitative content analysis consists of a sequence of steps, as described, for example, in Schreier (2012, pp. 5–6). Already early on, after deciding on the research question and selecting the material, the researcher following these steps would build a coding frame. Based on the coding frame, the data is divided into units, and the coding frame is then tested and modified before the main analysis and finally, the interpretation of the results. (Schreier, 2012, pp. 5–6.) In this study, the process of qualitative content analysis is not followed step by step; rather, an application of the method is used. The systematic nature of qualitative content analysis that focuses only on specific aspects defined in the coding frame limits the results that can be derived using this method. As Schreier (2012) notes, qualitative content analysis does not provide "a holistic overview" of the data (pp. 3–4). Because the aim of this research was to obtain both a detailed and as holistic as possible a view of the phenomena, qualitative content analysis was supported with thematic analysis.

Braun and Clarke (2006) describe thematic analysis as "a method for identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (p. 79). Thus, a theme should represent a patterned, repeated response or meaning in the data, in relation to the research question (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 82.) However, in their discussion of the definition of a theme, Braun and Clarke note that a theme does not necessarily need to be present in many data items. They state that a theme is essentially defined by the judgement of the researcher. Moreover, a theme being a 'key' theme is based on "whether it captures something important in relation to the overall research question" (p. 82). In other words, a key theme is not necessarily the most prevalent theme across the data set. This view is in line with that of qualitative content analysis, regarding the relevance of different aspects of meaning.

Common to both qualitative content analysis and thematic analysis is the initial phase of analysis of reading and re-reading the data. Similarly, familiarity with and immersion in the data is required for initial coding of the data, which is a part of both approaches. (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 87; Schreier, 2014, pp. 175–177.) While verbal data, for example interviews, require transcribing, the data of the current research was already in the written form. However, the respondents had hand-written their answers in the questionnaires, and the first phase of processing the data was to copy the answers into a word processing program. This step served later data processing purposes, but it also helped the researcher to begin familiarising herself with the data. Each respondent was given an identification code and the answers were copied into tables formed for each question. At this phase, the answers were copied exactly in the original form, and these originals were saved. At the later phase of categorisation, a new copy of the originals was created, and this was edited as required. This procedure applies on the processing of answers to the open-ended questions. The numerical answers were processed separately, as described in chapter 3.2.

Although each respondent was given an identification code, in the analysis any extracts will be presented without the code, in order to avoid any unnecessary connections and thus, to protect the anonymity of the respondents. When the original answers were copied for the categorisation phase, the answers that had been written in Finnish were translated into English. The answers that had been written in English were edited, if needed, in order to correct errors that might affect understanding and readability. For ethical reasons, no original answers will be included in the analysis, to ensure the anonymity of the respondents. Furthermore, to protect the anonymity of both the respondents and the teachers referred to in the answers, in the quotes the teacher will always be referred to with the feminine personal pronoun. The teachers of the courses in question included both males and females.

Because the answers to each question were often short, and consisted of a thought, opinion or description, a whole answer for a question was defined as the unit of analysis. Sometimes, an aspect or a code could be referred to with only one word, and sometimes a whole longer answer was referring to only one aspect or code. The decided unit helped to retain the context of the response and the perspective of the respondent throughout the analysis.

The process of coding and categorisation depended on the type of the question in the questionnaire. For example, the answers to the open-ended questions regarding the teacher's and the students' use of languages in the FSL lessons were first categorised based on the languages mentioned. Therefore, for example the teacher's use of English in the lessons was analysed as a question of its own. For each answer in this category, the key words or the main idea of the answer was written in the table in a separate column. These were the aspects mentioned in the answers. For each answer, all aspects were named, and therefore an answer could get several notes or initial codes.

After initial coding, all codes named were considered, and some codes that seemed to be overlapping with another code were merged together. The answers were collated according to the codes, and codes that were mentioned in less than three answers were moved into a category Other, unless otherwise noted in the analysis. This choice was made to limit the number of codes, and at the same time, to find the most common codes for each question. A theme is, after all, a repeated pattern across the data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 89). Nevertheless, because the answers in category Other can present important aspects regarding the research questions, they will be discussed in the analysis as well.

The codes were compared with each other, and if applicable, categorised under a common theme. For example, in the answers on teacher's use of English the codes included Grammar, Vocabulary, Translations, Explanations, Understanding and Detailed communication. These were categorised so that the first four would form a category Teaching purposes and methods, while the last two would form a category Communication. These two categories were the main themes constructed from the answers, in other words, according to the analysis, the respondents mentioned aspects of teaching purposes and methods and aspects of communication regarding teacher's use of English in FSL teaching. Sometimes a code was sufficient enough to form a category of its own, in other words, a theme was represented in the answers by one aspect only. In such a case, the aspect was nevertheless connected to a larger theme. For example, regarding the students' use of English with the teacher, the aspect Questions was the only aspect in category Course interaction. Because the analysis was data-driven, the codes vary depending on the question and depending on the language

under consideration within a question. The different categories between, for example, Finnish and English within one question reflect the different aspects and themes that were central in the answers regarding each language.

Because of the variation in the coding process, the coding will be explained for each question or group of questions as applicable in the analysis. For example, the answers to question 14 of the questionnaire were first coded as either Yes, No or Mixed, whereas the answers to questions in part III of the questionnaire were first coded according to the people mentioned, and secondly according to the situations mentioned. As said, the type of question and the answers given determined the selected coding process so that information would be obtained that was central, on the one hand, for the researcher and, on the other hand, in the actual answers. The coding in qualitative content analysis follows a stricter procedure, in which one unit can be coded only once within one main category (Schreier, 2014, p. 175). Therefore, the segmentation of the data into units is more detailed. The bigger units and multiple coding for one unit was considered to serve the purposes of this research better, however, and thus the more flexible process of thematic analysis was followed.

Although the data were categorised, and these categories will be discussed, the emphasis in analysis was in describing the variety of the answers in each category. Therefore, the aim of qualitative content analysis to reduce the data does not apply in this study. From the often short answers in the questionnaires, together with constructing themes, wider contexts were outlined. In the process of analysis, the data were rather expanded than reduced, to describe the perspectives and opinions of the respondents in all their variety.

Thematic analysis, as presented by Braun and Clarke (2006), features a narrative aspect: for each theme, “the ‘story’ that each theme tells” is identified and presented, together with the “broader overall ‘story’ [the researcher is] telling about [the] data” (p. 92). In this study, the analysis diverges from this presentation of thematic analysis, and follows more that of qualitative content analysis. According to the presentation by Schreier (2014), in qualitative content analysis the coding frame itself, which includes the categories, sub-categories and the definitions and examples of each, can be

the result of analysis (p. 180). The presentation of the findings can include text matrices, or continuous text with quotes. The findings can also be used to further examine the results “for patterns and co-occurrences of selected categories” (Schreier, 2014, p. 180). In the latter case, the relations between the categories come into focus, instead of the individual units and categories.

In addition to the above-listed options, qualitative content analysis can include presentations in quantitative style, for example coding frequencies, percentages or, when the sample is of sufficient size, inferential statistics (Schreier, 2014, p. 180). The presentation of results in this study combines the above-mentioned options: most of the analysis is continuous text, which is supported with extracts of the answers and with graphical illustrations, when applicable. Each category is presented and analysed on its own, but especially in the discussion (chapter 8), the focus moves beyond individual categories, to the co-occurring themes and tendencies and the relations between these.

3.2 Quantitative analysis

As described in the previous chapter, this study is essentially qualitative in nature. However, survey research can be positioned in between the qualitative and quantitative research traditions. In addition, one of the chosen methods of analysis, qualitative content analysis, shares history with both traditions. Stemming from this background, and from the fact that this survey aimed at discovering some quantifiable information as well, the analysis of the data included some quantitative measurements together with the qualitative analysis.

The data from the questions of the questionnaire that provided primarily quantitative data, mainly the tabular questions and some of the close-ended questions, were entered into SPSS statistical analysis program, with which the distribution of answers was counted. Some figures were drawn with MS Excel statistical program. The figures are presented in the analysis in order to illustrate the distribution of answers in the tabular questions. In addition, some figures and tables were drawn to illustrate the distribution of answers between the categories that were constructed from the qualitative data.

The number of respondents in this study was not enough for any further statistical analysis, nor for any generalisations. However, some numbers and graphs clarify the presentation of the results, and are thus part of the analysis. In addition to frequency and distribution counts, for some questions mean values were counted, for example to present the educational and language background of the respondents.

4 Data

The research data of this study consists of adult FSL students' answers in a questionnaire. In the following chapters, the design and themes of the questionnaire will be introduced (chapter 4.1), following with a description of the data collection process (chapter 4.2). A more detailed discussion on the theme and formation of each question will be provided, if needed, when the answers are presented and analysed in following chapters. In chapter 4.3, an introduction of the respondents and their language backgrounds will be presented.

4.1 Questionnaire: Students' experiences on multilingualism in FSL teaching

The questionnaire (see Appendix) consisted of three parts: I Background information, II Finnish language teaching, and III Use of languages in everyday life. It had both open-ended questions and close-ended questions, for example tables. The questions were in both English and Finnish, and the respondents could answer in both languages as well.

No personal details such as name, gender or age were asked in the questionnaire. This choice was based on ethical considerations, and aimed at protecting the anonymity of the participants. In addition, the questionnaire was designed to focus strictly on languages, especially on the use of languages. From this point of view, for example the gender of the respondent was not considered as an important variable for this study. Instead, together with questions about the respondents' language background, some questions about their educational background were included. This decision was based on the assumption that the educational background, both general and language-specific, might influence respondents' opinions on the use of languages in FSL teaching. These questions would also provide information that could be used in planning the target groups of possible further research.

Part II of the questionnaire included tables, in which the students were asked to estimate how often the teacher and the students themselves speak different languages during their FSL lessons. The

tables provided 5-point Likert-type scales (where 1 = not at all, 5 = most of the time). There was a table for teacher's use of languages in whole-class teaching (Question 10) and another for individual assistance (Question 11). For students' own use of languages, there was a table for their use of languages with the teacher (Question 12) and another for their use of languages with other students (Question 13). The language options provided in all tables were Finnish, English and the respondent's mother tongue. In the table on teacher's use of languages in whole-class teaching, there were additional language options "another language you speak" and "another language you cannot speak". This choice of options aimed at discovering, together with the experienced variety of languages used, whether the students recall their teacher using languages they do not understand. In the rest of the tables, the language options included only the first of the above-mentioned options (Question 11) or simply "another language" (Question 12 and 13). Below each table an open-ended question asked the students to provide examples of the situations in which each language is being used.

In the end of part II of the questionnaire, there was a question directly asking the respondents' experiences and opinions on how their skills in other languages help them in learning Finnish (Question 14). The following two questions were directed at the language policies in the class, asking whether the teacher encourages (Question 15) or restricts (Question 16) the use of other languages than Finnish. Finally, the students were asked whether they would prefer if only Finnish was used in their Finnish lessons (Question 17).

Part III of the questionnaire began with a table in which the respondents were asked to name each language they use in their everyday life in Finland (Question 18). In the table, they were then asked to estimate how often they use each language, with the same options for frequency as in the tables in part II. The rest of the questions in part III were open-ended, language-specific questions. In these questions, the respondents were asked to provide examples of the situations in which and of the persons with whom they use each language (Questions 19–26). The last question was similar to these, but instead of focusing on one language, it focused on the use of multiple languages and language mixing (i.e. code-switching).

The questionnaire was designed for this study. Some previous survey studies on similar themes were examined (e.g. De Angelis, 2011; Hernandez, 2010; Jäppinen, 2014; Tarnanen & Pöyhönen, 2011), and inspiration was drawn from them, but no single existing questionnaire could be duplicated for the purposes of this study. In the process of designing the questionnaire and the research process, researchers from the departments of both Finnish and English philology were consulted, among them university teachers specialised in FSL research. In addition, comments on the questionnaire were asked from another language department, from a researcher studying multilingual competence in L2 learning. Together with providing new information on the subject under study, one objective of this research process was indeed to function as a practice for the author on designing and managing a survey study.

The themes included in the questionnaire and the formation of questions was influenced by the sociocultural and ecological theories of second language acquisition. For example, the definition of mother tongue required consideration of several aspects. The questionnaire provided two slots for naming a mother tongue, acknowledging that a person can have more than one mother tongue. In addition, there was a question on the languages that were used at home in the childhood of the respondent. This information could help in unclear situations to define whether a language should be considered as a mother tongue in the analysis of the results, for example, in cases where the respondent had filled the table row by row and, therefore, accidentally named a second mother tongue. The answers to this question would also show whether the respondents thought that a mother tongue is a language that has always been spoken at home in childhood. Moreover, the table asked the respondent to estimate the skill level of all languages mentioned, also for the mother tongue(s). According to the understanding followed in the current study, the definition of a mother tongue does not necessarily require the person to be a fluent speaker of that language.

Another example of how the sociocultural and ecological theories of language learning are visible in the design of the questionnaire is the interaction between parts II and III of the questionnaire. The focus of this study was on language teaching and learning, but this focus was divided on both language classes and everyday life. Both areas were covered in order to form a more comprehensive

picture and to find the actual interactions the respondents recall as the most meaningful instances for using each language.

The first version of the questionnaire was tested with a group of 11 students who were, like the target group of this study, adult immigrant learners of Finnish as a second language. This test-run showed that not all respondents were able to fill in the questionnaire independently, due to language-related problems, or problems in, for example, understanding the tabular questions. Moreover, the questionnaire appeared relatively heavy to complete, as this required approximately one hour for many of the respondents. The length of time lead to considerations whether the questionnaire should be restricted to language teaching only, excluding part III of the questionnaire altogether. If this decision had been done, however, acquiring a more comprehensive understanding of the use of languages in the respondents' life would not have been possible. In the end, all three parts of the questionnaire were included, with the awareness that all respondents might not answer the questionnaire carefully from start to finish. Instead, smaller modifications were made after the test-run. Furthermore, instructions were made for the teachers who would be collecting the answers, to ensure consistency and uniformity of the instructions given to the respondents, and to avoid the influence the teacher could have on the results by, for example, providing example answers.

4.2 Data collection

The target group of the study was adult learners of Finnish who live in Finland on a permanent basis, or intend to live minimum of three years in total. Another criterion was that the respondents were currently participating in a Finnish language course. There was, however, one participant who mentioned in the questionnaire that s/he was not currently in any language course, but answered based on her/his experiences from previous courses. Because of the successfully filled questionnaire, and the small number of participants all in all, this participant was included in the group of respondents as well. With this exception, the respondents met the above-mentioned criteria.

Information about this research and an invitation to participate in it was sent by email to 10 providers of Finnish language courses in a city in Northern Finland in January 2017. If a course provider did not answer to the invitation, a reminder was sent approximately two weeks later. Nine of the course providers replied, eight expressed tentative interest in participating in the study and finally, the questionnaires were distributed to four course providers who had agreed to participate. In the end, three of them returned the questionnaires. The data collection was completed in March 2017.

The respondents are from six different courses from three language course providers. The level of the courses varies from beginner's course to upper-intermediate/advanced-level course. In total, 36 respondents returned a completed questionnaire. One of these responses had to be excluded, because the questionnaire had not been filled satisfactorily. Therefore, the final number of respondents in this study is 35. Every respondent did not answer to all questions, however, and therefore the accurate number of respondents is presented when the answers to each question are discussed.

The respondents filled the questionnaire either in the class or at home. In both cases, the teacher was instructed to provide instructions for the respondents, and in addition, the questionnaire included an information sheet for the participants. The instructions included a requirement for the students to answer the questionnaire independently. In the information sheet provided for the participants, they were encouraged to write their opinions and experiences freely, and the fact that there were no right or wrong answers was emphasised.

After receiving the completed questionnaires, the researcher coded the participants for data management purposes. The answers were copied into tables in a word processing program so that the answers of a particular respondent could be traced by the code. In order to protect the anonymity of the respondents, any quotes of the answers are in this study presented without the code. Some connections between the answers of a particular respondent will be indicated, when needed, for example when comparing the use of languages in the class and in the free-time, or when analysing

the influence of the language background on the opinions of a respondent. However, any connections that would enable the recognition of a particular respondent will not be made.

Furthermore, some details, such as a specific language or a type of family member will be omitted when these are not seen as having vital importance for the analysis, or when considered as personal information that could endanger the protection of anonymity of the respondent. In these cases, for example the language the respondent has mentioned will be quoted as <L1> for the mother tongue of the respondent and as <L2> for any second languages. Similar marking is followed with any other details, for example <family member> for a specific family member the respondent has mentioned. Because the gender of the respondents was not asked in the questionnaire, in the analysis all respondents will be referred to as s/he when the use of a personal pronoun is necessary. The chosen practices should not impede the presentation of the analysis and the attainment of the aim of the research to describe and understand the phenomena under study.

4.3 Respondents' backgrounds

The respondents were adult students of Finnish, studying Finnish as a second language. They were from three different beginner-level courses, from one intermediate-level course and from two upper-intermediate/advanced-level courses. The type of the course was asked from the course providers in advance as well as from the respondents in the questionnaire. According to the responses in the questionnaires, most of the respondents (19) were studying in a beginner's course. Two respondents were from an intermediate course and eight respondents were from upper-intermediate/advanced-level courses. Some respondents mentioned that they were studying in two courses at the same time. In this case, the highest-level course was counted as the answer from that respondent. Six respondents did not answer this question, or gave an answer that did not clarify the level of the course.

In the questions on the language background, the respondents were first asked to name all languages they speak, and give each language an estimation of their skills, on a scale of one to five where one

stood for beginner and five stood for fluent. Out of the 35 respondents in total, 26 named one mother tongue and nine named two mother tongues. The answers of the respondents with two mother tongues describe the multidimensional nature of mother tongue well: only two respondents had both rated their language skills as fluent in these two mother tongues and said that both languages had been spoken at home in their childhood. In addition, there were four respondents who said that three languages had been spoken at their home, two of which they mentioned in the table as mother tongues. Only one respondent rated her/his skills in all three languages as fluent, whereas the others rated their skills in one or two of these languages at value 4 in the table. The number of slots for mother tongues in the questionnaire was two, but for example the above-mentioned respondents could possibly have said that they had three mother tongues, had there been space for that in the form. In addition, two respondents said that only one of their mother tongues had been spoken at home. One of them rated both languages at level 5 (fluent), the other rated one language at level 5 and one at level 4.

Although the number of respondents in this study is small, these answers demonstrate already why the idea of mother tongue as one first learnt language that one speaks at the level of a 'native speaker' is outdated. Furthermore, a researcher cannot expect that the respondents would share her/his definition of mother tongue. If these respondents had been asked why they consider this language or these languages their mother tongues, the responses would most likely have been varied, even for different languages of the same respondent. This was not asked in the questionnaire, however, and therefore the later categorisation of answers that includes a category Mother tongue is based on what the respondents named as their mother tongues, regardless of their reasoning for doing so. Only when it seemed clear that a respondent had accidentally named two mother tongues, i.e. when no other information on the questionnaire supported this assumption, were changes made in the classification.

Five respondents said that their mother tongue was English, and three of them named another mother tongue as well. These L1-speakers of English will be considered separately from the L2-

speakers of English, when necessary, for example regarding the role of other language skills in FSL learning.

31 respondents gave a numerical estimation of the level at which they speak their mother tongue(s). Those with one mother tongue gave it a value 5, and those with two mother tongues gave at least one of the mother tongues a value 5. A summary of the answers the respondents gave regarding their language skills is presented in figure 1 below. Any marks the respondents had made between the whole numbers on the scale were rounded up to the next whole number.

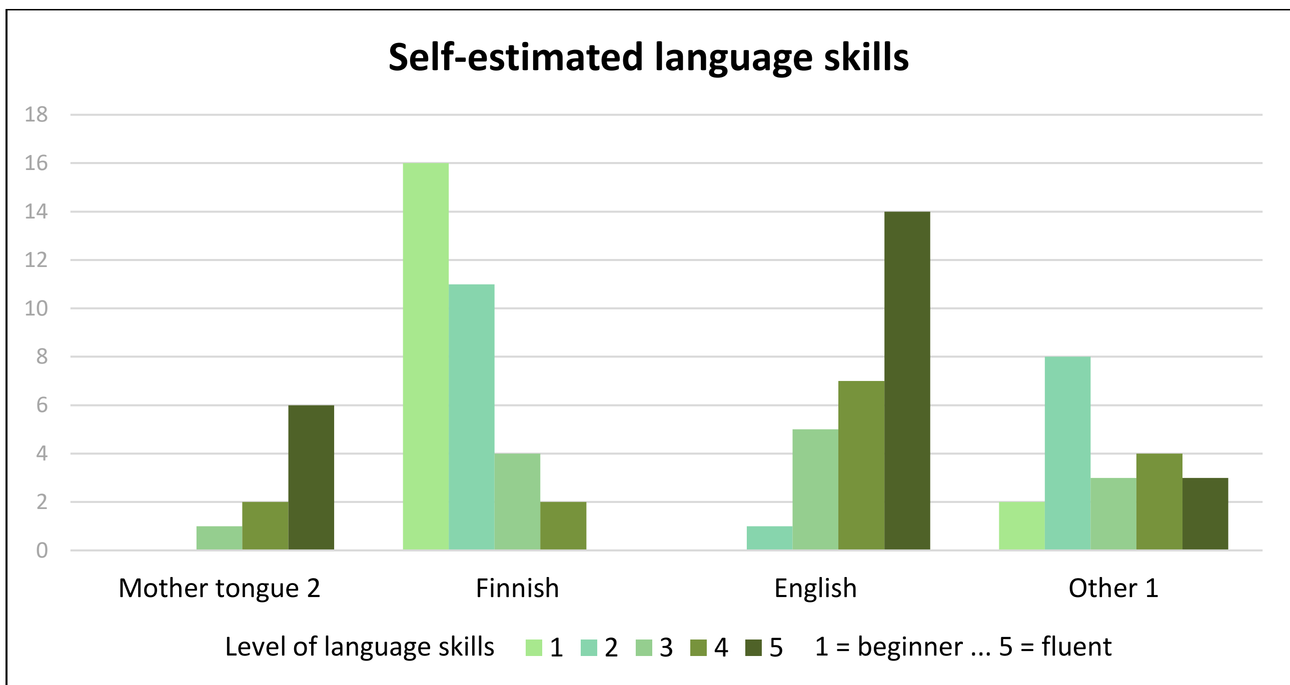

Figure 1. Self-estimated level of language skills in second mother tongue (N = 9), Finnish (N = 33), English (N = 27) and one other L2 (N = 20).

The languages in figure 1 include Mother tongue 2, which means the second mother tongue of those respondents with two mother tongues. Mother tongue 1 is not presented in the figure, because it was given a value 5 by all respondents who marked a value for it in the questionnaire (31 respondents). As the figure shows, six respondents gave both of their mother tongues a value 5. If a respondent with two mother tongues gave one of the mother tongues a value smaller than 5, this was regarded as the

Mother tongue 2. In other words, the order of mother tongues here does not refer to the order the respondents had listed them in the questionnaire.

As the figure shows, most of the respondents estimated their Finnish skills at beginner-level or only little better: 27 respondents gave their Finnish skills a value 1 or 2, and only six respondents gave Finnish a value 3 or 4. These numbers reflect the fact that most of the respondents were from beginner's courses and had studied Finnish for maximum one year. For the focus of this study, this was a fruitful group of respondents, because multilingual resources can have a special role in the beginning of L2 studies, when the target language alone cannot ensure mutual understanding between the teacher and the students.

The numbers for English in the figure are counted from the L2-speakers of English who provided a numerical estimation of their skills in the questionnaire. 29 respondents named English as one of the L2-languages they speak, and 27 gave it a numerical estimation. Only one respondent did not mention English in the table at all, but even this respondent mentioned in another question that s/he had studied English at school. As the figure shows, the respondents estimated their English skills as very good: 21 of them gave their English skills a value 4 or 5. This is important background information for the analysis of the results: this study does not cover the thoughts and opinions of FSL students with no or beginner-level English skills.

The group Other 1 in the figure presents the answers of those respondents who mentioned at least one additional L2, and if they mentioned more than one, the language with the best numerical estimation was chosen. 20 respondents named at least one L2 in addition to Finnish and English (either L1 or L2 English). 11 respondents named only one such L2. In addition, five respondents named two additional L2s in total; three respondents named three additional L2s, and one respondent, an L1-speaker of English, named five additional L2s. As the figure shows, the respondents' skills in additional L2s were more modest than in the most common L2, English. Ten respondents said that they speak at least one additional L2 at level 3 or better.

In addition to the personal language background, the respondents were asked to name the languages that are commonly spoken in their countries of origin, to form a better picture of their multilingual background. 21 respondents mentioned only one language, while 14 respondents said that more than one language, from two up to nine languages, is commonly spoken in their country of origin.

According to the information the respondents provided regarding their educational background, they were highly educated. 30 respondents said that they had studied in the university, while only five respondents had not. Those five said that they had been in school from 9 to 13 years. The respondents had not studied that many foreign languages at school, however. The number of L2 languages the respondents had studied is presented in figure 2 below. As the figure shows, most of the respondents (18 respondents) had studied only one L2, while one third had studied two or more L2s. On average, the respondents said that they speak more L2s than what they had studied at school, however. The mean number of L2-languages studied at school was 1.4, while the mean number of L2-languages spoken was 1.9.

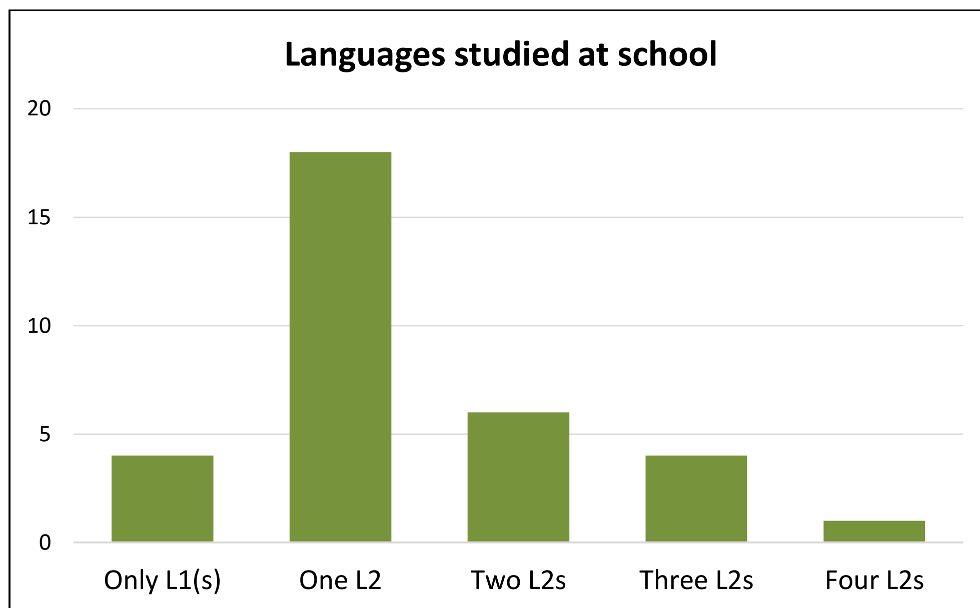

Figure 2. Number of languages studied at school (N = 33).

The mean number of years the respondents had studied the first L2 (the L2 studied for the longest time) was 9.1. Eleven respondents said that they had studied the first L2 for more than ten years. The

other L2s had not been studied as long as the first L2: the mean number of years the second L2 had been studied was 4.1, while the mean number of years for the additional L2s was 1.5. Altogether, 30 respondents said that they had studied at least one L2 at school. Previous experience of studying second languages is considered an advantage for learning other L2s, as the learner achieves more multilingual resources to use, in addition to increasing language awareness (e.g. Aalto & Kauppinen, 2011, p. 7; Cenoz & Gorter, 2011, p. 358). Whether the respondents viewed this or other aspects regarding their skills in other languages as helpful for learning Finnish will be discussed in chapter 6.

The length of time the respondents had studied Finnish varied from three weeks to five years. The mean number of months the respondents had studied Finnish was 13.6, in other words, just over one year. The respondents were categorised to those that had studied for a maximum of one month (6 respondents), over one month but a maximum of one year (19 respondents) and over one year (9 respondents). These responses were compared with those the students gave on the level of the course. For most of the respondents, the length of time studying corresponded with the level of the course so that those who had studied less were on lower-level courses, and those who had studied longer were on higher-level courses. All those who had studied a maximum of one month were on a beginner's course. Of the 19 respondents who had studied a maximum of one year, 16 had provided information on the course level, and 13 were on a beginner's course. However, three respondents who had studied one year were on an upper-intermediate/advanced-level course. Of those that had studied over one year, five were on an upper-intermediate/advanced-level course, two were on an intermediate-level course and surprisingly, one respondent who had studied for two years was on a beginner's course.

Thus, there were four respondents with exceptional answers when the total group of respondents is considered: three who were on a higher-level course than what was expected and one who was on a lower-level course than what was expected. Although any generalisations cannot be made based on the profiles of these respondents, some interesting observations are worth noticing. Of these four respondents, three were L1-speakers of English, and two had another L1-language as well. The L1-speakers of English were divided so that those with two L1s were on a higher-level course and the

respondent with one L1 (English) was on a lower-level course. The respondent on a lower-level course estimated her/his level in Finnish language at value 2, however, which is among the rare estimations of value 2 within those that were on a beginner's course. Thus, it might be that this respondent could well have participated on a higher-level course as well, if only the self-estimation on language skills is considered.

In general, in the whole group of respondents, they estimated their level of Finnish at value 1 (or rarely 2) if they were on a beginner's course; at value 2 if they were on an intermediate course, and at value 2, 3 or 4 if they were on an upper-intermediate/advanced course. Of the respondents who were on a higher-level course than what was expected, two estimated their level of Finnish at value 2 and one at value 3. In other words, these answers were in line with those of the whole group.

When the use of languages in everyday life is considered, every one of these four respondents said that they speak most of the time English, and those with another L1 said that they speak it most of the time as well. Two of those on a higher-level course said that they speak Finnish sometimes, and one said that s/he speaks Finnish little or seldom. However, all of them mentioned contexts for speaking Finnish that probably occur on a daily basis: for example, they mentioned speaking with their own children, with partner and at work. The respondent on a lower-level course said that s/he uses Finnish little or seldom, and mentioned only one context, which belonged into the category Daily customer (see chapter 7.1). At the same time, this respondent said that in the family and work contexts s/he uses other languages than Finnish. It might be that the family and work contexts involve a language learner more personally and emotionally than interaction in, for example, shops and restaurants. Therefore, the first-mentioned contexts might more easily offer affordances of meaningful interaction, and engage a learner in a way that supports language learning. The interaction in shops and restaurants might, conversely, consist largely of certain phrases with less variation and result in fewer opportunities for using the language and for learning new.

Yet another difference between the three respondents who were on a higher-level course and the respondent on a lower-level course was found in their opinions regarding other languages and

learning Finnish. These three respondents expressed an opinion that other languages help in learning Finnish, while this one respondent presented a view categorised as mixed (see chapter 6.2). Although the level of language course the respondents were on can be affected by many factors, all in all, the observations discussed here might be involved to some degree. Quite reasonably, a language learner who uses the target language more, especially in meaningful interaction in which the learner is an active participant, and who regards other languages as resources or can utilise them in learning, might progress faster. Instead, a learner who uses the target language less and in less-personal interaction, and who does not regard other languages as resources or cannot utilise them in learning, might not progress so fast.

5 Use of languages in FSL teaching

In this chapter, the answers the respondents gave regarding the use of languages in FSL teaching will be analysed. This chapter looks closely into several questions in part II of the questionnaire. Figures will be provided for the tabular questions regarding the amount of use of different languages. The main focus of analysis is on the open-ended questions, however. The answers to these questions will be thematically categorised within each question. In the end of each section, a summary of the categories will be presented in tabular form.

To provide an overview of the answers in the tabular questions, two figures are provided below. Figure 3 presents the answers the respondents gave regarding the language use of the teacher. Figure 4 presents the answers the respondents gave regarding their own use of languages during their FSL lessons.

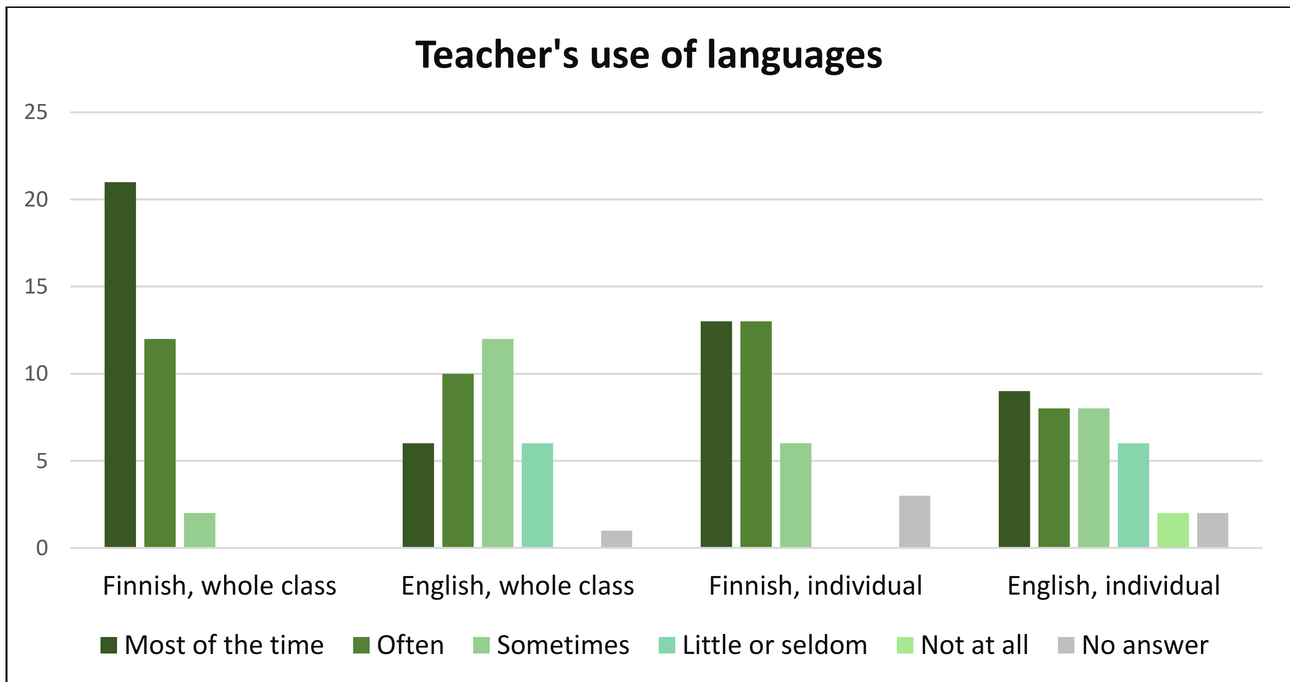

Figure 3. Teacher's use of languages in FSL teaching (N = 35).

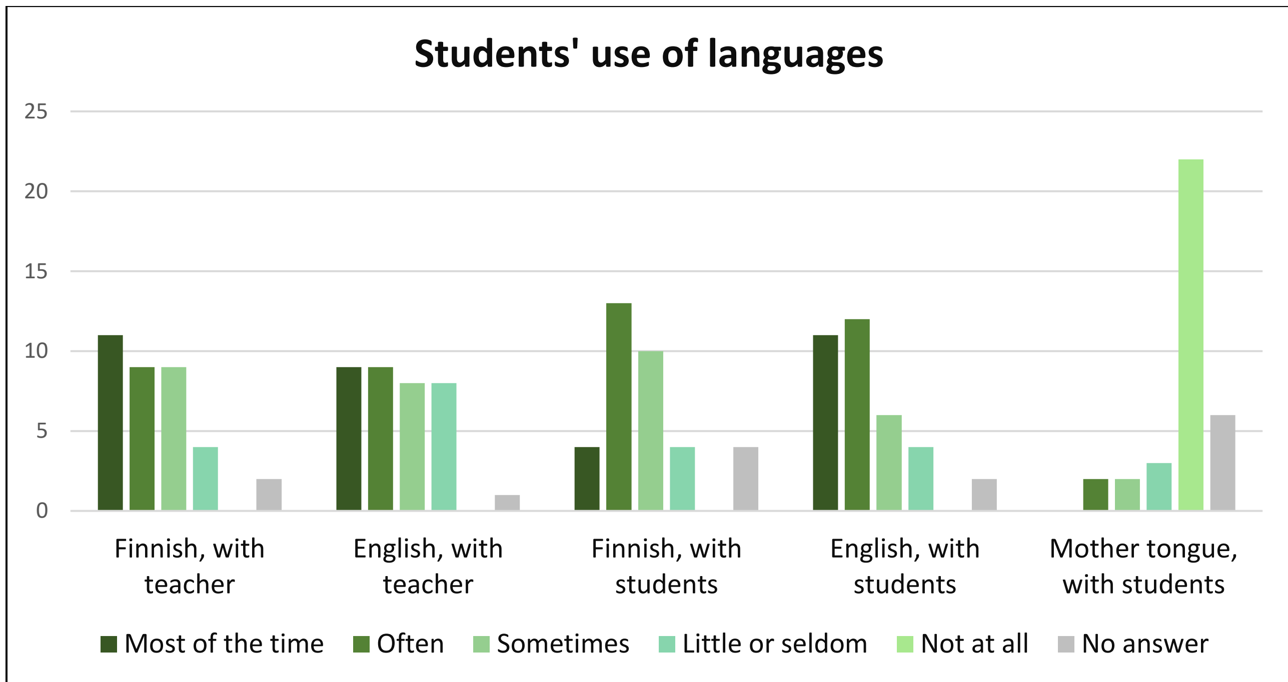

Figure 4. Students' use of languages in FSL teaching (N = 35).

As figure 3 shows, the students estimated that in whole-class teaching, their teachers use Finnish most of the time or often. In addition, they estimated that their teachers use English sometimes or often. According to the respondents, their teachers seem to use more Finnish in whole-class teaching and little bit less in individual assistance. These numbers do not directly correspond with the estimations on the teacher's use of English, however. In other words, the amount of English used does not increase correspondingly. Regarding whole-class teaching, the same number of students estimated that their teachers use English most of the time and little or seldom. A few more students said that the teacher uses English most of the time in individual assistance than in whole-class teaching. However, the number of those who answered either most of the time or often is almost the same. All in all, there is not much difference in the estimations between teacher's use of English with the whole class and with an individual student.

The questionnaire provided other options in addition to Finnish and English as well, but only single respondents marked that the teacher would use other languages. Because the number of these students is so small, these responses were excluded from the tables. Furthermore, none of these

respondents mentioned in the open-ended questions an additional language or a situation in which the teacher would use this language.

Figure 4 shows that according to the students, they use Finnish and English evenly with their teacher. The only difference seems to be in the number of those who said that they use either Finnish or English little or seldom. In other words, there were more students who said that they seldom use English with their teacher, than there were those who said that they seldom use Finnish. Instead, with other students the respondents seem to use a little more English than with their teacher. When the answers are compared, with other students both the number of those who use English most of the time or often is greater and the number of those who use English seldom is smaller. Correspondingly, a slightly bigger number of students said that most of the time or often they use Finnish with their teacher than the number that said that they use most of the time or often Finnish with other students.

Figure 4 presents the responses the students gave regarding their use of mother tongue with other students as well. As has been mentioned, mother tongue was mentioned only in rare, single answers regarding teacher's language use or students' language use with the teacher. However, seven students said that they use their mother tongue together with other students. The frequency of using mother tongue varied from seldom to often. Five respondents provided an answer to the corresponding open-ended question as well, and these answers will be analysed in chapter 5.4. In the following chapters, the answers to the open-ended questions on language use in FSL teaching will be discussed with detail, beginning from the teacher's use of languages.

5.1 Teachers' use of languages in whole-class teaching

In this chapter, students' answers to question number 10 of the questionnaire will be analysed. This question, together with the following three questions, had a table in which the respondents were asked to estimate how often their teacher uses a given language in FSL teaching. Below the table, an open-ended question asked the respondents to provide examples of the situations in which their

teacher or the respondents themselves use each language. The answers were categorised separately regarding the use of English and Finnish. In the thematic categorisation, each time an aspect was mentioned the particular response was counted into that category. This means that often an answer was categorised into several categories. Moreover, main themes were constructed from the categories, so that the use of English had two main themes, Teaching purposes and methods and Communication. The use of Finnish had two different main themes, Anything and Specific teaching content. A summary of the categorisation is presented in table 1 in the end of this chapter.

31 students provided an answer to this open-ended question. Unsurprisingly, many students (12 respondents) mentioned that the way in which teachers use English is by translations. The answers included different ways in which translation is used, for example, the students mentioned that the teacher translates preceding explanations or instructions into English. In addition, one student mentioned that the teacher uses English when answering students who want English translations. This reflects that the students see the use of English as a shared practice that is seen beneficial from the point of view of both the teacher and the students. Translation is a practice that can support learning, as it clarifies the meaning and provides resources for expressing oneself in the target language. As can be seen in the examples below, some students gave this kind of reasons in their answers:

(1) The teacher uses Finnish to explain something and then translates it into English for better understanding.

(2) The teacher starts to speak in Finnish and afterwards, to get sure, she will say it in English so that everybody understands. When we are asking about something, she tries to answer in Finnish, with examples, but afterwards she explains in English, too.

One student even stated that without using English, questions would be left without answers and there would be no learning. Therefore, for some students, using English in teaching, and especially the practice of translation, seems to be of critical importance.

Not all students mentioned that the teacher would translate something from Finnish into English, however. Another way the teacher may use English can indeed be 'English-only' explanations. Some

answers did not directly imply that the teacher would necessarily provide an explanation in Finnish first. For example, a student said that the teacher uses English for “explaining grammar”. Whether with or without a mention of translation, the term explanation was used in 11 answers regarding the use of English. In their elaborations on the purposes for which English is used, students mentioned teaching both grammar and vocabulary. Other answers included, for example, “explanations of Finnish language” or “explanations of what/how/where/why”.

A theme that was mentioned repeatedly in the answers was the purpose of communication: 16 students explicitly stated that the teacher uses English in situations in which using Finnish seems to be insufficient for communication and understanding. These answers were labelled into category Understanding. A typical answer in this category was “If we don’t understand, the teacher explains in English.” In addition to these 16 respondents, four respondents described a situation with some type of detailed communication, for example [the teacher uses English] “when it is something complicated” and “if there are questions”. Together, the categories Understanding and Detailed communication presented aspects of the theme Communication.

There was more variety in the answers the students gave on the teacher’s use of Finnish than there was on the teacher’s use of English. Nine students said that the teacher uses Finnish usually or (almost) always, and six students said that the teacher says anything in Finnish first. These answers describe the other side of the situations mentioned regarding the use of English, i.e. the situations in which students have not understood something in Finnish. Together the answers describe a situation in which the teacher speaks first in Finnish, and if the students do not understand, the teacher repeats the same in English. Other responses that were mentioned more than once were explanations (5), examples or demonstrations (4), familiar things or daily routine (3) and instructions (3). Answers that were mentioned only once each were “practicing dialogues”, “for the tasks”, translations and making questions to the students. In addition, one student commented the way in which the teacher uses Finnish: this respondent said that the teacher speaks slowly and clearly, and gives students time to understand and react.

A summary of the categorisation of the answers is presented in table 1 below. As seen in the table, the main themes constructed from the answers were different for teacher's use of English and Finnish. The subcategories include similar aspects, however, yet the perspective is different when the answers are analysed comparatively within one language. This is reflected in the naming of the main themes. While for English the students described either certain teaching methods or purposes, or communicative aspects, for Finnish the division of answers illustrated more the amount of language used, and the preference for using Finnish. Therefore, one of the main themes was Anything, including the situations in which the teacher speaks Finnish always or always first, regardless of the function of the talk. In contrast to these situations, the other theme includes the situations in which Finnish is used in specifically identified teaching content or teacher talk.

Table 1. Categories of teacher's use of English and Finnish in whole-class teaching (N = 31).

ENGLISH		**FINNISH**	
Category	Frequency	Category	Frequency
Teaching methods and purposes		**Anything**	
Translations	12	Always/only	8
Explanations	11	Anything first	8
Grammar	5	**Specific teaching content**	
Vocabulary	3	Explanations	7
Communication		Examples	3
Understanding	16	Instructions	3
Detailed communication	4	Familiar	3
Other	2	**Other**	4

These answers show how, compared to the use of English, Finnish has less purely communicative purposes. In other words, it seems that while English is used as an additional resource for communication, Finnish is less so. Instead, the answers describe how Finnish may be used, for instance, to provide an example for an explanation that has been given in English. On the other hand, teacher's use of Finnish seems to aim at involving the students: the teacher is not merely explaining something, but the students are perhaps more active participants, as receivers of instructions or as participants in daily routine and dialogues, or answering the questions the teacher has made in Finnish.

5.2 Teachers' use of languages in individual assistance

27 respondents gave an answer to the open-ended question regarding teacher's use of languages in individual assistance. Seven students reported that the teacher uses languages in the same way whether teaching the whole class or assisting the student individually. These answers were categorised according to the answer provided for the previous question, regarding the use of both English and Finnish. One student explicated that the teacher might use more English in individual assistance, whereas with the whole class the teacher uses Finnish almost exclusively. Another student mentioned the opposite, that is, that the teacher uses even less English with her/him, "because normally I understand". There were other similarities in the responses to the questions 10 and 11 as well: regarding the use of English, students mentioned translations, and situations in which the student has not understood something in Finnish.

The answers on the teacher's use of Finnish in individual assistance were even more varied than in whole-class teaching. Ten students mentioned that the teacher always uses Finnish first, and two of them specified that this context is when answering questions. In addition, one student said that the teacher uses Finnish when answering a question that the student has asked in Finnish. Other responses were only mentioned once each, but they included similar answers than in the question regarding whole-class teaching, such as making examples. One student stated that the teacher uses only Finnish and another that the teacher uses Finnish "whenever possible". A summary of the categorisation of the answers to this question is presented in table 2 below.

Table 2. Categories of teacher's use of English and Finnish in individual assistance (N = 27).

ENGLISH		**FINNISH**	
Category	Frequency	Category	Frequency
Teaching methods and purposes		**Anything**	
Translations	9	Always/first	10
Explanations	7	**Specific teaching content**	
Communication		Questions/answers	6
Understanding	14	Explanations	5
Other	6	**Other**	7

In the previous question on whole-class teaching, no student mentioned that the teacher would use Finnish when teaching grammar (although there were answers that would implicitly include grammar, i.e. those that said that the teacher uses Finnish almost always or always first). In the question on individual assistance, one student mentioned grammar: “Explaining grammar, e.g. noun cases.” Similarly as with the previous questions, one student commented the way in which the teacher uses Finnish: “Finnish with gestures to make the argument clear.” This respondent was not the same who had mentioned this theme in the previous question, however. These are examples of the answers from to the category Other.

The variance in the answers regarding teacher’s use of Finnish together with the greater similarity of answers regarding teacher’s use of English reflect English as a language used in more general situations, whereas Finnish is experienced as a language used with greater individual variety. English emerges as an additional resource in communication that comes into play when Finnish alone is not enough, and thus English is used to support understanding. Moreover, the answers describe that the teacher may use English as the only language in an explanation, or the teacher may explain first in Finnish and then translate the explanation into English. These answers imply already that the use of English, in these students’ experiences, has its place as a resource in FSL teaching. This experience will be further discussed in section 5.5.2.

5.3 FSL students’ use of languages with teacher

25 respondents answered the open-ended question regarding their own use of languages with their Finnish teacher. Some students (5 respondents) emphasised that they use English with the teacher most of the time: “Most of the time” was one option provided in the table, and these respondents wrote the same response in the space provided for further elaboration. The most common situation (12 respondents) in which the students reported that they themselves use English with their teacher was one in which they did not succeed in expressing themselves in Finnish. In addition, one student mentioned a situation in which s/he was “not sure what the teacher said”. This aspect relates to the language level of the students, in other words, these answers imply that if the students could express

themselves in Finnish, they would prefer to do so. Based on these answers and those to the preceding two questions, the use of English as an additional resource in communication seems to be apparent regarding not only the language use of the teacher, but also that of the students themselves.

Some students provided more detailed examples of their use of English with the teacher, mentioning mainly some kind of questions they themselves asked from the teacher (6 respondents). These included, for example, “more complicated questions about grammar” and “questions about language”. These answers reflect the interactional roles of the students and the teacher in a language class: questions about the target language form a part of the student-teacher interaction. In addition, one student mentioned the use of English for recitation. Another student mentioned that the teacher asks the students to translate Finnish words or sentences into English to ensure that the students have understood correctly. This is one example of how the teacher can directly encourage the students to use another language, in this case English, to support the learning of Finnish. (These practices will be discussed more in section 5.5.1, regarding Question 15: Does your teacher encourage or support you in using other languages than Finnish? How?)

As mentioned earlier, the students expressed an attitude towards their own use of languages, according to which the use of Finnish with the teacher is preferable to the use of English. This kind of attitude is expressed in the answers coded as Cannot in Finnish, which were further classified as belonging under the theme Language level. A typical answer in this category was “When I cannot say something in Finnish, I say it in English.” This theme came across in the answers of both beginner-level students and more advanced students, such as in the following example:

> (3) I always try to ask or explain in Finnish. Only very rarely, when it is very difficult to find out what my problem is, I will say it again in English.

In addition, in the answers regarding the use of Finnish, nine respondents emphasised their efforts to try to speak Finnish. Examples of these include “For simpler questions, I try to use Finnish” and “I use Finnish as much as possible”. One respondent expressed the preference for using Finnish stating that “I don’t want to speak English”. This attitude might come from an understanding that in a language

lesson, the target language should be spoken and used as much as possible. This view is expressed in the following questions of the questionnaire as well, as will be discussed in chapter 5.5.1 (i.e. regarding Questions 15 and 16). As a difference between the teacher's and the students' use of languages, the responses show that similar experienced restriction on the use of English (or any other language instead of Finnish) does not arise as dominantly regarding the teacher's use of languages. Instead, most of the respondents seem to view the teacher's use of English justified.

The situations in which the students reported that they use Finnish with the teacher included both making and answering questions (6 and 3 respondents, respectively), and in one answer "simpler questions". One student mentioned asking for synonyms in Finnish. Another category that can be identified from the answers is doing exercises or class activities (6 respondents). These answers, quite naturally, reflect the traditional roles a teacher and the students have in the classroom: the interaction is teacher-led, based on teacher's explanations and on questions and answers. The students' roles in student-teacher interaction are therefore mainly those of a question-maker and a reply-provider, and this influences their use of languages as well. Finally, the categorisation of these answers is summarised in table 3 below.

Table 3. Categories of students' use of English and Finnish with teacher (N = 25).

ENGLISH		**FINNISH**	
Category	Frequency	Category	Frequency
Language level		**Preference for Finnish**	
Cannot in Finnish	12	Try to speak	9
Course interaction		**Course interaction**	
Questions	6	Questions/answers	9
Most of the time	5	Exercises	6
Other	3	**Other**	5

The theme Language level, regarding the use of English, could be further analysed as an aspect of the theme Preference for Finnish, if the answers and categories between the languages were combined. As discussed, the aspect Cannot in Finnish and the aspect Try to speak (Finnish) describe the same phenomenon. Moreover, the main category Course interaction was constructed from the answers

regarding the students' use of both English and Finnish. Regarding the use of Finnish, this theme has more variety in the aspects: in English, the students mentioned only making questions, but in Finnish, they both made and answered questions. In addition, the students participated in the exercises using Finnish with their teacher.

5.4 FSL students' use of languages together with other students

27 respondents answered the open-ended question regarding their own language use with other students. These answers display the greatest variety within this series of four questions on language use in the class. This fact may reflect a greater variety in the students' interactional roles in the student-student interaction: the interaction with the teacher, as described in the answers, seems to be quite strictly focused on the course and on the learning matters, whereas among the students, the interaction seems to include other topics and aims as well. Regarding the use of English, the main theme mentioned most often was Communication, and it had three subcategories: Not course-related, Personal/important and Understanding.

The students answered that they use English with other students for other than discussions about the Finnish language course, for other than exercises or for everything except class activities and greetings. These answers seem to depict Finnish as the target language of learning, but English as the all-round, multi-functional language. At the same time, these answers illustrate the variety in interaction taking place in the FSL class. In her study on interaction in the FSL classes of secondary school pupils, Lehtimaja (2012) observed that the interaction in FSL classroom included a playful and social dimension, which was intertwined with the learning-oriented interaction (214–215). In the present study considering mostly beginner-level adult learners of Finnish, the respondents seem to perform less of this social dimension in Finnish, or at least English has a supportive function in fulfilling the social needs of the students.

In the students' answers, English also emerged as a language of more personal matters: one student said that English is used for "general personal conversation"; another that it is used for "discussions

and sharings”. In addition, one respondent said that English is used “often with important things”. Only one respondent mentioned the aspect Understanding, but it is worth noticing here, because this is an aspect prevalent in the answers regarding teacher’s use of English. This respondent explained that the students have varying skills in Finnish and therefore understanding each other can sometimes be difficult, and in such situations, they use English. Yet another student commented that the language used depends on the other students’ skills in Finnish.

In the answers categorised as Other, one student described that her/his friends speak English only – this apparently arises from the fact that the Finnish course in question was a beginner’s course. When a student is a beginner in Finnish, it might be obvious that Finnish cannot yet be used for personal conversation. The answers illustrate, however, that being able to have personal conversations is important for the students. Although the focus in the course is on learning a language, this does not happen in a vacuum: the students bring their life experiences along to the course (see also Cooke, 2006).

While one part of the answers on the students’ use of English with each other focuses on other than course-related matters, the second part describes course-related situations (6 respondents). These responses mentioned exercises, explanations and questions as the interactional situations in which the respondents use English with other students. Some students specified that they use English to explain a task. Furthermore, one student said that English is used for making questions, and another mentioned that it is used to explain words, i.e. in translations. These answers illustrate that although the exercises may be mainly done in the target language (Finnish), the students may need additional resources to successfully accomplish the tasks. And once again, for some students English can function as such a resource.

The third category in these answers was same as in the answers the students gave regarding their language use with the Finnish teacher: the students (4 respondents) said that they use English with each other when they do not succeed in expressing themselves in Finnish or when they cannot understand something. The answers in the category Other include mentions that the language use is

same as described in the previous question, i.e. with the teacher. Some respondents did not provide any examples of a specific situation, but nevertheless mentioned that they speak both English and Finnish with other students.

According to the answers, the situations in which the students use Finnish with each other vary regarding their experienced skills in Finnish. The answers varied from "We seldom try to ask each other basic questions in Finnish" through "I sometimes try to express myself using Finnish language" to "We speak Finnish first". Greetings or daily routine was mentioned in five answers as situations in which the students use Finnish with each other. In one answer, a student described that "[I/we] try to say Finnish words in between the chat [that is otherwise in English]." Whereas in the vast majority of the answers the functions of English and Finnish seem to be divided so that Finnish is the target language of learning and English is an additional resource in communication, in this case these roles seem to have changed. In other words, although one reason for using Finnish might still be practice, using Finnish in an otherwise English-language conversation could also be seen as utilising Finnish as an additional resource.

Perhaps unsurprisingly, the category with most answers (11 respondents) regarding students' use of Finnish with each other was course-related, often exercise-focused interaction. Ten students mentioned class activities or exercises, including group work, discussion, and reading the texts together. One student mentioned discussing about the language course. Moreover, one of the students mentioned repeating a preceding English discussion or English words in Finnish. This means that translations were mentioned in the answers both ways, from Finnish into English and from English into Finnish.

The answers in this category reflect the situation, a Finnish language course, and its learning-focused, exercise-based interaction. In addition, the aim to learn Finnish, and thus the preference to use it, is clearly expressed in answers such as "I try to express myself using Finnish" and "We speak Finnish first". These answers were categorised under the theme Preference for Finnish, which is familiar already from the discussion in the previous chapter, regarding language use with the teacher. One

student described a situation outside the Finnish lessons that was, nevertheless, course-related: "We sometimes practice together after a lesson." Perhaps these students have other opportunities to practice Finnish as well, but it might also be that speaking Finnish with fellow students feels safer and more comfortable than speaking to, for example, Finnish strangers outside the course context. Moreover, the answers describing the students' preference for using Finnish in the class could imply that the Finnish class is a separate space in which Finnish is used or in which the students strive to use Finnish, while elsewhere the main language of interaction would be English (or other languages). Indeed, in their answers on the use of languages in everyday life, most of the respondents gave English the values 'most of the time' or 'often', while for the use of Finnish they gave the values 'sometimes' or 'little or seldom' (see chapter 7.1). The categorisation of the answers is summarised in table 4 below.

Table 4. Categories of students' use of English and Finnish with other students (N = 27).

ENGLISH		**FINNISH**	
Category	Frequency	Category	Frequency
Course interaction		**Course interaction**	
Exercises	3	Exercises	11
Explanations/questions	3	Greetings/routine	5
Communication		**Preference for Finnish**	
Not course-related	6	Try to speak	5
Personal/important	3	**Other**	7
Understanding	1		
Language level			
Cannot in Finnish	4		
Other	6		

In this series of four questions on language use in FSL lessons, this was the only one in which some students commented that they use other languages than Finnish or English as well. Five students said that they speak their mother tongue (or one of their mother tongues) with a friend or a family member in the class. These answers describing the use of another language are quoted below.

(4) I have a <nationality of origin (adjective)> friend here.

(5) <L1> – talking with my own country-mate.

(6) Help from my friends – <L1>.

(7) I always attend the lessons with my <family member> and we sit next to each other. We speak <L1> together when we work on exercises, but Finnish and English are also used between us.

(8) – – In the free-time, Finnish or English, depending on the language level of the other, and if there is a <nationality of origin (noun)> in the course, with him/her also <L1> in the free time.

The first two answers do not specify in what kind of situations these students speak their mother tongue with their compatriots. The situation could therefore be either course-related or personal – nevertheless, the presence of a compatriot seems to create an opportunity to utilise these language resources. The third answer explains that the student receives help from the speakers of the same mother tongue, and 'help' is here possibly related to the course matters. The fourth answer describes the situation in which the common mother tongue is used between two students: to help the students to accomplish the exercises. Moreover, it is one of the language resources these students employ in this function, together with Finnish and English. Studies focusing on the use of L1 in student-student interaction have shown that L1 is often used for working on the tasks, and rather than distracting the students, it can be beneficial, especially for lower-level students (e.g. McMillan & Rivers, 2011, p. 253). In this study, English as an additional shared language between the students seems to serve similar purposes.

The last respondent has previously explained that in group work they use Finnish and, depending on the language level of the others, sometimes English. Almost the same is repeated about the free-time in the course, but now the respondent's mother tongue is mentioned as one of the possible languages as well. This answer could imply that currently, there are no fellow compatriots attending the same course regularly. This possibility is mentioned, however, but interestingly the use of mother tongue is restricted to free-time interaction only. Instead, if another language is used during the learning activities, it is English, the language that is possibly common to all participants of the course.

In sum, the aspects mentioned in the answers regarding the use of L1 were course-related communication and not course-related communication. These are aspects of already familiar themes from the answers of previous questions, namely Course interaction and Communication. A third aspect, Compatriot, could be named for those responses that did not specify the context, but referred to the shared country of origin between the respondent and a fellow student.

The answers that include another language in addition to Finnish and English suggest that the third language the students might use in the lessons is their own mother tongue. There might be students in the course, however, that do not share the same mother tongue, but who can speak each other's mother tongues anyway, or some students might share a common L2 otherwise. As said, this kind of use of languages did not appear in any of the answers. Based on this questionnaire, the reasons for this cannot be explicated, but some of the possible explanations could be that, for example, the students are not aware of each other's language skills; the course situation directs the focus dominantly on Finnish and all other languages (except English) do not receive attention; the language practices on the course have been agreed upon together with all participants and these do not include other languages than Finnish and additionally English; and so on forth. Nevertheless, this question would be worth of further investigation.

5.5 FSL students' opinions on languages and multilingualism in FSL teaching

The respondents expressed some opinions and attitudes towards languages and language learning already in their answers discussed in the previous chapters. The focus in these questions was, however, on the students' experiences. The answers discussed in this chapter (i.e. answers to Questions 15–17 of the questionnaire) expressed the students' attitudes more clearly. Question 17 was formed so that it directly asks the opinion of the students, but in Questions 15 and 16, many answers expressed a certain opinion or attitude even though this was not directly asked. Therefore, it seemed appropriate to analyse these answers in the same chapter, and to focus on the opinions that became visible.

5.5.1 Encouragement of and restrictions on using other languages

Questions 15 and 16 of the questionnaire targeted the language policies in the Finnish courses. The idea behind these two questions was to find out whether the students experienced that their learning of Finnish was being actively supported by utilising their skills in other languages. From a practical perspective, a wish was that the answers might describe practices the respondents experienced as good and helpful for their learning. On the other hand, the question was whether students' use of other languages was being restricted. It was assumed that the students might comment their opinions on these themes as well, but it was also assumed that the previous questions would function as an introduction that would clarify the meaning of these questions. For example, directly preceding this question was one in which the students were asked to describe the ways in which other languages help them in learning Finnish.

However, when analysing the answers, it seemed that these two questions had been somewhat unclear or vague, and therefore, many answers did not describe the respondents' experiences on the questions that were originally aimed at. Instead, the answers comment, for example, teacher's use of languages – both Finnish and English. Because this question has already been covered in the previous questions, as a more interesting theme in these answers emerged students' opinions and their reasoning for the teacher's use of languages.

32 respondents answered Question 15 and 31 answered Question 16. The answers were first categorised into categories Yes and No. For Question 15, the category Yes included the answers that stated that the teacher encourages the use of other languages (9 respondents), and the category No included the answers that stated that the teacher does not encourage the use of other languages (16 respondents). An additional category, Finnish, was formed for those answers that stated that the teacher encourages the use of Finnish (8 respondents). In the categorisation, an answer was labelled under two categories at the same time if it both presented the opinion No and also mentioned encouragement of the use of Finnish. In other categories than No and Finnish, the need for double-labelling did not occur. For Question 16, the categories were only Yes, meaning that the teacher

restricts the use of other languages than Finnish (2 respondents), and No, meaning that the teacher does not restrict the use of other languages (26 respondents). Finally, both questions had the category Other, which was small, including only two answers in Question 15 and three in Question 16.

The category that included the biggest number of answers in both questions was the category No. In other words, most of the respondents said that the teacher does not restrict their use of other languages. At the same time, half of the respondents who answered the question said that the teacher does not encourage the use of other languages either. This is an interesting result, and somewhat controversial, considering the degree of English that, according to the same respondents, is being used in the courses. A clear majority of No answers in Question 16 seem to demonstrate that the teachers in the language courses in question do not follow a strict Finnish-only policy. On the other hand, the whole issue of encouraging the use of other languages and using multilingual resources to aid in the process of learning another language might be something the respondents were not familiar with, or had not come to think about that profoundly. These reasons might be behind the fact that the respondents did not elaborate their experiences in this question that much.

Furthermore, if the questions had included options for the respondents to choose from – for example, whether the teacher asks the students to look up a word in a dictionary in their own mother tongue, or whether the teacher makes examples that compare Finnish and another language – the respondents might have answered ‘yes’ to some of these examples of practices that utilise multilingual resources. The present formation of this question was, however, chosen in order to find out how aware the students actually were about utilising multilingual resources in language teaching and learning. In a further study, these questions could be studied in greater detail; the current study provides an overview of the familiarity of the subject among these respondents.

The answers in the category Yes in Question 15 included four answers that described that the teacher uses English to help the students in understanding any explanations, or in understanding Finnish. One of these respondents added that “I think it is better than to use only Finnish”. Only two of the Yes answers actually commented teaching practices that referred to the students’ own use of languages

in the class. One of these said that [the teacher encourages or supports the student in using other languages] “by making us translate into English”. Another student commented that “Technically, she supports me in using English. Even though I speak it quite well, it is good to practice it outside of the house.” This answer shows how the student experienced that the language practices in the Finnish course were actually offering a possibility to practice English language. The respondent sees this possibility as a positive thing, but does not mention how it affects her/his learning of Finnish. In the answer to the following question, this same respondent mentioned, however, that the teacher encourages students to ask questions in English, “so they can be clear”.

Four of the No answers in Question 15 were coded into the category Finnish as well, and they will be discussed within that category. Eight of the answers did not describe any further, but only stated “No” as an answer to the question. One answer commented teacher’s language use, stating that the teacher prefers to speak in Finnish, but uses English when necessary. Two respondents explained that the reason why the teacher does not encourage the use of other languages is based on the fact that “it is a Finnish class” or “the teacher wants us to learn Finnish”. These answers seem to imply that the use of other languages could not be beneficial for learning Finnish; on the contrary, it might be even disturbing or interfering with learning.

The answers in the category Finnish included two answers that were based on similar reasoning as discussed above for not encouraging the use of other languages. In addition, they mention that the teacher encourages the use of Finnish instead. These answers position the encouragement of using other languages as opposite to the encouragement of using Finnish:

(9) No, all of us want to learn Finnish. Our teacher helps us to improve our Finnish.

(10) I don’t think so, as she is here to teach us Finnish. I have never faced any situation where she has encouraged us to use any other language.

In addition, one respondent said that while the teacher encourages the students to use Finnish, the respondent does not understand Finnish well, and the teacher “doesn’t mind [her/him] using English”. Another respondent even stated that “we don’t use other languages”, although this

respondent had elsewhere described the use of English in teaching and communication in the course. The term ‘other’ in the question might have been one thing that led the respondents thinking other languages excluding English, although the question referred to “other languages than Finnish”.

Only one respondent directly said that the teacher does not allow speaking other languages than Finnish, and added that “the teacher is often supervising us”. In Question 16, the same respondent described that the way in which the teacher restricts the students’ use of other languages is by saying “don’t speak English”. There was only one other respondent who answered ‘No’ to Question 15 and ‘Yes’ to question 16, but this respondent did not provide any further details. The answers of these two respondents are contradictory to most of the answers that described a different experience of the language policies in the courses.

In sum, the concrete answers to the question on how the teacher encourages or supports the students in using other languages included notions that the teacher’s use of English supports understanding, and one mention that the teacher supports the students by asking them to translate into English. Half of the respondents who answered this question said that the teacher does not encourage them in using other languages. Some of them said that the reason for this is that the course is a Finnish course. One respondent said that the teacher prefers to talk in Finnish, and only one respondent said that the teacher demands that the students speak only Finnish. In addition to answering only ‘Yes’ or ‘No’ to this question, some respondents mentioned that the teacher encourages the use of Finnish instead of other languages.

Regarding the question on language restrictions, all but a few respondents (all but 5 respondents, to be exact) explicitly said that the teacher does not restrict or deny them the use of other languages than Finnish. Only two respondents explicitly said that the teacher restricts the use of other languages. Three respondents did not express a clear stand on this question.

Of those who answered “No”, 15 did not provide any detailed description. Six respondents answered that although the teacher does not restrict the use of other languages, the teacher or the respondent

her/himself prefers the use of Finnish to that of English. This preference was described as experienced encouragement to speak Finnish or as encouragement when the students tried to speak Finnish. One student said that the teacher “likes it when [they] try to speak Finnish by [themselves]”. Another described that “some teachers try to repeat in Finnish everything that a student has said in English“. Yet another student stated that although the teacher does not restrict the use of other languages, “it’s better to try to use Finnish”. These answers demonstrate that the theme Preference for Finnish came across in the data in answers to various questions.

In addition, a few respondents mentioned aspects of Course interaction or Communication in their answers. One respondent said that s/he can use English to ask questions from the teacher and another that the teacher encourages the students to ask questions in English. Another student described that the teacher “is tolerant” towards the students’ use of English when explaining anything in the class. Yet another student referred to English as a “common language to communicate”. In addition, one answer in the category Other, which did not express a clear stand of Yes or No, described why the respondent thinks using English is a good practice in the Finnish course:

> (11) Finnish is a very difficult language. Using English in teaching makes it much more helpful and easier to understand. <L1> grammar and Finnish are completely different.

At the same time, this answer provides a view on the question that will be discussed in the following chapter: whether the students would prefer if only Finnish was used in their Finnish lessons, and what were the reasons they provided for their opinions.

5.5.2 Using only Finnish in FSL teaching

All except one of the total number of respondents answered the question whether they would prefer if only Finnish was used in their Finnish lessons. Also, of those who answered, all except two provided a written comment in addition to marking their opinion as either ‘Yes’ or ‘No. Only five respondents said that they would prefer the Finnish-only policy. Two of them did not provide an answer to the question ‘Why’. One of them said that this would make the teaching faster; perhaps this respondent

experienced that learning would be faster as well. The other two respondents expressed their personal preference for using only Finnish: one of them said that s/he wanted to study in Finnish only, "because practice makes perfect". The other respondent saw that teaching Finnish in English is "pointless". These short answers did not elaborate more on the subject, and in order to understand the experiences and opinions of the respondents who present the Yes category in this question, more information should be gathered. The educational and language backgrounds of these students were not consistent either: they were from beginner's to advanced-level courses, estimated their Finnish skills from level 1 to level 3, and their English skills from level 3 to level 5, with one L1-English speaker.

Most of the respondents, 28 students, said that they would not prefer Finnish courses that were in Finnish only. These No answers were categorised so that first, the functions they provided for using English were listed. The functions were aggregated under two main themes, Understanding teaching and Course interaction. Of these, Understanding teaching was more prevalent, but because Course interaction was a theme that was mentioned in answers to other questions in the questionnaire, it was considered as such, rather than creating a category Other. Under the theme Understanding teaching, the aspects mentioned were Teaching, Explanations, Structure/grammar and Learning materials. For example, one respondent said that when the course is not in Finnish only, s/he "can understand instead of guessing the meaning". While some responses referred to understanding teaching or the lesson in general, some responses specified that, for example, the explanations or especially grammar is difficult to understand, if explained in Finnish only. The categorisation of the functions of English is summarised in table 5 below.

Table 5. Functions of English in Finnish course, in No answers of Question 17 (N = 28).

Functions of English	
Category	Frequency
Understanding teaching	
Teaching	9
Explanations	3
Structure/grammar	2
Learning materials	1
Course interaction	
Questions	1
Explanations	1

Secondly, the No answers were categorised based on the reasons they mentioned for the preference of not using Finnish only. The main themes in the reasons were Language level, Learning, Finnish difficult and Personal. Language level, or its aspect Beginner, included answers that referred to the beginner-level skills of the respondent in Finnish. Some of these respondents said that in the beginning, English is needed, but later the exclusive use of Finnish would be good:

(12) At the beginner's level, I believe we need to understand the logic of the language first and be able to ask clear questions. When the basis is learned, then I recommend using only Finnish.

(13) Because we should understand something before we can use the new language. It would be good to speak Finnish all the time but may be not now, in the beginner's course. The mix of English and Finnish together is good.

(14) Because I'm not at that level yet and in this way my learning would stop.

These respondents seem to have a clear opinion of how they prefer to learn new languages. For example, in the first quote the respondent expresses an analytical approach to language learning. For a student who wants to approach a new language by understanding its logic first, it may not indeed be so motivating and efficient if the course focuses on language use and does not provide comprehensive explanations to the student's questions.

Especially the answers under the theme Learning expressed sometimes a very emotional stand towards the language policy of the Finnish course. One respondent expressed frustration on some previous courses where the teacher had used only or almost only Finnish, and the respondent stated that "we simply were completely lost and **did not learn** as efficiently as now that we have some English to help us" (emphasis original). Another respondent wrote already in the beginning of part II of the questionnaire that "Teaching only in Finnish is not teaching anything. It is just destroying all motivation to learn, which is a tragedy in almost all Finnish courses". In addition to stating that learning in Finnish-only teaching would be "impossible", some respondents said that with the help of English, learning is easier or faster.

Some respondents mentioned the difficulty of Finnish language especially. One of them said that "Finnish is too difficult for a beginner – I wouldn't understand any of the explanations". Another mentioned the difficulty that comes from the fact that Finnish words are "changing all the time." This is thus an example of the areas in which the students might need the support offered by explanations in other languages, here presumably in English.

Finally, three respondents gave a reason that was listed as Personal, because it did not fit into any of the above-mentioned categories. One of these was the extract (13) quoted above regarding the classification Language level. Another respondent said that "there should be a common language to understand each other". The third response was that "It is impossible for beginners to relate to Finnish without at least some words translated". These responses argue that in learning of an L2, or Finnish especially, other languages are necessary. Another language is needed for understanding the logic of the new language, for communication and questions, and for relating to the new language. All in all, the respondents provided various reasons for their preference of not using only Finnish in FSL teaching. The categorisation of the answers is summarised in table 6 below.

Table 6. Reasons for preference of not using only Finnish in FSL teaching, in No answers of Question 17 (N = 28).

Reasons	
Category	Frequency
Language level	
Beginner	8
Learning	
Possible	4
Easier/faster	3
Finnish difficult	
Language	2
Grammar	1
Vocabulary/morphology	1
Personal	
Personal	3

Even if the teacher as a professional would not share all these views, awareness of the students' concerns is important, and these answers imply that the language policy of the class should be discussed together with the students. This could help to ensure a comfortable learning environment and avoid frustration, both of which can contribute to the learning process of the target language.

6 Multilingualism – a resource in FSL learning?

The question whether the respondents experienced that their skills in other languages help them in learning Finnish was one of the core questions of the questionnaire regarding the research question on students' perspectives on multilingualism in FSL learning. The question read: "How do your skills in other languages help you in learning Finnish?" The formulation of this question included the presupposition that other languages **do** help in learning Finnish. This formulation was chosen so that the respondents would not need to answer to two questions, first stating whether other languages help their learning, and then describing how. In addition to saving an extra step in filling the questionnaire, this avoided the situation in which some respondents might have chosen to answer only to the yes/no question, leaving the open-ended question without comments.

The focus of interest in this question was, however, not on how the numbers were distributed between the Yes and No answers, but indeed on the students' views and experiences. The analysis of the answers thus continues focusing on the respondents' opinions, together with the experiences they may describe. Finally, when this formulation was chosen, it was assumed that if the respondents did not agree with the statement (i.e. that other languages help in learning Finnish), they would express this in their answer. This way, the number of respondents answering either yes or no could also be analysed based on the comments.

Out of the 35 respondents in total, 31 answered to this question. The answers show that most of the respondents agreed with the statement: 22 students described in their answer some ways that other languages help them in learning Finnish. There were also those who had somehow mixed views (4 students): these students either described both helping and disturbing factors, or answered that other languages did not help, but then mentioned some ways they might help anyway. Finally, there were those who answered that other languages do not help them in learning Finnish (5 students).

6.1 Yes – how skills in other languages help in learning Finnish

After this categorisation of answers as either Yes, No or Mixed, the respondents whose mother tongue was English (5 respondents) were separated from the answers. Their answers will be discussed separately, in section 6.4. The Yes answers were then categorised based on the languages that were mentioned. Three students mentioned their mother tongue, and three students mentioned their mother tongue and English. In the following, these answers will be shortly discussed.

There was only one student among all the respondents of this study whose mother tongue was a close cognate language to Finnish. This respondent said in the answer to this particular question that her/his mother tongue helps in studying Finnish. The respondent did not, however, elaborate more on the ways in which the L1 helps. As a matter of fact, according to the language background, this respondent spoke two languages as mother tongues, in addition to L2 English, but only the cognate language was mentioned in this answer. It seems, therefore, that the similarities between Finnish and the L1 are behind this answer, but much more cannot be said based on this answer alone.

There were perhaps more surprising language pairs in the answers as well: both a speaker of Chinese and a speaker of Arabic mentioned that their mother tongues help with Finnish grammar. The speaker of Arabic explained that in Arabic, nouns have declensions, which makes it similar to Finnish. The speaker of Chinese did not explain how exactly Chinese helps.

In addition to grammar, vocabulary was mentioned in the answers as well. Two speakers of L1-German said that both German and English can help to understand Finnish vocabulary:

(15) Some words sound like German/English with an -i in the end (Hamster – hamsteri, Vitamin – vitamiini).

(16) Sometimes German/English help with the vocabulary (especially if the words come from Swedish). Some “structures” (e.g. expressions) are the same in Finnish and in German (e.g. aasinsilta – Eselbrücke, although “donkey bridge” does not have any specific meaning).

The help from other languages these respondents describe is based on similarities in the vocabularies of Finnish and another language. This similarity can be phonetic, i.e. the student recognises similarities in the phonetic forms of some words in Finnish and in another language. The first answer above shows that the respondent has found some regularity in the way in which Finnish words can be similar with English or German equivalents. The second answer includes the notion that some words in Finnish come from Swedish, and the respondent has found these to be similar with German or English words. In addition, the second answer describes similarity in vocabulary from the semantic point of view. Here the respondent compares three languages – Finnish, German and English – and mentions the similarity between Finnish and German, yet notices that English differs from these two languages in this case. At the same time, this is one example of the analytic way in which some respondents observe languages in their answers, demonstrating their metalinguistic skills.

In addition to the experiences above, the help provided by mother tongue could be other than relying on the similarities between the mother tongue and Finnish. One respondent described that "when it is difficult to understand something," s/he asks help from friends, compatriots who speak Finnish as well. Compared to the answers to the question on students' use of languages in the classroom, this answer is similar with those that mention help from their compatriots. However, this time the answer can refer to a situation that broadens the help received through mother tongue beyond the classroom. To conclude, the respondents who mentioned their mother tongue as one of the languages that help them in learning Finnish experienced help regarding grammar, vocabulary, and general understanding and communication.

One respondent made a difference between the help s/he experienced from mother tongue (Arabic) and English. This respondent experienced that while mother tongue helped due to the similarities in the morphological structure of the languages, English helped in grasping the "real meaning" of words:

> (17) – – using English in between also helps as there are some words that must be translated into English first before knowing the real meaning in Arabic.

Among the respondents that experienced help from English, two respondents gave similar answers than the one above. One respondent said that English helps to know the meaning of some Finnish words better (L1 Chinese). The other respondent said that translation from Finnish into English is easier than from Finnish into the respondent's mother tongue (a Slavic language). These answers could reflect the lack of adequate dictionaries between Finnish and the L1 of these respondents. On the other hand, these answers could reflect a situation in which English is commonly used in translations in the learning contexts of Finnish. Thus, in addition to the availability of dictionaries between English and Finnish, translations between these two languages would be readily available due to the teaching practices as well.

Interestingly, these students' experiences are contradictory to the understanding of some FSL teachers. Some teachers in Jäppinen's (2014) study argued that learning an L2 is easier for the students without an additional language in between the L2 and the student's L1 (p. 36). Therefore, they did not want to use, for example, English in their teaching. According to Jäppinen, some SLA/FSL researchers, such as Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), recommend the practice of using only the student's L1 as an additional language in L2 teaching (cited pp. 26–27). The answers in this study seem to call for more research on the matter.

Nine respondents mentioned that English helps them in learning Finnish. These respondents did not mention any other language in their answer. Additionally, 3 respondents described help from an unspecified language, which probably referred to English. Two respondents experienced help from English in learning vocabulary, as discussed above. One respondent mentioned English in general in learning Finnish: s/he answered that "I used English language to learn Finnish language". Although this response does not specify the ways in which English helped in learning Finnish, it describes English as the medium that helped in the learning process, perhaps as much as provided access to Finnish. Another respondent said that knowing English language helps in reading Finnish texts, but at the same time the different sounds and pronunciation in English and Finnish cause some difficulties. The other languages in this respondent's language profile were ones with non-Latin alphabet. Therefore, the respondent could be referring to the Latin alphabet that is already familiar from

English, and this helps with reading in Finnish. However, the respondent must now learn the differences in spelling and pronunciation between these two languages that share the same alphabet.

The rest of the responses that referred to English (5 respondents) mentioned a course or class context in which English helps the respondents in learning Finnish. Three of these respondents said that English helps them a lot. For example, one respondent stated:

> (18) A lot. If I couldn't speak English, studying in the Finnish courses would be difficult.

These responses seem to describe courses in which English is commonly used to teach Finnish. The response quoted above does not state, however, whether the respondent actually sees this as a good or helpful practice. (This question was discussed in section 5.2.2.) In other words, it might be that English helps this respondent a lot indeed because English is the language used in teaching. One respondent mentioned that both the teacher and almost all her/his friends speak English well, and therefore the respondent's own skills in English help in learning Finnish. Here English emerges once again as a shared language, and the respondent experiences that it helps in learning another language. There was even one respondent who regarded that s/he does not speak English well, but s/he nevertheless preferred the use of English in class to the option that only Finnish would be used.

Two of the respondents who did not specify which language they were referring to answered that other languages (or presumably English) help them to understand. Another respondent said that other languages help "when asking for explanation/vocabulary". The language these respondents refer to might be English, because one of the respondents could only speak English in addition to mother tongue and Finnish, another had answered in a similar way to other questions as well (regarding the language use of the teacher and the student), and the third answer directly referred to a class situation. The categories that arise from these answers are, thus, Vocabulary and general Understanding.

Above the Yes answers from other than L1-English speakers have been discussed based on the languages mentioned. There was one respondent in both groups, non-L1-English speakers and L1-

English speakers, who answered that knowledge of other languages in general can help in learning Finnish. One of the respondents said that her/his profession as a language teacher “gives [her/him] an advantage”, and the other specified that “knowledge of grammar can aid comprehension”. Perhaps surprisingly, considering the extensive educational background of the respondents, this type of answers did not arise more from these responses. On the other hand, the respondents provided concrete examples that demonstrated the benefits they achieve through their metalinguistic abilities.

6.2 Mixed views – skills in other languages might or might not help in learning Finnish

As was mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, three respondents gave an answer that included a somewhat mixed view on the question whether other languages help them in learning Finnish. One of these respondents mentioned one of her/his L2s that helps because of certain similarities in the morphological structure of the L2 and Finnish. This experience is in line with the Yes responses in which mother tongue was mentioned. The respondent analysed her/his experience further, however:

> (19) – – otherwise not much since Finnish is a very specific type of language. Nevertheless, knowledge of different languages helps to navigate easier through Finnish and I guess to learn quicker.

As can be seen, the respondent mentions here general knowledge of languages, a theme discussed above. The reason why this respondent sees that other languages do not help in learning Finnish arises from the differences between Finnish and other languages. The other languages in this respondent’s language profile consisted of an L1 and four L2s, all Indo-European languages, more specifically either Romanic or Germanic languages. This answer is in line with both those who saw similarities between an L1 or L2 and Finnish as helpful factors, and also those who answered No to this question, as will be discussed in the next section.

Another respondent described, similarly, that previous experiences in studying languages can help in observing grammar and learning Finnish. As a hindrance, this student described that another L2 s/he had learnt for a long time and spoke well interfered with studying Finnish. The student identified that

this other L2 resembled Finnish phonetically, and explained difficulties in keeping the languages separated and concentrating on Finnish:

> (20) – – Because the sounds are somehow similar, the words always come in my mind in <L2> first, and then I have to identify that it is not the word in Finnish. My mind has some reflexes because it has studied <L2> as a foreign language for so long, so it takes a lot of concentration to accept another language in the "learning foreign languages box" in my memory.

Interestingly, this was the only respondent who described how not only other languages might not help at all in learning Finnish, but could seem to interfere with learning as well. Apparently, this respondent seems to view language learning primarily as a cognitive process.

The third respondent in this group labelled Mixed answered that other languages do not help, but then added, "maybe English, because the alphabet is the same". In the language profile, this respondent had mentioned two L2s in addition to Finnish, English and one mother tongue. The mother tongue and one of the L2s were languages with a non-Latin alphabet. Thus, this answer is similar to the one that described that English helps in reading Finnish texts.

6.3 No, skills in other languages do not help in learning Finnish

Five respondents stated in their answer that contradictory to the statement in the question, their skills in other languages do not help them in learning Finnish. Three of these respondents explained their view based on their experience of Finnish as a different language than other languages they knew. One respondent continued that Finnish is difficult as well. The other two respondents who answered No did not explicate their view. One of them said, controversially, that s/he could not speak other languages, although s/he had mentioned one mother tongue and English in her/his language profile. It might be that this respondent had understood that the question would refer only to other L2s than English and Finnish, for example. The other respondent simply answered that other languages do "not help".

Among these respondents, there were two who had two mother tongues, one of whom mentioned two L2s (in addition to Finnish) in the language profile and additional three languages that s/he had studied at school. In other words, this respondent might potentially have experienced help from any of the seven languages mentioned. All these languages in the respondent's profile were Indo-European, but within this language family there were Slavic, Germanic and Romanic languages. The other respondent with two mother tongues had three L2s, and among the L1 and L2 languages in this profile there were four Indo-European languages (two Indo-Iranian, one Germanic, one Romanic language) and one Afro-Asiatic language. Yet another of these respondents had an Indo-Iranian L1 and three L2s, one of which was Indo-Iranian, one Germanic and one Japonic language. The mentioned L2s are, naturally, in addition to Finnish, which adds a Uralic language into the language profiles of the respondents.

The observation of the language sets in these respondents' language profiles aims to show the potential that, in analysing the experiences of these students, is being wasted when it comes to learning Finnish. As studies have shown, however, previous experiences in learning languages can help in the process of learning yet another new language (e.g. Aalto & Kauppinen, 2011, p. 7; Cenoz & Gorter, 2011, p. 358). Similarly, having two mother tongues can be an advantage for language learning (e.g. Jarvis, 2015, p. 70). While these students do not acknowledge or recognise any help from their skills in other languages, they might benefit from developing their language awareness (see Cenoz & Gorter, 2011, p. 358; Haukås, 2016, pp. 1–3). Moreover, while some respondents stated that other languages do not help, the same respondents may in their other responses express a demand that the teacher should use English when teaching Finnish, and say that they would not learn or understand otherwise.

6.4 L1-speakers of English

Finally, the L1-speakers of English who responded to this question will be discussed separately. Out of the five L1-speakers of English among the respondents, four answered to this question. Their answers were distributed so that, using the previously introduced categories, three answered Yes and one

answered Mixed. One of the Yes answers referred to general knowledge of grammar, and this answer was already discussed above. Another stated only “little bit”, and the third Yes answer mentioned help in understanding meanings. The respondent who gave a Mixed answer said that other languages do not help much, but “some vocabulary overlap with Swedish, but very little”.

Interestingly, none of these respondents mention English explicitly. The respondent who mentioned general knowledge of grammar was probably referring to her/his skills in all other languages. The two other Yes responses were possibly referring to English, although they did not mention the language(s) they were talking about. The last answer did not seem to consider English at all, and mentioned only an L2 of the speaker, a language with some similarity in vocabulary with Finnish.

7 FSL learners' use of languages in everyday life

In this chapter, answers to the questions in part III of the questionnaire will be discussed. In these questions, the respondents were asked to describe their use of different languages in their everyday life in Finland. The first question in part III was a table, in which the respondents were asked to estimate how often they use each language, in a similar manner as in the tables in part II. After the table was a separate question for each language, and in the end, a question that asked about using many languages at the same time.

Instead of providing a set of given options, i.e. people and situations, the questions were open-ended. This formation aimed at finding the answers that were the most important and, at the same time, the most ordinary for each respondent when it comes to language use. The idea was that the respondents would write what first came in their mind when they thought of using each language. Consequently, the received answers did not provide as comprehensive a result of all possible situations in which the respondents use different languages as answering to a set of predetermined options would have provided. This was, however, only one part of the questionnaire, and its main aim was to help in forming a better understanding of the language use of the respondents as FSL learners, and at the same time, provide information that might explain their opinions regarding language use in FSL teaching.

In studies that focus on the language use in everyday life, more specific questions have been used (e.g. Hernandez, 2010; Hlavac, 2013). In the data of this study, similar contexts came across the data, however. For example, Hlavac (2013) analysed the sociolinguistic profiles and language use of eight immigrants to Australia based on Fishman's domains. The domains or social networks in question resemble the contexts dominant in the data of this study as well: they include family, friends, neighbourhood, work, school, media and leisure (Hlavac, 2013). In this study, however, rather than focusing on the individual sociolinguistic profiles of the respondents, focus is on the main tendencies across the data.

The open-ended questions for each language had two parts: they asked, firstly, with whom, and secondly, in what kind of situations the respondents use each language. The categorisation of the answers was, therefore, done in two parts as well. First, the answers where categorised based on the answers to the question 'With whom?'. In other words, the answers were sorted into categories according to the people who were mentioned. Secondly, the answers were categorised according to the answers regarding the situation of language use. In the first round of both categorisations, the answers were categorised with great detail. In the second round, categories that were mentioned less than three times were merged into existing categories or, if they did not fit into these, into the category Other.

Sometimes some of the sub-categories of the two main categories People and Situations were overlapping, for example considering the use of mother tongue, category Colleagues/customers of the main category People, and category Work of the main category Situations. In such a case, these overlapping categories were merged together in the final phase of categorisation. Furthermore, the answers included other aspects that were not systematically considered as criteria when forming the categories, for example, the ways of communication. This means that the answers were not categorised based on, for example, whether the described interaction happened in person, face to face, or not. On the other hand, some ways of communication were included in the categorisation, for example Phone and Social media regarding the use of mother tongue. These categories were based on the fact that these arose as specific mediums of communication in several answers to this particular question.

The first open-ended questions asked about the use of mother tongue and Finnish. 33 respondents answered these questions. The following questions did not specify a language, but the respondents needed to name the 'other language' they were referring to. When the L1-speakers of English were excluded (their answers were considered within those regarding the use of mother tongue), 22 respondents gave an answer regarding their use of English. When those who answered in the table and those who answered in the open-ended question were counted together, every respondent said that they use English in their everyday life, at least little or seldom. In addition, nine respondents gave

an answer on their use of one or more additional languages. Because this last group (other languages) was so small, these answers will only occasionally be commented in connection with the use of mother tongue, Finnish and English, and then separately in chapter 7.2. The question on the use of multiple languages will be discussed separately in that same chapter. Next, the answers considering the use of mother tongue, Finnish and English will be analysed.

7.1 Mother tongue, Finnish and English

According to the answers, the three main languages the respondent use in their everyday life in Finland were their mother tongue(s), Finnish and English. The amount or frequency of the use of each language varied depending on the respondent, as presented in figure 5 below. The figure clearly shows that the languages the respondents use most of the time are their mother tongue(s) and English. However, there were also those (10 respondents) who said that they only use their mother tongue seldom. The figure also demonstrates the fact that although the respondents, FSL learners, live in a second-language environment, most of them use Finnish in their everyday life only sometimes or seldom. A rough average frequency for the use of Finnish was sometimes. This result underlines the importance of the Finnish language course as a context for using Finnish: in the course, a rough average frequency for using Finnish was often.

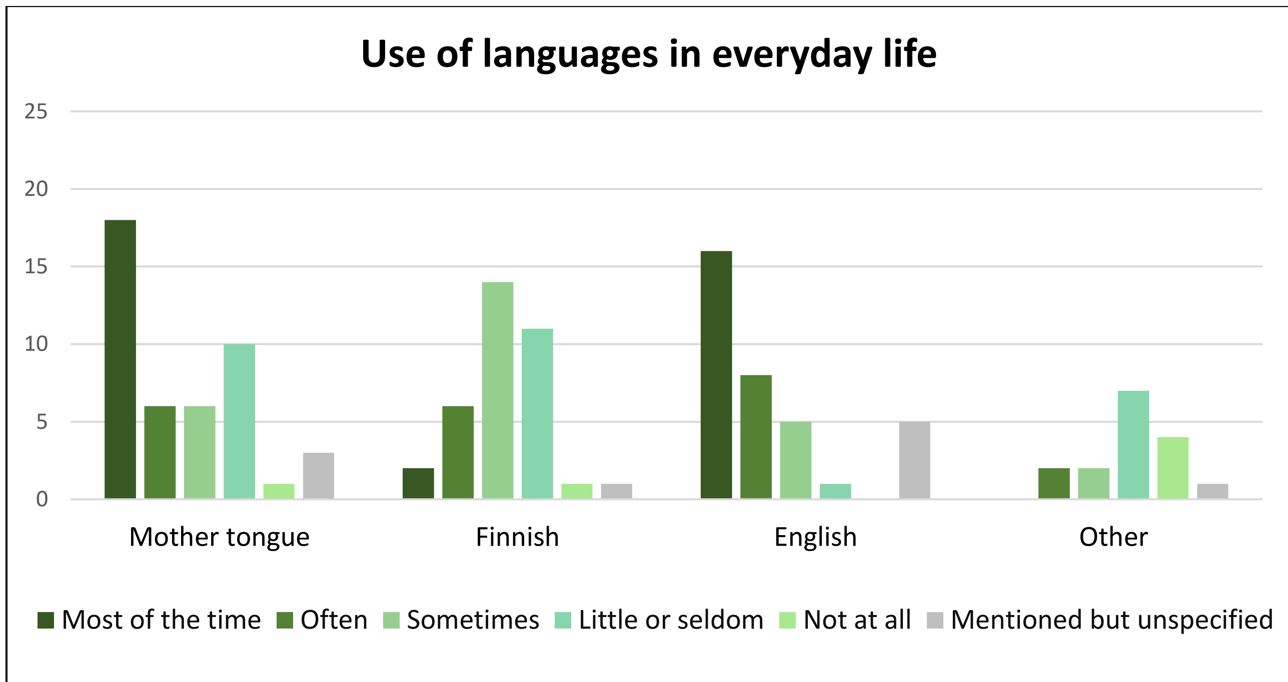

Figure 5. Respondents' use of languages in everyday life (Mother tongue, Finnish and English, N = 35; Other, N = 9).

Some of the respondents (5 respondents) had two mother tongues. The numbers in the figure were formed so that for those with two mother tongues, the values for both languages were counted, i.e. Mother tongue received two values from these respondents. The same principle was followed considering the languages presented as Other in the figure: nine respondents mentioned other languages, each respondent from one to four different languages, and the value for each language was added into the total count. Therefore, the total number of times a language is mentioned is for mother tongue and other languages greater than the number of respondents. The value Mentioned but unspecified in the figure includes the answers of those respondents that did not provide a value for the language in the table, but nevertheless mentioned it in the open-ended questions. The total number of 35 respondents for Mother tongue, Finnish and English means that all respondents mentioned these languages, either in the table or in the open-ended questions, or in both.

The categorisation of the answers to the open-ended questions was done independently for each language, as described in the previous chapter. However, some same categories arose regarding the

use of all three, mother tongue, Finnish and English. These common categories were Family, Friends and Work. In addition, a category named Daily customer arose regarding the use of both Finnish and English. This category included answers that mentioned, for example, shopping, restaurants, cafés, banks or bus as the contexts of language use.

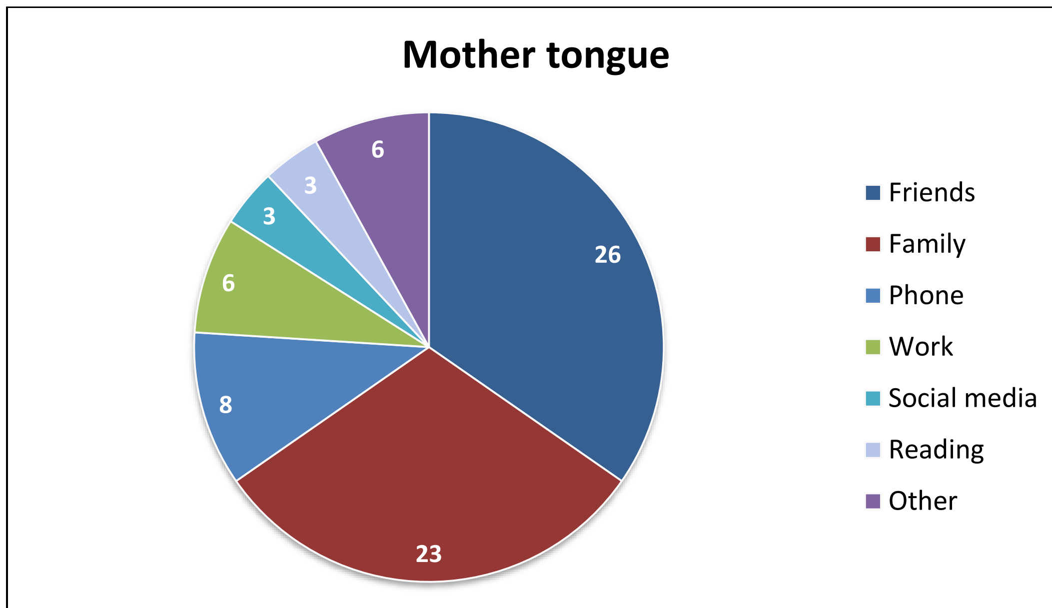

Figure 6. Use of mother tongue in everyday life (N = 33).

Figure 6 above presents the distribution of answers between the categories that were formed according to the respondents' use of mother tongue. Many respondents mentioned several occasions in which they use each language, and therefore an answer was counted into as many categories as it mentioned. Accordingly, the numbers in the figure present the number of respondents who mentioned a particular category, of the total 33 respondents who answered this question. As can be seen, Friends and Family were important contexts in the answers for the use of mother tongue. In fact, 15 respondents mentioned only either one or both of these contexts.

The answers in the category Friends mentioned friends in both Finland and elsewhere, and ways of communication were in person, in phone and in social media. Two respondents added that they use their mother tongues not only with friends who are L1-speakers of the same language, but also with friends who speak the language as an L2. Conversely, 11 respondents explicitly mentioned speaking

their mother tongue with friends from the same country (these might be friends in Finland or friends who reside in the country of origin). In addition, the category Friends includes six answers that did not literally mention friends, but mentioned people from the same home country or people who speak the respondent's mother tongue. These answers could also refer to situations of coincidental encounter, with previously unknown people.

The category Family includes family members and relatives who reside in Finland or elsewhere. Some answers (9 respondents) specified that the respondent uses mother tongue with a family member or relative at home. The same ways of communication were mentioned as with friends: in person, in phone and in social media. Three respondents said that they use their mother tongue only when communicating with their family members or friends back in their country of origin. The rest said that they use their mother tongue with, or also with, people who reside in Finland.

Three of the six respondents who said that they use their mother tongue at work were L1-speakers of English. One of them specified that s/he uses English with colleagues, the other two just mentioned "work". One of the speakers of other L1s said that s/he uses mother tongue with colleagues who come from the same country, and another said that s/he uses mother tongue with one colleague who speaks this language as an L2. The third respondent's work was related to business and marketing in her/his country of origin.

In the answers of eight respondents, communication via phone (including online calls) was mentioned as a specific context in which they use their mother tongue. For two respondents, this was the only way of communication they mentioned for mother tongue. The people with whom the respondents spoke in phone included family members, friends and other personal communication. Some respondents specified the frequency of calling people in their home country, and these answers varied from less than once a month to often.

Social media was mentioned in only three of the answers as a specific context for using mother tongue. All these respondents mentioned Facebook, and in addition, one mentioned emails. Email

was counted into this category, because it was mentioned only once, by this same respondent who mentioned social media, and because communication via email includes both reading and writing, which are elements that are involved in the use of social media as well. The people with whom these respondents communicate in their mother tongue in social media were friends, family members and relatives.

Three respondents mentioned reading in their answers. One of them specified that s/he read articles, and another that s/he read novels. In addition, the contexts of using mother tongue that were mentioned only once included watching TV shows, writing, and meeting people in bus, at school or at a specific shop. In addition, two speakers who had two mother tongues, one of them English, said that they use English always or all the time with “all the people” they interact with.

For the focus of this study, the respondent’s answers regarding their use of Finnish in their everyday life were of special interest. As has been discussed in the theoretical framework of this paper, meaningful interaction in everyday life creates affordances for language learning. Therefore, the researcher was interested in finding out the contexts the respondents mentioned in their answers, together with possible opinions or attitudes they might express regarding language use and learning. As has already been mentioned with regard to the answers the respondents provided in the table of part III, most of them said that they use Finnish only sometimes or seldom in their everyday life.

The categorisation of answers was done in the same way as has been described earlier. As a result, altogether nine categories were named, while for the use of mother tongue the number of categories was seven. The number of respondents who answered both of these questions is the same, so from that point of view the distribution of answers in these questions is comparable. Figure 7 below presents the distribution of answers regarding the use of Finnish.

Figure 7. Use of Finnish in everyday life (N = 33).

Three categories (in addition to the category Other) were common to mother tongue and Finnish: Family, Friends and Work. These are illustrated in the figures of both languages with the same colours. While for mother tongue a great majority mentioned both family and friends, for Finnish neither of these was the category with the most number of answers. Instead, in the responses work contexts were more common for using Finnish than for using mother tongue. In addition, the category that received the most answers regarding the use of Finnish was one which does not exist regarding the use of mother tongue at all. This is the category of Daily customer, including, for example, communication in shops and restaurants. These differences between the use of mother tongue and Finnish illustrate the language environment the respondents live in.

When they described their use of Finnish as a daily customer, the respondents sometimes mentioned that they "try to speak Finnish", or that they speak "a little Finnish" in these situations. One respondent said that s/he speaks Finnish in shops "for simple things". In addition, some respondents commented how often they speak Finnish in these contexts: these included "occasionally", "sometimes" and "every time". These answers illustrate how these respondents position themselves

as language learners: they cannot manage in daily situations comfortably yet, but at the same time, these daily situations function as possibilities to practice language skills.

The background questions did not include a question that would have asked whether the respondents have a Finnish partner, or other Finnish family members or relatives. This information would have been useful when analysing the answers the respondents provided, especially considering their use of Finnish with family members. In some responses in which the respondents mentioned that they use Finnish with their family, they specified that they use it with the family of their partner, in which case it could be assumed that the respondent had a Finnish partner. However, some respondents only said that they use Finnish "at home" or with a specific family member, and in these cases the interlocutor may or may not be Finnish. On the other hand, some respondents specifically mentioned that they practice Finnish with their partner who is an FSL learner as well.

In the answers that mentioned using Finnish at work, the respondents mentioned using Finnish with both colleagues (6 respondents) and clients or customers (3 respondents). One respondent specified that s/he uses Finnish sometimes during the coffee break, and another respondent described that the colleagues teach her/him some vocabulary. Another respondent said that s/he tries to use Finnish with colleagues when s/he is "in mood for practice".

Some (4 respondents) of those respondents who mentioned that they use Finnish with their friends specified that they use Finnish with their Finnish friends. Other responses included friends at school, friends in general, "with some friends" and with a particular friend. One respondent described that s/he mainly has Finnish friends, because s/he deliberately does not want to make friends with people from her/his country of origin. Throughout all the answers this respondent gave in the questionnaire, s/he expressed a clear preference for speaking and practicing Finnish as much as possible. This is an extreme example of the preference for Finnish, however, and it might be that this respondent actually uses more languages in her/his everyday life than what s/he would prefer and what s/he described in the questionnaire.

In this part III of the questionnaire, the respondents were asked to estimate and describe their use of different languages in their everyday life. Following the questions on Finnish teaching, the idea was that the focus would now be on situations outside the Finnish course. However, over one third of the respondents mentioned the Finnish course as one context in which they use Finnish. This illustrates how important the possibilities that the language course offers for practicing Finnish are, even when the learners live in Finland. Some of the answers even seem to refer to the language course as the most important situation for using Finnish:

(21) In the Finnish course, with the teacher and course mates. Sometimes I speak with a salesperson.

(22) In beginner's Finnish class. In shops sometimes.

(23) With my <family member>, and at Finnish courses.

(24) At work during the coffee break sometimes. At the cash desk in shops. In the Finnish course (the most).

In the last quote, the respondent adds that the Finnish course is the place where s/he uses Finnish the most. In quotes (21) and (22), the respondents say that they use Finnish "sometimes" in shops, and other than that they mention the Finnish course. The extract (23) mentions one family member in addition to the Finnish course, so the situations in which Finnish is used could be plenty, but in the table, this respondent estimates that s/he uses Finnish only sometimes.

The categories with smaller number of answers were Finns, If not English and TV/radio. Five respondents mentioned that they use Finnish with Finns in general. One of them specified that s/he uses Finnish with neighbours. Another described that s/he speaks Finnish with Finns whom s/he meets, for example, in shops, in the city centre, or through hobbies. This respondent continued that "I really want to learn the language so I try to grab things that I hear from Finnish people, and I try to express myself in Finnish, which is really tough at this level". This respondent seems to be trying to actively use Finnish and to consciously search for and utilise the learning opportunities in everyday life.

Three respondents described that they use Finnish when they are communicating with someone who does not speak English. These answers seem to refer to English as the primary language in everyday life. In the table, these respondents estimated that they use either their mother tongue, English or both most of the time. However, one of these respondents estimated that s/he uses Finnish often as well. For one of these respondents, this was the only situation s/he mentioned for using Finnish, but the two others mentioned other situations or people as well.

Three respondents mentioned watching TV and/or listening to the radio in Finnish. One of these respondents specified that s/he watches Finnish TV twice a week, which seems to refer to a planned, perhaps learning-oriented activity. The answers that were categorised as Other included mentions of hobbies, public places in general, greeting people, online content and reading texts. In addition, one respondent said that "I try [to use Finnish] everywhere I can". Another specified that s/he uses Finnish if s/he wants to ask something.

The answers show that there are many possible contexts in which the respondents may use Finnish. Although most of the answers were short, 10 respondents mentioned three different contexts in which they use Finnish, five mentioned four or five contexts and 12 mentioned two contexts. Five respondents mentioned only one context. For two of them this context was Family, for another two Daily customer, and for one it was Work. Even if the answers do not mention all contexts in which the respondents actually use Finnish, they demonstrate those that are perhaps the most central for each respondent. One respondent said that s/he does not use Finnish yet – this answer implies, however, the intention of the respondent to be using Finnish in the future.

Based on the respondents' answers in the table, English is the language they use the most in their everyday life in Finland, together with their mother tongue(s). A smaller number mentioned English in the open-ended questions than the number that gave an answer in the table. The number of respondents whose answers are considered here is smaller also because those with English as an L1 were excluded. This way, the number of respondents who described their use of English was 22. The

distribution of answers is presented in figure 8 below. Because the number of respondents is not same as in the figures 6 and 7, this figure cannot be directly compared with those.

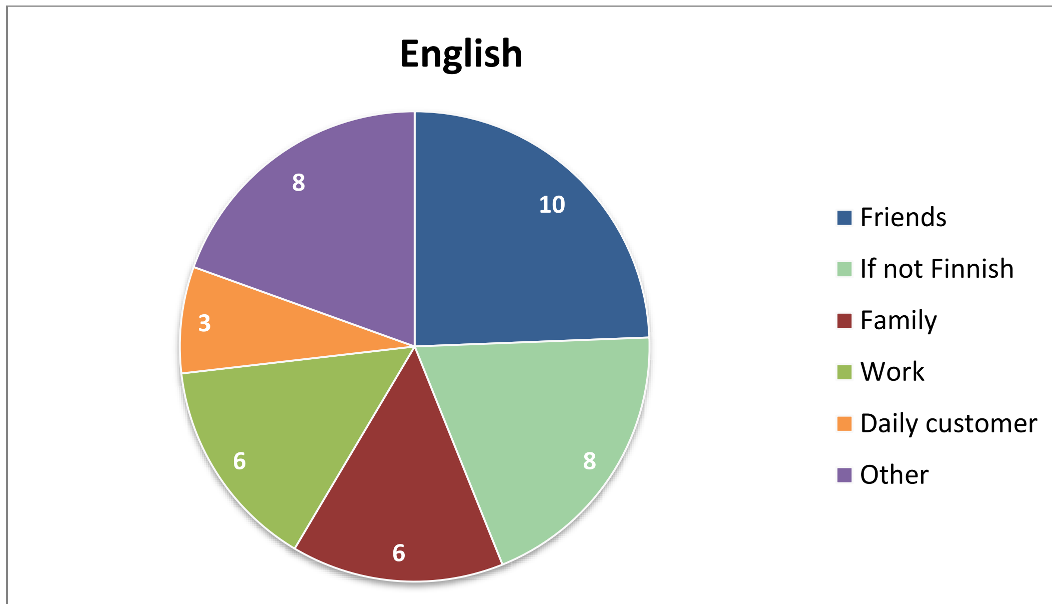

Figure 8. L2-speakers' use of English in everyday life (N = 22).

Some categories that are familiar from the discussion of mother tongue and Finnish can be found when the use of English is considered as well. These are Friends, Family, Work and Daily customer. In addition, the category If not Finnish is similar to the category If not English discussed with regard to the respondents' use of Finnish above, only here Finnish is considered the primary language instead of English. Based on these answers, the number of respondents who mentioned Finnish as the primary language in some situations was bigger than those who mentioned English as the primary language.

As can be seen from the figure, the answers to this question were more evenly distributed than the answers regarding the use of mother tongue and Finnish. Friends is the category with the biggest number of answers, as it was regarding the use of mother tongue as well. The categories Family and Work are equal in numbers of respondents, and the category Daily customer, which was the biggest category regarding the use of Finnish, received a few responses.

When they described their use of English with their friends, the respondents mentioned that they use English with friends in general; with friends in Finland; and with either Finnish or foreign friends, or with both Finnish and foreign friends. One respondent commented that s/he uses English with friends because "it is faster". The answers in the category Family mentioned family members and relatives. None of these responses mentioned using English with a family member who lives outside Finland, but most of the responses in this category specified a family member who lives with the respondent or in Finland otherwise. In the category Work, the respondents said that English is the main language at work, or that they use only English, or they use English daily. Some respondents specified that they use English with colleagues, others mentioned only "at work".

The category specific for English language in these answers was that labelled If not Finnish. These answers are similar to those in the category If not English regarding the use of Finnish: the respondents say that they use a secondary language when they cannot successfully communicate in the primary language. The terms primary and secondary only refer here to the experience of the respondents in any particular context they describe in their answers. In these answers, one language appears primary to another, because the respondents describe that if they could, they would use this language. With regard to English, the responses in this category describe situations in which the respondents use English. They mention the respondent's inability to communicate in Finnish, difficulties in communication, difficulties in understanding and interlocutors who cannot speak Finnish.

Finally, the category Other includes contexts that were mentioned with regard to the use of other languages as well, such as watching TV shows, reading and hobbies. One respondent said that s/he uses English with all people who do not speak her/his mother tongue. Three respondents said that English is the main language in their everyday life.

7.2 Other languages and language mixing

The languages discussed in the previous chapter, i.e. mother tongues, Finnish and English, are the main languages the respondents report using in their everyday life. Only nine respondents provided examples of their use of other languages in the open-ended questions. One of the respondents listed four additional languages, one listed three, and six respondents mentioned one additional language. One respondent did not specify which 'other language' s/he was referring to.

The contexts the respondents mentioned regarding the use of these languages were familiar from the analysis of previous answers: family and friends, and single mentions of, for example, work, TV/radio and reading. One respondent mentioned "online content" regarding all languages, but did not specify what kinds of media this referred to. In addition, while some of the answers seem to be based on the respondent's skills in a particular language and on her/his specific interests, for example watching TV or movies, other answers seem to reflect a focus on the interlocutor as the basis for the language choice. In the latter kind of answers, the respondents say that they use a particular language with friends or people from a country or area where this language is spoken. Therefore, the interlocutor's country of origin and language profile affect the choice of language in the interaction.

The last question in the questionnaire asked about contexts in which the respondents use more than one language at a time or switch from one language to another. 27 respondents answered to this question. The answers were categorised in a similar way as other answers of part III of the questionnaire, that is, according to the people and situations mentioned. The distribution of answers between the categories is presented in figure 9 below.

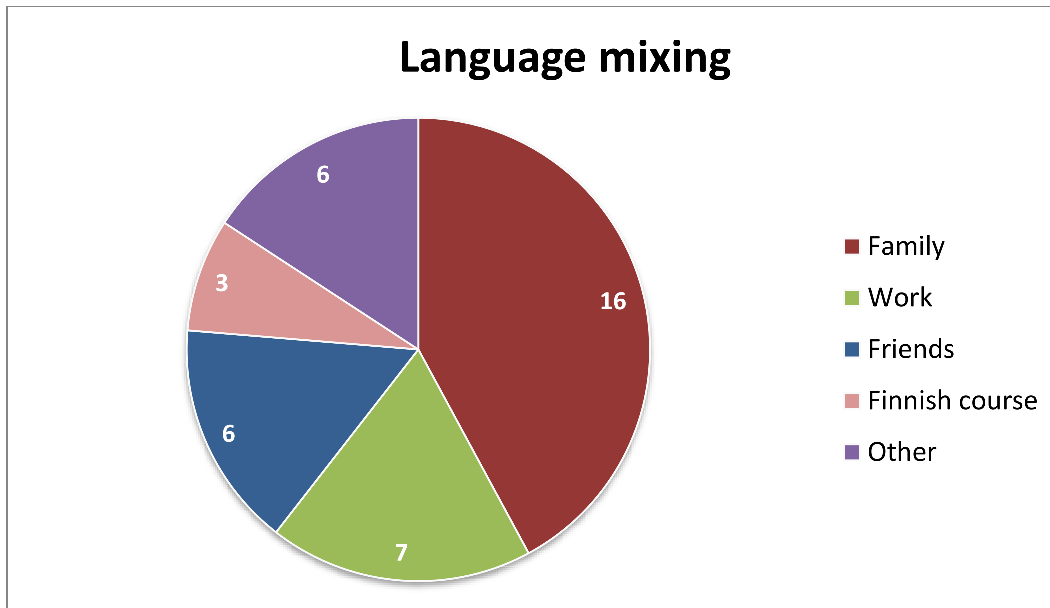

Figure 9. Language mixing in everyday life (N = 27).

As can be seen from the figure, the same categories that have been introduced with regard to the previous questions arose from these answers as well. The context that was mentioned most often was family, with mentions from more than half of the respondents. Almost all answers (14 respondents) in this category mentioned a particular family member, or particular family members, with whom they switch or mix languages. Again, in most cases (12 respondents) the mentioned family member, on one of them, was the partner of the respondent. The respondents did not usually directly comment how often they switch or mix languages; instead, most of the responses seem to suggest that language mixing is a frequent, ordinary practice for the respondents. This image is created by the descriptions that simply state that the respondent uses a mixture of particular languages with a particular person.

In the category Family, four respondents commented themselves as FSL learners in their answers: one of them said that the reason for language mixing is that s/he does not "know enough Finnish yet". Another said that in learning Finnish with her/his family members and relatives, s/he uses both Finnish and English. The third respondent mentioned that with her/his partner, they teach each other

their own L1s – the L1 of the partner, in this case, was Finnish. The fourth respondent said that they are both FSL learners with her/his partner, and they “try to use some Finnish as well”.

Of those who mentioned the family context, 11 respondents named the languages between which they switch, and seven of these mentioned switching between three languages. In nine cases out of the eleven, one of the languages was the mother tongue of the respondent. Sometimes this was a common mother tongue for both interlocutors. The other languages included the mother tongue of the partner, when this was not common for both partners of the couple, and sometimes this was Finnish. Finnish was mentioned as one of the languages by some of the other respondents as well, in cases where it was not certain whether this was the L1 of the partner, and even when it certainly was an L2 for both in the couple. In addition, all respondents mentioned English as one of the languages, whether it was an L1 or L2. In sum, the most common combination of languages in language mixing in the family context was the L1 (or L1s) of the respondent, the L1 of the partner (possibly Finnish) and English. Only one respondent mentioned an L2 that was not the L1 of the partner, nor Finnish nor English.

Seven respondents mentioned that they switch languages in work contexts. Four of them named the languages between which they switch, and these followed the same main trend as the answers regarding the family contexts: the languages mentioned were the L1 (or L1s) of the respondent, English and Finnish. The answers in the category Friends differed from this language combination in that they mentioned only two languages, which could be English and Finnish, or English and the L1 of the respondent. Some respondents specified that they were talking about Finnish friends, while some mentioned friends in general. Similar reasons for language mixing were provided as with regard to the family context: some respondents said that they switch into English when they do not remember the word in Finnish. One respondent commented that s/he “keep[s] switching between English and Finnish depending upon the complexity”.

Three respondents mentioned the Finnish course as a context of language mixing. One of them said that “we switch language almost all the time”, and another estimated that in the Finnish lessons, the

languages spoken are 90% Finnish and 10% English. In the category Other, two respondents commented that they use (almost) only Finnish. Two respondents did not mention any specific people with whom they mix languages, but provided similar reasons with the other respondents. One of them did not mention any specific languages either, but gave a very general statement: "With different people, if I can't explain or express something in one language, I switch to another language".

In addition, in different categories some respondents commented the way in which they switch or mix languages. These examples described, for instance, using a main language with some words from another language or from other languages. Another example described that the respondent switches to another language for a short while during the interaction. Most of the answers were short, however, and again the main aim of this question was to gather information on the awareness of the respondents of such a phenomenon as language mixing. The relatively big number of 27 respondents out of the total 35 that answered this question, together with the concrete examples they provided, seem to indicate that this indeed was a familiar phenomenon among the respondents.

8 Discussion and conclusion

In this chapter, main conclusions of the analysis will be presented, focusing on the research questions. As presented in the introduction, this study set out to explore the following questions:

1. From the students' perspective, is FSL teaching multilingual? How do students experience multilingualism; do they consider it as a resource?
2. Are students' multilingual resources taken into account in FSL teaching; and if yes, how?
3. What is the role of English in FSL teaching and as a part of the language repertoire of the students?
4. How does the students' use of languages in their FSL course differ from their use of languages in everyday life?

In what follows, each of these questions will be considered. Throughout the analysis in previous chapters, the aim has been to convey the perspective of the respondents, and the starting point is same here. In addition, the results will be considered in the light of previous research.

Most of the respondents of this study were beginner-level students of Finnish who were attending a beginner's course and had studied Finnish for a maximum of one year. Furthermore, most of the respondents estimated their skills in English as fluent or almost fluent. In addition, the respondents were relatively highly educated: most of them had studied at a university. These common characteristics of the respondents should be borne in mind when considering the results of this study.

According to the respondents, the main languages used in their FSL courses were Finnish and English. Perhaps surprisingly, there were no mentions of the use of other languages, with the exception of a few single respondents. In his Master's thesis, Jäppinen (2014) studied the language choices and language ideologies of FSL teachers, and out of 157 respondents, 41% said that in front of the class, they speak at least little a student's mother tongue other than English (p. 33). Some of the teachers described that they use all languages they can speak even a little, and encourage their students to

compare words or structures of Finnish with those of their mother tongues (Jäppinen, 2014, p. 35). However, in contrast to the results of the current research, one third of these teachers said that they do not speak English at all in front of the class (Jäppinen, 2014, p. 33). The differences of these two studies can partly reflect the different perspectives of students and teachers, but they can also illustrate the varying language practices in FSL teaching.

According to the respondents of the present study, Finnish and English were commonly used by both the teacher and the students, in different interactional situations. The respondents estimated that the teacher uses most Finnish in whole-class teaching, and the students themselves used a little more Finnish with the teacher than with other students. Student-student interaction was the only type of interaction for which some respondents provided examples of using their mother tongues, in addition to Finnish and English. In sum, the answers illustrate that from the perspective of the respondents, the multilingualism of FSL teaching is restricted to the use of Finnish and English only, with the occasional or regular use of mother tongue for a few respondents.

As languages used in FSL teaching, Finnish and English seem to have distinct roles in the data. Finnish was described as the target language of learning, and its use was characterised by interaction focused on course-related matters. In answers to several questions, the preference for using Finnish was expressed, but the realisation of this preference was limited by the level of Finnish skills of the respondents. Consequently, the use of English was described as an additional resource in communication. In the answers, the use of English seems to enable and facilitate both communication and learning. As such, among these respondents English seems to have its place as a resource in FSL teaching.

Some respondents emphasised the importance of using English, in emotional expressions regarding the language policies of FSL teaching, and some even stated that without the use of English, learning Finnish would be impossible at beginner-level. The responses that emphasised the beginner-level skills of the respondents are in line with the findings of Bruen and Kelly (2016), whose study suggests that first-year university students of a foreign language experienced multilingual language learning

practices more useful than second-year students did (pp. 345–346). Moreover, to some extent, these answers seem to reflect the different levels of tolerance of ambiguity among the students: language learning requires some tolerance of ambiguity, but some students need more support to tolerate the fact that they cannot understand everything immediately (Oxford, 1992, pp. 37–38). At the same time, the answers emphasise the need for mutual understanding: they seem to describe how difficulties in understanding can affect motivation, perhaps the feeling of security, and push the student out of the comfort zone. This, in turn, affects learning, while ensuring mutual understanding would support learning and reduce the feeling of frustration (see Oxford, 1992; Suni, 2008, p. 50–51).

Ultimately, ensuring mutual understanding and answering to the needs of the learners are aspects of the role of the teacher. For example, students in de Courcy's (2002) study described their frustration when their teachers did not seem to ensure their understanding (p. 51). Furthermore, as language teachers themselves reflect on their language learning experiences, adult language learners can feel humiliation and frustration already because of their status as a beginner and their incapacity of expressing themselves in the new language (Ellis, 2004, pp. 100–101). Research has also revealed that sometimes students in a monolingual (Finnish-only) course are left in a state of incomprehension, although teachers might think that their students have understood more than they actually have (Jäppinen, 2014, pp. 58–59, 63; see also de Courcy, 2002, pp. 51–52 for a similar case regarding students' experiences on Chinese immersion in Australia). Therefore, these concerns the respondents expressed provide important information on their experiences of how the language policy of a course can affect comprehension and learning.

Mostly, the answers in the data reflect the traditional interactional roles of a teacher and student. For example, in student-teacher interaction, the situations of students' language use included asking questions about Finnish language and answering questions made by the teacher. In student-student interaction, the situations had more variety and included discussions on other than course-related matters as well. Especially in student-student interaction, the function of English as a shared language of communication that exceeded the aims and topics of language learning was apparent. These situations were repeatedly described across the data, which implies that this kind of interaction is

important for the students, along with the learning-oriented interaction. Cooke (2006) has discussed the variety of functions an English as a second language (ESL) course can serve for adult learners, such as increasing independency in everyday life, increasing confidence, supporting empowerment and providing a social space for meeting others (p. 61; 66). Cooke suggests that the teacher of a second language should sometimes be concerned with students' lives outside the classroom as well, because without knowing the students, the teacher cannot implement learner-based pedagogy (p. 70). Considering the focus of this study, one part of the everyday life of the students is their access to the target language, their language repertoire and the contexts in which they use different languages.

Based on the answers on the language use of the teacher and students, the students of this study seem to view the use of English, and occasionally that of their mother tongues, as resources in FSL teaching. However, the respondents had studied more languages and spoke more languages than just these. From this point of view, the number of languages utilised in FSL teaching was limited. Similarly, the main languages the respondents use in their daily life were mother tongues, English and, with smaller frequency, Finnish. Therefore, it seems that the respondents do not consider multilingualism as a resource to the extent they could, considering the resources that might be available to them. At the same time, it should be remembered that the respondents might not be aware of all the situations in which they actually utilise their multilingual resources.

Along similar lines, it seems that the multilingual resources of the respondents are not taken into account in FSL teaching to the extent they could be. For example, no student mentioned that the teacher would ask them to translate words into their mother tongues, or that the teacher would compare a particular structure in Finnish with that of another language. As has been emphasised, the results demonstrate the students' perspective, and the perspective of the teachers might be different. Yet, even though the actual practices in the language courses may involve more multilingual practices than the respondents were aware of, FSL students might benefit from making these practices visible and from increasing their awareness on the ways in which they can utilise their existing language skills, language knowledge and previous language learning experiences. Previous studies have concluded that without language learners' awareness of the benefits of multilingualism and without

encouragement to rely on their multilingual resources, multilingualism is not automatically an asset in further language learning (e.g. Bono & Stratilaki, 2009; De Angelis, 2011; Haukås, 2016; Moore, 2006). Furthermore, studies suggest that ESL teachers themselves, as professionals in language and teaching, were able to use their own learning experiences constructively only through reflection (Bailey et al., 1996; Schön, 1995; as cited in Ellis, 2004, p. 103). Language learners who come from varying backgrounds might need even more guidance to reflect on their previous experiences.

When directly asked, the respondents did not mention many concrete examples of how their teacher would encourage them to use other languages than Finnish. Instead, encouragement to use other languages and encouragement to use Finnish were in some responses seen as mutually exclusive practices. However, most of the students said that the teacher does not restrict the use of other languages. It seems that the courses in question did not follow a strict Finnish-only policy, rather, the students experienced that the teacher encourages them to use Finnish, and that when possible, the use of Finnish is preferred. The courses this study covered did not include whole-day Finnish courses organised as integration training, however; often these courses seem to follow the Finnish-only policy (e.g. Kokkonen, Laakso & Piikki, 2008, p. 5).

As McMillan and Rivers (2011) discuss, there are contradictory arguments among SLA researchers whether the use of mother tongue or the exclusive use of target language bring better results. For example, Cummins (2007) concludes that exclusive use of target language is a practice both unsupported by empirical data and inconsistent with the current understandings of language learning. Butzkamm (2003) suggests that rather than based on research, the prevailing English-only policy, or "the demand for monolingualism in the classroom" (p. 30) is rooted on the inability of many ESL and EFL teachers to speak and understand the mother tongues of their students. Ellis (2004) adds that the practice stems from the behaviourist learning theories and the past popularity of the direct method (which emphasised the use of the target language), and the advancement in theory has not changed the teaching practice (p. 91). Furthermore, studies on teachers' beliefs about multilingualism suggest that teachers often believe they should know their students' mother tongues (or another languages) well before they can encourage them to utilise these language resources (e.g. Haukås, 2016; De

Angelis, 2011). On the other hand, a study on ESL teachers' multilingual backgrounds suggests that teacher's own multilingualism, language learning experiences and achieved greater language awareness can indeed be valuable resources in teaching (Ellis, 2004).

Often the discussion on language use in the L2 classroom seems to be around the juxtaposition of L1 and L2, and thus the variety of language resources available to both the students and the teacher is not considered. In the second language courses for immigrants in which English is not the target language, such as those considered in this study, the additional languages to L1 and the target language might actually be more important, because they might include shared language resources among the students and the teacher. In the FSL context, the most common shared language is English: Jäppinen (2014), for example, notes that the students with no English skills can often be single participants in a course (p. 31). On the other hand, contrary to the prevailing beliefs of many teachers, the teacher is not required to speak all the languages of the students in order to be able to support and encourage multilingualism in the classroom. For example, Bruen and Kelly (2016) mention such practices of multilingual teaching. Their suggestions include compiling a class language profile, which would already raise the awareness of both the teacher and students of the linguistic repertoire of the course participants (Bruen & Kelly, 2016, p. 345). More examples of multilingual practices can be found in, for example, García and Sylvan (2011). Their list includes collaboration among students, learner-centered classrooms and experiential learning, among others.

On a personal level, not tied to the course context only, most of the respondents described some ways in which their skills in other languages help them in learning Finnish. Among these answers, similarities in the grammar or vocabulary between Finnish and an L1 or L2 of the respondent were mentioned. In addition, some respondents experienced that translations and grasping the 'real' meaning of words was easier through English. These answers demonstrate the metalinguistic strategies the respondents employ in learning Finnish. General language knowledge was mentioned explicitly in some answers as well. Metalinguistic abilities are indeed one of the key benefits connected to multilingualism (e.g. Ellis, 2004, p. 102; Haukås, 2016, pp. 1–2; Jarvis, 2015, p. 70). At the same time, these answers show that most of the respondents could refer to some way in which

they utilise their multilingual resources, although they could not recall this kind of practices being encouraged in the class.

Those respondents who did not experience that other languages would help them in learning Finnish referred to the differences between Finnish and other languages in their language repertoire, or to Finnish as a particularly difficult language. These answers show, however, that the respondents who experienced Finnish as a different language had already contrasted it with the other languages they knew. Both the aspects mentioned as helpful factors and the reasons why other languages were not experienced as helpful resources could be used as starting points for developing an approach to FSL teaching that aims to benefit from the multilingual resources of the students.

When the respondents' use of Finnish is compared between the contexts of the FSL course and everyday life, they estimated that they use Finnish more in the course (with teacher and other students) than in their everyday life. A rough average frequency for using Finnish in the FSL course was often, while a rough average frequency for using Finnish in everyday life was sometimes. While there was little difference in the frequencies of students' use of Finnish and English in the course contexts, in everyday life the languages the respondents used most of the time were English together with mother tongues. These answers illustrate that the Finnish course is an important context for using Finnish, although the respondents live in a second-language environment.

At the same time, Finnish had the biggest number of different categories considering the use of languages in everyday life. The results suggest that although the variety of contexts in which Finnish is used is wide, the respondents are involved in these contexts less frequently as users of Finnish. For example, within the same number of respondents, 23 said that they use their mother tongues with their family, while only 13 respondents said that they use Finnish with their family. Moreover, the biggest category regarding the use of both mother tongue and English was Friends, while the biggest category regarding the use of Finnish was Daily customer, and Friends came only after several other categories. This is a result worth noticing, because the type of contexts in which a language is used affects the type of interaction in which the language user is involved. Therefore, it might be that the

contexts of using Finnish, such as Daily customer, involved the respondents less on a personal level, or resembled less the type of meaningful everyday interaction in which the respondents would have been active participants, taking advantage of versatile affordances of language learning (e.g. van Lier, 2000).

Regarding adult learners of ESL, studies have concluded that the opportunities to speak English in local communities can be limited and the interaction restricted to that with bureaucrats or to casual interaction (see e.g. Cooke, 2006, p. 61), such as recorded in this study in the category Daily customer. Furthermore, the real-life opportunities can conflict with the motivation and commitment of the students to learn the language they see as essential for their future success (Cooke, 2006, p. 61). In Hlavac's (2013) study considering immigrants in Australia, neighbourhood, work and school were the most central domains for the use of English, and at the same time, they were the contexts for learning the language (p. 436). In Finland, the situation differs from this in that for many professions, especially in the academic sector, Finnish is not necessarily required in the working life. This fact is illustrated in the group of respondents of this study, which included beginner-level speakers of Finnish who were already employed.

Some answers illustrate how the respondents positioned themselves as language learners: they could not manage in Finnish in daily situations comfortably yet, but at the same time, the daily situations functioned as possibilities to practice language skills. However, although these interactional situations are fruitful for learning, they benefit the learner less if they occur only occasionally. One of the greatest benefits of learning a language in a second-language environment rises from the versatile and frequent, natural everyday contexts in which the learner can adapt multiple roles and engage in interaction as an active participant (e.g. Hernandez, 2010; see also van Lier, 2000). Therefore, the respondents who were using Finnish only sometimes or even less frequently might, as learners of Finnish, benefit from encouragement and support on how to become more frequent users of Finnish in the daily contexts important for them.

Many respondents estimated numerically or commented openly that English is the main language in their everyday life. Therefore, in this data the traditional notion of a second-language environment becomes contradictory: rather, the respondents seem to live in two coexisting second-language environments at the same time. One of these is the Finnish-language environment, in which the surrounding community is officially functioning, with varying levels of individual participation and personal relationships for the respondents. The other is an English-language environment, in which, depending on the respondent, can occur most of the interaction and involvement in working life, friendships and family relationships.

Considering the role of English as an everyday language for the respondents, the categories mentioned most often were Friends and situations in which Finnish could not be used. The latter category reflects again the preference for using Finnish when possible. In other words, some respondents seem to wish to switch the main language of their everyday life into Finnish in a greater number of contexts than what is the case currently. Regarding the use of both mother tongue and Finnish, some categories were distinctively the main categories, based on their frequency in the answers. In contrast, regarding the use of English, the distribution of answers between the categories was more even. The contexts the respondents mentioned for using English, in addition to friends and the category If not Finnish, included family and work as well. In sum, when the respondents' use of Finnish and English in everyday life is compared, the contexts of using Finnish were more varied but occurred less frequently, while the contexts for using English were less varied but occurred more often. For the respondents, English was one of the main languages in both the Finnish course and in everyday life.

In their answers, some respondents reflected that their choice of language in everyday situations is based on the language skills or preferences of their interlocutor, not solely on their own skills. Furthermore, language switching seemed to be a familiar and frequently occurring practice among the respondents. In Hlavac's study (2013) in the Australian context, family was the domain in which other languages than English were predominating (p. 435). However, multilingualism and codeswitching were common within the households as well (Hlavac, 2013, p. 435). These main

tendencies are in line with the results of this research. Hlavac's informants were, in addition, able to establish connections within speech communities of the languages they identified with (p. 437). Hlavac suggests that the immigrants' lack of English skills at the time of their arrival was motivating the participation in such communities (p. 437). In this study, the existence of such speech communities cannot be clarified, because the questionnaire did not ask about this specifically. Almost half of the respondents mentioned, however, that they use their mother tongue with friends, which could sometimes refer to an existing speech community in their location of residence.

This study set out with a multilingual perspective, which proved to offer a fruitful starting point for analysing adult FSL learners' experiences. One of the most central themes and concerns throughout the answers was the need for communication. The answers seem to illustrate how the language learner is faced with a dilemma with this humane social need, when the skills in the target language do not yet enable it to be carried out satisfactorily. One answer to this dilemma could be the utilisation of all available language resources, not only to enable communication, but also to enhance language learning.

The field of language teaching and learning, and that of FSL as a young discipline in particular, has strong pragmatic relations to the practice of teaching. This is the case in the current study as well. As Suni (2008) states, the evaluation and development of the FSL field should be based on the immigrants' perspective: what the position and status of Finnish as a second language means for the immigrants (learners) themselves (p. 33)? This research was an attempt to answer this demand considering one aspect of FSL, its relations to other languages through multilingualism.

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Appendix: Questionnaire

1. Taustatiedot / Backgroud information

1. Mitä kieliä sinä osaat? Kirjoita kaikki kielet, joita osaat. / What languages do you speak? Name each language separately.

	1 = Aloittelija / Beginner				5 = Sujuva / Fluent
äidinkieli / mother tongue ___________________________________	1	2	3	4	5
äidinkieli / mother tongue ___________________________________	1	2	3	4	5
suomi / Finnish	1	2	3	4	5
muu / other _______________________	1	2	3	4	5
muu / other _______________________	1	2	3	4	5
muu / other _______________________	1	2	3	4	5
muu / other _______________________	1	2	3	4	5
muu / other _______________________	1	2	3	4	5
muu / other _______________________	1	2	3	4	5

2. Mitä kieliä sinun kotonasi puhuttiin, kun olit lapsi? / What languages were spoken at your home when you were a child?

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3. Mitä kieliä sinun kotimaassasi yleisesti puhutaan? / What languages are commonly spoken in your country of origin?

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4. Kuinka monta vuotta sinä olet käynyt koulua? / For how many years did you go to school?
________ vuotta/years

5. Oletko sinä opiskellut korkeakoulussa tai yliopistossa? / Have you studied at a university?

Kyllä / Yes ____ Ei / No ____

6. Mitä kieliä sinä opiskelit koulussa, ja kuinka monta vuotta? (Esim. englantia 3 vuotta) / What languages did you study at school, and for how many years? (E.g. English for 3 years)

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7. Kuinka kauan sinä olet opiskellut suomea? / For how long have you studied Finnish?

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8. Millaisella suomen kurssilla sinä olet nyt? (Esim. alkeiskurssi tai kotoutumiskoulutus) / What kind of Finnish course are you attending at the moment? (E.g. beginner's course or integration training)

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2. Suomen kielen opetus / Finnish language teaching

9. Mitä kieliä sinun suomen opettajasi käyttää opetuksessa? / What languages does your Finnish teacher use in teaching?

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10. **Kun opettaja opettaa koko luokkaa**, hän käyttää… / **In whole-class teaching**, the teacher uses…

	ei ollenkaan / not at all	vähän tai harvoin / little or seldom	joskus / sometimes	usein / often	suurimman osan ajasta / most of the time
suomea / Finnish	1	2	3	4	5
englantia / English	1	2	3	4	5
sinun äidinkieltäsi / your mother tongue	1	2	3	4	5
muuta kieltä, jota sinä osaat / another language you speak	1	2	3	4	5
muuta kieltä, jota sinä et osaa / another language you cannot speak	1	2	3	4	5

Kerro esimerkkejä – milloin ja miten opettaja käyttää mitäkin kieltä (koko luokan kanssa)? / Give examples – when and how does the teacher use each language (with the whole class)?

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11. **Kun opettaja neuvoo sinua yksilöllisesti**, hän käyttää… / **When assisting you individually**, the teacher uses…

	ei ollenkaan / not at all	vähän tai harvoin / little or seldom	joskus / sometimes	usein / often	suurimman osan ajasta / most of the time
suomea / Finnish	1	2	3	4	5
englantia / English	1	2	3	4	5
sinun äidinkieltäsi / your mother tongue	1	2	3	4	5
muuta kieltä, jota sinä osaat / another language you speak	1	2	3	4	5

Kerro esimerkkejä – milloin ja miten opettaja käyttää mitäkin kieltä (sinun kanssasi)? / Give examples – when and how does the teacher use each language (with you)?

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12. Mitä kieliä **sinä** käytät suomen kielen opettajan kanssa? / What languages do **you** use with your Finnish teacher?

	ei ollenkaan / not at all	vähän tai harvoin / little or seldom	joskus / sometimes	usein / often	suurimman osan ajasta / most of the time
suomea / Finnish	1	2	3	4	5
englantia / English	1	2	3	4	5
sinun äidinkieltäsi / your mother tongue	1	2	3	4	5
muuta kieltä / another language	1	2	3	4	5

Kerro esimerkkejä – milloin ja miten sinä käytät mitäkin kieltä opettajan kanssa? / Give examples – when and how do you use each language with the teacher?

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13. Mitä kieliä **sinä** käytät **toisten opiskelijoiden kanssa** suomen tunneilla? / What languages do **you** use **together with other students** during the lessons?

	ei ollenkaan / not at all	vähän tai harvoin / little or seldom	joskus / sometimes	usein / often	suurimman osan ajasta / most of the time
suomea / Finnish	1	2	3	4	5
englantia / English	1	2	3	4	5
sinun äidinkieltäsi / your mother tongue	1	2	3	4	5
muuta kieltä / another language	1	2	3	4	5

Kerro esimerkkejä – milloin ja miten sinä käytät mitäkin kieltä toisten opiskelijoiden kanssa? / Give examples – when and how do you use each language with other students?

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14. Miten muut kielet, joita osaat, auttavat sinua suomen kielen oppimisessa? / How do your skills in other languages help you in learning Finnish?

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15. Kannustaako tai tukeeko opettaja sinua käyttämään muita kieliä kuin suomea? Millä tavoilla? / Does your teacher encourage or support you in using other languages than Finnish? How?

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____

16. Rajoittaako tai kieltääkö opettaja sinua käyttämästä muita kieliä kuin suomea? Millä tavoilla? / Does your teacher restrict or deny you the use of other languages than Finnish? How?

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____
____

17. Haluaisitko, että suomen tunneilla käytettäisiin vain suomea? / Would you prefer if only Finnish was used in your Finnish lessons?

Kyllä / Yes ____ Ei / No ____

Miksi? / Why?

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____
____

3. Kielten käyttö arjessa / Use of languages in everyday life

18. Mitä kieliä sinä käytät sinun arkielämässäsi Suomessa? Kirjoita kaikki kielet, joita sinä käytät (kun puhut, kuuntelet, luet tai kirjoitat). /
What languages do you use in your everyday life in Finland? Write down every language you use (when you speak, listen, read or write).

	ei ollenkaan / not at all	vähän tai harvoin / little or seldom	joskus / sometimes	usein / often	suurimman osan ajasta / most of the time
äidinkieli /mother tongue ________________________	1	2	3	4	5
äidinkieli / mother tongue ________________________	1	2	3	4	5
suomi / Finnish	1	2	3	4	5
muu / other ________________	1	2	3	4	5
muu / other ________________	1	2	3	4	5
muu / other ________________	1	2	3	4	5
muu / other ________________	1	2	3	4	5
muu / other ________________	1	2	3	4	5
muu / other ________________	1	2	3	4	5

19. **Äidinkieli**: Millaisissa tilanteissa tai kenen kanssa sinä käytät sinun äidinkieltäsi (tai äidinkieliäsi)? Kirjoita monta esimerkkiä. / **Mother tongue**: With whom or in what kind of situations do you use your mother tongue (or mother tongues)? Provide several examples.

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20. **Suomi**: Millaisissa tilanteissa tai kenen kanssa sinä käytät suomea? Kirjoita monta esimerkkiä. / **Finnish**: With whom or in what kind of situations do you use Finnish? Provide several examples.

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21. **Muu kieli** ________________: Millaisissa tilanteissa tai kenen kanssa sinä käytät tätä kieltä? Kirjoita monta esimerkkiä. / **Another language** ________________: With whom or in what kind of situations do you use this language? Provide several examples.

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22. **Muu kieli** ________________: Millaisissa tilanteissa tai kenen kanssa sinä käytät tätä kieltä? Kirjoita monta esimerkkiä. / **Another language** ________________: With whom or in what kind of situations do you use this language? Provide several examples.

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23. **Muu kieli** ________________: Millaisissa tilanteissa tai kenen kanssa sinä käytät tätä kieltä? Kirjoita monta esimerkkiä. / **Another language** ________________: With whom or in what kind of situations do you use this language? Provide several examples.

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24. **Muu kieli** ________________: Millaisissa tilanteissa tai kenen kanssa sinä käytät tätä kieltä? Kirjoita monta esimerkkiä. / **Another language** ________________: With whom or in what kind of situations do you use this language? Provide several examples.

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25. **Muu kieli** ________________: Millaisissa tilanteissa tai kenen kanssa sinä käytät tätä kieltä? Kirjoita monta esimerkkiä. / **Another language** ________________: With whom or in what kind of situations do you use this language? Provide several examples.

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26. **Muu kieli** ________________: Millaisissa tilanteissa tai kenen kanssa sinä käytät tätä kieltä? Kirjoita monta esimerkkiä. / **Another language** ________________: With whom or in what kind of situations do you use this language? Provide several examples.

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27. Millaisissa tilanteissa tai kenen kanssa sinä käytät **monta kieltä** yhtä aikaa tai vaihdat yhdestä kielestä toiseen? / In what kind of situations or with whom do you use **more than one language** at a time or switch from one language to another?

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KIITOS VASTAUKSISTASI! / THANK YOU FOR YOUR ANSWERS!