

**Language and culture contact
and attitudes among first generation
Australian Finns**

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attitudes among first generation
Australian Finns**

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Statement of originality

I declare that the work presented in this thesis is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, original and my own work, except as acknowledged in the text, and that the material has not been submitted, either in whole or in part, for a degree at any other university.

Tiina Lammervo

ABSTRACT

Language and culture contact and attitudes among first generation Australian Finns

Language and culture studies of émigré communities in Australia have grown steadily over the last thirty years. Within this body of research Finns emerge as a distinctive group. Finnish language and culture appear atypically well preserved compared to other Northern European groups. Studies on Australian Finns have concentrated on demography or language maintenance and interference. Much less has been done on attitudes and language and culture contact. No study has concentrated on the connection between language factors and the attitudes of Australian Finns in the immigrant context. The present study contributes to the underdeveloped areas of study on Finnish outside Finland, and particularly in Australia, and to the study of the relationship between attitudes and language and culture contact.

People of Finnish origin have been relocating to Australia ever since early colonial times. The largest immigrant groups arrived during the passage assistance schemes between the late 1950s and 1960s, when Finns were among the groups recruited by the Australian government. The number of Finland-born people in Australia has not exceeded 10,500. The 2001 Australian census recorded 8,259 Finland-born people. The numbers are declining as new migration is minimal.

The central question of the study is to examine if and how, in an immigrant context, language maintenance and language contact phenomena correspond to the language attitudes and background factors of first generation Australian Finns. The study investigates the connection between the language the immigrants speak (language contact phenomena), and the immigrants' attitudes and background information such as language choice, maintenance efforts and contact with Finland and the local Finnish community. Profiles of typical Finnish maintainers or shifters are distinguished among the informants. The study concentrates on the relationship of different language and culture contact attitudes, and the correlation between these attitudes and behaviour.

The data was collected during informal meetings with thirty-one first generation Australian Finns in the Brisbane area. Informants completed a questionnaire on attitudes, language

use and socio-economic background factors. Conversations were recorded to collect data on language contact and attitudes. The data was analysed by means of a combination of descriptive statistical tools and qualitative analysis.

The results show that the overall attitudes towards Finnish language maintenance were positive. However, the positive attitudes did not correlate with high scores of Finnish use or good self-evaluated Finnish skill scores. Attitudes towards mixing English with Finnish were neutral. Among informants who had the most language contact phenomena (LCP) in their speech, disapproving attitudes towards the mixing of English with Finnish correlated with increasing numbers of LCP, i.e. mixing the languages. Among the group whose LCP were mostly items assimilated to Finnish both morphologically and phonetically, the negative attitude towards mixing correlated with higher numbers of LCP. Positive attitudes towards language maintenance correlated with positive attitudes towards bilingualism, and positive attitudes towards bilingualism also correlated with good English skills and more frequent English use. However, Finnish skills and Finnish use correlated negatively with attitudes to bilingualism: the more positive the attitudes towards bilingualism, the less use of Finnish and the weaker the self-evaluated Finnish skills.

The research contributes to the study of the most significant group of Finnish migrants in Australia. Reporting their experiences in relation to their language is important and timely as the community is rapidly losing members through natural attrition. The study contributes to the study of Finnish in the diaspora, languages in Australia, the immigrant experience, and the connection between attitudes and behaviour in members of émigré communities.

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1. INTRODUCTION

The goal of this study is to examine if and how, in an immigrant context, language maintenance and language contact phenomena are correlated to the language attitudes and background factors of first generation Australian Finns.

It aims to find possible correlations between the immigrants' attitudes and background information such as language choice, maintenance efforts and contact with Finland and the local Finnish community, and the language the immigrants speak (language contact phenomena). The study will attempt to distinguish profiles of typical Finnish maintainers or shifters among the informants.

Research questions:

1. What are the attitudes of these first generation Finns towards their languages and Finnish language and culture maintenance?
2. What are their language use patterns?
3. What characteristics of the Finnish spoken in Australia are present in their speech?
4. How are the above and the socioeconomic background factors correlated?

1.1. Scope of the study

This study will examine the use of Finnish and English and the attitudes to the languages and language communities of a group of first generation Finns in Australia. Since the sample consists of only thirty-one informants, generalising on the state of Finnish language maintenance in Australia is not possible within the scope of this study. The study presents the situation of this group of Finns in the Brisbane area. They do, however, represent well the largest wave of Finnish migration to Australia, as most of them left Finland during the assisted passage schemes in the 1950s and 1960s. These groups are aging rapidly, and recording their language and attitudes is timely. Part of the data is recorded speech. However, this study does not aim to analyse the language contact phenomena in great detail. Findings in this data will be compared to earlier analyses of Finnish in Australia. The focus of this study is on the correlation between attitudes, socioeconomic background factors, language use and the language itself.

1.2. Language in emigration

In an emigration context the language and culture of the migrating group is under great pressure from the dominant language. Bilingualism or monolingualism in the dominant language is expected unless the receiving country happens to be one where the immigrants' language(s) are already in diglossia (Fishman, 1967).

What happens to the immigrant languages in contact? Haugen (1972) found a striking parallel between the changes that foreign languages have undergone in America. Each language has parted from the strict purity of its native form, and has taken over elements from American English. Large-scale borrowing has taken place even into an old, established, non-English dialect such as Pennsylvania German, let alone more recent immigrant languages. The influence is almost entirely from English to the migrants' languages, not vice versa. Australian English has borrowed words, for instance, for food from its immigrant languages (Clyne, 1982). The potential impact on Australian English of speakers from non-English speaking backgrounds has traditionally been less studied, but as their numbers increase the impact can no longer be ignored (Horvath, 1985, p. 24).

The influence that the dominant language has on the minority one has been analysed and categorised in many ways. It has been called interference, meaning the rearrangement of patterns when a foreign element is introduced into the more highly structured domains of language, such as the bulk of the phonemic system, a large part of the morphology and syntax, and some areas of the vocabulary (Weinreich, 1963). Haugen distinguishes between switching (alternate use of two languages), interference (overlapping of two languages), and integration (the L2 material has become an integral part of L1) (Haugen, 1956). Clyne (1967), on the other hand, calls this contact phenomenon transference, defining it as any elements or features from the other language. The interference can be phonological and it can affect prosody and take place at the pragmatic level. There is also word order divergence as well as other changes in syntax. Interference in lexis is commonly called borrowing, but this can be divided into specific sub categories such as loanwords, loanblends, loanshifts and calques (Haugen, 1969).

The first explicit mention of code-switching was by Vogt (1954) with regard to bilingualism. Gumperz (1964), on the other hand, initiated the reanalysis towards a functional interactional view. The term 'code-switching' is used in various ways to describe language contact phenomena. Others have started distinguishing between code-mixing and code-switching, and the definition and use of the two terms varies (Auer, 1998; Kachru, 1978; Muysken, 2000). For instance, code-mixing is defined as intra-sentential and code-switching as inter-sentential. There are linguists who think that borrowing and code-switching form a continuum, for instance Myers-Scotton (1993), Romaine (1995) and Lantieri (1999). Poplack (1980; 1989) makes use of the category of *nonce loans* to cover material that does not perfectly fit into the other two categories in her quest to maintain the distinction between borrowing and code-switching.

Language contact phenomena are used to determine the level of language maintenance. However, it can be problematic to ascertain whether the language skill level is a result of language maintenance or language loss, or in fact non attrition. Other linguistic facts to consider with language maintenance are matters of language use. Who speaks what language to whom, when and for what purpose (Fishman, 1965, p. 67)? The issues examined by language ecology include similar items: for instance, the users of the language, the domains the language is used in, the level of bilingualism and the attitudes of the speakers towards the language (Haugen, 1972). While language maintenance presupposes maintenance of both use and proficiency, reduction of use and proficiency can occur separately (Fashe, Jaspaert, & Kroon, 1992). The reduction of use is called language shift, i.e. when a language is replaced by another one for certain or all purposes.

Shift is inevitable if there is no transmission of the mother tongue from generation to generation. Similarly reversing language shift is not possible unless intergenerational transmission is the goal and is achieved (Fishman, 1991). The classic pattern is that a monolingual community in a minority position becomes transitionally bilingual as a stage on the way to the eventual extinction of the original language (Romaine, 1995). In an immigrant context this extinction should not be called language death, as it would be in other contexts, since the language is still available and used in the country or area of origin (Clyne, 2003).

When is a language considered to be maintained? Pauwels (1986) defines maintenance as use of the language in one or more language spheres (domain and language level), either together with the other language or instead of it. Research has attempted to find the factors that influence language maintenance. The lists are varied (Clyne, 1991, 2003; Giles, Bourhis, & Taylor, 1977; Romaine, 1995; Smolicz, 1979, 1981), and include status issues, demographic factors and institutional support.

1.3. Language attitudes

Different languages and varieties of the same language are considered to have different prestige. The general pattern of assessment is that standard varieties are usually rated high on parameters of status and competence but fairly low on social attractiveness and personal integrity. Rural varieties tend to show the opposite pattern, whereas urban varieties associated with industrialised inner-city areas are usually rated fairly negatively on all dimensions (Ladegaard, 2000). These results are often the outcome of matched-guise tests (Lambert, 1967), which have been criticised as revealing attitudes towards the person speaking rather than towards the language variety (Edwards, 1982). It has also been found that certain phonological forms of dialect are very much associated with parameters such as prestige and education. The dialect, in this case Cypriot dialect vs. Standard Modern Greek, rated lower (Papapavlou, 2001). Accents of the same language have also been shown to carry different prestige. New Zealand, American and Australian students assessed accents of English, the result being that the American accent was rated highest on the scales (Bayard, Weatherall, Gallois, & Pittam, 2001).

In multilingual societies, attitudes become more complex. There are multilingual societies where all the languages have an equally prestigious variety. In a study of Tunisia, where this exists, attitudes varied according to the gender of the speaker (Lawson & Sachdev, 2000). More often the multilingual society has one *lingua franca* or dominant language and the others have a different status. Attitudes of majority to minority languages can be extracted from the country's language policy and media behaviour as well as from surveys with the general public. In Australia the nation's commitment to multiculturalism and multilingualism is still relatively strong on the policy level (Clyne, 2003). However, attitudes towards speakers of accented English can

be less positive. An earlier study on language attitudes revealed that Anglo-Australians rated British males most positively and Italian males most negatively. Women of all immigrant groups were rated more positively than the men of those groups (Callan & Gallois, 1987). A more recent study shows that four out of five Australians opt for a view closer to assimilation than cultural pluralism regarding people from non-English speaking backgrounds (Jones, 1999). A foreign accent is an important cue to elicit this background. According to Jones (1999), tolerance of cultural pluralism is lower in Australia and Great Britain than it is in the United States and Canada. In Canada, newcomers are expected to accommodate to the Canadian way of life, but their retention of ethnic identity and heritage is also accepted. In Anglophone Canada the people seem not to be assimilationist towards others but towards themselves. They prefer 'Canadian' identity over an 'ethnic' identity. In fact, ethnic identity seems to be of substantial significance for only one third or less of the people (Kalin & Berry, 1994).

In the émigré context the émigré minority is also dealing with the changes in its first languages and the prestige issues of how their L1 is viewed with regard to the varieties spoken in the country of origin. Both varieties of the first language have changed, the one spoken in the home country and the one the migrants continue to speak in the new country. Too often the comparison of the immigrant variety has been with the standard language of the country of origin, not the spoken language, which naturally increases the difference. Varieties of Finnish spoken outside Finland have received negative attitudes from both the minorities themselves and the homeland Finnish majority. Often the variety from outside Finland is also considered amusing and funny, yet only rarely do members of these minorities find Finland Finnish funny (Lindgren, 2003). However, second or third generation American Finns find it amusing to hear Anglicisms such as *televisio* 'television' or *teippi* 'tape' in Finland Finnish (Martin, 1994).

Research into the relationship between attitude and behaviour has often shown that attitude does not necessarily correlate with behaviour. Such a lack of correlation was found by Côté and Clément in the Canadian context (1994), between L1 and its dialects in an immigrant context (Bettoni & Gibbons, 1988; Pauwels, 1991), regarding Spanish language maintenance in Australia (Mejía, 2000), in the use of dialect and standard Danish in Denmark (Ladegaard, 2000), and in the diglossia in Tunisia (Lawson & Sachdev, 2000).

This study will investigate language and culture contact and attitudes regarding these issues in a specific context: a specific language – Finnish; a specific country – Australia; and a specific relation – correlation between the Finnish used in Australia and the attitudes about it expressed by its speakers.

1.4. Finnish

Finnish belongs to the family of Uralic languages; more specifically it is a Finno-Ugric language. The first settlers in Finland after the ice age came some 4,000 years BC. Which language they spoke is not known. Influences from Scandinavia, the Baltic region and Central Europe have shaped Finnish people and their language. Finland was under Swedish rule from the medieval period until 1809. The first book published in Finnish was *ABC-kiria* written by Mikael Agricola around 1542. He is considered the father of standard Finnish, as this book and the Finnish translation of the New Testament (completed in 1548) were the first efforts to bring Finnish into a written form. Agricola's Finnish was based on the dialects in the South-West of Finland and it included some features of other dialects. Some 5,350 of the words used by Agricola are still used in contemporary Finnish (Karlsson, 1999). The Finnish translation of the Bible was completed in 1642. This achievement was very important for the development of standard Finnish.

In the 17th and 18th centuries standard Finnish was mostly influenced by the western dialects of Finnish. Swedish language and culture had a strong position in Finland until the 19th century, when Finnish was spoken mainly by the peasantry. During that period 20% of the population was Swedish. After Sweden lost the so called Finnish War against Russia in 1809, Finland became an autonomous Grand Duchy within the Russian Empire. Despite this, Swedish remained the dominant language of both administration and education. In the early part of the 19th century a movement emerged in favour of Finnish. One manifestation was the publication of *Kalevala*, the Finnish national epic, created by Elias Lönnrot in 1835. This was followed by another collection of lyric poems called *Kanteletar* in 1840. The movement became more focused on language as a factor of national identity and developed clear political ambitions. As a result of 'Fennomania', as the movement became to be called, Finnish was given an equal position with Swedish as the official language of Finland, and legislative reform

in 1906 gave Finnish a position in practice which corresponded to the dominant numbers of Finnish speakers in the country's population.

Finland has been independent since 1917. The 1919 Constitution enshrined Finnish and Swedish as the two national languages of Finland. Swedish speakers were given an education system of their own and a Swedish diocese as cornerstones of their cultural autonomy (for summaries of the history see e.g. Goebel, Nelde, Starý, & Wölck, 1997; Karlsson, 1999; Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland, 2002, 2004).

Today the population of Finland is 5.2 million, of which about 92% speak Finnish as their mother tongue and about 6% Swedish. There are also a few thousand Sámi speakers and speakers of the Romany language. Immigration has grown in the last few years and currently exceeds emigration. There are about 120,000 people whose mother tongue is other than Finnish, Swedish or Sámi. The biggest of these groups are Russians and Estonians (Tilastokeskus, 2004). The Language Act states that Finnish and Swedish are the national languages. Municipalities are declared mono- or bilingual based on the percentage of speakers for each language (8% or 3,000 speakers of the Swedish or Finnish speaking minority qualifies bilingual status), and bilingual municipalities are required to provide services in both languages.

Today the Language Planning Department of the Research Institute for the Languages of Finland (KOTUS) studies the developments of language, issues recommendations and guidelines in principle, publishes magazines, and offers education and other services. The Research Institute serves to plan and maintain Finnish, Swedish, Sámi, Finnish Sign Language and Romany. Both Finnish and Swedish have a language office responsible for the planning of the languages. Legislation on language teaching in the comprehensive school (9 years compulsory from the age of 7) states that those whose mother tongue is either Finnish or Swedish and who are taught in their mother tongue must study the other national language (minimum three years), and at least one foreign language (minimum three years). Language studies start in year three, so the language chosen first will be studied for seven years. Those who are taught in Sámi or Finnish Sign Language must also study Finnish. Students from other language backgrounds (refugees, immigrants, etc.) are taught Finnish or Swedish as a second language. The amount of teaching of Finnish or Swedish is the same as mother tongue teaching, but

the goals are different. Mother tongue teaching in the refugees' and migrants' languages is provided by special government support, and guidelines are stated by the Ministry of Education (Finnish National Board of Education, 2004).

Nowadays Finns think of themselves as one of the core groups of Europeans (even if small) (Taavitsainen & Pahta, 2003). A European identity is emerging. There is a common consensus that it is necessary to master English in order to be able to function in the international world, but it is not, however, everybody's world. Knowledge of English is considered a skill like the ability to read. This comparison contains extremely positive connotations in today's Finland, as the 100% literacy is a cause of pride. At the same time sentiments of regional, local identities are strong and regional dialects increasingly in vogue. For instance, dialect dictionaries have been published, Donald Duck has been translated into several dialects, and literature, including poetry, created in local dialects (Taavitsainen & Pahta, 2003).

1.5. Finnish outside Finland

Over 1.3 million Finns have emigrated from Finland, and tens of thousands of speakers of Finnish dialects were left outside Finland's borders when they were redrawn (e.g. the Swedish border in 1809, the Russian border in 1917). The estimate today is that there are about 1.2 million people of Finnish ancestry (the figure includes second, third and further generations) outside Finland. Before WWII the biggest group was in North America (almost 400,000). Russia was the second biggest destination (150,000), followed by Sweden and Norway (together about 60,000). After WWII most migration was to Sweden, which received over half a million Finns, especially in the late 1960s and 1970s (Korkiasaari, 1999). Today Finns are the biggest migrant group in Sweden (Andersson & Kangassalo, 2003). Migration to other European countries was also more common after the war and migration to other continents, America and Australia, picked up as well. Moving from Finland to Sweden, as we know the countries today, was not actually migrating in the period before 1809, since the area was all one state. The same is true for moving from Finland to Russia between 1809 and 1917, when Finland was an autonomous Grand Duchy of the Russian Empire. This movement has, however, resulted in speakers of Finnish dialects now also living outside Finland (Jönsson-Korhola, 2003a). The Kvens are a special autochthonic group, who have lived in the

northern parts of Norway since the 16th century and identify themselves as Kvens or Norwegians, not Finns. Their language is, however, based on dialects of Finnish (Lindgren, Eskeland, & Norman, 2003). Speakers of Meänkieli, also earlier a dialect of Finnish, in the Tornedal area in Sweden are a similar minority who have always resided in that area and the relocation of the state border introduced in 1809 turned them into a Finnish-speaking minority in Sweden (Andersson & Kangassalo, 2003).

Table 1.1 Emigration of the Finns through the ages

Institute of Migration								
Emigration of the Finns through the ages (-2001)								
(Utvandring av finländarna genom tiderna)								
Country of destination	-1860	1861-1999	1900-1929	1930-1944	1945-1960	1961-1999	2000- 2001	Total
Russia/Soviet Union	105 000	45 000	3 000	10 000	100	2 600	100	165 800
Nordic countries	14 000	35 000	5 000	5 500	145 000	427 000	9 800	641 300
Other Europe	2 000	5 000	81 000	10 300	98 300
Asia	..	100	100	100	500	6 200	700	7 700
Oceania	200	1 200	1 500	500	6 000	13 900	200	23 500
Africa	..	500	1 000	100	500	2 700	100	4 900
Latin America	..	100	500	400	500	2 700	100	4 300
United States	2 500	75 000	225 000	2 200	7 000	12 000	1 600	325 300
Canada	..	5 000	57 000	3 500	15 000	6 900	200	87 600
Total	121 700	161 900	293 100	24 300	179 600	555 000	23 100	1 358 700

Source: Statistics ([Statistics Finland](#)) and research; some of the figures are estimates only.
Table: [Jouni Korkiasaari](#) Updated Aug 25, 2003

Source: (Korkiasaari, 1999)

The language of most of these groups has also been studied to varying extents. Systematic comparison of the groups and their languages is difficult because many factors vary from group to group. For instance: is the group there due to migration or border drawing? What is the size of the group? Have they blended in with the dominant culture or remained in separate communities? How long is the history of the group in

the country (how many generations so far)? In addition, the period when they left Finland is relevant to what their Finnish was originally like and how it has evolved. When the languages in contact are closely related, eg. Finnish and Estonian or Ingrian Finnish and Estonian, distinguishing between variation within a language and multilingualism can be difficult (Lindgren, 2003).

Generally the influence of the dominant language is found in both the syntax and vocabulary of Finnish. The use of the cases can be different from Finland Finnish, and sometimes cases are replaced by postpositions. The word order of a Finnish sentence can also follow the dominant language's word order (Lindgren, 2003). Most of the language contact phenomena occur in vocabulary. Nouns are the biggest group in loan words. Research on American and Australian Finnish has found that about 80% of loanwords are nouns, verbs constitute less than 10 %, and the percentages of other parts of speech are of course even smaller (Hentula, 1990; Virtaranta, 1992). There is also great variation in the loan words in the sense that a word may have several phonologically different Finnish adapted varieties, as in this example of American Finnish:

(1)

restaurant *restorantti, restarantta, restöräntti, restaurantti, resterantti, resteränt(t)i, rästöräntti, rästäräntti, ristiräntti, ristoräntti, ristöräntti* (Virtaranta, 1992).

Differences in vocabulary are not only due to borrowing; new Finnish words are also created which are not part of Finland Finnish, e.g. *kielinen* in American and Australian Finnish meaning a person speaking a language other than Finnish, or *ylpäkkö* in German Finnish used to describe a proud person. In addition to being creative varieties of Finnish, many of the Finnish varieties spoken outside Finland have been found to preserve characteristics of Finnish dialects. Variation in the Finnish dialects in Finland has continued, and some of the old ones are no longer spoken as such; standard spoken Finnish also continues to change. Depending on the time when the group left Finland, its language can appear more or less different and even archaic when compared to contemporary Finland Finnish (Lindgren, 2003).

In her summary of the main Finnish minorities in the world, Lindgren (2003) lists the groups chronologically according to the period of migration. The main migration of Australian Finns (late 1960s and 1970s) falls in the same period as migration to America ('the last boat') and migration to Sweden (cf. Chapter 5). These groups were the young people of the post-WWII baby boom generation and a little older. They were the generation who went through the period of transition, were born in the countryside and moved to the cities, except that in their case the move was to a city outside Finland. They spoke vernacular and regional dialects (as opposed to the standard spoken Finnish or even standard Finnish of the more recent groups or the older national dialects of the previous groups). Another similarity Australian Finns have with the two groups is the contact with a Germanic language. In this study reference is mainly made to contact with English.

Research on American Finnish shows that in the first generation English influence is most apparent in vocabulary (percentages above). Pronunciation of the words is adapted to Finnish, mainly because the first generation were monolingual Finnish speakers. Sounds foreign to Finnish, e.g. *ship*, *zipper*, *thirsty*, are replaced by native Finnish sounds resulting in words *sipata*, *sipperri*, *törsti*. Consonant clusters, especially at the beginning of a word, are simplified according to the speakers' Finnish dialect e.g. street: *striitti*, *triitti*, *riitti* (Martin, 1993b).

The Finnish of the second and third generation shows English influence also in the phonology, morphology and syntax. Inappropriate consonantal gradation produces forms like *laki – lakit* (CSF.¹ *laki – lait*, 'law – laws') (see basic characteristics of Finnish grammar explained in Appendix 1). The type i-i nouns are favoured in borrowing and also other type Finnish words are treated as if they were this type. For example, *kieli – kielit* (language-languages), when the plural in standard Finnish is *kielet* (type i-e). Also adjectives that are borrowed into American Finnish are mostly of the i-i type: *häpi* 'happy'. The next popular type is –*nen* endings: *räpettinen* 'rapid'. 85 % of the loan verbs are of the type root+vowel+*ta* such as *fikeerata* 'to figure', *hiitata* 'to heat'. This group called 'contracted verbs' is a very important verb conjugation in Finnish (Karlsson, 1999), and many new loan verbs in Finland Finnish are this type.

¹ CSF. Stands for Contemporary Standard Finnish

The explanation offered for these choices is that in these types of nouns or verbs the root of the verb stays best recognisable in all its conjugations (Martin, 1993a). Changes in syntax are also apparent in the speech of the second and further generations of American Finnish. Briefly summarised, these have often to do with the use of case, translating *there is/are* and *it is-* structures into Finnish, the regular use of the *sinä-* passive equivalent for the English *you*-passive, omitting the possessive suffix, and adopting English word order (Jönsson-Korhola, 2003b).

1.6. English use and influence in Finland

Today English is encountered on a daily basis in Finland through audio-visual mass media and various forms of popular culture. Code-switching is common in youth language, and code-switched English terms are frequent in the speech of many professionals. English is by far the most popular first foreign language studied in Finnish schools (everyone studies a minimum of two and a maximum of five languages other than the mother tongue). In 2001, 98% of secondary school students studied English (Taavitsainen & Pahta, 2003). As discussed above, the curriculum includes foreign language studies. In practice, the languages offered by individual schools can vary. The national languages Swedish and Finnish are taught in all schools.

If a Finnish university student wishes to be a serious research scholar he/she has to have a better than average English proficiency. In business, English has become an integral part of the professional repertoire. Many companies have taken English as their official language. Corporations have changed their originally Finnish names into English ones. Also job titles are increasingly in English and job advertisements are often completely in English.

Some of the English used in Finland is Finland English, a language not used anywhere else. For instance an information desk could be called an *information pointti*. Advertising campaigns often use English. The English phrase “Merry Christmas” was changed into “*Meri Christmas*” in an advertisement for spending Christmas on a Finnish passenger ferry. The Finnish word *meri* ‘ocean’ is nearly homonymous with the English word *merry*, so the English Christmas greeting was given a marine connotation. The province of *Varsinais-suomi* called its summer festival “*Varsinnice*”. Again the

word *nice* is a homonym to the part *nais* in the name of the province. The new creation *varsinnice* means very nice. These creations would not work anywhere but in Finland.

The influence of English in Finnish has been categorised in the following way by Hiidenmaa (2003):

- English text in job advertisements; the job title or the entire advertisement in English, commercials and advertisements; particularly desserts are given English or French names; Golden Smoothies, Carte d'Or; motion picture names are not always translated into Finnish e.g. Star Wars, Sliding Doors;
- English slogans in an otherwise Finnish text. For instance an advertisement gives the information in Finnish and the picture includes the text *For the way you are*. Casual conversation can include English phrases such as *so what, who cares*;
- The English word as the first part of a compound: *controlling-tehtävät* 'tasks', *low skill-väestö* 'population'. Young Finns can be heard saying things like *mä olin slightly liikuttuneessa tilassa* 'I was in a slightly emotional state of mind';
- A more and more common phenomenon is taking an English word and adapting it to Finnish phonology and morphology: *brändi* 'brand', *globalisaatio* 'globalisation', *farmari* 'farmer';
- Loan translations make up a surprisingly large number of new vocabulary items. Their English origin often goes unrecognised: *sähköposti* 'electronic mail'. English influence is found in text genres as well. Recipes, for example, used to be in the passive voice, but now following the English model they are written in the imperative mood.

1.7. Languages in Australia

Over two hundred languages are spoken in Australia, forty-eight of them indigenous languages. According to the 2001 census, 15.5% of the population speaks a language other than English at home. The biggest community languages are Italian, Greek, Chinese languages, Arabic and Vietnamese (CLIB 01, 2001). The fastest growing language communities in Australia in the period 1991-1996 were: Mandarin (+68.4%), Vietnamese (+32.7%), Cantonese (+24.2%), Macedonian (+10.3%) and Arabic (+9%).

The languages with significant decreases have been: Maltese (-13.5%), French(-13.3%), German (-12.8%) and Italian (-10.5%) (Clyne, 2003).

Migration to Australia has consisted of many waves influenced by the political or economic situation in different parts of the world, as well as of Australia's immigration policy. Phases of policies towards multilingualism have changed from the acceptance of the colonial times through rejection and English monolingualism back to accepting multilingualism with the introduction of multiculturalism policies, starting in the 1970s (Clyne, 1991). At the policy level attitudes towards languages other than English look favourable (e.g. Clyne 2003 cf. Section 2.1.3.). Australia is among the societies most tolerant of ethnic, linguistic and cultural difference. Nevertheless, the dominance of English in Australia is absolute. As in most migrant societies, it is expected that the second generation of refugee or migrant minorities will become 'Australian', in effect that they will act in accordance with Anglo-Australian behavioural norms, and that they will be native speakers of Australian English (Gibbons & Ramírez, 2003).

Taking all the speakers or potential speakers of an immigrant language in Australia, the rate of shift in home language will vary widely between language communities and subgroups between them. In the first generation there is a continuum which extends from people born in the (former Yugoslav) Republic of Macedonia (3% shift) to Netherlands-born (61.9% shift). The language 'shift' in the second generation is much higher than in the first generation, but the continuum is very similar (Clyne, 2003). In the second generation only 4.2% regularly uses a language other than English (Romaine, 1991). The data does not enable differentiation between actual shift and non-acquisition. Census data does not indicate whether the language was learnt and lost or not learnt at all, just whether it is spoken in particular situations. The lowest shift is recorded for those born in Australia with at least one parent born in the (former Yugoslav) Republic of Macedonia (14.8%), Turkey (16.1%), Korea (18%), and the Lebanon (20.1%). The highest shift is among the second generation of Dutch (95%), German/Austrian (89.7%), Maltese (82.1%), Hungarian (82.1%), French (77.7%) and Polish (75.5%) backgrounds (Clyne, 2003). Factors that have an effect on language shift are individual factors, such as generation, age, exogamy, gender, socioeconomic mobility and English proficiency; group factors, such as community size, cultural distance, religion, premigration experience and situation in the homeland; and general

factors, such as time and place (Clyne, 2003). It seems that language shift is complete within three generations in many ethnolinguistic groups in the urban immigrant situation. “In the long run, it would appear that perceived cost-benefits will tip the balance between language maintenance and shift in favour of the latter. But how and when this occurs is subject to a great deal of variation” (Clyne, 2003, p. 68).

1.8. Finns and Finnish in Australia

Even if Finns were among the first to arrive in Australia, research on the history of Finnish migration to Australia and the life of Finns here started only in the 1960s with the research of Koivukangas. After H.D. Spöring, who sailed with Captain James Cook in 1770, Finns from all walks of life have chosen Australia as their new home. In the early years their numbers were small. One reason for this was that around the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries North America was a more attractive destination. Only in the 1950s and 1960s, when assisted passages were available for Finns, did more substantial numbers of migrants arrive. Individual peak years for Finnish migration to Australia were 1958 and 1968. In the years around each of these peaks about 5,000 Finns arrived in Australia (Koivukangas, 1998). According to the 2001 census there were 8,258 first generation Finns in Australia. The total number of people of people claiming Finnish ancestry was 18,106. In the 2001 census 6,229 people indicated that they speak Finnish at home. The numbers of new Finnish migrants are very low. In the period 1980-2001 only 2,929 people migrated from Finland to Australia. Of the 200,100 people who left Finland in that period over 116,000 relocated to another Nordic country, and nearly 55,000 people to other European countries (Korkiasaari, 2003a).

Table 1.2 Destinations of Finnish migration 1980-2001

Nordic countries	116.037
Other European countries	54.778
North America	13.763
Asia	6.813
Oceania	3.189 (Australia 2.929)
Africa	2.518
Latin America	1.346
Other	1.656

(Source: Korkiasaari, 2003a)

Research on the languages of Finnish immigrants in Australia started much later with Hannele Hentula's (1990) collection of Australian Finnish vocabulary. Since her study there has been increasing interest in Australian Finns and Finnish, resulting in several studies on the subject. There are Masters theses on the typical features of Australian Finnish and also on features of a Finnish dialect in Australia. These show how the Finnish variety spoken in Australia is different from Finnish in Finland (Gita, 2001; Hirviniemi, 2000). Another finding was that among the dialect speakers, a representative of the third generation spoke the purest dialect (Hirviniemi, 2000). Australian Finnish is a variety that also preserves Finnish language. Features still heard in Australian Finnish are no longer heard in Finland Finnish. There are also studies on the adjusting of Australian Finns. English language skills often emerge as a problematic issue (Baron, 2000; Koivukangas, 1975; Mattila, 1990).

Kovács (2001a) analysed code-switches in the Finnish of first and second generation Australian Finns. First generation speech is clearly closer to the standard of spoken Finnish with regard to morphology and grammar, and there are fewer switches than in the speech of the second generation. Based on her Distance Based Continuum Model, Kovács concludes that language shift from Finnish to English is well under way in the Finnish community.

Watson's research on the English of the Finns in Australia, on the other hand, examines the language and communication strategies of first generation Finns when speaking English. He studied the number and type of language contact phenomena in a corpus of 360,000 words. The individuals' interlanguage reflects the person's level of competence

in the receiving language, English in this case, and Watson tentatively suggests that the interlanguage may lean towards the source language, i.e. Finnish (Watson, 1999b).

Although Kovács, Gita and Hirviniemi have conducted formal analyses of Finnish in Australia, how the language relates to Australian Finns' attitudes about their Finnish language and culture has not been studied so far. For instance, there are no results comparable to Waas's finding among Germans in Sydney that a correlation exists between proficiency in German and retention of German citizenship and active affiliation with ethnic organizations (Waas, 1996).

1.9. Organization of the thesis

This introductory chapter has briefly described the framework for the study. It has outlined the scope of the study and the main research questions.

Chapter 2 reviews literature on three topics relevant to the research questions. The section on attitudes discusses the nature of attitudes, how they can be measured and studied. The section on cultural identity reviews research on culture contact and intercultural issues. Racial, ethnic, cultural and ethnolinguistic identity are discussed. Language is an important part of culture and identity. Issues important in this study, bilingualism, code-switching and language maintenance are explained.

Chapter 3 will describe how the methodology was developed through pilot studies and experiments with tools of analysis. Informants and data collection are described.

Chapter 4 will analyse and discuss the language use, language maintenance and code-switching of the informants based on the questionnaire and conversation data. This chapter will also examine the informants' attitudes to language maintenance, bilingualism and how attitudes correlate with their linguistic behaviour.

Chapter 5 will use the selected questionnaire answers and conversation material to discuss the informants' maintenance of Finnish culture in Australia, of which language is only one aspect. Issues of ethnic identity and its maintenance are considered.

Chapter 6 includes conclusions and implications i.e. the future of Finnish in Australia for this group. The chapter summarises the contribution of these results to the study of Finnish language contact with English in Australia, to the study of Finnish in the diaspora, and to the study of immigrant language contact in general.

2. Literature review

This study investigates the attitudes of first generation Australian Finns towards Finnish language maintenance and culture maintenance. It studies the connection of attitudes, self reported language use and language skills, and language contact phenomena in the informants' recorded speech. This chapter reviews literature on the three key themes: attitudes, culture and identity, and language contact. It gives the framework within which the data on attitudes and culture and language maintenance of first generation Finns is investigated. Attitudes are an important factor in social science, but at the same time very complex to define or measure. The review of attitude research will provide the background for the analysis of attitudes in this study. The section on cultural identity discusses the concept of culture, and differences between cultures, and presents models suggested by earlier research for coping with culture contact situations. This will be used as a frame to discuss the maintenance of culture in an immigrant context by the informants in this study. Culture and identity are entwined. In an immigrant context identification with the original cultural or ethnic group is under pressure to change. Language is an important aspect of any group's identity, and language has a strong connection with culture. The section on language contact will discuss concepts of bilingualism, language maintenance and shift, and will give a brief overview of types of language contact phenomena.

2.1. Attitudes

The contemporary socio-psychological concept of attitude was introduced in social psychology to help understand human behaviour. "Social attitudes serve as both indicators and predictors of behaviour" (Stahlberg & Frey, 1989, p. 142). Given the complex nature of attitudes, definitions are also numerous. Thurstone (1928, p. 261) preferred a one-component model, defining an attitude as "the affect for or against a psychological object". Other definitions stress the evaluative character of attitudes as their most important component, and see attitude as a general, enduring, positive or negative feeling about some person, object or issue (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975; Petty & Cacioppo, 1981). Supporters of this unidimensional model have, however, found it necessary to then distinguish between beliefs and attitudes. "Whereas attitude refers to a person's favorable or unfavorable evaluation of an object, beliefs represent the

information he has about the object” (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975, p. 12). Rosenberg and Hovland (1960) present a three-component model of attitudes in which an attitude is regarded as a hypothetical construct that intervenes between observable antecedent stimuli – e.g. individuals, situations or social issues – and subsequent behaviour – e.g. overt actions, verbal statements of beliefs or affect. According to them, attitudes are “predispositions to respond to some class of stimuli with certain classes of response” (p. 3). These three classes of response are affective, cognitive and conative/behavioural. The Fishbein and Ajzen (1975) framework also includes these classes, but they separate behavioural intentions from behaviour into a class of their own: affect (feelings and evaluations), cognition (opinions and beliefs), conation (behavioural intentions) and behaviour (observed overt acts). Behavioural intentions describe a predisposition to a certain kind of attitude-relevant action, though this readiness does not necessarily imply that the behaviour will actually be shown.

Social scientists are also interested in where these predispositions come from. In education research, for instance, attitudes are seen as both input and output. It cannot be taken for granted that attitudes always exist first and then influence behaviour. Attitudes can also be the results of certain behaviours. Attitude influences learning, but the learning experience also helps to construct the attitude towards learning (Baker, 1992). Theories on how attitudes change and develop (see for instance Stroebe & Jonas, 1989; Vaughan & Hogg, 2002) are not the focus of the present study. Such theories look into powers of persuasion and argument to change people’s attitudes towards certain objects. The present study, in contrast, investigates the informants’ attitudes at the time of data collection and their relevance to the language and background data collected at the same point in time. It does not aim to analyse the process of attitude change, nor how change in attitude modifies behaviour.

In the physical world the “laws of nature” create a consistency which we tend to take for granted. With human thoughts and feelings, however, consistency seems more apparent than real (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). Early studies, for instance by La Piere (1935), found no consistency between attitudes and behaviour. This and several subsequent studies which found low correlations between attitudes and behaviour led to a view in the 1970s that the attitude concept had little predictive power (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002, p. 114). Later studies (summary in Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977) confirmed that rather than

asking if attitudes and behaviour are correlated, we should be asking more specific questions about the correlations. To investigate a connection between an attitude and behaviour, there would have to be a way to guarantee that the measured attitude is precisely towards the behaviour that is observed. For instance, an attitude towards a political party is not specific enough to predict voting for a particular candidate. An intention to perform a certain behaviour is the best predictor of an individual's behaviour. But again the intention must refer to the behaviour that is observed (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975).

The theory of reasoned action (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975) incorporates social norms as a major factor. The individual's attitude toward the behaviour and the individual's perception of social pressure – i.e. the subjective norm – simultaneously precede the forming of an intention, which then leads to behaviour. Attitude is seen as one of the factors in intention forming. Intention, then, is a good predictor of action, provided that the intervening time is not too long to allow for events which may lead to changes in intentions. For example, if a person intends to buy a car in three months' time, any change, for instance in his or her financial position or the price of the car, may influence his or her intention. An Australian Finn may in September intend to take part in the annual summer festival, but is in the intervening time diagnosed with a serious illness and the plan is changed.

2.1.1. Measuring attitudes

To measure attitudes it is necessary to find adequate indicators of attitudes. How can we measure something that is in people's minds? The mentalist view to attitudes suggests that "attitudes are psychological constants which must be inferred from responses yet the response is not tied to the external stimulus of the context" (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970, p. 138). For Fasold, on the other hand, "attitude is a mental state so we must depend on the person's report of what their attitudes are, or infer them indirectly from behaviour patterns" (1984, p. 147). A popular solution to measure attitudes in line with this view is to ask people what their attitudes are with the help of attitude questionnaires and scales. Such methods of attitude measurement are based on the assumption that attitudes can be measured by the opinions or beliefs of persons. According to the behaviourist definition, attitudes are interpreted as overt displays or responses to stimuli

(Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970, p. 138). There are methods that try to assess an attitude through various physiological measurements and observation of overt behaviour (see below). Nearly all methods are based on the unidimensional conceptualization of attitude, which means that they focus on only one attitude component (affective, cognitive or conative): questionnaires measure the affective, and observation is used to measure the conative or behavioural, component.

Direct methods of measurement ask the subjects their opinions or attitudes — i.e. ask them to give a self-description. An early scale to record the answers and to measure attitudes was the ‘Thurstone scale’ (Thurstone, 1928). This scale is made up of twenty-two independent statements on an eleven-point scale, from the least favourable to the most favourable, about a particular issue. This scale is no longer popular, due to doubts about the reliability of results and the fact that it is time-consuming and expensive to run. To investigate attitude to a specific issue, twenty-two independent statements at equal intervals about the same issue must be created for the subjects to select one that best reflects their attitude. One of the most popular standard attitude scales was developed by Likert in the early 1930s (Likert, 1932). On this scale the subjects are asked to react to a given statement on a scale, usually five-point, from ‘totally disagree’ to ‘totally agree’. The popularity of this scale lies mostly in its low cost and relative ease of development. The scale remains the same and only statements regarding the issues under investigation need to be created.

The Osgood semantic differential method was developed from research on the connotative meanings of words (Osgood, Suci, & Tannenbaum, 1957). The procedure is to have subjects judge a particular concept on a set of semantic seven-point scales, for instance the concept of nuclear power on scales from ‘good’ to ‘bad’, ‘strong’ to ‘weak’ and from ‘fast’ to ‘slow’, with a neutral midpoint. The main advantage of this approach is that the researcher does not have to construct questions for each attitude that is studied. A disadvantage is that the measure can be too simple, and it may not be clear how a concept’s meaning for a person is related to the opinion statements they make regarding it (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002, p. 136).

Self-description measures assume that the person who responds is able and motivated to disclose his or her true attitudes. “However, there is evidence that there are tendencies

to attitude misrepresentation, e.g. tendencies to give socially desirable answers” (Stahlberg & Frey, 1989, p. 150). Sometimes people do not possess clearly formulated attitudes towards an attitude object, yet are asked to react to it on one of the above scales. The process of attitude measurement itself may prompt the development of attitudes which would not otherwise have been formulated. These spontaneous attitudes may be very unstable and therefore rather bad predictors of behaviour (Stahlberg & Frey, 1989). When using response scales it is also important to consider the problem of the intervals. Not even the Thurstone scale achieves equal intervals (Shaw, 1966). For a more detailed summary of the scales see for instance Vaughan & Hogg (2002) and Stahlberg & Frey (1989).

With **indirect** techniques the attempt is to measure attitudes without the subjects being aware that their attitudes are being investigated. In cases of measuring a physiological reaction the subjects may be aware of attitude measurements but are not able to alter their response. A variety of physiological measures have been used to assess attitudes. These include skin resistance, heart rate, and pupil dilation (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002). The drawback of such measurements is that physiological measurements may be sensitive to variables other than attitudes (Cacioppo & Petty, 1981). No physiological measure assesses both attitude position and strength together, which is possible with self-report measures (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002).

Another way to measure attitudes is to watch what people do, as their behaviour can be an indication of their attitudes. This technique is only reliable when people do not realise their behaviour is being observed (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002, p. 138) The most unobtrusive measurements do not run as much risk of conscious distortion as self-description methods; however, this is often only so at the cost of enormous ambiguities of interpretation (i.e. questionable validity of the attained measures) and ethical problems (Stahlberg & Frey, 1989, p. 152). Interpreting attitudes from eye contact and body posture can be ambiguous. Some methods crudely mislead the subjects in order to encourage them to reveal the most embarrassing attitudes. This is the case for instance with the bogus pipeline method in which subjects are made to believe a machine is able to read their true attitudes while the researcher is manipulating the equipment (Stahlberg & Frey, 1989). Stahlberg & Frey (1989) conclude that as the connection between attitudes and behaviour is still unclear, it is questionable whether behavioural indicators

can characterize an attitude or whether attitudes could only be measured by evaluative self-descriptive responses towards the attitude object. Vaughan & Hogg (2002) suggest that the area of attitude measurement be treated with caution; there is a great variety of definitions and measures and results often conflict.

Studies of behaviour as an indicator of attitudes have concluded that overt behaviour is no more reliable an indicator of attitudes than verbal behaviour. Both can deceive or be used to deceive (Ajzen, 1988). There is a possibility that subjects may be reluctant to reveal their true attitudes and behave accordingly. Research can look at the relation between the overt behaviour and self-descriptive attitudes, but whether either actually reveals the underlying disposition cannot be definitively proved (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975, p. 383). They claim that there is no difference in the predictive abilities of the three attitudinal components (affective, cognitive and conative), and taking all three into account would not improve prediction of behaviour (p. 343). All consistency theories assume that people strive to have their own cognitions, i.e. beliefs, attitudes and perceptions of own behaviour, organized in a tension-free and non-contradictory, way. When a person perceives that there is an imbalance, that is a contradiction between cognitions, they will strive to restore the balance by changing one or all of the cognitions (Stahlberg & Frey, 1989). For instance, if a person likes the President, but disapproves of the fact that their son is going to be drafted, there is an imbalance. To restore balance the person may perceive that the President is not directly responsible for the drafting of their son (Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975, p. 32).

2.1.2. Language attitudes

Attitudinal effects of language variation have only been studied empirically and experimentally since the 1960s. Early research focused almost exclusively on the attitudinal consequences of communicators' use of different languages and dialects (Bradac, Cargile, & Hallett, 2001). The early studies by Lambert and colleagues on attitudes of English and French-speaking respondents towards a prose passage delivered in the two languages (Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner, & Fillenbaum, 1960), and Jewish and Arab high-school students' attitudes towards prose passages delivered in Arabic and two dialectal variants of Hebrew (Lambert, Anisfield, & Yeni-Komshian, 1965), set the

paradigm for attitude studies. The paradigm is summarised here according to Bradac, Cargile, & Hallett (2001, p. 139-141):

- the studies were atheoretical, had a practical motivation;
- they used the “matched-guise” technique;
- they used attitude questionnaires to assess attitudes toward language. This makes respondents highly aware of the measurement process, and results which come from this methodology cannot be generalized to the many real-life situations where the persons respond to attitude objects with low awareness of acting based on their attitude. More unobtrusive methods are necessary;
- the Lambert et al. studies (1960, 1965) were experiments. At the time the importance of the claimed objectivity of measurement was emphasised in studies of social psychology (Robinson, 1998);
- they were acontextual: nothing was said to the respondents about the situation in which the messages were produced. This was a strategy designed to increase the generalizability of results. However, communicators always have intentions, purposes and goals, and if these are hidden or ignored respondents may fill them in, in order to more fully understand the communicator’s messages (Bradac et al., 2001).

This paradigm for attitude studies can be extended by asking the recipients’ reaction to variables beyond whole languages and dialects. These include factors such as language intensity, lexical diversity, power of style, politeness, patronizing speech, gender-linked language, hate speech and political correctness (Bradac et al., 2001, p. 141-145). Language intensity levels, which are indicated by language choices, can be studied to make inferences about the strength of subjects’ attitudes or feelings. Low levels of lexical diversity are judged to indicate low communicator status and competence. Studies have found several linguistic features (including frequent use of intensifiers, hedges and tag-questions) to be associated with low-power style, which is associated with low communicator credibility. Politeness of expressions depends on the level of face threat to others and self (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Polite speech also carries different power and distance values in different cultures and situations. Patronizing speech, a style of talk directed to low-power persons, is evaluated negatively by third parties observing such exchanges, while respondent tolerance can vary. Speech that can be linked to gender through linguistic features produces different attitudes in

communication recipients. Women speakers are often rated higher on variables such as ‘nice’, ‘sweet’ and ‘educated’, and male speakers higher on variables like ‘strong’ and ‘active’. Hate speech and politically correct speech are ways of talking about marginalised groups. Attitudes towards hate speech and politically correct speech can vary between those who it is aimed at, who may find indirect messages more harmful than direct messages, and outgroup members, who perceive direct messages to be more harmful (Bradac et al., 2001).

The Bradac-Cargile-Hallett model (2001) calls attention to the fact that many variables related to a hearer’s psychological state are likely to play a major role in his or her response to a speaker’s language behaviour. A hearer’s attitudes toward language may interact with goals, expectations and level of processing in the production of responses. Bradac et al. believe, however, that a paradigm change is in order because in some cases a hearer’s evaluations or communication strategies may be influenced as much by factors internal to the hearer as by speaker behaviour: e.g. a hearer may have formed expectations of a speaker, and the evaluation will be influenced by these expectations, regardless of the speech actually produced. In the Lambert-type studies emphasis has been placed on the speakers, particularly on their many styles and forms of language (Bradac et al., 2001).

The most traditional method of studying language attitudes has been the ‘voice guise’ or ‘matched guise’ or ‘matched voice guise’ test created by W. Lambert (1967). The test controls all factors except the language variety by having the same speaker read through the same or similar passages in different language varieties. The informants are then asked to rate the speaker on a Likert or semantic scale with regard to different variables. The variables have usually included status (e.g. rich, important, educated), solidarity (e.g. likeable, entertaining, honest), and moral (e.g. modern, religious, patriotic) qualities (Lawson & Sachdev, 2000). In the matched guise tests it is possible for the hearer to evaluate not just the speech but also the speaker. Most studies on language attitudes, in fact, would be more accurately termed studies of attitudes towards speakers of language varieties (Edwards, 1982).

Three assessment techniques relevant to the study of language attitudes can be termed ‘content analysis of societal treatment’, ‘direct measurement’ and ‘indirect

measurement' (Bouchard Ryan, Giles, & Sebastian, 1982). The first type includes studies of laws and policies regarding language use as well as autobiographical, observational and case studies. In the direct method the informants are asked a series of direct questions, either written or in interviews, about factors like language evaluation and language preference. The indirect method is the matched guise method.

Winter (1992) and Hyrkstedt and Kalaja (1998) identify discourse analysis as a method for studying attitudes. Winter discusses a model for deducing attitudes from the language used to deliver the content of the conversation. She uses Chafe's (1986) framework for the linguistic encoding of experience and knowledge of English as a base for the discussion. Beliefs are always based on something other than experience and are linguistically encoded by expressions such as *I think, I guess* or *I believe*. Induction is a mode of knowing in which evidence plays a central role. Expressions include *must, obvious* or *see, hear, feel* in cases of sensory or perceptual evidence. Hearsay as a base for knowledge is expressed for instance by *they say, it seems* or *apparently*. Attitudes based on knowledge deducted from an intuitive hypothesis are expressed for instance by *should, presumably* and *could* (Winter, 1992). The Hyrkstedt and Kalaja study states that attitudes or strong views are social and context-dependent by nature, and this will show as variability in the discourse of those holding an attitude, even within a conversation. Attitudes are used for different purposes to justify and defend arguments or to criticise opposing views. Researchers should not seek to find out the true attitudes of a person or of a group of people towards varieties, for example, of English in the belief that these can be located as stable entities in their minds; rather they should concentrate on analyzing how the attitudes or views are constructed by the people in their talk or writing in the argumentative context of occasion A as compared with that of occasion B, and what function(s) these may serve in each case (Hyrkstedt & Kalaja, 1998).

A study by Côté and Clément (1994) used the vignette method, which is a variety of the discourse completion task. In addition to evaluating the speaker, much as in a matched guise set-up, a vignette also includes the respondent involvement via completion of the vignette exercise. The respondents are presented with short dialogues to complete. Again the result underlines the divergence between actual language behaviour and self-reported or evaluative behaviour. Francophone subjects in the Côté and Clément study

opted to converge towards the language used by their Anglophone interlocutors more than expected. Based on the ethnolinguistic vitality, i.e. the status, demographic and institutional support factors which encourage a group to behave distinctively, this convergence was not expected.

Lack of consistency between attitudes and behaviour has also been found in language attitude studies. Lawson and Sachdev (2000), who used the matched guise technique to ascertain language attitudes in Tunisia, came to the conclusion that negative attitudes are often not reflected in actual behaviour. Attitudes towards code-switching in Tunisia were found to be relatively negative, but high levels of code-switching were nonetheless recorded, especially in informal in-group encounters. Ladegaard (2000) came to a similar conclusion in his study in Denmark: “it is apparently perfectly feasible to have positive attitudes towards a particular variety without expressing these attitudes in overt behaviours” (p.230).

In the current study behaviour is understood as the usage of language or language variety as reported by the informants and as recorded by the research team (cf. Section 3.3.). The study investigates attitudes not only towards language varieties but also to the immigrant experience more widely. The questionnaire applied a direct method of asking for attitudes. Conversations and participation in community activities included observation. The casual nature of the conversations allowed the informants to feel under less pressure to express attitudes. Even in such an informal settings it is not possible to ascertain if attitudes are left unsaid or made more socially acceptable. Combining questionnaire and conversation data with observations of the community and content analysis of societal treatment give a fuller description of the situation regarding the Finnish community in South-East Queensland.

2.1.3. Attitudes towards immigrant languages and their speakers in Australia

For most of the twentieth century Australia exercised an assimilation policy. “From the inception of the migration program after WWII until the late 1960s there was a widespread belief that the ‘assimilation’ of migrants would come about by their casting off their language, customs and national sentiments, and becoming indistinguishable within an ‘Anglo-Celtic’ core culture” (Lewins, 2001, p. 752).

In the period up to the mid 1870s Australia was not yet a political entity and had no common policy regarding use of languages. The atmosphere has been described as “accepting but laissez-faire” (Clyne, 1991, p. 24). In the period from the 1870s to the early 1900s there was growing identification of the emerging Australian nation with English monolingualism. The attitude towards other language groups and language use was tolerant but restrictive. From about 1914 to 1970 “Australia and Australians were forced to forget their multilingual heritage” (Clyne, 1991, p. 24). Behind the assimilationist thinking was the expectation and hope that with a new large-scale immigration program Australia would remain a ‘British’ nation, or at least one predominantly Anglo-Australian (Lewins, 2001). For most of the period of the post-war mass immigration scheme there were still laws prohibiting bilingual education and limiting the amount of broadcasting in ‘foreign languages’, there was little mainstream school teaching of the languages of the immigrants, and little provision of services in such languages (Clyne, 1991, p.15-18). “Since the early 1970s, Australia’s self-concept has changed from that of a British outpost to that of an independent multicultural nation in which people, languages and cultures from all over the world have a legitimate place” (Clyne, 2003, p. 17). Integration (as opposed to assimilation) stresses mutual change – both migrants and the receiving society contribute something to each other (Lewins, 2001, p. 752). The new developments within the policy of multiculturalism in the 1970s and 1980s promoted community languages: the lifting of restrictions on broadcasting in languages other than English, a government-funded TV station (SBS) broadcasting in community languages with English subtitles, financial subsidies for ethnic schools and community welfare programs, government-funded multilingual public radio stations, a widening of the range of languages offered at school and university, public library resources in community languages, and a telephone interpreter service (Clyne, 2003). However, community language newspapers are not subsidised by government funds. Languages Institute of Australia (LIA) was announced in 1989, a year after the endorsement of the National Policy of Languages. LIA was important as a publicly visible legitimization of LOTE’s (languages other than English) in Australia. It served to focus and disseminate language teaching, and information and research over the whole range of languages covered in the National Policy of Languages (Sussex, 1990). LIA later developed into National Languages and Literacy Institute of Australia (NLLIA). Today the operations are distributed to local individual institutes.

Since its introduction in 1973, definitions of multiculturalism have gone through several changes. “Much of the agenda of the 1980s has been preserved, even if pluralistic language policy is not currently high on the federal government agenda” (Clyne, 2003, p. 19). Attitudes towards multiculturalism at the policy level are positive. However, in the late 1990s negative attitudes also surfaced. A significant minority of Australians felt threatened by globalisation and the accompanying processes of economic restructuring and cultural diversification. The coalition parties capitalised on this situation and attempted to build a new conservative consensus. Many aspects of multiculturalism were abandoned: crucial agencies and services were abolished and reduced (Castles, 2001, p. 810-811). Since there can be no return to the life-styles and attitudes of the 1950s, the Coalition has had to rethink its attitude to multiculturalism. The 1999 NMAC Report, *Australian Multiculturalism for a New Century: Towards Inclusiveness*, attempted to counter the anti-minority backlash by showing that cultural diversity is both inescapable and beneficial to Australia (Castles, 2001, p. 811).

Hage (1998, p. 77) critiques multiculturalism and argues that although it is working well in so far as it means an interaction between people from different cultures benefiting all parties involved, it nevertheless belongs to one (mainstream) reality, and racist violence is occurring in another (marginal) reality. The practices of tolerance stem from the same white nation fantasy that produced the ‘evil’ nationalist practices of exclusion (Hage, 1998, p. 78-79). Hage describes multiculturalism as “a white Australian in the centre of all diversity bestowing his/her tolerance” (1998, p. 98).

In their review of Australian language attitudes, whether of Anglo-Australians or immigrants, Callan and Gallois (1987) concluded that Australia will almost certainly remain strongly monolingual, and Anglo-Australians will maintain a narrow perception of the relationship between language and culture. It is an attitudinal fact of mainstream Australian culture that Australian identity is associated with the English language (Gibbons & Ramírez, 2003). According to Lewins (2001) “the pervasive response, that migrants should conform to some sort of Australian ideal type, has persisted to the present” (p. 755). According to Jones’ (1999) data, there is not much evidence to lend popular support to a strong version of multicultural policy. When asked for a preference in the migrant situation, four out of five Australians opted for a view closer to assimilation than cultural pluralism.

In native Australian English, Cultivated Australian is the variety which carries overt prestige. Broad Australian carries covert prestige (Horvath, 1985). In fact this is the accent approximated by many immigrants to Australia (Callan & Gallois, 1987, p. 52). The variety between these two is called the General accent. It retains the national identity associated with the Broad accent, but avoids the non-standardism in pronunciation, morphology, and syntax associated with uneducated speech wherever English is spoken (Horvath, 1985, p. 40). “A foreign accent is an important cue to elicit ethnic stereotypes, and such stereotypes are salient to Anglo-Australians” (Pham, 1998, p. 3).

According to Callan and Gallois (1987), there is a correlation between personality judgements made by Anglo-Australians about non Anglo-Australians, and the nationality and sex of the speaker. For instance, Italian males were rated more negatively than other males, and British males were rated most positively. Women of all immigrant groups were rated more positively than the men. A possible explanation offered for this is that women with European or Asian accented English may be seen as less of a threat in upward social mobility. Male Anglo-Australians gave Australian speakers much higher status ratings than accented speakers, whereas Anglo-Australian females favoured standard Australian speakers only slightly (Callan & Gallois, 1987). Such attitude results also help define the environment in which the majority of Finnish migrants have laboured to build their new life.

In studies of the attitudes of immigrant groups towards their codes, the Dutch and the Italian communities indicated in matched guise tests that they preferred the standard varieties, and regional or social varieties spoken by most members of the ethnic group ranked much lower in the scales of preference and importance (Bettoni & Gibbons, 1988; Pauwels, 1991). Gibbons and Ramirez (2003) studied the attitude and belief set that is associated with language maintenance of Spanish in Australia, and how this relates to the aspects of proficiency (mastering different registers). They asked both first and second generation speakers about their attitudes, using open-ended questions and questionnaires. The results show a widespread and solid pride in being a Spanish speaker in Sydney. This is important if the Spanish community is to resist the overwhelming hegemony of English. Gibbons and Ramirez also discovered unexpected pro-bilingualism attitudes. They asked about attitudes towards Spanish, but the answers

show that support for bilingualism, not just support for Spanish, is favourably related to the maintenance of Spanish (cf. E. J. Bennett about the Dutch in Section 2.2.). However, the research also showed that while the affect for Spanish and ‘Spanish pride’ may be important in the development of a conversational ability in an immigré minority language like Spanish, it may not be sufficient to lead to a command of the more academic and higher registers of the language. For this, a more pragmatic approach may be required, which takes into account the uses of higher registers in communication with Spanish-speaking countries (Gibbons & Ramírez, 2003).

A 1980 questionnaire study on the attitudes which English monolinguals in Australia have towards ethnic languages concluded that English monolinguals at that time still had a negative attitude to ethnic languages, and implementing the new language learning/teaching policy would encounter an unenthusiastic reception. The assimilationist view was strong. Speaking L1 with parents was accepted, but at the same time many did not want to hear these foreign languages in public (Rado & Lewis, 1980). In the same period teachers seemed to have a more informed approach to language learning, and according to Callan & Gallois (1987) half the teachers believed that teaching community languages other than English (CLOTEs) did not hinder the children’s English language development. The attitudes of Australian educationalists have traditionally been against ethnic or Saturday schools, as they were considered harmful competitors for the child’s time and attention. However, along with the multiculturalism policy, ethnic schools have been recognised as providing a valuable service and receive government subsidies to help fund the operation. Smolicz (2001) suggests that it is in the government’s interest to support separate part-time (or the very few full-time) ethnic schools rather than to embark on the wide-ranging application of a language policy for all students in all schools.

Callan & Gallois (1987) comment that a reluctant recognition of multilingual Australia has been most obvious in attitudes toward the teaching of community languages. Second language studies had been offered in schools, but the numbers of students taking them were low (in 1983 only 17%). In the 1980s students did not have a motivation for studying a language other than English, and did not see them as career-relevant subjects. Australian parents did not see a language as culturally salient to an ethnic minority. Language studies were supported, but for other reasons such as understanding other

people's way of life, an appreciation of other cultures, or for business and career advantages (Callan & Gallois, 1987; Garnaut, 1989). In the late 1990s the focus on languages was weakened in multicultural policy. Second and community language education was considered less important than teaching 'foreign' languages for assumed impacts on trade relationships (Lo Bianco, Liddicoat, & Crozet, 1999). "Languages of economic significance have been taking precedence over languages of importance only within Australia's cultural diversity" (Clyne, 2003, p. 19).

According to Smolicz (2001), despite support from the school system and the great range of languages that is being offered as fully fledged end-of-school examination subjects that can count for university entrance, some of these languages have very small enrolments and are taught in very few schools. Languages remain an unpopular option at senior secondary school level, particularly for students from an English-speaking background. Much of the language policy implementation in education occurs at the state level, as states have constitutional responsibility for primary and secondary schooling. There is much variation between state policies. In Victoria, for instance, the policy is for all children to take a LOTE throughout primary school and in at least the first four years of secondary school, and in New South Wales, the minimum requirement is for a hundred hours of LOTE study in junior secondary school (Clyne, 2003, p. 18). In Queensland LOTE studies are compulsory from year 4 to year 10. The range of languages and levels offered varies between schools, but syllabi exist for Chinese, French, German, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese and Korean (Education Queensland, 2004; Queensland Studies Authority, 2004).

Educational language rights are the most important linguistic human rights for the maintenance of linguistic and cultural diversity and development of languages (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000, p. 296). According to Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), "if children are not granted the opportunity to learn their parents' idiom fully and properly so that they become (at least) as proficient as the parents, the language is not going to survive". Kovács (2004) also emphasizes the importance of language teaching for the maintenance of Finnish in Australia, but admits that government resources are limited in a country where over two hundred languages are spoken.

In a discussion of Fishman's steps for reversing language shift (Fishman, 1991), which include the importance of L1 education, Clyne (2003, p.64) suggests that many of the measures would tend to detract from the socioeconomic upward mobility which members of immigrant groups desire, and would therefore not appeal to most. The multiculturalism concept, which promotes and encourages the maintenance of community languages, rests on multiple interaction rather than ethnic separatism. Clyne continues that the tolerant attitude towards the use of community languages in Australia in recent years, the availability of language programs, and the input opportunities in various domains, particularly the media, can aid language maintenance and reversing language shift as long as they are taken up and utilized by the younger generations (p. 64). This requirement takes us back to Callan and Gallois' (1987) suggestion that the main support for language maintenance must come from within the immigrant groups themselves. Language programs and input opportunities are not so readily available to speakers of languages less common in Australia, and even more of the responsibility is placed on the community itself.

The subjects of the current study have experienced a variety of policies and public opinions from the assimilationist view to multiculturalism. A relatively small North European group, the Finns would not have drawn great negative attention to themselves during the times when there was a greater pressure to assimilate. Their small numbers and low profile have also left them with less support in the period of multiculturalism (e.g. language teaching, hours of Finnish language broadcast).

2.2. Cultural identity

The framework in which attitudes are investigated in this study consists of culture, identity and language. These three are entwined. Culture provides us with an identity and a set of attributes that define that identity (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002, p. 463). "Identity serves as a bridge between culture and communication" (Martin & Nakayama, 2004, p.148). This section discusses the concepts of culture and identity and Section 2.3. focuses on language contact issues.

2.2.1. Culture

Culture has been defined in different ways by different disciplines. The anthropologist Geertz (1973, p. 89) defines culture as a “historically transmitted pattern of meaning embodied in symbols, a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men communicate, perpetuate and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life”. In contrast, Hofstede’s (1997) definition represents the psychologists’ point of view: every person carries within him or herself patterns of thinking, feeling, and potential acting which were learned throughout [his or her] lifetime. Many of these patterns are acquired in early childhood, because at that time a person is most susceptible to learning and assimilating. The cognitive, social and contextual approaches are brought together by Ting-Toomey, who defines culture as “a learned meaning system that consists of patterns of traditions, beliefs, values, norms, and symbols that are passed on from one generation to the next and are shared to varying degrees by interacting members of a community” (1999, p. 10). This definition suits the context of the current study, which investigates if and how Finnish culture together with the attendant attitudes imported to Australia by immigrants are still present in their lives, and if and how they are passed on. The deeper layers, the traditions, beliefs and values are hidden from our view, and usually we see and hear – or at least, we are consciously aware of seeing and hearing – only the uppermost layers of cultural artefacts and of verbal and non-verbal symbols (Ting-Toomey & Oetzel, 2001).

2.2.2. Cultural difference

If the surface of the culture we observe looks similar to our own, we may mistakenly conclude that the people also think like us. Cultural differences, however, go deeper to values and beliefs, norms and traditions. According to Andersen et al. (2003), cultural differences are not random events; they occur because cultures develop with different geographies, climates, economies, religions, and histories, each exerting a unique influence. This variation between cultures is often studied with the help of established dimensions of culture. Hofstede (1980) isolated four stereotypical dimensions of culture: power distance, uncertainty avoidance, individualism, and masculinity. Andersen et al. (2003) evaluate Hofstede’s work and summarise how two additional

categories were added in the interim. The two dimensions added to Hofstede's original four were immediacy, and high and low context:

- immediacy: extent of interpersonal closeness in non-verbal actions;
- individualism – collectivism;
- gender: rigidity of gender roles;
- power distance: the degree to which power, prestige and wealth are unequally distributed in a culture;
- uncertainty avoidance: extent of avoidance or tolerance of uncertainty;
- high and low context: extent to which message relies on context or the content of the message.

These dimensions give structure to our understanding of the ways cultures can differ. The dichotomy in the east-west bipolarity is attracting increasing criticism. “The kind of study that Hofstede has compiled may be a thing of the past” (Weiss, 1993, p. 212). As there is more and more contact between representatives of different cultures, such a binary categorisation will become less feasible. As Weiss (1993, p. 200) puts it: “With the increased migration of peoples throughout the world, with global markets and telecommunication networks, our cultural identity, as well as other peoples’, has become problematic, increasingly homogeneous in certain aspects yet increasingly heterogeneous in others”. M.-S. Kim (2002) predicts a general shift away from the unidimensional model, which assumes that if one identifies, for instance, with individualism one cannot identify with collectivism, and a shift toward a bidimensional model where the constructs are independent and behaviour can be chosen according to situation (p.167-178). Individual behaviour can indicate different positions on a dimension continuum (e.g. collectivism – individualism) in different situations.

Such unilinear definitions of culture also suggest that a stable system of culture is passed on. Weiss (1993) criticises the very popular culture-computer analogy, the way in which culture is referred to as programming of the mind or as a computer whose programs guide people's actions and responses. Although this analogy emphasizes that culture is something psychological (a lens through which the world is viewed) as well as something social (the rules and behaviour of a group), it blocks a further important insight that culture is also an open-ended construction. A culture is open to foreignness, capable of change, and composed of elements having an unlimited number of meanings

and interpretations. In its creativity and adaptiveness, culture more closely resembles human language than it does the logical and mathematical equations that are the artificial language of computer programs (Weiss, 1993). Weiss concludes that although one acquires a culture, today, more than ever before, one also chooses and constructs one's culture. Culture is multifaceted rather than monolithic, and persons carry and create their culture in individual ways (Weiss, 1993). Saying that nations share cultural characteristics, or that persons originally from the same area share a culture, is over-generalising. However, much of the work on cultural dimensions presumes implicitly or explicitly that cultural categories are linear and exclusive (Kim, 2002).

The general expectation when relocating to a new culture is to adapt: when in Rome do as the Romans do (St. Ambrose, *Advice to St. Augustine*, 387 A.D.). This advice also represents the linear view that while adopting the Romans' ways one is also to lose the ways of one's own culture. Knowledge of the above six dimensions may help us do as the locals do, to adjust our behaviour to the host culture if we so wish. However, passing as one of the 'locals' requires such a complex and thorough understanding of the local traditions, beliefs and values that they cannot be learnt without extensive immersion, if at all. Todorov (1989) has gone so far as to claim that we can acquire perhaps only one or two cultures other than our own in a lifetime.

Cross-cultural psychology has aimed to demonstrate the influence that cultural factors have on the development and display of individual human behaviour. If culture is such a powerful shaper of behaviour, what happens to individuals who have developed in one cultural context when they attempt to live in a new cultural context (Berry, 1997)? According to Y.Y. Kim's (2003) summary of studies in adaptation, on the group level adaptation has been studied by anthropological methods, and on the individual level from the point of view of psychology and communication. Studies have been distinguished according to whether they study adaptation in long term or short term residence.

Berry's acculturation framework addresses groups and long term residence. Two issues determining acculturation are the value held by maintenance of own original culture, and the value held by contact with the host culture, and participation in it. Depending on the importance of each a conceptual framework is generated:

Figure 2.1 Berry's acculturation framework

		Issue 1	
		Is it considered to be of value to maintain cultural identity and characteristics?	
		“YES”	“NO”
Issue 2			
Is it considered to be of value to maintain relationships with other groups?	“YES”	INTEGRATION	ASSIMILATION
	“NO”	SEPARATION/ SEGREGATION	MARGINALIZATION

(Berry, 1997, p. 10)

Integration in this model is the option when there is interest in maintaining the original culture while continuing in daily interaction with other cultures. This is also called biculturalism, and is theorised as the most balanced of all the strategies. Tajfel (1978) suggested that this is the most satisfactory strategy for the development of an identity. Integration is also the melting-pot view which held that both immigrant and receiving society contribute to each other's cultures, so that over time all cultures, and thereby all individuals, emerged as a different entity, or as an amalgam of their own and other cultures (Lewins, 2001). Nowadays the term 'salad bowl' is preferred. It emphasises the fact that cultures and groups can retain their cultural characteristics, and co-exist. When individuals want to maintain their original culture and wish to avoid interaction with others, the alternative is separation. On the other hand, when individuals do not wish to maintain their original culture and seek interaction with other cultures, their strategy is assimilation. Not maintaining the original culture may not always be the individual's wish, but rather the circumstances leave few other options, as for instance in Australia in the assimilation period from the end of WWII until the 1970s (Lewins, 2001). When there is little possibility or interest in cultural maintenance, and little interest in having relations with others, the strategy is marginalization (Berry, 1997). The fact that this model allows individuals to simultaneously maintain different construals of culture makes it a bidimensional model.

Studies of temporary sojourners have been more practical and concerned with finding relief from problems of transition into a new environment. Y.Y. Kim's (2003) conclusion is that even though the adaptation process plays out in time and, thus, is correlated with the individual's cumulative change, what really contributes to this change is not the length of time itself but the individual's communicative interface with the new environment. This then focuses attention on the interactions in the immigrant context.

The transition model (J. Bennett, 1998) claims that people have a preferred way of dealing with a new situation: either 'flight' or 'fight'. The choice of mode directly contributes to the extent of the individual's communicative interface discussed by Y.Y. Kim (2003). Those who choose 'flight' tend to stand back and observe before starting to participate. It can be useful to take time out from the stresses of intercultural interactions, for instance, by communicating in the first language with one's own ethnic community. However, remaining in the 'flight' mode can be unproductive. The 'fight' approach involves jumping in and participating, and learning through trial and error. The 'flex' mode combines 'flight' and 'fight' (Bennett, 1998).

The experience of culture contact also depends on the intercultural sensitivity of those involved. M. J. Bennett (1986) presents a developmental model. Bennett argues that since intercultural sensitivity is not 'natural' to any single culture, the development of this ability demands new awareness and attitudes. This evidently raises the question of what is a single culture, and is it possible to generalise about members of a single culture. An underlying assumption of the model is that as one's experience of cultural difference becomes more complex and sophisticated, one's potential competence in intercultural relations increases. The first three orientations are conceptualized as more ethnocentric:

- denial (own culture is experienced as the only real one);
- defence (own culture experienced as the only viable one);
- minimization (elements of one's own cultural worldview are experienced as universal).

The other three orientations are defined as more ethnorelative:

- acceptance (own culture is experienced as just one of a number of equally complex worldviews);

- adaptation (one's worldview is expanded to include relevant constructs from other cultural worldviews);
- integration (one's experience of self is expanded to include the movement in and out of different cultural worldviews. Identities are construed at the margins of two or more cultures and are central to none.)

The marginality involved in this integration may have two forms: an encapsulated form, where the separation from one's own culture is experienced as alienation; and a constructive form, in which movements into and out of cultures are a necessary and positive part of one's identity. Integration is not necessarily better than adaptation in situations demanding intercultural competence, but it is descriptive of a growing number of people, including many members of non-dominant cultures, long-term expatriates, and "global nomads" (Hammer, Bennett, & Wiseman, 2003).

This developmental model of intercultural sensitivity (DMIS) was first developed mainly for training purposes (Bennett, 1986), but was later also used to discuss general levels of intercultural sensitivity. Based on this theoretical framework, the Intercultural Development Inventory (IDI) was constructed to measure the orientations toward cultural differences described in the DMIS. The result is a 50-item, paper-and-pencil measure of intercultural competence (Hammer et al., 2003).

The term 'integration' is used to define the ultimate level of both acculturation and intercultural sensitivity. In acculturation it entails a great degree of balance between one's cultures and identity, while at the integration level in intercultural sensitivity the experience and understanding of two or more cultures leads to a feeling of being outside the centre of any culture (or cultural identity). For some individuals this new state of not belonging to just one culture can be a positive part of identity (the growing number of people suggested by Hammer et al. above). However, there is also the possibility of this cultural marginality having an encapsulated form when the separation from the centre of a culture is experienced as alienation.

As Y. Y. Kim (2003) notes, many of the adaptation studies are predicated on the assumption that cultural adaptation is a natural phenomenon and that successful adaptation is a desirable goal. Few individuals in an unfamiliar environment can

completely escape adaptation as long as they remain in, and are functionally dependent on, the mainstream culture. Conversely, few can attain a complete assimilation no matter how hard and long they try (Kim, 2003).

M.-S. Kim (2002) discusses assimilation, which follows the unidimensional tradition, and alternation, based on the bidimensional tradition. Assimilation assumes an ongoing process of absorption into the culture perceived as dominant or more desirable (Kim, 2002). The goal is complete absorption. The alternation model assumes that it is possible for an individual to know and understand two different cultures (LaFromboise, Coleman, & Gerton, 1993) and have a sense of belonging in two cultures without compromising his or her sense of cultural identity (Kim, 2002).

The present study does not explicitly test any of these models, but these views on what happens when individuals brought up in one culture (Finnish) relocate into a new culture (Australia) are used as a framework to discuss the experience of the informants and to investigate evidence of integration or separation.

2.2.3. Ethnic, racial or cultural identity

“Culture pervades almost all aspects of our existence and defines our identity” (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002, p. 463). An immigrant context which makes one aware of one’s culture in contrast to the surrounding new culture also raises questions of identity. Social identity theory (SIT), which was originally developed by Henri Tajfel (1974; 1978; 1981; 1982) between 1971 and 1981, but fully developed in collaboration with John Turner (Tajfel & Turner, 1979; Turner, 1982), maintains that an individual’s self image has two elements: a self-identity and a social identity, constructed through a series of processes, by belonging to certain groups. Self-identity is the subjective identity of an individual, compounded by characteristics that distinguish an individual from others from the same social group. Social identity is “that part of an individual’s self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and significance attached to that membership” (Tajfel, 1981, p. 255). In sociology, social identity is also defined as “ethnicity”, i.e. where members of a specific group have particular cultural characteristics and traditions in

common which they do not share with others different from their own ethnic group, such as the mother tongue (De Vos & Romanucci-Ross, 1975).

According to Friedman (1994) cultural identity is a generic concept and refers to the attribution of a set of qualities to a given population. “Cultural identity, that is experienced as carried by the individual, in the blood, so to say, is what is commonly known as ethnicity” (p.29). It is not practised but inherent, not achieved but ascribed. Ethnicity is expressed most strongly in the concept of race or biological descent. In a weaker sense it is expressed in heritage, or as cultural descent, learned by each individual and distinctive precisely at the level of individual behaviour. The latter is the most general Western notion of ethnicity. The weakest form of such attribution is referred to as ‘lifestyle’, or way of life, which may or may not have a basis in tradition (Friedman, 1994). Traditional ethnicity is a very different kind of cultural identity, which Friedman states to be based on membership defined by the practice of certain activities including those related to descent. An example is the Buddhist state in Sri Lanka, where Sinhalese identity cannot exist independently of the State and the hierarchical order provided by it. By contrast, Australian nationalism is based on the absolute separation of cultural identity and the state (Friedman, 1994).

Scholars have differentiated on the one hand between racial identity, based largely on physical characteristics (Martin, 1997), and on the other hand cultural identity, the extent to which people hold their larger culture to be important (Ting-Toomey et al., 2000). Ethnic identity has been described as a set of ideals about one’s own ethnic group membership, including self-identification and knowledge about ethnic culture, and feelings about belonging to a particular ethnic group (Martin & Nakayama, 2004). According to Phinney (1990) ethnic identity consists of four components: self-identification, sense of belonging, attitude to one’s group, and ethnic involvement, which includes language, friendship, religious affiliation and practice, structured ethnic social group, political ideology and activity, area of residence, and miscellaneous ethnic/cultural activities and attitudes. The organisation of the terminology or categories may differ between scholars and studies, but a common division is to look at identification with a culture at the individual level and the group level, and distinguish the identity determined by physical appearance. It has been suggested that racial identities are constructed solely by others, while ethnic identities are constructed by self

and others, and that when classifying others race overrides ethnicity (Cornell & Hartmann, 1998). Today most scientists have abandoned a strict biological basis for classifying racial groups, deferring instead to a social science approach to understanding race. They recognize that racial categories are constructed in social and historical contexts (Martin & Nakayama, 2004). If race is not only based on physiology, it does not necessarily override ethnicity when others are classified, nor is racial identity only constructed by others.

Friedman (1994) also states that “within the sphere of cultural modernity, the expansion of modernist hegemony is correlated with a move from culturally strong identity – ethnicity – to weaker forms: lifestyles and modernist identity itself” (p. 39). This is relevant to the maintenance of cultural heritage. In a modern society it is of less and less importance for the self-developing individual who is rootless yet constantly evolving (Friedman, 1994).

The concepts of linearity and bipolarity are ever present in discussion of identity. However, strengthening one identity does not inevitably lead to weakening another, and groups and individuals have several simultaneous identities with the ethnic identity. Identities are not stable entities, but develop. They can be multiple, variable and co-existent. According to Martin & Nakayama (2004), minority identity goes through four stages of development:

- unexamined identity;
- conformity – strong desire to assimilate to the dominant culture;
- resistance and separatism;
- integration – achieved identity, strong sense of own group identity and an appreciation of other groups.

Maybe multicultural identity will become a more common and ordinary identity as mobility continues to increase. Adler’s (1974) definition of a multicultural person is that his or her identity is not defined by a sense of belonging but is a new psycho-cultural form of consciousness. The multicultural person is neither a part of nor apart from the host culture; rather, this person acts situationally (Martin & Nakayama, 2004). This view shows a similarity to Milton Bennett’s (1986) last ethnorelative stage of intercultural sensitivity, when an individual’s identity is construed at the margins of two

or more cultures but as central to none. Such a state of not belonging to any culture is also similar to what in the assimilationist view has been considered marginalization (Stonequist, 1935). Looking at this unidimensionally, if one does not perfectly fit a culture or adopt an identity, one is marginalized, but bidimensionally considered it is possible to be multicultural. The unidimensional view (marginalized) makes the situation of the person sound negative and unattractive, while the bidimensional definition of multicultural sounds more positive. The terms reflect how these situations are viewed when in fact the experiences described with these terms might be very similar.

Ethnic identity can be divided into behavioural ethnic identity and symbolic ethnic identity. Behavioural ethnic identity refers to cultural expressions such as language and its use, the practice of endogamy, and the choice of best friends from one's own ethnic group. Symbolic ethnic identity refers to the knowledge and pride that one reflects about one's own ethnic group (Berry & Laponce, 1994). The behavioural component of ethnic identity has also been distinguished by Phinney (1992), who argues that this involves the degree to which individuals engage, and are competent, in the activities associated with their ethnic group. Phinney (1992) argues that since language has a different salience within various groups (and virtually none for some), it cannot be considered as a factor when measuring general ethnic identity. On the other hand, for instance, Fishman (1966; 1977) has seen language as precious in its role of a carrier of dimensions of ethnicity, but also admits that ethnic identity can be maintained even though the language is lost or not used. Languages are closely tied to the values and ideologies of their users, and syntactic structures and lexical items inevitably reflect the idiosyncratic experiences of the speech communities (Lim, 2003). The ethnography of speaking assumes that speakers are purposefully applying linguistic codes towards social ends in culturally defined situations (Palmer, 1996).

Although universals in communicative conduct have been proposed, there is also much that is culturally distinctive (Lim, 2003). Cultural communication includes culturally distinctive ways of communicating, and the role of communication in performing cultural or communal functions. "Cultural communication is the work that people do in coming to terms with the communicative demands of their life-worlds" (Philipsen, 2003, p. 35). It is a resource through which communities and the individuals that

comprise them come to terms with their cultures (Philipsen, 2003). Philipsen bases this discussion on earlier research concerned with the distinctiveness of communication in particular societies and cultures. A culture has means (the language, dialects, styles routines etc.) and meanings (significance the people experience in relation to the means). These studies also treat communication as a site and resource for establishing, sustaining and negotiating a community's sense of identity and an individual's sense of membership in and identification with a community (Philipsen, 2003). Language is an important marker of cultural/ethnic identity, but both culture and ethnicity can be maintained without competence in the corresponding language.

2.2.4. Ethnolinguistic identity

Giles and Johnson (1981) argue that language is a vital aspect of any group's, but particularly an ethnic group's, identity. Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory was originally formed to address the issue of who in an ethnic group uses what language strategy, when, and why, in interethnic encounters (Giles & Johnson, 1987). Some members of a group accentuate their ethnolinguistic characteristics, while others converge towards the outgroup. The theory rests on the interaction of five social psychological variables:

- social identity and the related concept of ethnic identification;
- perceived ethnolinguistic vitality;
- awareness of cognitive alternatives;
- perceived hardness or softness of ethnic and linguistic boundaries;
- multiple group memberships.

Perceived ethnolinguistic vitality refers to individuals' subjective perception of the status, demographic characteristics, and institutional support for the language community. A high level of perceived vitality increases the salience of group identity and intensifies the inclination to accentuate group speech markers (Giles & Johnson, 1981). Subordinate group members who perceive that their stigmatised status is due to the outgroup's unfair dominance, which can be modified, are likely to have a strong sense of ethnolinguistic identity, while those who accept the status quo, perceiving no alternative, are likely to aim at adopting outgroup behaviours. If there is a high level of perceived group boundary hardness (i.e. boundaries perceived as very clear), this clarifies ethnic categorisation and increases the salience of group membership. Those who see themselves as belonging to numerous different, overlapping groups are

predicted to possess a more diffuse social identity, and thus those who can identify with few social categories are predicted to have a stronger ethnolinguistic attachment (Giles & Johnson, 1987). Giles and Johnson (1987) give three sets of propositions articulating the predispositional conditions under which ethnic group members will be more or less likely to define interethnic encounters and to be resolute in their language maintenance strategies. According to the first set of propositions, individuals will strive to maintain their ethnolinguistic identity and most likely will not acquire native-like proficiency in the dominant group's language if they: identify very strongly with their ethnic group, are aware of cognitive alternatives to their own group's inferior status position, perceive their ingroup ethnolinguistic vitality to be high, perceive their ingroup linguistic and ethnic boundaries to be hard and closed, and identify with only a few other social groups.

The second set of propositions fashions the psychological climate for language indifference: there is a weaker identification with the ethnic group, but the boundaries are perceived to be hard and closed. These individuals may be considered to be more involuntarily committed to the group. The perception of high vitality may reflect group success and increase commitment to it, but it may also be seen as indicating the group's high potential for applying sanctions/rewards for (non)compliance to group language norms. Members are likely to define fewer interethnic situations in terms of their ethnic identity than those depicted in the previous propositions, and to have the propensity to act in terms of conformity to group norms (Giles & Johnson, 1987).

The third set relates to individuals who identify less strongly with the group and perceive its boundaries to be soft and open. They may be considered voluntarily and weakly committed to the group, and the perception of low ingroup vitality may reflect the group's 'failure', thereby further weakening commitment to it. In addition, perception of low ingroup vitality may reflect the group's low potential for applying sanctions/rewards for (non)compliance with group norms. Such people are therefore considered likely to evince weak ethnic solidarity and will likely conform more to societal norms rather than to ingroup ones in many situations. The psychological climate then is that of language suicide (Giles & Johnson, 1987).

Giles and Johnson (1987) suggest that situational factors can override the predispositional tendencies of individuals to act in terms of ethnic solidarity, and give more propositions to identify when few or many group members are likely to maintain their ethnic speech style. Practice can, however, be found to be more complex than theories. For instance, Clachar (1997) found that in the case of English-speaking Puerto Rican return migrants, ethnic identification and multiple-group membership did not significantly correlate with proficiency in Spanish, which they as English speakers saw as the outgroup language. Explanations were found in the unusual interethnic situation in which the Puerto Rican return migrants found themselves. The social groups the subjects belonged to could by nature be such that language was not central (e.g. sports), and decisions regarding group memberships were not influenced by strength of ethnic identity (as suggested by ethnolinguistic identity theory), but by desire to avoid intergroup and language conflict (Clachar, 1997).

According to Gudykunst (1989) ethnolinguistic identity is particularly influenced by those dimensions of cultural variability that deal with relations between groups in a society. He takes the factors of ethnolinguistic identity theory and studies them in relation to Hofstede's four dimensions of culture variation to offer initial insights into the influence of cultural variability on ethnolinguistic identity. Nine hypotheses emerge from the analysis of the two theories:

- members of collectivistic cultures identify more strongly with the ingroup than do members of individualistic cultures;
- members of collectivistic cultures identify more with multiple groups than do members of individualistic cultures;
- members of collectivistic cultures make more favourable intergroup comparisons than do members of individualistic cultures;
- members of high uncertainty avoidance cultures make less secure intergroup comparisons than do members of low uncertainty avoidance cultures;
- members of feminine cultures identify less with the ingroup than do members of masculine cultures;
- members of feminine cultures perceive softer boundaries between groups than do members of masculine cultures;

- members of minority groups in high power distance cultures perceive harder boundaries between groups than do members of minority groups in low power distance cultures;
- members of minorities in high power distance cultures make more insecure intergroup comparisons than do members of minority groups in low power distance cultures;
- perceived ethnolinguistic vitality is higher in individualistic cultures that are also high in uncertainty avoidance and masculinity than in collectivistic cultures that are low in uncertainty avoidance and masculinity.

The problem with this kind of categorisation, even if it does manage to combine two sets of criteria, is that it is just as stereotyping and categorical as the models it combines. The categorisation suggests in the unilinear tradition that cultures can be identified according to these criteria, and that they are such in all situations. Criticism of this view that identifying, for instance with individualism excludes identifying with collectivism has been discussed above.

The focus in this study is on the importance of culture, dealing with culture contact and perceptions of immigrant identity. The emphasis is on the informants' attitudes towards their ethnic identity expressed in the questionnaires and the symbolic ethnic identity, or behavioural component of ethnic identity that is indicated in conversation and questionnaire data. It is not within the scope of this study to investigate the development of immigrant identity in detail.

2.3. Languages in contact

2.3.1. Bilingualism

The ethnic language of an immigrant group naturally is not sufficient for the purposes and aspirations across all domains in the new environment. Immigrants need skills in the dominant language. They need to become bilingual while also maintaining their first language. The duality of bilingualism is perfectly possible, and highly desirable. Because the two languages have different purposes – one for identity, the other for intelligibility – they do not have to be in conflict (Crystal, 2000, p. 29).

Definitions of bilingualism range from native-like fluency in two languages (Bloomfield 1933) to Diebold's 'incipient bilingualism' (Diebold, 1964). The definition preferred in the present investigation is that of Mackey (1968) who considers bilingualism as the alternate use of two or more languages. According to Mackey bilingualism is entirely relative, because the point at which the speaker of a second language becomes bilingual is either arbitrary or impossible to determine. The four questions to be addressed are: degree, function, alternation and interference of the languages. Degree of bilingualism means the listening, reading, speaking and writing skills in each language on the phonological/ grammatical, lexical, semantic, stylistic and graphic levels. Function focuses on the uses the speaker has for the languages. Alternation is the extent to which the speaker alternates between the languages, and interference stands for the extent to which the speaker is able to keep the languages separate.

When speakers use two languages they will not use both in all circumstances, but will choose one over the other according to participants, situation, content of discourse and function of interaction (Grosjean, 1982). Domains that cover these various situations have been established as family, friendship, religion, work and education (Fishman, Cooper, & Ma, 1971). It is generally agreed that social identities are not fixed and stable. If this is true, then their 'performance' can vary across social, situational and interactional contexts (Ehrlich, 2001, p. 110). Because the use of each language can be different, the proficiency achieved in each language will not be equal to the other language in all areas. Ascertaining language proficiency should also be sensitive to the functions and domains of the particular language. The bilingual's skill may not be the same for both languages at all linguistic levels (phonological/grammatical, lexical, semantic, stylistic and graphic) (Mackey, 1968).

2.3.2. Code-switching

Alternating between the languages is often not as clear-cut as a division of one language for one situation. Speakers also alternate between codes during one situation or speech act, both deliberately and accidentally (Myers-Scotton, 1993). Code-switching is an extremely common characteristic of bilingual speech. Some monolinguals have had a very negative attitude towards code-switching, which they see as a grammarless mixture of two languages, a jargon or gibberish that is an insult to the monolingual's own rule-

governed language (Grosjean, 1982). Attitudes to code-switching also vary cross-culturally (Gumperz, 1982). Some attribute code-switching to lack of education, bad manners or improper control of the languages. Others see it as a legitimate form of informal talk. Bilinguals themselves who produce this speech are often not aware of switching, and consider themselves to have spoken only one language in a situation when in fact they did indeed switch. Social stigma has been attached to this way of speaking by the community itself (ingroup) as well as outgroup members in most communities where attitudes to code-switching have been studied (Romaine, 1995).

The terminology used to describe speech containing several codes is extremely varied. Sometimes code-switching and code-mixing are distinguished, the former meaning switching between clauses or sentences, the latter within clause or sentences (Appel & Muysken, 1987). Both terms are also used as cover terms for any type of language alternation. A popular definition of code-switching is Gumperz' (1982, p. 59): "the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems". The 'code' is taken to include not just different languages but also varieties of the same language and styles within a language.

The types of alternation have also been categorised in different ways. The current study will investigate the connection between attitudes and the way informants speak i.e. what types of alternation take place. Code-switches can be tag-switches, inter-sentential or intra-sentential. Tag-switching involves the insertion of a tag in one language into an utterance which is otherwise entirely in the other language, e.g. *you know*, or *I mean* at the end of a Finnish sentence. Inter-sentential switching involves a switch at a clause or sentence boundary, where each clause or sentence is in one language. Intra-sentential switching involves the greatest syntactic risk and may be mastered only by the most fluent bilinguals (Poplack, 1980). In addition to switching within clause or sentence boundaries, intra-sentential switching may include mixing within word boundaries, resulting for instance in English words with Finnish inflectional morphology. The categories of code-switches and loan words are also much debated. When is an item that has been assimilated to the base language a switch and when is it a loan? According to Poplack (1980) an item that is phonologically, morphologically and syntactically integrated is usually regarded as a borrowing. In switching the integration is missing on some or all of these levels. Borrowing and code-switching can be seen as parts of the

same phenomenon (Romaine, 1995), and there are those who in addition to distinguishing between borrowing and code-switching, propose a third category – nonce borrowing – to distinguish established loans from one-word items accidentally borrowed into speech (Poplack et al., 1989). Myers-Scotton (1993) suggests absolute and relative frequency as ways of distinguishing a loan word from a switch. The status of an embedded language form (language which is inserted into the base language) as a borrowing or a code-switch can be established by measuring the frequency with which it occurs, representing the concept or object it encodes in relation to the frequency of the indigenous form for the same concept or object. Cultural borrowings (no indigenous equivalent) are predicted to show high relative frequency, and core borrowings (with indigenous equivalents) will show high frequency in relation to those embedded language forms which are code-switches. A distinguishing characteristic of code-switched forms is that they occur possibly only once, and certainly not frequently, meaning that they are not predictable (Myers-Scotton, 1993).

Models have been developed to explain how and when code-switching can and cannot take place. The Free Morpheme Constraint and the Equivalence Constraint were first introduced by Poplack (1980). The Free Morpheme Constraint predicts that a switch may not occur between a bound morpheme and a lexical form unless the lexical form has been phonologically integrated into the language of the morpheme. The Equivalence Constraint predicts that switches will tend to occur at points where the juxtaposition of elements from the two languages does not violate the syntactic rule of either language. The Government constraint was first applied by Di Sciullo et al. (1986). It claims that switching is only possible between elements that are not related by government. The Matrix Language Frame (MLF) Model of Myers-Scotton (1993) defines the matrix language as the one which sets the grammatical frame into which items from the embedded language are inserted. It has been suggested for instance by Myers-Scotton (1993) and Boyd (1993) that borrowing and code-switching form a continuum. The present study does not focus solely on the structures of the switches, but is interested in the amount and type of influence which English as the dominant language in Australia has on Finnish as the minority language and how these are related to the attitudes of the speakers. In the data the Matrix language is Finnish and English is the embedded language inserted into Finnish speech.

Kovács (2001a) presents a distance-based continuum model of code-switching, which is based on the case marking of intrasentential code-switching. In this model, borrowing and smooth switches (switches not preceded by a special marker) are still in agreement with the Matrix language. Half-agreement involves flagged switches when the switch is preceded by a determiner-like element or a sign of hesitation (Poplack et al., 1989), and double marking is a sign of double agreement: i.e. the switched forms agree with both the matrix and the embedded language. Non-agreement with the Matrix language results in transferred codes – e.g. the argument of a Finnish verb in a Finnish sentence follows the English model – and bare forms – e.g. *mä olin* supermarket[issa] ‘I was [in the] supermarket’ the Finnish sentence is missing the inessive case ending which corresponds to the English preposition *in* –, while short and long embedded language islands are already in agreement with the embedded language. In Lauttamus’ (1999) model on Finnish-English language contact the continuum extends from code changes, which are typically multiword fragments in complete agreement with the grammar of the embedded language (English), to integrated loans, which have been adapted to Finnish both morphologically and phonetically (e.g. *pisi* ‘busy’, *trämmi* ‘tram’).

English influence is clearly most evident in the lexis of Finnish spoken in English-speaking countries, but the speech of second and third generation migrant Finns can also show morphophonological, morphological and syntactic changes when compared to spoken Finnish in Finland. Word order changes, variation in case morphology and calques have been recorded (Gita, 2001; Hentula, 1990; Hirviniemi, 2000; Kovács, 2001b) as well as variation in consonant gradation, vowel changes and government (Gita, 2001). Chapter 3 on the methodology of the current study will explain in detail how the language material was categorised and coded in the current data.

What causes people to alternate between codes? Gumperz (1982) has suggested that code-switching should also be looked at as a discursive mode and a communicative option. Switching serves an expressive function and has pragmatic meaning both for monolinguals switching between styles and varieties, and for multilinguals switching between languages. Some reasons for code-switching have been summarised by Grosjean (1982, p. 152):

- to fill a linguistic need for lexical item;
- to continue the last language used (triggering);

- to quote someone;
- to specify addressee;
- to qualify message;
- to specify speaker involvement;
- to mark and emphasize group identity;
- to convey confidentiality, anger, annoyance;
- to exclude someone from conversation;
- to change role of speaker: raise status, add authority, show expertise.

Similar arguments are presented also by Auer (1990) who claims that code alternation may work as a contextualization cue, for instance, for setting off side remarks or marking new topics, but it also plays with the social values and attitudes associated with the languages in question. Language alternation, as Auer calls it, contributes to the speakers' sense-making activities which should be looked at through the framework of conversation analysis (Auer, 1988). Code-switching and particularly its discursive use is also connected to social identity. Unfortunately there is no algorithm available by which participants can calculate the meaning of code-switching (Auer, 2005). How identity, attitude and relationship are presented, understood, accepted or rejected and changed in the process of interaction can be different in every case (Wei, 2005).

Many of the reasons for code-switching are related to the phenomenon of speech or communication accommodation and attitudes. Speakers in communication situations use linguistic strategies to gain approval or to show distinctiveness in their interactions with others. The main strategies are speech convergence and divergence used either to decrease or to increase communicative distance respectively. This theory was first called Speech Accommodation Theory (e.g. Giles & Smith, 1979) and was later developed into Communication Accommodation Theory. Code-switching can be a strategy to facilitate convergence or divergence in a speech situation. The mixed variety can be a strong marker of group identity, and converging toward it when talking to members of the same group is expected. Choosing to diverge from it to a more standard language would indicate a wish to separate oneself from the group. Accommodation between host and migrant groups is usually one-sided and dictated by necessity. To be understood the minority must speak the majority's language. This is a matter of language choice rather than accommodation. In the case of Australian Finnish, though,

it is relevant to distinguish situations where the code choice is between Finnish and Australian English, or Finnish and Australian Finnish. Finns in Australia switch into English to speak to non-Finns. First generation Finns do not speak English to each other, unless in the company of non-Finnish-speaking people. Australian Finnish is a variety of Finnish which has integrated elements of Australian English. This is the variety Australian Finns speak to each other. They admit to speaking or at least trying to speak a variety of Finnish that is closer to spoken Finland Finnish when speaking to non-Australian Finns. American Finns have been reported to behave in a similar fashion (Martin, 1994).

As discussed above, ascertaining bilinguals' skills in the two languages requires extensive consideration of functions, domains, attitudes and linguistic levels. To use code-switching as an indication of language skills is problematic, if only because definitions of phenomena are not always agreed on. However, Schatz (1989) concludes that only bilinguals switch, while both monolinguals and bilinguals borrow. Furthermore, Poplack (1980) suggests that the ability to switch within a sentence indicates fluent bilingualism. Such statements raise questions of how a switch, a borrowing and bilingualism are defined. However, we can assume that someone who is fluent in two languages can switch from one to the other without excessively violating the systems of either language. On the other hand, such a balance sounds very close to the notion of a balanced bilingual consisting of two monolingual competencies, and such balance hardly ever exists (Romaine, 1995). Should we call bilingual a speaker who cannot utter a sentence in the L2, but whose L1 speech has code-switched elements from L2 or vice versa? The forms may be integrated to L1 at some levels, but are by no means established loans in the language. Considering the state of bilingual skills from the L1 perspective, Romaine (1995) suggests that switching or mixing between languages does not necessarily indicate incipient loss of L1. Kovács (2001a), on the other hand, argues that the extent and type of code-switching are an indication of a shift at the micro level. The more the code-switches in an L1 matrix adhere to the L2 system, the further the shift has progressed. But language shift is not necessarily a result of language loss. It can also result from deliberate choice to use one language and not the other.

Rampton (1995) introduces yet another category of code alternation. Code alternation by people who are not accepted members of the group associated with the second language they employ are said to be ‘crossing’. They switch to a language which is generally not thought to belong to them.

The current study investigates language contact to determine whether the types of phenomena found in this data are similar to language contact phenomena presented by earlier studies on Australian Finnish (Gita, 2001; Hentula, 1990; Kovács, 2001a, 2001b). The profiles of speakers based on types of language contact phenomena in their speech can then be studied in relation to attitudes about language and cultural identity issues. For instance, how is the way the informants alternate between codes related to their attitudes about their language skills or maintenance attitudes (cf. Section 4.5.)? This study will not investigate the alternations with conversation analysis.

2.3.3. Language maintenance or language shift

The term “language maintenance” is used to describe a situation in which a speaker, a group of speakers, or a speech community continues to use their language in some or all spheres of life despite competition with the dominant or majority language to become the main/sole language in these spheres (Pauwels, 2004). In the case of language shift a speech community gradually gives up or loses the use of its language, and/or of many functions of the language, and shifts to the use of another language for most if not all its communicative and other cultural, symbolic needs (Pauwels, 2004). Language maintenance and language shift are long term results of language choice (Fasold, 1984).

Factors influencing language maintenance have been discussed by many scholars. The categorisations vary but the factors are similar. The concept of ethnolinguistic vitality (Giles et al., 1977) describes the factors that influence the chances a group and its language have of survival. It was considered necessary to add the word ‘perceived’ to the concept (Bourhis & Sachdev, 1984) as the perception of the group itself of their status, demographic and support from the institutions, was considered to have a bigger influence on the group’s behaviour than an outside assessment. The factors of perceived ethnolinguistic vitality are:

- status: economic, political, sociohistorical and language status variables;

- demographic factors: numbers, birth rate, geographical concentration;
- institutional support: recognition of the group and its language in the media, education, government.

In cases of immigrant minorities many of the status factors are considered to be below those of the host culture. The host culture holds the prestige. This of course can be a matter of perception, and hence perceived ethnolinguistic vitality is considered a more accurate concept. A migrant minority can perceive its culture and history to be of great value even if in the scheme of the host culture it is of very little consequence (e.g. importance of Finnish culture to the Finnish vs. its significance for American or Australian culture). Ambivalence in status factors is also present in the relations between migrant groups. Perceived status justified in the homeland is carried to the new country and causes a reluctance to interact with other nationalities, which in the old world had a lower status (Clyne, 1982).

Of the demographic factors, the number of members of the group becomes significant when the number decreases significantly (Appel & Muysken, 1987). Clyne (1982) concludes that there is no general correspondence between numerical strength and language maintenance in Australia, with the exception of the Maltese communities in different Australian states.

The three types of vitality factors – status, demographic and institutional support – are mainly applied to language, and since language is one of the most prominent symbols of culture or ethnicity, similar factors are also expected to influence maintaining culture and ethnicity in the wider sense. Institutional support is also mostly described in terms of what can be done in the minority language. Is it taught at school, is it a language of local media, and are governmental or administrative services available in it? The state of particularly the status and demographic factors also sets the stage for ethnic behaviours and practices other than pure language use. Keeping the traditions, beliefs and values alive by organised activities or privately may be related to also these factors.

Kloss (1966) groups his factors into clearcut and ambivalent factors. In his discussion of these factors Clyne (1982) questions the position of some of them. Clearcut factors include:

- early point of migration;

- linguistic enclaves;
- membership of a denomination with parochial schools;
- pre-emigration experience with language maintenance.

According to Clyne (1982) the first two factors would have worked together in the early days of Australian migration. The relevance of schools where the ethnic language is the means of instruction is not significant. Clyne also sees the pre-emigration factor as ambivalent, but adds three other clearcut factors to the list: status and usefulness of the ethnic language, importance of ethnic language grandparents, and importance of dialect or other non-standard factors.

Kloss's ambivalent factors are:

- education level;
- numerical strength;
- linguistic and cultural similarity of host and migrant communities;
- attitude of majority to the language group;
- sociocultural characteristics: as Smolicz (1979) has argued, language is more important as a core value in some cultures than in others;
- political situation in the homeland;
- ethnic denominations.

Romaine (1995) summarises various studies in a ten-point list of significant factors in language maintenance shift and death. Factors that do not emerge in the Kloss and Clyne lists above include:

- ties with the homeland — if there is a myth or a mandate to return, it provides a reason to maintain the language;
- extent of exogamous marriages — in mixed marriages there is usually a shift to the majority language;
- attitudes of the minority; government policy towards language and education of minorities — which if interpreted as a majority attitude towards the minority is also in the previous list;
- patterns of language use — which Clyne includes in the usefulness of the ethnic language.

The similarity of the first and second languages has been considered a factor in language maintenance. If the languages are very similar, like Dutch and English, the similarity can facilitate the shift. On the other hand, there are cases such as Maltese, which is a Semitic language, with a large shift to English (Clyne, 1991). It is argued that at least in the Australian context, rather than linguistic difference or similarity, cultural distance or similarity to the Anglo-Australian culture is likely to influence language maintenance or shift (Clyne, 2003).

Age can also be considered a factor in language maintenance. Among first generation immigrants the oldest age group is the one to maintain the language the most, and the biggest shift is found in the age group between 20-29. However, age as a factor is distorted by period of residence and/or vintage and population distribution (Clyne, 1991). A person's biological age at the time of migration does not necessarily factor into the language maintenance or shift behaviour. The other socio-economic issues listed and discussed above are more important e.g. status and usefulness of the language and language seen as a core value.

The difference in men's and women's speech is the single most consistent finding in sociolinguistic studies in the past 20 years (Trudgill, 1983, p. 162). Many of the studies have problematized women's speech thus normalizing the status of men's language as unmarked and ungendered (Pavlenko & Piller, 2001, p. 21). Australian census data confirm the suggestion that among Australian immigrant groups women tend to maintain the L1 better than men (Clyne, 1982, 2003). However, male exogamy may explain some of these results. Gender variation in language shift is much smaller in the second generation, possibly because the exogamy rates do not vary so much between the genders, and gender roles approximate those of the main-stream population. Traditional gender roles are also less marked in the second generation (Clyne, 2003). In her summary of language and gender issues Ehrlich (2004) discusses women's role as "living symbols of tradition" or "guardians" of the tradition, but on the other hand as "cultural brokers" who mediate between the dominant and minority cultures, and "innovators" who reject traditions for socio-economical upward movement. J.R. Edwards (1985), for instance, claims that general linguistic evidence suggests that women are more likely to be favourably disposed towards prestigious varieties than are men. Trudgill (1983) suggests women's traditionally closer involvement in child-rearing

and the transmission of culture, as well as their need to secure and signal their social position through language, as explanations for their tendency to use prestige forms. In the immigrant context the prestige language is the dominant language; however, women are considered to maintain the ethnic language better than men. Winter and Pauwels (2000) suggest that first generation migrant women have restricted access to English, which creates a situation of language deficit or linguistic lag. This, together with the social role of bearer of cultural heritage and keeper of values, creates conditions for language maintenance. In the second generation there are no overall quantitative differences in use of English or other languages between men and women (Winter & Pauwels, 2000). However, among the second generation Dutch in Australia the women have maintained L1 better than the men, and they also hold more positive attitudes towards language maintenance (Bennett, 1992). The explanation originates from women being considered more disposed to prestigious varieties. As multiculturalism continued to be promoted in Australia in the 1980s, multilingualism gained status in some circles. English complemented by another language became preferable to English monolingualism. The women were not choosing between Dutch or English, but between English with Dutch and English with no Dutch (Bennett, 1992). The fact that it has been common for immigrant men to be more exposed to the host culture, and to use the dominant language more can have an impact on their language maintenance (Morris, 1996; Pavlenko & Piller, 2001). It certainly influences their second-language learning. Australian census data indicate that second generation immigrant females are somewhat less likely to shift to the exclusive use of English than are males in their groups (Clyne, 1982), while overseas-born immigrant women play a greater role in the preservation of the ethnic language (Clyne & Kipp, 1997).

The poststructuralist approach maintains that L2 learners are agents in charge of their own learning and decide to which extent they learn a language, do they adopt a new way of being (i.e. shift) or stop at a level of proficiency, or even resist a language that positions them unfavorable. Reasons for these decisions can be gender based (Pavlenko & Piller, 2001). It is also possible that the aim of L2 learning is not just to learn the second language well to function in the language, but to know two languages well enough to gain fluency in the mixed language variety (for instance, Spanglish) as it is closely connected to the person's identity (Goldstein, 2001). Similarly then the language

variety that is maintained or passed on to the next generation in an immigrant context may well not be a standard variety but a mixed or regional language variety.

The 1986 Australian Census data indicated that the most clearcut social variables in language maintenance and shift were relative population distribution, gender and marriage patterns. The rate of shift in the language spoken in the home domain will vary between language communities and community subgroups. There is a gradient which extends from people born in the (former Yugoslav) Republic of Macedonia (3% shift) to Netherlands-born (61.9% shift). Other birthplace groups with high language shift rates are German/Austrian (48.2/48.3% respectively), French (37.2%), Maltese (36.5%) and Hungarian (31.8%). Groups with a low shift rate are those born in: Taiwan (3.4%), the PRC (4.6%), Lebanon (5.5%), Turkey (5.8%), Greece (6.4%), Hong Kong (9%), Chile (9.8%) and Korea (11.6%). In the middle range of the continuum are those born in Italy (14.7%), Japan (15.4%), Spanish-speaking Latin America other than Chile (17.2%), Poland (19.6%) and Spain (22.4%). It has previously been suggested (Clyne 1982, 1991) that this represents a cultural-regional continuum, with language shift increasing the further north and west in Europe the speaker's country of origin was, and decreasing the further south and east it was (Clyne, 2003). The language shift in the second generation is much higher than in the first generation, but the gradient is very similar. The data does not enable differentiation between actual shift and non-acquisition, whether the second generation immigrant ever learnt their parents' L1 and then shifted to English or only ever learnt English. The lowest shift is recorded for those born in Australia with at least one parent born in the (former Yugoslav) Republic of Macedonia (14.8%), Turkey (16.1%), Korea (18%), and the Lebanon (20.1%). The highest shift was among the second generation of Dutch (95%), German/Austrian (89.7%), Maltese (82.1%), Hungarian (82.1%), French (77.7%) and Polish (75.5%) backgrounds.

Over time the rate of language shift of a group increases. This is because shift is a product of period of residence and the number of people, who are over the age when they leave the parental home and shift to English as their home language, increases. Time also coincides with vintage. When ethnic groups have had specific migration waves, commitment to language maintenance is different between these vintage groups. Time also indicates the kind of Australia the immigrant came into – assimilationist or multicultural – so that their language use or shift reacts to the dominant community

attitudes and government policies on languages other than English. While language shift increases over time, the attitude over time is not constant across communities. To a large extent, the same regional-cultural continuum (see above) applies to those who have been in Australia for between five and fifteen years, indicating speedy shift for north-eastern European groups, slow shift for southern European, South American and Middle Eastern groups, and very slow shift for people from the PRC and Macedonia (Clyne, 2003).

Another term related to language shift and loss is language attrition. Four types of non-pathological language attrition have been distinguished:

- Loss of L1 in an L1 environment, e.g. first language loss by aging people
- Loss of L1 in an L2 environment, e.g. loss of native languages by immigrants
- Loss of L2 in an L1 environment, e.g. foreign language loss
- Loss of L2 in an L2 environment, e.g. second language loss by aging immigrants (Van Els, 1986).

Attrition has been described for examples as erosion, disintegration and deterioration of language skills. Studies on language use in language contact environments or in enclaves have found languages being dismantled and reordered in ways that are not explained by interference from a contact language (Maher, 1991). L1 attrition involves a more or less permanent restructuring, convergence, or loss of previously available phonological and morphosyntactic rules, lexical items, concepts, classification schemas, categorical distinctions, and conversational and narrative conventions, exhibited not only in the L2 but also in a monolingual L1 context, and not only in production but also in perception and comprehension (Pavlenko, 2002, p. 54).

A language is considered dead when the last of its speakers dies. Talking about language death with regard to Finnish in Australia would be incorrect since Finnish continues to be spoken in Finland, and in fact in many other immigrant communities outside Finland. However, if the Finnish that is spoken in Australia is considered to be a distinct language variety, its future could be considered within the framework of language death. A language is potentially endangered if the children start preferring the dominant language and learn the obsolescing language imperfectly. It is endangered if there are no or very few child speakers. It is seriously endangered if the youngest speakers are middle-aged or past middle-age. It is terminally endangered or moribund if

there are only a few elderly speakers left. In most cases dying languages deal with a gradual death, the loss of language due to gradual shift to the dominant language. There is an intermediate stage of bilingualism in which the dominant language comes to be employed by an ever increasing number of individuals in a growing number of contexts (Campbell & Muntzel, 1989). However, an expatriate language variety such as Australian Finnish is special in the sense that it can remain endangered as long as new migration brings more speakers even if they are adult speakers.

2.4. Attitudes, culture, identity and language contact with reference to Finns in Australia, North America and Sweden

2.4.1. Finns in Australia

Ethnolinguistic environment

In Australia institutional support has developed along the phases of immigrant policies (cf. Section 2.1.3.). Before the introduction of multicultural policies during the mid 1970s, immigrant groups from non-English-speaking backgrounds had encountered the culturally and linguistically monistic climate which had prevailed since the time of Australian Federation in 1901 (Lewins, 2001). The hostility to “foreign” languages had become particularly pronounced during WWI, when German came to be viewed with suspicion and its use regarded as an act of disloyalty, or at least, un-Australian (Selleck, 1980).

Into this culturally monistic climate came the waves of European immigrants from non-English speaking backgrounds who arrived following WWII. They were met with the expectation that before long they would become almost completely assimilated (Lewins, 2001). Although Australia prided itself on being a democracy, the policy adopted in relation to linguistic rights can only be described as minimalist. The use of minority languages was accepted only in domestic situations and in the restricted area of ethnic clubs and part-time, after-hours ethnic community-organized “ethnic schools”. Such schools received no state support, while students were discouraged from studying there by their regular school teachers (Smolicz, Yiv, & Secombe, 2003). Those who dared to speak languages other than English in public often received reprimands for not behaving in an “Australian” way (Clyne, 1991). The approach was based on the assumption that a

language restricted in usage to the home would become extinct in subsequent generations, without disturbing the monolingual texture of society as a whole (Smolicz et al., 2003).

The National Policy on Languages (Lo Bianco, 1987) presented a rationale and implementational strategies for maintaining and/or developing bilingualism in all Australians, based on a balance of social equity, cultural enrichment and economic strategies, drawing on local and international research. In accordance with more general government policies, the balance has since shifted towards the economic benefits of multilingualism and an emphasis on English literacy for labour market needs (Crozet, Liddicoat, & Lo Bianco, 1999; Garnaut, 1989).

According to Clyne (2003), in international terms the nation's commitment to multiculturalism and multilingualism is still relatively strong. It is government policies and budgets which marginalize all social and cultural aspects of the nation, such as schools, universities, hospitals, social welfare, development aid, public broadcasting and the arts, and emphasize user pays, asset sales and profit making, that will automatically treat community languages less favourably than those of a previous era (p. 19).

Smolicz (1985) concentrates on the Greeks in Australia, but his observations are valid for many other groups as well. According to him, Greeks are called 'migrants' to distinguish them not so much from 'older settlers', as from people of British origin, some of whom are more recent arrivals than the Greeks. He criticises the term 'third generation immigrant' as absurd since people born in Australia are not migrants of any kind but Australians who, by retaining aspects of Greek culture and identity, are Greek-Australians (Smolicz, 1985). Gilhotra (1985) asks a similar question: when does a migrant cease to be a migrant?

Finns in Australia have not been submitted to a matched guise test to investigate their attitudes towards accents or dialects of their languages. Interview material has provided insights into Australian Finns' views of their language and other experience in Australia. Hentula (1990) reports how Australian Finns are aware of their spoken Finnish being different from the Finnish spoken in Finland. Their sociolects are very varied. Speakers have referred to these varieties in pejorative terms, calling them

‘mixed’ codes. The name *Fingliska* ‘Finglish’ has sometimes gained a pejorative meaning. Migrants have found when they return to Finland that communicating in Finnish is harder than before, and Finland Finns make amused comments about this variety (Hentula, 1990). American Finns, whose language shares many characteristics with Australian Finnish, have encountered the same commentary about their language. People in Finland often find American Finnish funny (Martin, 1994), and American Finns themselves are sometimes embarrassed by the way they talk because it is not “pure”. Other Finnish varieties spoken outside Finland have also been found humorous among Finland Finns and Finns abroad. For instance Finnish influenced by Estonian has been viewed as humorous (Kataja & Klaas, 2003).

Research on Australian Finns and their language has covered issues in integration, culture contact and ethnicity. Studies have concluded that there has been lack of integration (Koivukangas, 1975; Mattila, 1990). The lack of language skills in particular has been connected to few contacts with the host culture and host population. Koivukangas (1975) conducted a questionnaire survey in the early 1970s resulting in data on 703 Australian Finns. The summary of the results on integration of Australian Finns claims that Finns have integrated well into Australian society and have achieved a fair, even good, economic situation fairly quickly. Social and cultural integration has been considerably slower, for which poor English skills were considered to be the most important factor (Koivukangas, 1975).

Mattila (1990) conducted a study on Finnish integration challenges among 236 first generation Australian Finns in the 1980s. The data was collected in structured interviews. Acculturation of Finns in Australia was measured by two factors: English language skills and adopting local customs. Over 80% of the sample had at least moderate skills in reading or speaking English. Over half of the sample reported having adopted Australian free-time activities, and one in four liked the Australian way of life. Mattila concluded that Finns do not stand out from the host population because of their customs, but the active use of the exotic-sounding Finnish language may distinguish them from the majority.

On individual assimilation Mattila’s (1990) conclusion is that the majority had reached a certain equilibrium in the new environment. There were no signs of alcohol abuse, or

abnormal numbers of cases of mental or other illness. The main reasons for anxiety were illness and loneliness. Contentment with work and accommodation was high. Finns were not keen on taking part in mainstream institutional activities. They had remained a separate ethnic group with their strong sense of national identity and their language. In the current study of language and culture maintenance these results of low integration are conversely interpreted as an indication of good culture and identity maintenance.

In Watson's (1996) data sixty-seven informants, who migrated to Australia at age eighteen or older, often identified more closely with Australia than Finland, although they recognised their Finnish heritage. Mattila's study comments on the resilience of Finnishness or Finnish identity, as 77% of the first generation Australian Finnish subjects indicated feeling completely or more Finnish than Australian (Mattila, 1990). Interestingly the parents in this study evaluated their children, the second generation, as identifying as Australians (84%), while in the Watson study many of the second generation themselves indicated a closer intimacy with Finland even if they had never been there.

Australian Finnish

According to Clyne (1991, p. 66-67) 75.1% of first generation Finns maintain their first language, about 60% of the second generation, but for further generations the percentage maintaining the first language is as low as 13.3%. Such high language maintenance figures clearly distinguish Finns from the pattern predicting a speedy shift for northern Europeans. Researchers have concluded that Finnish in Australia is a dying language. Owing to status factors, demographic factors, the lack of institutional support and the cultural dissimilarity of the Finnish language, it is a language that is failing to be maintained (Watson, 1996). Kovács (2001a; 2004) concludes that among Australian Finns language shift is already complete before the third generation. At the community level the multiculturalism and language policies of the 1970s brought a positive change. However, particularly in the area of L1 teaching, language policy does not offer much support to smaller language groups. At an individual level patterns of Finnish use indicate a strong tendency to language shift (Kovács, 2004). The home domain has been considered particularly important for language maintenance (Clyne, 1991). For Australian Finnish, shift is present also in the family domain as not only children but

also parents use English (Kovács, 2004). English use at home is a common tendency among Australian ethnic communities (Smolicz & Harris, 1977). Kovács (2004) believes that financial support from the government, and positive changes in minority policies, can have a positive effect also on home language use. In Germany, for instance, before the 1980s only one third of Finnish mothers spoke Finnish to their children. In the 1980s the figure was over 50%, and in the 1990s it was 85% (Karhunen, 2002). The motivated community cannot maintain a language on its own; for it to be successful there needs to be a positive political climate, committed to the preservation of ethnic identity and cultural rights, prepared to put some money where its principles are (Crystal, 2000, p.102).

The first research project on Australian Finnish, which concentrated on the characteristics of its lexis, was already able to predict that unless there are drastic changes in the support for Finnish teaching and new migration waves, the Australian variety of Finnish will die (Hentula, 1990). At the time of that first data collection Australian Finnish was still vital, and first generation speakers' Finnish still well maintained. The second generation's speech showed signs of deterioration, and the third generation could only understand isolated words.

Because the second and further generations have had less access to Finland Finnish, their Australian Finnish displays forms which differ most from usage in spoken Finland Finnish. These can include variation in gradation (how /p/, /t/, /k/ are changed when an inflectional suffix is added to the basic form of a word), and in the syntax variation in government, object inflection, and predicative inflection (Gita, 2001; Hirviniemi, 2000; Kovács, 1998, 2001a). Both Gita and Hirviniemi emphasize that some of the observed variation in second and further generation Australian Finnish, which from a contemporary Finnish perspective appears foreign, may well derive from a Finnish regional dialect. Hirviniemi's (2000) study showed how the speech of a third generation speaker had, in fact, best preserved a regional dialect, the Kaustinen dialect of Central Ostrobothnia.

The analysis of Australian Finnish code-switching by Kovács (2001a) shows that there are clear generation differences between the first and second generation. The first generation speakers switch less and use a more 'borrowing type' of switching in which

the switch is fully integrated into the matrix language. The second generation speakers' code-switching diverges from the matrix language in terms of case marking to a greater extent than the first generation speakers' use. On the basis of case marking, second generation speakers seem to shift in the direction of the embedded language (English) in code-switching: a 'composite language' may arise from the frequent intra-sentential switches. Variation in forms even in the same informant's speech shows that there are not yet completely grammaticalised forms of code-switching at the group level. In addition to the shifting tendency at the micro level (individual level), an ongoing shift occurs also at the macro level (ethnic group level) in the Australian Finnish community (Kovács, 2001a).

2.4.2. Finns in North America and Sweden

There are many similar aspects between multilingual situations in different countries around the world (see for instance Clyne 1991 for an overview). In this discussion of the Finnish experience in Australia some references are made to the experience of Finns in North America and Sweden. These groups are chosen for two reasons. In all three cases the language contact is with a Germanic language. During the main period of Finnish migration to Australia (1950-1970) Sweden and North America were the other main destinations, although migrating to North America and Sweden has a longer history and involved larger numbers of migrants than migration to Australia. The migrants in this period were mostly of the baby boom generation, and their generation went through the transition of urbanization, whether staying in Finland or moving abroad, and they spoke vernacular and regional dialects (Lindgren, 2003).

Finns or Finnish do not have a special status in North America or Australia. The United States, Canada and Australia are all immigrant countries of long standing but in different ways. Canada, which has gone through major multicultural development and population change, is actually the origin of the term multiculturalism (Clyne, 1991). The special position of French has influenced the position of other heritage language and cultures. In the United States Spanish has emerged as the majority within minorities, and the overseas-born population of *immigré* communities has always been much smaller than in Australia (Clyne, 1991). American national identity does not require multiculturalism or multilingualism for its support in the way that Australian national

identity does. In the United States bilingual education has often been perceived as a transitional anti-poverty measure (Clyne, 1991). Although the numbers of Finns who migrated to North America are large from the Finnish point of view, in North America their numbers were not particularly significant. The special demographic would have been the concentration into 'FinnTowns' and Finnish farm country enclaves and the general population concentration in the Great Lakes area (Jönsson-Korhola, 2003b; Saarinen, 1999).

Finnish in North America

Finns who migrated to North America also faced contact with English as the host language. Finnish migration to America had a much earlier start than migration to Australia, the most important years being 1880-1930, during which period about 350,000 Finns migrated to North America. It is this early group who have mainly created what we know as American Finnish (Martin, 1994). In the 19th century, when most of the immigrant groups in America were still first generation migrants, many mother tongues were spoken while people were learning English. The more coherent the ethnic communities were, the less need there was for English. Indians in the Mid-West had a saying "The only language the stumps of northern Wisconsin understand is Finnish" (Niemi, 1999, p. 167, cited in Jönsson-Korhola 2003b). Since the children went to school in English, they became bilingual. Outside very dense Finnish areas, the third generation was already English monolingual. In the 'Finn Towns' and in the 'Finn country' (Finnish farming community) in Minnesota and Michigan it was still possible in the early 20th century to manage solely in Finnish. Towards the end of the 20th century concern for maintaining the Finnish language in addition to the culture contributed to the organising of language courses and camps (Jönsson-Korhola, 2003b).

Nowadays Finnish can still be heard in daily use in the vital Finnish communities in Florida and in Canada's Thunder Bay. The Finnish Apostolic-Lutheran Church of America is an example of a group who maintain Finnish very well. This and other groups within the same religious movement have not accepted language change and Finnish remains the *lingua sacra* also outside Finland (Andersson & Kangassalo, 2003, p. 109; Jönsson-Korhola, 2003b, p. 440). Finnish Halls, which used to be important centres of community activity, have either disappeared or are used for a different purpose. Finnish associations have either ceased to be or have switched to English. This

is a natural development considering that the children and grandchildren of the large Finnish immigrant group have become bilingual and then English monolinguals. However, pride in Finnish roots and heritage is still strong. The last couple of decades have seen Finnish activities start again, and American Finnish and Finnish culture are being revived. There is also more Finnish language instruction. Since Finnish has not had an official status in North America the instruction has been offered by the community itself. Concordia College in Minnesota has been organising Finnish language camps since 1978. Maintaining the Finnish language has been an important element in maintaining Finnish identity in North America. There are, however, also other ways of expressing membership of a group. In North America being Finnish and American Finnish is very much alive (Jönsson-Korhola, 2003b).

American Finnish is not a consistent language variety, but it varies according to speaker, area and situation. Written and spoken American Finnish can also differ. American Finnish is mostly a spoken language. American Finnish is typically based on the Finnish dialect of the speaker, the speaker's parents or grandparents. Features of other Finnish dialects and English are integrated into it. Differences from Finland Finnish have been recorded in the lexicon, phonology and morphology as well as in syntax. For first generation speakers the prominent language contact phenomena are almost entirely lexical. In the later generations' speech English influence is greater, expanding from the lexical and phonological to variation in syntax (Jönsson-Korhola, 2003b).

Finnish in Sweden

There are three main groups of Finns in Sweden. Metsäsuomalaiset, also called Värmland Finns, settled in the central parts of Scandinavia during a hundred year period starting in the 1570s. They moved during the time when Finland was still a part of Sweden, and stayed within the same state. Some of the second generation of these people continued on to Norway. The language variety of Värmland Finns is no longer spoken. Finnish settlement in the Tornedalen valley in the north of Finland and Sweden dates back to the 11th century. Until 1809 the Torne Valley had been the Finnish-speaking periphery of the Swedish-Finnish kingdom that had existed for seven hundred years. In 1809 the state border between Sweden and Russia was drawn along the Torne and Muonio rivers, making the Finnish-speaking population on the Swedish side, the

Tornedalians, a border minority. The largest group of Finns in Sweden is those who migrated from Finland to Sweden. The large migration waves to Sweden left in the mid 1960s and in 1969 and 1970. Due to urbanization and modernisation a move in Finland from the countryside to the cities was inevitable, and many chose to move to a city outside Finland. Moving to Sweden was relatively easy: it was geographically close and Nordic agreements allowed mobility across borders, work permits and social security were already in place (Korkiasaari, 2000, p. 146). There is also great cultural similarity between Finland and Sweden which allows relative ease of contact with Swedes (Boyd, 1993).

In 2000 the number of first generation and second generation Finns in Sweden was 446,000. It is estimated that 200,000-300,000 people in Sweden speak Finnish as their mother tongue (Andersson & Kangassalo, 2003). Finns are the largest ethnic group in Sweden. This demographic has also enhanced the socio-historical status of the Finns in Sweden. Since 2000 Finnish, Meänkieli (i.e. earlier Tornedal Finnish), together with Sámi, Romani Chid and Yiddish have had the status of a national minority language, and the groups were declared historical and regional minorities (Andersson & Kangassalo, 2003; Winsa, 1998). The attitude and institutional support toward minorities and immigrants has gone through phases from the assimilation of the 1970s to integration and pluralistic thinking, only to return to assimilation in the 1990s (Andersson & Kangassalo, 2003). These days Finns are not considered immigrants in the same sense as those coming from outside the Nordic countries. Although the Finns' right to their own language and culture is acknowledged, tolerance towards the use of Finnish in the presence of Swedes is still low (Andersson & Kangassalo, 2003).

The Finnish variety of contemporary Sweden-resident Finns has been called a mixed language by Finland Finns and Sweden Finns alike. It has been described as being in a low register, dialectal, and representative of the lower social classes (Lindgren, 2003). The community's own attitudes towards Finnish have changed too. In the 1960s Sweden Finns held an indifferent or negative attitude towards learning Finnish. In the 1970s the attitudes were more positive. This coincided with the stronger position Finnish had in the school system at the time. Since the 1980s young Sweden Finns have started to value Finnish skills for their intellectual value, and nowadays Finnish can also be of merit professionally (Lainio, 1996). The status of Finnish may also have increased

when Finland joined the European Union in 1995, and Finnish became one of the EU's official languages.

Spoken Sweden Finnish is characterised by features of Finnish regional dialects as well as Finnish and Swedish. However, the dialects have become less distinguishable as the Helsinki spoken Finnish variety has gained prestige. In this sense spoken Sweden Finnish shares the same tendency with spoken Finland Finnish (Lainio, 1996). Just as in American and Australian Finnish, in Sweden Finnish the most prominent feature is also the lexis. There are old loan words from Swedish, which occur also in spoken Finland Finnish e.g. *hantuuki* 'handkerchief', *systeri* 'sister', recent loanwords e.g. *daagis* 'day care', *patteri* 'battery', which can be established and widely used or more colloquial (Lainio, 1995). Calques are also very common and some are recommended by the Sweden Finnish Language Council e.g. *akuuttivastaanotto* < *akutmottagning* (swe.) 'emergency ward'. Swedish influence is also phonological and syntactic, particularly in the speech of the second and third generations (Andersson & Kangassalo, 2003). Aspects of Sweden Finnish have been studied extensively. A thorough summary of this research is not within the scope of this research project.

2.5. Summary

“Attitudes are described as the most important concept in social psychology” (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002, p.141). To measure something that is in people's minds is not an easy task. However, several methods have been developed and used to measure attitudes. This study adopts the mentalist tradition of simply asking informants what their attitudes are. While attitudes are hard to isolate, they can also be seen to underlie all behaviour. Attitudes are connected to behaviour, although unanimous agreement on this connection has not been reached. This study will contribute to the study of the attitude-behaviour connection in this particular immigré context.

Research and literature indicate that culture, identity and language are entwined. Although they are different issues, isolating one from the others is artificial. The connections between the three are complex and varied, for instance “culture defines identity”, “language is central to culture” (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002, p. 463), “identity serves as a bridge between culture and communication” (Martin & Nakayama, 2004, p.

148). This study looks at the three issues in the Finnish Australian immigré context. What is the importance of Finnish or Australian culture? How important is ethnic identity? What is happening to the ethnic language in this culture and language contact environment? We expect culture maintenance to be connected with feelings of ethnicity, language choice and language maintenance. This connection is investigated mainly through the attitudes of the informants. What are their attitudes towards their culture, identity and language?

Research on Finnish migration is extensive. This literature review chose Finns in North America and Sweden as reference points due to similarities in the period of migration and in the language contact. Research on Finnish and Finns outside Finland covers issues from the socio-historical to the linguistic. Attitudes have not been a main focus. In recent years research interest in Australian Finnish has increased, and features of the language variety, which is rapidly losing speakers, have been recorded and analysed. So far the socio-historical and linguistic studies of Finnish migrant experience in Australia have focused on one or the other. This study investigates all three; culture, language and identity from the perspective of the subjects' attitudes.

3. Methodology and data sources

This study investigates the attitudes of first generation Australian Finns attitudes towards language and culture issues, language contact phenomena in their speech, and the correlation between the different data. Rather than relying on informant reports on the language they speak, the researcher preferred to collect authentic language data for analysis. Using existing language corpora was not possible, because so far research on Australian Finnish has not been very extensive, and none of the collected data has concentrated on the first generation alone. In addition to language, the researcher wanted to record the first generation migrants' stories of their experience in Australia. Collecting and analysing this kind of data is time-consuming, but gives more in-depth information of each case. A questionnaire on language use, language skill, attitudes and background information was used to provide more substance and structure to the description and analysis of the immigrant experience. The questionnaire and language collection method were tested in a pilot study, and developed further before final data collection. In addition to the conversation and questionnaire data, the researcher's observations as a member of the Finnish community in South-East Queensland have been incorporated into the analysis and discussion. Naturalistic language data is available in the recorded conversations. Data on attitudes, language use and skill are available from two kinds of data: the conversations and the questionnaire. Triangulation was not methodically done for all aspects of the data. As Silverman has said, "one should not think that collecting more and different data will automatically give a more complete picture" (2000, p. 99). It is acceptable to stop data collection when the new data no longer presents significantly new information (the law of diminishing returns). In this case when answer patterns and similarities in informant experiences and language behaviour were apparent we stopped collecting more data.

3.1. Informants

The criteria in the selection of the informants were that they needed to have lived in Australia for a minimum of twenty years, but also have been born in Finland. The informants (N=31) were located through the Brisbane Finnish community. Some were contacted during the Finnish Lutheran Church meetings, some through mutual friends in

the community, and some contacted the researcher after the project had been presented on the local ethnic radio program 4EB FM 100.3 in July 1999.

Most of the informants had in fact lived in Australia for much longer than the required twenty years (Figure 3.2). The majority had arrived in the late 1950s or 1960s, when the Australian Government schemes to encourage migration to Australia, the General Assisted Passages Scheme (GAPS) and Special Passage Assistance Program (SPAP), were also offered to Scandinavians. Exceptions are three men, two of whom arrived in 1938 and in 1946, before assisted passages were available, and one who arrived in 1963 between the peak migration periods. Eighteen informants are women and thirteen men. Twenty-two informants were interviewed together with their spouses (i.e. eleven married couples), and nine were single, widowed, divorced or not accompanied by the spouse.

3.1.1. Time of arrival

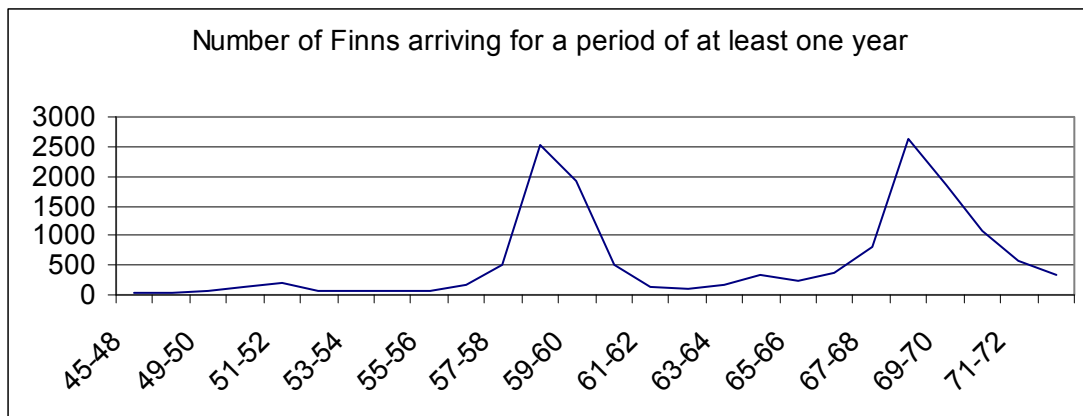
The data was collected in 1999, so to fulfil the criteria the informants would have to have migrated before 1979. The peak years of Finnish migration to Australia were already over by that time, as the assisted passage scheme was wound back and recruiting became less active from the early 1970s onwards.

The arrival times of the informants span more than three decades. The earliest time of arrival was 1938. This person arrived with his mother and brothers to join their father, who had left Finland six years earlier. The next informant to arrive had worked on a commercial sailing ship for a year and reached Australia in 1946. Finnish migration to Australia in those early days was not very common, and it is very fortunate to have informants also from that period. The Australia that they encountered was very different to the one experienced by the groups recruited in the 1950s and 1960s, let alone the one the researcher experienced in the 1990s.

Thirteen informants arrived at the peak of the first Finnish migration wave around the year 1958 (peak 1957-1959). Four informants arrived in 1960, and two informants arrived in 1961. They came via Sweden and arrived in Australia when the numbers of Finns arriving was already decreasing. One of the informants arrived in 1963, when the

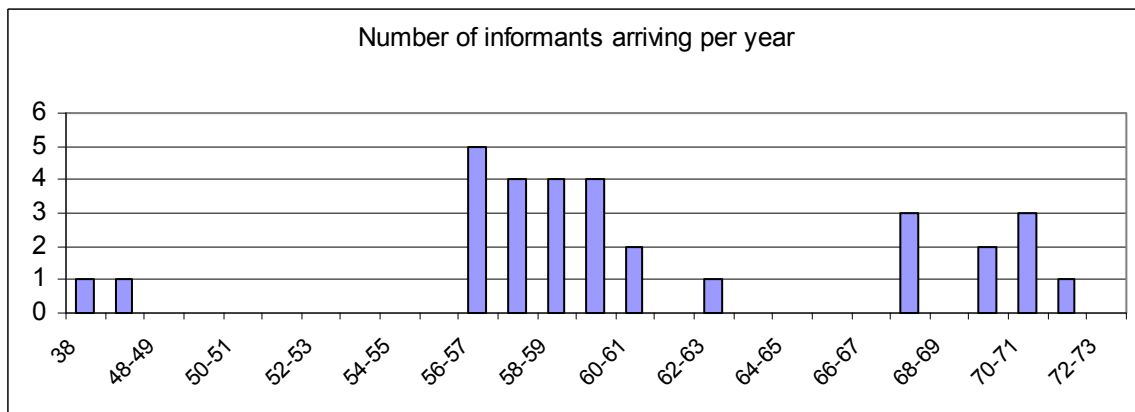
Finnish migration numbers to Australia were at their lowest between the migration waves. He came to join his family who had migrated some years earlier. Three informants arrived in 1968, which was the peak year of the so called second wave of Finnish migration to Australia. Two informants arrived in 1970, three in 1971, and one in 1972. The year 1972 is often marked as the last year Finns still received the residency visas and assisted passages. After that the policy changed, assisted passage decreased, and the influx of Finns decreased:

Figure 3.1 Number of Finns arriving in Australia for a period of at least one year.



(Source: Korkiasaari, 2003b)

Figure 3.2 Number of informants arriving per year.



It has not been uncommon for Finns in Australia to return to live in Finland. Some went back as soon as the compulsory two-year stay required for assisted passages was over. A little over one third of those who migrated to Australia between 1948 and 1968 returned to Finland (Koivukangas, 1975). Many also went back only to realize they

wanted to return to Australia. The present sample includes four people who returned to Finland for other than holiday purposes. One couple intended to stay a year in Finland but, come winter, decided to make a quick return to Australia. One male informant who had arrived in Australia alone returned to Finland with a Finnish wife and a child. Soon they moved to Sweden and after a couple of years there returned to Australia. One female informant also tells how she and her family returned to Finland for almost a year and she gave birth to her youngest child there. Hence the whole family had Finnish citizenship:

(1)

Kyllä me myytiin mejjän talo ja mikä se tuliki sillon kuule se täytyy päästä Suomeen [...] ehkä se oli koti-ikävä tai jollakin tavalla ku oli se vauva syntymässä en mä tiiä ku me oltiin suomalaisia edelleenkin kyllä ollaan paitsi poika on vaihtanu kansalaisuutta mut ehm [...] tuntu että tulee suomalainen siitä nuorimmaisestaku sitte ja niin vaan mentii [...]
(T10I18F)

‘Yes we sold our house and I don’t know what came over us then and we had to go to Finland [...] maybe we were homesick or somehow and the baby was about to be born I don’t know we were Finnish and still are except for our son who has changed citizenship but [...] it felt that this way the youngest will be Finnish too and so we went [...]

One of the reasons for this family’s return to Australia was that the older children found adjusting to the Finnish school system too challenging.

The present sample includes four informants who migrated to Australia via another country. As mentioned above, when leaving Finland for the second time, one informant went to Sweden and from there continued on to return to Australia. A couple who already had their visas for Australia decided to try Sweden first because they had relatives there. Soon they took up their original plan of migrating to Australia. The Brisbane Finnish community includes several families who migrated first to Sweden and then continued on to Australia in the 1970s. One female informant left Finland as a young adult to work as a maid in Scotland and later in London. She then went to work in New Zealand and eventually arrived in Australia in 1959.

Although most of the informants in this sample came to Australia on an assisted passage or were recruited from Finland during the most active years of Finnish migration to Australia, the sample also includes informants with different paths and arrival times. This distribution, as also presented in Figures 3.1 and 3.2, makes the sample well balanced with reference to the time of arrival of the Finnish population in Australia.

3.1.2. Age on arrival and at the time of data collection

The informants' age on arrival varies from nine to forty-two. Half of them, however, were between twenty-one and thirty-one years of age (sixteen informants) when they arrived in Australia. Six informants were younger than twenty-one on arrival and nine informants were over thirty-one on arrival.

In relation to language maintenance, the first generation can be characterised as follows: they have had the opportunity to develop a peer register in the language as children, they are literate in the first language, they usually have stronger ties to the homeland and usually have less knowledge of the language of the host country (Kipp, Clyne, & Pauwels, 1995, p. 117). Peer register means that they would have spoken Finnish within a register available to children. In this sample even the informant who arrived as a nine-year-old is classed as first generation. He fits the above description in every other way except that he also sounds like a native speaker of Australian English.

The informants' age at the time of data collection varies from forty to eighty-two. Two informants were over eighty at the time of data collection, seven informants were between seventy and eighty, thirteen were between sixty and seventy, eight were between fifty and sixty, and one informant was forty.

3.1.3. Family in Australia

Seven informants arrived in Australia alone. Five of them were men; the two women who travelled alone did so to join their future husbands in Australia. The majority, nineteen informants, migrated with their spouse and children. Four informants arrived with their parents and siblings and one arrived with her brother.

Eight informants had siblings living in Australia at the time of the interview. Four of these informants arrived with their parents and siblings, and all the families have stayed in Australia. One man who arrived alone did so to join his parents and siblings, who had arrived earlier. One of his brothers has since returned to Finland and the other members of the family remained in Australia. One of the women arrived with her brother to join another brother who was already in Australia. One more brother and a sister followed later. At the time of the interview the informant and her sister were the only two still in Australia. The brothers had continued on to Canada years earlier. One of the men who arrived alone wrote to his sister about conditions in Australia and she migrated with her husband and children soon after. Another man who arrived alone had a brother in Australia. While the informant returned to Finland, another brother of his migrated to Australia. For a period of time he had two brothers in Australia. The one who arrived first has now left Australia and lives in Sweden.

Clearly there are no great signs of chain migration. Only three of the thirty-one informants were followed by members of immediate family and one by a niece.

3.1.4. Education

Of the thirty-one informants, sixteen had completed primary school and not continued (nine women, seven men). Six had vocational training (three women, three men), two had studied at high school and not continued, and seven reported having further studies (four women, three men).

3.1.5. Occupation in Finland and occupation in Australia

Twenty-five of the informants were retired at the time of the data collection. Of the eighteen women in the sample, four had been housewives in Finland. They remained at home also in Australia. Two other women who worked outside the home in Finland did not do so in Australia. Twelve female informants had worked outside the home in Australia at some stage. With reference to their occupations before and after the migration the changes may be loosely grouped in three categories:

- those who stayed in the same industry, e.g. dressmaking, factory work;

- those who stayed in similar jobs, e.g. cleaning, bar work, factory work and childcare;
- those who changed careers more drastically: two nurses became farmers, and a factory worker became a registered nurse.

It is commonly accepted in the Finnish community that Finnish men became carpenters on the trip over if they were not carpenters already in Finland. Many had acquired the skills through practice and in Australia construction work paid well, work was relatively independent, and did not require fluent English. Interestingly, in this sample only three of the thirteen men worked as carpenters in the construction business. Four men worked for Mt Isa Mines but only two in mining, while the others had other jobs with the mine (carpenter and electrician). It seems that only one man continued the same work in Australia that he had done in Finland. He was a carpenter and joiner. Most men had blue collar jobs in Finland and they continued in similar jobs in Australia. Only two had white collar jobs in Australia. One of them had studied in Australia, as he arrived at the age of seventeen, while the other had to go via other jobs to get back into his original area of expertise.

Koivukangas (1975, p.42) notes that only a small proportion of Australian Finns (1945-1970 arrivals) belonged to higher professional or socio-economic classes. According to the same study, Finns have been content with the ease of finding employment and the wages they have earned. Migrants of this period did not have to struggle with the recognition of their qualifications. The challenges lay in adjusting socially and culturally, and in learning the language rather than in finding employment and recognition professionally.

3.1.6. Last place of residence in Finland

This information was extracted from the questionnaires and the recordings. In some cases it is not entirely clear whether the last place of residence was in fact their place of origin or the last place of residence for an unspecified period before leaving the country. With these recorded place names, however, southern Finland would have been the place of last residence in Finland for most of the informants. Sixteen informants list a last place of residence that is south of Tampere. As Koivukangas says, Finnish migration to

Australia has been predominantly migration from Southern Finland (1975 p.48). This sample is no different.

3.1.7. Citizenship

Six informants (three women, three men) had kept their Finnish citizenship. Until 2003 Finns lost their Finnish citizenship if they took the citizenship of any other country. Dual citizenship was only introduced into Finnish legislation in the new Citizenship Law of 1 June 2003. Unfortunately the data on whether the Finnish citizens of this data have since taken Australian citizenship or those with Australian citizenship applied to reinstate their Finnish citizenship is not available. In the community on the whole, applying for Finnish citizenship has not been very popular due to the cost, which is considered in the community to be unreasonably high.

3.2. Data

The data set consists of thirty-one completed questionnaires and twenty-seven hours of recorded conversations.

3.2.1. Questionnaire

The informants completed questionnaires in Finnish (Appendix 4). The questionnaire had three parts:

- language use and skill
- attitudes
- background information.

The language use section of the questionnaire aims to answer Fishman's question "Who speaks what language to whom, when and to what end" (Fishman, 1965, p. 67). Domains of use were investigated covering family, ethnic contacts, work, and transaction domains, the last two to a lesser extent, since most of the informants were retired at the time of the data collection.

There are fifty-five questions on language use. There is a question about English studies before coming to Australia. Some informants, however, also included courses they had

taken in Australia. Language choice is examined by asking the informants what language they speak to a selected list of interlocutors (e.g. spouse, children, grandchildren, relatives and friends) and what language they use to perform selected tasks (e.g. writing a letter or shopping list, listening to the radio and watching videos). These are answered on a five-point Likert scale from “always Finnish” to “always English”. Retired informants, i.e. the majority, did not always answer questions about language use with someone or in a situation from their working life. For instance, the question on language spoken with colleagues only received fourteen answers and language spoken to the boss was only reported by fifteen informants. Being retired at the time of the data collection, many answered the questions based on their current situation.

Finnish skills and English skills were ascertained through informants’ self-evaluations. A language proficiency test was deliberately not carried out for either first or second language. This kind of study does not require a formal test of Finnish language skills. The prospect of an English language test would have been a deterrent, and would have made it extremely difficult to find informants, let alone to have a friendly conversation and record their speech. The concept of a proficiency level test is difficult to understand and accept for anyone who is used to thinking that the ideal and expected outcome of a test is 100% correct answers. Many informants would have refused to be tested, and would have claimed to know no English, while in reality they have some skills and manage in at least basic situations. This is a study of attitudes and their relation to language and culture. The reported language levels provide access to what the informants think about their two languages. In Finnish culture self-enhancement is traditionally considered unacceptable, and a level of modesty is expected. Based on this assumption the evaluations can be considered reliable, and if not absolutely accurate, the perception is likely to be slightly below the real proficiency. The recorded language of the conversations, and the informants’ comments on their language skills and use, provide additional data to support the evaluations.

The attitude part of the questionnaire aims to elicit the informants’ attitudes towards Finnish language maintenance and also includes questions on bilingualism and identity maintenance. This section follows the popular tradition of creating an attitude scale of statements that the informants may agree or disagree with on a five point scale (Baker,

1992; Ting, 2001). The questionnaire has twenty such statements, which were presented in a random order. There are four statements relating to the importance of Finnish language and Finnish dialect to the informant. Three of these were warm up questions at the top of the list starting with “Finnish language is important to me”. The same statement is made about English. There were five statements about bilingualism issues, for instance “Bilingualism has its drawbacks”. Two of these questions are also about language maintenance, as they ask whether the informants think that maintaining the first language (and hence becoming bilingual) will hinder succeeding in Australia or learning English. There are five other questions about language maintenance, for instance “Maintaining Finnish is important to me” and “I want my children to speak Finnish”. Two questions deal with attitudes to language skill and learning, i.e. whether active or passive skills are seen as important and how balanced the language skills of the informants are. One question asks directly whether the informants accept code-switching “It is alright to mix English with Finnish”, another whether they think maintaining ethnic identity is important “Maintaining ethnic identity is indifferent to me”.

The informants were asked to rank four reasons for language maintenance:

- to maintain one’s identity;
- to participate in Finnish culture;
- to communicate with friends and relatives;
- to stay in touch with Finland.

They were asked to nominate ways to maintain Finnish in Australia that they thought would be efficient from a given list of nine: Finnish schools, trips to Finland, books and newspapers, radio, TV, videos, Finnish clubs and sports teams, Finnish is spoken at home, and grandparents are part of the family. They could also extend the list with their own suggestions.

As discussed in the literature review in Chapter 2, attitudes as a sociological category are measured in various ways. The mentalist conception of attitudes entails that attitude is a state of readiness, an intervening variable between a stimulus affecting a person and that person’s response (Agheysi & Fishman, 1970). Fasold, on the other hand, states that “attitude is a mental state so we must depend on the person’s report of what their attitudes are, or infer them indirectly from behaviour patterns” (1984, p. 147). Using a

questionnaire to elicit attitudes is consistent with this mentalist view, since the results are the informants' perceptions of their attitudes. Observing behaviour to determine attitude is problematic, since behaviour can be seen as both input and output, i.e. an attitude is acted out in behaviour or certain behaviour results in an attitude (Baker, 1992). The very popular matched guise technique does not suit this research design, because the study is not investigating the attitudes towards speakers of a language or even attitude towards language varieties, but attitudes towards language and culture maintenance, bilingualism and biculturalism.

Background information questions were on the last page of the seven-page questionnaire. The decision to ask for the informants' names and other personal details at the end of the questionnaire rather than at the beginning was made to provide a more gradual lead-in to the task, and to bring into focus what the informants could tell about their immigrant experience and language behaviour. This decision was made after the initial pilot study.

The questionnaire was piloted in 1998 with five informants. In the pilot the questionnaire was administered by the researcher. The contents of the questionnaire were left unaltered, however in the final analysis and discussion some questions are not central and some not analysed at all. Language use question 14 of how much in a day a person uses Finnish was not included in the analysis as it was not clear that all informants would have estimated this consistently. Attitude statements 10.19. and 10.20. about ethnic radio programs were also left out of the thesis. In the definitive data collection phase the data collection procedure was changed from an administered questionnaire to the informants completing the questionnaires themselves. In the final data collection the questionnaire was introduced towards the end of the recording of the informal conversation and the visit. This is explained in more detail in the description of the conversation data collection below (Section 3.3.).

Some informants were surprised and some disconcerted by the paperwork, but usually this was overcome by emphasising that the questionnaire was not a test, there were no right or wrong answers, and the informants were asked to answer to the best of their ability. Most had no problem with this. Three informants, two women and one man, refused to fill in the questionnaire, but agreed to answer the questions with the

researcher filling in the questionnaire for them. One man had his wife fill in the questionnaire for him and one woman had her daughter do the writing for her. As there were no indications of illiteracy, the explanation for not wanting to complete the questionnaire may be, for instance, poor eyesight. Three informants were not able to fill in the questionnaire during the visit due to other pressing engagements. They delivered the completed questionnaires to the researcher a few days later at one of the community activities.

Other members of the Finnish community have expressed surprise that the researcher was able to collect questionnaire data. Apparently other questionnaire-based studies had not been welcomed by the community, and response rates had traditionally been low. The fact that the questionnaire was only introduced after the informants had become acquainted with the researcher would have helped persuade them to complete the questionnaire. Had it just been mailed or given to them to fill in, the response rate is likely to have been low. Anticipating this, the researcher took the approach of meeting personally with the informants.

3.2.2. Questionnaire data analysis

A preliminary manual analysis of the questionnaire data was undertaken to find out what issues emerged from the data. Numerical responses to each question were calculated. Parts of this material were presented in conferences in Finland (Lammervo, 2002a, 2002b).

The questionnaire answers were entered into Excel spreadsheets so that the numbers of different answers could be calculated. Where possible, the answers were given a numeric value, e.g. the five-point scale used on language use questions from “always Finnish” to “always English” were given values from 1 to 5 respectively.

Some informants gave more than one answer to a question, e.g. they claimed to use always Finnish and always English in a certain activity. This apparently contradictory response revealed a misunderstanding. If it was not possible to ascertain what the informant had meant with the multiple answers to a question, the answer was left out of the calculations. In some cases it was clear from what they said during the recording

that the person used both languages equally in a situation or with a specific person, but had not noticed that the response scale had an option for using both languages equally, i.e. response 3.

The Excel table of all the data was used as the base to create pivot tables and graphs of the answers to individual questions. These, for instance, allowed comparing the answer distributions between the attitude statements or patterns of language use with different interlocutors. Each pivot table also shows the numbers of male and female answers per question. For instance, the pivot table in Figure 3.1. shows that three female and four male informants agreed (answer type 2) with statement 2.10.9.

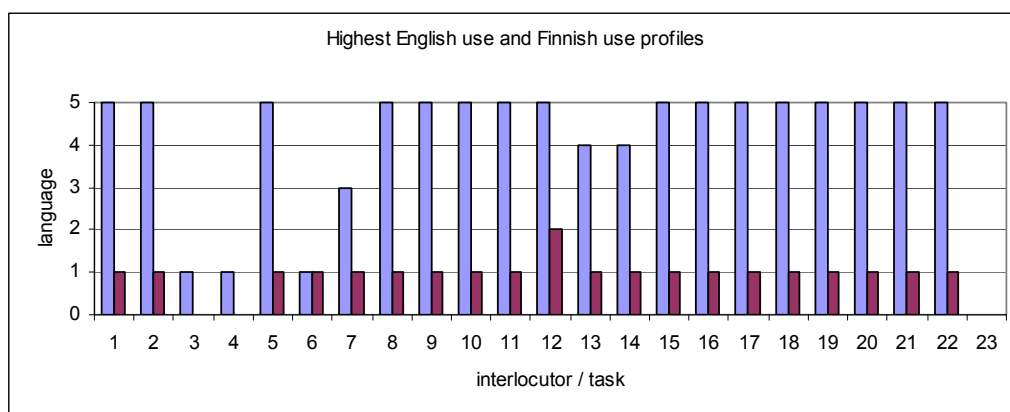
Table 3.1 Attitudes towards language maintenance making it harder to learn English.

2.10.9. Fin LM may hinder learning English	gender		
2.10.9. Fin LM may hinder learning English	female	male	Total
2	3	4	7
3	2	3	5
4	8	3	11
5	4	3	7
(no response)			
Total	17	13	30

In the questionnaire there were no open-ended questions, which could have produced long answers. The interviews, on the other hand, provided the chance for more discussion. The non-numeric answers in the questionnaire were very short, and answers were easily categorised. For instance, informants wrote in their own words how their children had learnt Finnish. It was then possible to place the different answers into categories of similar content, and to count the number of answers per category.

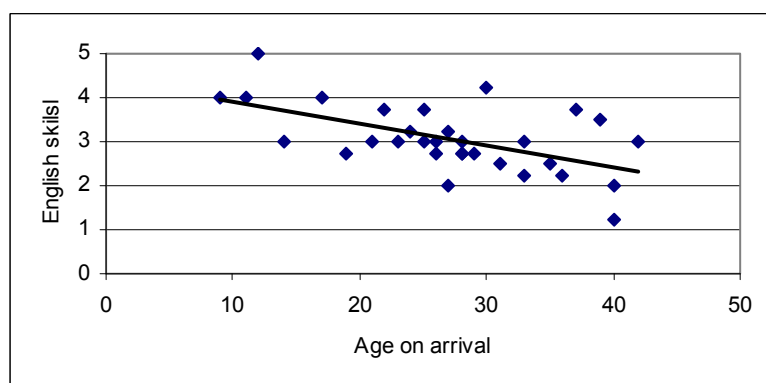
The Excel data was used to create informant profiles on various groups of data. For instance, language use, the extent to which an informant reports using English or Finnish with certain interlocutors or with certain tasks, was presented in a profile graph. Each bar stands for a language use situation, and the height of the bar indicates the amount of English use. Placing several informants' answers into the same graph was designed to compare individuals. Similar profiles were also carried out for actual language data from the recordings:

Figure 3.3 Profiles of highest English and Finnish use.



As the aim was to find possible correlations between attitudes, language skills, language use, and background factors, scatter plots were made of different combinations of two questions. For instance, age on arrival was plotted against self-evaluated English skills:

Figure 3.4 Correlation between age on arrival and self-evaluated English skills



The trend lines can be spelled out in opposite but consistent ways. The higher the age on arrival the lower the self-evaluated English skills, or the lower the age on arrival the better the self-evaluated English skills.

3.3. Conversation data

A pilot study involving the first version of the questionnaire and conversations with five informants was run in 1998. A portable, but large, cassette recorder was used with an external table microphone. This kind of equipment has traditionally been used to guarantee good voice quality. The informants were recorded individually as the

researcher asked the questions. The pilot clearly showed that recording a structured interview was not giving the kind of language data that was sought. In fact, the conversations over coffee after the interviews were much more interesting in both attitude content and language material. The problem known as Observer's Paradox is "to want to observe how people talk when they are not being observed" (Labov, 1972, p. 461). The chats over coffee needed to be recorded, where the equipment and the observer had a minimal effect on the quality of the recorded data. The decision was made to use less obtrusive recording equipment, and to record the visit without a formal one-on-one interview. A small Walkman with a small lapel-size microphone was used. Minidisks or digital recorders were not available at that time, so the conversations were recorded on cassettes.

Social sciences traditionally use interviews in data collection. In this study, however, the situations were not interviews but conversations. The researcher was regularly accompanied by at least one other person and the two formed the research team. This changed the situation from one new acquaintance asking the questions to a more natural exchange of thoughts and experiences. On most occasions, other non-informant people were also present. They took part in the conversations and are heard on the tapes. It was clear that neither the topics nor individual informant input could be completely controlled in such an informal context. The interviewer could, however, ask questions to guide the conversation and ensure that all informants spoke during the recording. This method yielded on the whole much more natural language and attitude data. Even if this method was not able to collect data under completely natural conditions, the data meets the criteria for 'authentic data' recorded by a participant observer during natural interaction (Blum-Kulka, House, & Kasper, 1989).

3.3.1. Recording the conversations

The data collection took place during casual visits in August and September 1999, when the research team visited the informants' homes. Seven informants came to visit the researcher at the friend's house where the researcher was staying at the time. With twenty-two informants the visit was the first time the researcher had met the informants. Nine informants had already been met at the Finnish community activities where the visit was arranged. The informants knew that their help was needed in collecting data on

the Finnish community in Queensland, but the situation was also a chance for them to tell this new immigrant couple (the research team) about their migration experience. When unacquainted Finns meet in Australia the first things they usually ask about are nature of stay (permanent or holiday), how long the others have been in Australia, what part of Finland they are from, and what they have done in Australia and where. This default pattern of behaviour did not have to be changed very much for the research design. The presence of the small recorder was explained to the informants as a tool to allow the researcher to concentrate on the conversation rather than writing during the visit. The informants were assured that the tape was for research purposes only and the names of the informants would not be made public at any time. This was explained to all informants when the recorder was introduced, and in many cases the discussion is also heard on tape. All recordings do not systematically start with this. Sometimes the permission to record had already been given before the equipment was set up to capture this on tape.

The conversations were semi-structured, and the topics they covered were the informants' arrival in Australia, first impressions, work, housing, children's assimilation to Australia, holidays, trips to Finland and relatives' visits to Australia. The order in which these were discussed varied and also other topics were often introduced by the informants. The number of informants heard on a tape varies from one to three. Non-informant voices in addition to the researcher's vary from one to six. The maximum number of people heard on a tape is nine, as the daughter-in-law and two grandchildren paid a surprise visit during one of the recordings. Separating the voices of different speakers, especially during simultaneous and overlapping speech, was sometimes difficult. Because the researcher could remember the situations and knows the informants, the transcription was possible but required the researcher to listen to each conversation several times. On the first listening round the dialogue was transcribed. A transcribing machine was used to facilitate frequent stopping and rewinding. The second listening required less stopping and rewinding, so a different recorder was used, with better playback voice quality. This helped to correct passages that had been misheard before and transcribe passages that with the transcribing machine had been incomprehensible. On the second or sometimes third round, passages were marked on a transcription printout to facilitate coding background information and attitudes.

3.3.2. Analysis of recorded data

Transcribing and coding

Copies were made of all the tapes and the copies used for transcription. All the conversations were transcribed. In the original transcripts the informants and other people on the tapes are referred to by their initials. This was the most efficient way for the researcher at the time of the transcribing. When reporting the findings in text, the informants are given a code to restore anonymity. The codes consist of the tape number, informant number and gender. T14I26M, for example, stands for tape script number 14, informant 26, who is male. The focus of the transcripts is on the attitudes conveyed in the content of the conversations and English influence on the spoken Finnish. Hence it was possible to leave discourse features out of the transcription. Conversation features like overlapping speech and intonation patterns were not transcribed. When there were long simultaneous conversations these were indicated in the text and separated by line spaces. Pauses were transcribed with full stops, the number of which indicates the relative length of the pause (a full stop equalling roughly one second). Transcription signs and symbols from different practices were studied. A valuable source has been sections of *Talking Data* (Edwards & Lampert, 1993) and *Focus on the Language Classroom* by Allwright and Bailey (1991). Because the study does not rely on conversation or discourse analysis and the aim was to later insert the text into a concordance program and count word frequencies, no extra material describing the structure of conversation was seen as necessary. Laughter was transcribed with “@” (Du Bois, Schuetze-Coburn, Cumming, & Paolino, 1993). Occurrences of English interference in Finnish intonation were coded. It was not necessary to transcribe intonation patterns when they did not vary from spoken Finnish usage. Indecipherable speech was transcribed with “x”.

The transcribed conversations were then coded for content and language material. During the first round of transcription, topics and themes of the conversation content were collected and then transferred into codes. Miles & Huberman (1994, p. 56) refer to these as “tags or labels for assigning units of meaning to the descriptive or inferential information compiled during a study”. For the content themes in the conversations the codes needed to be general enough to capture all remarks on the topic, and particularly with the language phenomena codes had to be specific enough to distinguish the

categories of language contact phenomena. For instance, when someone comments on the tape on how immigrant children were taught English in Australian schools, a code was created for this topic, so that other similar comments could be located in other recordings. To facilitate locating codes in the transcripts each code starts with a backslash. To make the software always treat a code as one word, an underscore was used and not a hyphen to separate the parts of a code. The codes are descriptive and need little interpretation. They consist of words or abbreviations of words e.g. \ENG_WITH_KIDS is the code for cases where the informant speaks English with his or her children. Similarly \FIN_WITH_KIDS codes the opposite, speaking Finnish to them. The codes fall into five categories: language use, language skill (own, children, grandchildren), background, attitudes, and language contact phenomena. A full list of codes is included in Appendix 2.

Earlier research on Australian Finnish (Gita, 2001; Hentula, 1990; Kovács, 2001a) was used to create initial codes for language contact phenomena that were likely to occur in the data. First individual codes were created for different language contact phenomena e.g. \ADAP_WORD for lexical items taken from English and fully adapted to Finnish phonology and morphology e.g. *kaapetit* ‘carpets’, \CALQUE for lexical items translated morpheme by morpheme from English to Finnish e.g. *antaa kättä* (CSF. *auttaa*) ‘give a hand’. The language codes were considerably revised after the test coding of five percent of the transcripts. It was necessary to be able to code more specifically the extent to which the English material had been assimilated to Finnish, and a more systematic approach to coding the language phenomena was developed. In the revised codes the first part of a language code indicates whether the item is a word, a name, a compound or a phrase; the second part following an underscore indicates the pronunciation (PHON_FIN, PHON_MILDENG, PHON_ENG); and the third part the grammatical features, i.e. whether the morphology is suitable for the structure the word occurs in. For instance, an originally English word that is phonologically adapted to Finnish and has the correct Finnish case morphology would be coded as \WORD_PHON_FIN_GR_CASE+ e.g. *koustitilla* ‘on the coast’. Had the case not been correct the plus sign would have been replaced by an equals sign =, which in these transcripts stands for minus (as commented above, using a hyphen, dash or minus is problematic in the Concordance software package). If the word in question was a verb, the grammar code would be VFORM+ or =. In cases where the choice of word was

wrong it was possible to add LX= to indicate wrong word. An incorrect word in Finnish speech would then be coded \WORD_LX=. For instance, one informant uses the word *näyttelyt* ‘exhibitions’ when he should have used *esitykset* ‘shows’. This system covers a great part of the language contact phenomena. Separate codes were also kept e.g. code-switches (\CS), which in this study are unassimilated stretches of English of more than one word e.g. “Alright, *jee jee joo*, that’s okay no worries”, and un-Finnish intonation \INTONATION_ENG e.g. “*mä sanoin että luiks mä oikein*” ‘I said did I count right’. The last word has the English fall-rise intonation which is not typical in Finnish.

Phonology is not always accepted as a criterion for ascertaining the level of language integration, as it can sometimes be difficult to hear, or judge the subtle differences in pronunciation. In these recordings hearing the details of what was uttered was at times made even harder by overlapping speech and other noise during the recording. The recordings were listened to several times and with different equipment so that the researcher was confident to make judgements on what was said and how it was said. The fact that the researcher knew some of the informants and spent time with several of them also outside data collection helped her become familiar with individual speech styles. Transcribing and particularly labeling categories in recorded speech is to an extent subjective. Given the quality of the recordings before the times of digital data storage and the time frame for the analysis, this was the best result possible.

Codes on language use fall into two groups according to the language. Anything to do with English use starts with \ENG, and Finnish use with \FIN as presented in the general code structure examples above on English or Finnish use with children. Background codes also form groups. Codes starting with \MIGR_ were the general comments on migrating or migrating to Australia e.g. \MIGR_REASON_NONE “*ei meil olt mitään syytä lähtiä oikeestaan*” (T14 I25F) ‘we didn’t have any reason for leaving really’. Comments regarding school and work were given codes starting with \SCH_ and \WORK_ , e.g. \WORK_FIRSTJOB “*ensimmäinen oli hullujenhuoneessa*” ‘the first was in a nuthouse’.

In the initial stages of coding the idea was that attitudes should be coded only where the informants clearly stated their attitudes. As the coding proceeded and the codes

developed it became apparent that ways of talking about a topic or telling the stories about the experience could just as well be seen as expressions of attitude e.g. \ATT_FINCOM “*etin sitte Suomalaiseen piäsin asumaan sitte no siel oli sitte suomalaisii*” ‘I searched and was taken in to stay with the Suomalainen family and there were other Finns’. Hence many of the attitudes coded in the final transcripts were implied rather than directly given. The attitudes towards Finland and Finnish heritage can, for instance, be deduced from comments about trips to Finland, and keeping in touch with people in Finland. Similarly implicit attitudes to language issues are found for example in discussions on the language spoken at home, or in comments about the kind of language other Australian Finns have been heard to speak. The attitudes are deduced from the content of the informants’ speech. The linguistic structure of the text was not used to identify attitudes (see, for instance, Hyrkstedt & Kalaja, 1998; Winter, 1992). The codes are meant to capture the cognitive, affective and conative levels of verbal behaviour (Ajzen, 1988; Fishbein & Ajzen, 1975). The cognitive level are the expressions of beliefs, the affective are the expressions of for instance, admiration and disgust, and conative level are the expressions of what the person does, plans to do or would do under appropriate circumstances (Ajzen, 1988). The connection between behaviour and attitude is complex. Adopting the view that a connection exists leads us to the next uncertainty of the reliability of overt behaviour and verbal behaviour as revealers of attitudes. Both can deceive or be used to deceive (Ajzen, 1988). Unlike the physical world, human thoughts and feelings are not consistent. People express attitudes and values consistent with their actions to create a positive impression. It is possible to change one’s attitude to match the behaviour. Bearing in mind all the uncertainty regarding attitudes, the attitudes coded in this data cannot be taken as absolutes. In other circumstances the same informants’ attitudes could have been different. A sample of this size and a research design of this nature and scope, does not necessarily allow generalization to the wider population. However, the consistency of the data, and the perceptions that they allow, present a coherent picture of attitudes, language and culture in this specific community.

Codes on the informants’ attitudes start with \ATT_ and are followed by a transparent code string of the coded item:

(2)

\ATT_AUSADJUSTING *siihen se sitte lokshti paikoilleen* (T11I19F)
'there it then fell into place'.

When the attitude Australians hold is reported by the informants, the codes have a section AUS after the beginning \ATT_ tag:

(3)

\ATT_AUS_LOTE *ennen tota ei kaikki tykänny ollenkaan että puhu
muitten aikana ni puhu omaa kieltänsä* (T2I3M)
'earlier not everyone liked that you spoke your own language when other
people were present'.

Attitude codes could not be made numerical, which they would need to be to be susceptible, for instance, to analysis of variance (ANOVA) which allows comparison of several group means simultaneously. In trial coding an attempt was made to rank attitudes from strongly positive +2 to strongly negative -2. The trial indicated that it was not possible to reliably rank the attitudes. Coded material in the conversation was best analysed qualitatively. Attitude codes were categorised according to topic, and the contents of the categories were described and discussed giving examples from the data.

Coding checks by a second coder are seen as a good reliability check (Miles & Huberman, 1994). In this study they were not seen as imperative. It would also have been very difficult to find another person with similar familiarity with the informants, languages and backgrounds. The codes are used to attribute a class of phenomena to a segment of text. The codes are descriptive and entail little interpretation (Miles & Huberman, 1994, p. 57). Minimum interpretation or inferring was involved when the codes were placed in the text. According to Miles & Huberman (1994, p. 64), check coding should be done to be clear on how big a codable block of data is and whether the same codes are used for the same blocks. If a transcribed text is a result of a structured interview, it can be expected to consist of clearer blocks of information according to the structure of the informants' reply. For instance, White (2000) interviewed teachers and then coded the interviews according to topics. The data was check coded by a second coder to establish reliability. In the current study the recorded conversations were not

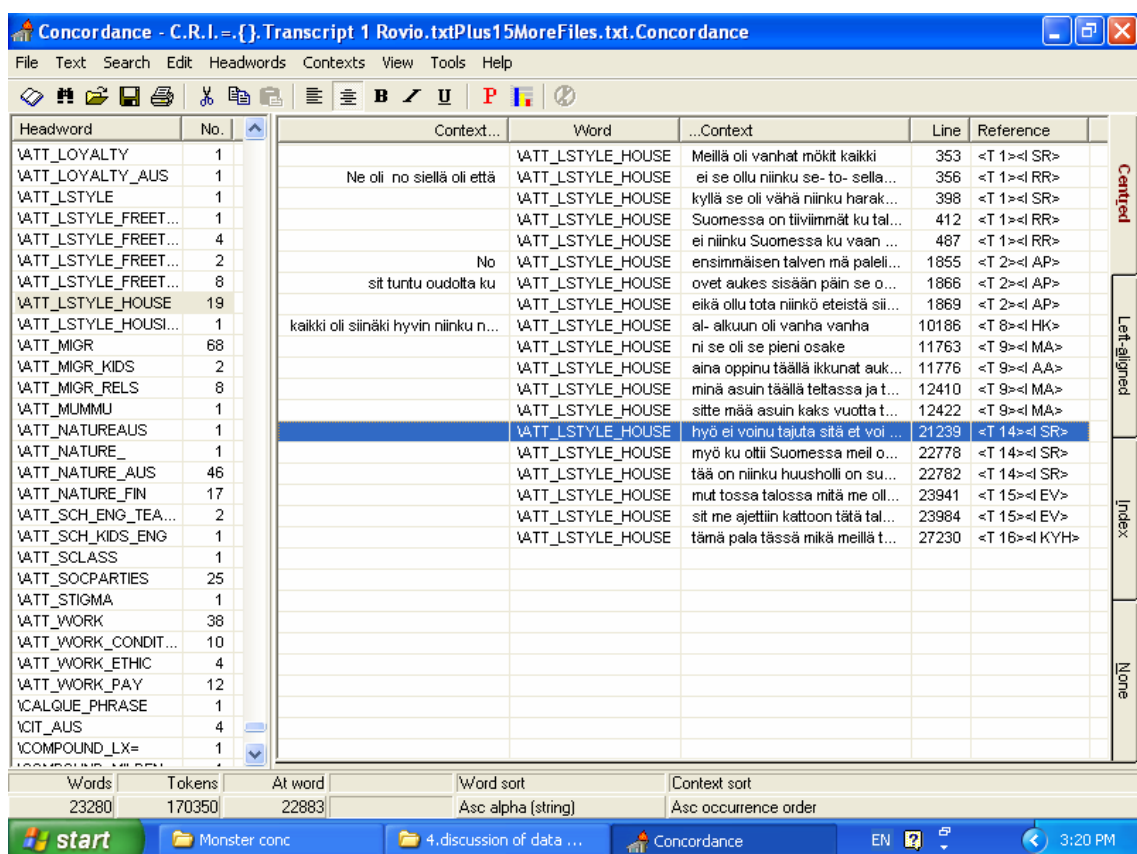
structured to yield clear blocks of data on particular issues. The coded material, other than the language contact phenomena, is analysed qualitatively and used to support and complement the questionnaire data. Coded attitude, language use, language skill and background data are not used to draw quantitative conclusions on their own. The researcher listened to the tapes several times, first transcribing them, then coding and verifying. One of the supervisors read through the coded transcripts, thus minimising the chance of the researcher overlooking or failing to distinguish topics or language contact phenomena.

The original list included 446 codes, not all of which were used in the final coding. Some codes had been created based on the issues covered in the questionnaire, and it became clear that many of these issues were not mentioned in conversation at all. Also the language phenomena codes have possible combinations which were not used e.g. \NAME_PHON_MILDENG_GR_GRAD= for a name with partly or mildly English phonology and incorrect consonantal gradation.

Concordance analysis

Text analysis and concordancing software called Concordance (www.rjcw.freemove.co.uk) was used. With this software it is possible to count frequencies of words and codes in any given text. Concordance lists all words used and gives the figures for the types, tokens and percentages. It also shows the immediate contexts in which each word or code occurs in the text. The extent of the context can be defined by the user, within the capacity of the program.

Figure 3.5 Screen view of Concordance



It is also possible to revert back to the original transcript text from the context view in the concordance if it is necessary to see the item in a more extensive context. The software can be asked to perform more specific searches and calculation as long as the original text is edited to enable this. Passages to be ignored need to be put in brackets and the Concordance program told to ignore material between these symbols. References between arrows can be placed in the text and the program told to make a concordance of certain reference material only. The simplest way to make a concordance is to include everything in the original text in the concordance calculations and presentation. If the concordance is required only on sections of the text, symbols and codes must be added to the original text to allow the software to later include or ignore data according to the user's wishes and instructions. This software can be instructed to make a concordance of several separate text files. There is no need to combine the material into one file beforehand. The text files of the transcripts were entered into Concordance's file list and any combination of those files could then be selected to create a concordance. The program creates one Concordance file of the text files.

The aim with this data was to see which codes occurred, and how many times they occurred in the conversation data, and in what context. For this purpose a concordance of all the coded transcribed files was made. The researcher's and other non-informant participants' lines were omitted from the concordance by putting them in parentheses and instructing the program to ignore data inside the parentheses. The same was done to any of the researcher's comments, for instance, that someone was speaking from the next room, or that a new person had entered the room. The concordance therefore only includes the speech of the informants; including other material would have defeated the purpose, which was to find the coded material in the informants' speech. It was also necessary to see in the concordance in whose speech each coded item occurred. To achieve this, references had to be added to the coded conversation transcripts. Each transcript was given a reference. The first tape script was referenced <T 1>. Informants' lines were also referenced, for instance, <I KR>. "I" stands for informant. At this stage the informants' initials were still used. The risk of confusing informants would have been great if the anonymous codes had been introduced at this stage. When the material was discussed in the thesis the initials were changed into a code of transcript number, informant number and gender e.g. "T1I2F". Using these anonymous references in the transcripts would have left the researcher unnecessary room for error and confusion in having to decode the references into informants and back during data entry and analysis. References make it possible to see in a concordance in whose utterance and which tape script a certain code or language item occurs. A reference shown next to a coded item could be, for instance, <T 12> <I KR>.

When analysing the codes it is necessary to distinguish between types and tokens of codes. Concordance counts these as well. Types in this data are the different kinds of codes, and tokens the number of times each type occurs in the data. Dividing the number of tokens by the number of types gives us the type~token ratio. This is a useful value for instance in analysing the frequency of different groups of codes. For instance, 103 different types of attitude codes were placed in the text. These codes are used altogether 913 times. The type~token ratio is 8.86, which means that on average a code appears 8.86 times. The higher the type~token ratio, the more frequently the type of item appears on average.

The concordance lists the frequency of each different word in the given text, in this case the transcribed speech and the added codes. Because the main interest in this study is in the codes, they and their frequency values were exported into an Excel file and sorted according to their frequency to see which codes occurred most often, which least often. The frequency list was also examined via frequency profiles, which give an overall view of how the frequencies are distributed (Sinclair, 1986). These tables show, for instance, what percentage of all code types used is only used once, or what percentage of code tokens appear, for instance, less than three times (cf. Section 4.1.1.).

While the concordance on all transcribed data gives the overall figures of codes in the data, individual concordances of each speaker were also necessary to provide a profile of the language each informant spoke. The individual concordances also allow for easier access to data in support of or in contrast to the information given in the questionnaire about language use, attitudes and background. Data on the language codes and their frequency in each informant's speech was entered in the Excel spreadsheets.

Table 3.2 Language codes in the speech of one informant

T8113F			
\CS	1		
\CS_QUOTE	1		
	2		
	2.6		0.03
\YES	1		
\NO	1		
\OK	1		
\WORD_PHON_ENG	3		
\NAME_PHON_ENG	1		
	7		
	9.09		0.11
\NAME_PHON_ENG_GR_CASE+	1		
	1.3		0.02
\COMPOUND_PHON_FIN_GR_CASE+ 1 HJK	1	HJK	
\NAME_PHON_FIN_GR_CASE+	38		
\WORD_PHON_FIN_GR_CASE+	7		
\WORD_PHON_FIN_GR_VFORM+	1		
\PHRASE_CALQUE	1		
\WORD_CALQUE	2	HJK	
	50		
	64.94		0.78
\CREATIVE	2	HJK	
\JEE	10		
\CORR_FIN	1		
\INTONATION_ENG	1		
\PAIKKA	1		
	15		
	19.48		0.24
	total 77		
	sptok 6380		
	T~T 3.28		

By categorising the language codes according to the type of language contact, this data could then be made into speaker profiles of language contact phenomena (Table 3.3). This study did not set out to do a detailed linguistic analysis of Finnish-English language contact in the tradition of for instance Kovács 2001. The aim is to place language contact phenomena on a continuum from unassimilated English embedded

into Finnish speech to English influence which has been completely assimilated into Finnish. The profile categories are: switches into English for more than one word, single English words, words with English phonology and Finnish morphology, and words assimilated into Finnish both phonologically and morphologically. Scatter plots were used to investigate correlation of occurrence of different language contact phenomena.

Table 3.3 LCP profiles of all informants

Inf	% long cs	% short cs	% Eng+Fin	% Fin+Fin	% other	% coded of speech
T111M	0.23	0.14	0.45	2.91	0.7	4.46
T112F	0	0.05	0.07	2.45	0.66	3.24
T213M	0.11	0.4	0.82	0.57	0.34	2.25
T214F	0.14	0.36	0.46	0.57	1.19	2.72
T315M	0	0.31	0.7	0.32	0.61	1.94
T416M	0.08	0.17	0.7	0.55	0.61	2.1
T417F	0	0	0.19	1.06	0.44	1.68
T518F	0.27	0.49	0.08	0.6	0.41	1.87
T519F	0.02	0.55	0.32	0.14	0.95	2.16
T6111F	0.1	0.26	0.37	0.52	0.6	1.84
T5110F	0	0	0	1.33	0	1.33
T7112M	0.05	0	0.05	1.57	0.13	1.79
T8113F	0.03	0.11	0.02	0.78	0.24	1.21
T8114M	0	0.39	0.07	1.24	0.18	1.91
T9115F	0.04	0.09	0.09	1.05	0.23	1.48
T9116M	0.06	0	0.03	1.22	0.28	1.59
T10117F	0.08	0.17	0.23	0.85	0.52	1.85
T11119F	0.48	0.21	1.13	0.6	0.14	2.9
T11120M	0	0.31	0.2	0.36	0.92	1.78
T13123M	0	0.02	0.08	1.63	0.03	1.75
T13124F	0	0.05	0.18	1.22	0.2	1.65
T12121F	0	0.04	0.57	0.25	0.04	0.89
T12122M	0.35	0.17	1.23	0.36	0.13	2.24
T14125F	0.11	0.07	0.08	0.82	0.11	1.2
T14126M	0.03	0.03	0	1.88	0.39	2.32
T14127F	0	0.36	0.36	0.65	1.25	2.61
T15128M	0	0.42	1.27	1.41	0.42	3.54
T15129F	0.12	0.64	0.7	0.64	0.91	3.01
T16130F	0.5	0.52	1.34	0.38	1.04	3.77
T16131M	0.06	0.12	0.47	0.47	0.35	1.46
T10118F	0.13	0.27	0.47	0.81	1.21	2.89
Average	0.096452	0.216774	0.410645	0.942258	0.49129	
Median	0.05	0.17	0.32	0.78	0.41	
St. Dev.	0.135611	0.186554	0.402707	0.64146	0.373129	

When both questionnaire and conversation data were on Excel it was possible to correlate attitude and background data with language performance and compare what the informants say they do to what they have been recorded doing.

3.4. Memoing

According to Miles & Huberman (1994, p.72), “memos tie together different pieces of data into recognizable clusters, often to show that those data are instances of a general concept. They are one of the most useful and powerful sense-making tools at hand”. In this study ideas that came up during transcription and coding were recorded in separate Word files assigned to each transcript. These files are called memos.

Memos were used to record ideas prompted by something said on tape that would need to be developed further or checked in other recordings or the questionnaires. Because the researcher knows the informants and the community well, issues relevant to the data but not actually recorded in it were also reported in the memos. For instance, one informant hardly discusses the work environment on tape, but in following meetings, outside the data collection, the topic emerged repeatedly.

3.5. Summary

Thirty-one questionnaires were analysed with descriptive statistical tools. Extensive statistical analyses were not possible or necessary on responses by this number of subjects. The questionnaire data was transferred into Excel, which was sufficient to create tables and graphs of the data as well as correlations between answers. Qualitative analysis of the conversations was used to support the questionnaire data. Coded conversation data analysed with a concordance package gave access to frequencies of language contact phenomena and expressions of attitudes. The coded language data was categorised into profiles of language contact phenomena. When the frequencies of language contact phenomena were entered in Excel it was possible to investigate its correlations with questionnaire data on language use, skill and attitudes.

This research design gives a wider scope for the Australian Finnish community in South-East Queensland than, for instance, a case study. On the other hand, the conversation data provides more depth than, for instance, a large scale survey.

4. Finnish language maintenance: data and analysis

4.1. Concordance data

4.1.1. General concordance statistics

The concordance of the sixteen transcripts of thirty-one informants' speech consists of 23,280 different words and has 170,350 tokens of these words. The type~token ratio is 7.32. The importance of type~token ratios is discussed in Chapter 3.

Table 4.1 displays the highest word frequencies in the current data and a corpus of Finland Finnish. The highest frequency words in a Finnish corpus from four media are presented as a comparison (Saukkonen, Haipus, Niemikorpi, & Sulkala, 1979). Data on word frequencies in spoken Finland Finnish are not readily available. The data is based on Finnish in literature (fiction and nonfiction), radio, and press. The lists of the ten most frequent words in both the conversation data and the Finland Finnish data include the five words: *olla*, *se*, *ja*, *ei* and *että*. The rankings are different.

Table 4.1 Ten most frequent words.

Most frequent individual words in the data	No.	Most frequent words in the data (all forms of word)	No.	Most frequent words in Finland Finnish (all forms of word)
<i>se</i> 'it'	7,071	<i>olla</i> 'to be'	11,884	<i>olla</i> 'to be'
<i>ja</i> 'and'	5,412	<i>se</i> 'it'	8,201	<i>ja</i> 'and'
<i>on</i> 'is'	4,777	<i>ja</i> 'and'	5,412	<i>se</i> 'it'
<i>oli</i> 'was'	3,797	<i>niin</i> 'so'	4,922	<i>ei</i> 'no'
<i>ei</i> 'no'	2,979	<i>ei</i> 'no'	4,398	<i>joka</i> 'which'
<i>ni</i> 'so'	2,930	<i>minä</i> 'I'	4,191	<i>että</i> 'that'
<i>ku</i> 'when, (than)'	2,657	<i>että</i> 'that'	3,429	<i>tämä</i> 'this'
<i>että</i> 'that'	2,467	<i>kun</i> 'when'	3,309	<i>hän</i> 'she/he'
<i>ne</i> 'them' (pl.it)	2,441	<i>sitten</i> 'then'	2,722	<i>voida</i> 'can'
<i>sitte</i> 'then'	2,008	<i>ne</i> 'them' (pl. it)	2,441	<i>saada</i> 'get'

The words *niin* and *kun* and their varied forms are relatively more frequent in the Australian Finnish data. These are, however, very typical for spoken Finnish. The high frequency of the pronoun *minä* 'I' (and its variants *mä*, *mie* etc.) is explained by the context of informants telling their life story and talking about their own experience.

In a similar manner the concordance provides the frequency of each code in the transcriptions. The original list consisted of 446 different codes. 171 of these were language codes. 295 of the codes were placed in the transcripts, and these codes have altogether 4,872 code tokens. The type~token ratio of used codes is 16.52. This means that on average each code was found 16.52 times in the transcripts. The following table shows the type~token ratios of codes according to code type. The table includes the number of code types in the original code list and the number of code types placed in the transcripts (as discussed in Chapter 3).

Table 4.2 Type~token ratios of codes.

Code type	Number of code types in the code list	Number of code types in transcripts	Tokens of code	Type~token ratio
Language codes	171	69	3,543	51.35
Attitude Codes	106	103	913	8.86
Language skill codes	57	50	162	3.24
Background codes	39	36	178	4.94
Language use codes	73	43	75	1.74
	446	301	4,872	

Language codes are the most frequent type of code and have the highest type~token ratio. The language contact phenomena recur repeatedly in the informants' speech. On the other hand, attitude codes are the second most frequent type of code (see below codes which start \ATT_). These two are the most important in this study, since the aim is to investigate the informants' attitudes and the maintenance of Finnish and find correlations of language use and skill with language attitudes.

The following table lists thirty most frequent codes found in the transcriptions. The full set of 295 codes from the most frequent to the least frequent is presented in appendix 5. Code category, whether it is a language code (L), attitude code (A), language skill (S) or language use code (U) or a background code (U), is also included, as well as how many informants' speech had the code i.e. the range:

Table 4.3 Used codes sorted by frequency (thirty most frequent codes).

	Code category	Code	Frequency	Range
1.	L	\NAME_PHON_FIN_GR_CASE+	730	31
2.	L	\WORD_PHON_FIN_GR_CASE+	507	31
3.	L	\JEE ²	412	25
4.	L	\NAME_PHON_ENG_GR_CASE+	345	27
5.	L	\WORD_PHON_ENG_GR_CASE+	330	26
6.	L	\WORD_PHON_ENG	172	27
7.	L	\CS ³	169	20
8.	L	\NAME_PHON_ENG	96	21
9.	L	\WORD_LX=	87	22
10.	L	\COMPOUND_PHON_ENG_GR_CASE+	71	13
11.	A	\ATT_AUSADJUSTING	69	24
12.	A	\ATT_MIGR	68	25
13.	A	\ATT_FINCOM	59	21
14.	A	\ATT_NATURE_AUS	46	19
15.	L	\PHRASE_CALQUE	44	13
16.	L	\SE	41	13
17.	A	\ATT_LM	41	15
18.	A	\ATT_WORK	38	13
19.	L	\WORD_GR_CASE=	38	13
20.	L	\OK	36	13
21.	L	\WORD_PHON_FIN_GR_VFORM+	36	14
22.	A	\ATT_LSTYLE_HOUSE	35	14
23.	S	\ENG_SKILL	33	18
24.	A	\ATT_CULTDIFF	33	12
25.	L	\WORD_PHON_MILDENG_GR_CASE+	33	11
26.	L	\COMPOUND_PHON_FIN_GR_CASE+	30	13
27.	L	\WORD_CALQUE	29	14
28.	B	\MIGR_PERIOD	28	20
29.	B	\WORK_OTHERJOBS	28	14
30.	L	\TRANSL_REP	27	12

Code frequency profiles show that 50% of the different codes used in the transcripts occurred only once or twice. This is particularly the case with codes on language use and language skill. 88% of all language use codes and 78% of all language skill codes occurred once or twice only. Data on language use and language skills was collected in the questionnaire so that it was not necessary for the semi-structured conversations to cover these topics. Single occurrences of language data can be significant as examples of the variation in the language. A single occurrence of attitude or background data is particularly significant if it is offered uninvited. The coded data needs to be analysed qualitatively and also single occurrences of codes can be included in such analysis:

² \JEE “Yeah” phonetically assimilated to Finnish

³ \CS code-switching

Table 4.4 Code frequency profile1.

code frequency	number such	code type total	%of code types	total no. of codes used	% of total no. of codes used
1	110	110	37.29	110	2.26
2	37	147	49.83	184	3.78
3	21	168	56.95	247	5.07
4	25	193	65.42	347	7.12
5	9	202	68.47	392	8.05
6	8	210	71.19	440	9.03
7	4	214	72.54	468	9.61
8	11	225	76.27	556	11.41
9	6	231	78.31	610	12.52
10	4	235	79.66	650	13.34
11	2	237	80.34	672	13.79
12	2	239	81.02	696	14.29
13	2	241	81.69	722	14.82
14	2	243	82.37	750	15.39
15	4	247	83.73	810	16.63
16	2	249	84.41	842	17.28
17	3	252	85.42	893	18.33
18	3	255	86.44	947	19.44
19	4	259	87.80	1023	21.00
20	1	260	88.14	1043	21.41
21	2	262	88.81	1085	22.27
25	2	264	89.49	1135	23.30
26	1	265	89.83	1161	23.83
27	1	266	90.17	1188	24.38
28	2	268	90.85	1244	25.53
29	1	269	91.19	1273	26.13
30	1	270	91.53	1303	26.74
33	3	273	92.54	1402	28.78
35	1	274	92.88	1437	29.50
36	2	276	93.56	1509	30.97
38	2	278	94.24	1585	32.53
41	2	280	94.92	1667	34.22
44	1	281	95.25	1711	35.12
46	1	282	95.59	1757	36.06
59	1	283	95.93	1816	37.27
68	1	284	96.27	1884	38.67
69	1	285	96.61	1953	40.09
71	1	286	96.95	2024	41.54
87	1	287	97.29	2111	43.33
96	1	288	97.63	2207	45.30
169	1	289	97.97	2376	48.77
172	1	290	98.31	2548	52.30
330	1	291	98.64	2878	59.07
345	1	292	98.98	3223	66.15
412	1	293	99.32	3635	74.61
507	1	294	99.66	4142	85.02
730	1	295	100	4872	100

The median frequency value is 27 code occurrences in the data. Code \TRANSL_REP has this frequency, and it is ranked at 30 (Table 4.4). 90.2% of the codes used in the transcripts had a frequency of 27 or lower. The remaining 9.8% of the total of used codes had a frequency of 28 or higher. This 9.8% consists of 29 different codes. Nineteen of these more frequent codes were language codes:

Table 4.5 Code frequency profile 2.

code frequency	number such	code type	%code type	Total no. of codes used	% of total no. of codes used
730	1	1	0.34	730	14.98
507	1	2	0.68	1237	25.39
412	1	3	1.01	1649	33.85
345	1	4	1.35	1994	40.93
330	1	5	1.69	2324	47.70
172	1	6	2.03	2496	51.23
169	1	7	2.36	2665	54.70
96	1	8	2.70	2761	56.67
87	1	9	3.04	2848	58.46
71	1	10	3.38	2919	59.91
69	1	11	3.72	2988	61.33
68	1	12	4.05	3056	62.73
59	1	13	4.39	3115	63.94
46	1	14	4.73	3161	64.88
44	1	15	5.07	3205	65.78
41	2	17	5.74	3287	67.47
38	2	19	6.42	3363	69.03
36	2	21	7.09	3435	70.50
35	1	22	7.43	3470	71.22
33	3	25	8.45	3569	73.26
30	1	26	8.78	3599	73.87
29	1	27	9.12	3628	74.47
28	2	29	9.80	3684	75.62
27	1	30	10.14	3711	76.17
26	1	31	10.47	3737	76.70
25	2	33	11.15	3787	77.73
21	2	35	11.82	3829	78.59
20	1	36	12.16	3849	79.00
19	4	40	13.51	3925	80.56
18	3	43	14.53	3979	81.67
17	3	46	15.54	4030	82.72
16	2	48	16.22	4062	83.37
15	4	52	17.57	4122	84.61
14	2	54	18.24	4150	85.18
13	2	56	18.92	4176	85.71
12	2	58	19.59	4200	86.21
11	2	60	20.27	4222	86.66
10	4	64	21.62	4262	87.48
9	6	70	23.65	4316	88.59
8	11	81	27.36	4404	90.39
7	4	85	28.72	4432	90.97
6	8	93	31.42	4480	91.95
5	9	102	34.46	4525	92.88
4	25	127	42.91	4625	94.93
3	21	148	50.00	4688	96.22
2	37	185	62.50	4762	97.74
1	110	295	99.66	4872	100

The two most frequently used codes \NAME_PHON_FIN_GR_CASE+, with 730 occurrences, and \WORD_PHON_FIN_GR_CASE+, with 507 occurrences, account for a quarter of all the coding found in the transcripts (25.4%). The 10 most frequent codes, which also include \JEE, \NAME_PHON_ENG_GR_CASE+, \WORD_PHON_ENG_GR_CASE+, \WORD_PHON_ENG, \CS, \NAME_PHON_ENG, \WORD_LX= and \COMPOUND_PHON_ENG_GR_CASE+ are all about language contact phenomena and they account for almost 60% of all the coding (59.91%). Language contact

phenomena are small units in the text and they recur, while the other codes for issues in the content of speech (attitudes, language skill and language use comments, and background) labelled longer blocks of text.

In the following the coded transcript material is discussed in groups. The frequency of each code may not be such an important issue in all cases. For the language contact phenomena frequency is certainly important in ascertaining what is typical in the Finnish language these informants speak, yet even a single occurrence can be useful as an example of the possibilities of variety in an immigrant language (Martin, 1993a). For instance the following phrase is one of its kind in the material. It is morphologically adapted but the pronunciation is somewhere between Finnish and English.

(1)

\PHRASE_PHON_MILDENG_GR_CASE+ *vaistitte moneyit.* (T111M)

‘you waste the money’

For the issues of attitudes, background factors, data on language skill and language use frequencies are not necessarily comprehensive, as one comment by one informant may be valuable in the description of his/her case, even if it occurs at the end of the list here. A strict quantitative approach would exclude issues which scored low on frequency but are important by content.

4.1.2. Language contact phenomena

The first impression when talking to first generation Australian Finns is that they have maintained their Finnish really well. The way they speak sounds Finnish with varying degrees of dialect or sociolect elements. According to the figures given by Clyne (1991) high language maintenance is typical of first generation Australian Finns (see Section 2.3.2.). Hentula (1990) has concluded, based on her study on the vocabulary of Australian Finnish, that the Finnish of the first generation is more like Finnish in Finland as compared to 2nd and further generation speakers’ Finnish, should they still speak Finnish. Research has found, however, significant differences between Australian Finnish and spoken Finland Finnish (Gita, 2001; Hentula, 1990; Hirviniemi, 2000).

The most obvious differences are lexical. There are similar results of American Finnish (Jönsson-Korhola, 2003b) and Sweden Finnish (Andersson, 1993). Hentula (1990) has categorised the loan words as quotation loans, integrated loans, calques and semantic loans. 72.3% of such material is nouns, 9.3% verbs, 5.3% adjectives, 1.7% adverbs, and 4.2% phrases. This distribution is similar to the standard word class distribution in Finnish (Hentula, 1990). Usually the changes in the first generation concentrate on the lexical level, while the second and further generations often also have more English elements in the phonology and irregularities in the morphology of Finnish.

To better understand the language performance of the informants, the language contact phenomena are discussed below in more detail. The performance is then correlated with attitudes expressed in the questionnaire. There are different practices in distinguishing between a code-switch and a loan word as discussed in Section 2.3. In this study the Lauttamus (1999) model is used. The model presents a continuum of phenomena and accepts that there can be fuzziness between the categories:

- a multiword L2 fragment code-change (in current data code-switch)
 - e.g. where do you put *x nämä hivut* (T11I19F)
 - ‘where do you put *x* these potato skins’
- one term code-mix
 - e.g. *se oli sen hobby oikeen tota noi* (T2I3M)
 - ‘it was his hobby really.’
- an integrated loan with L1 morphology but L2 phonology
 - e.g. *Englantihan ei vaihtanu currencya* (T4I6M)
 - ‘England didn’t change currency.’
- material fully adapted to L1
 - e.g. *semmoset liikkuvat tinksit ei ollu siellä enää* (T15I29F)
 - ‘moving things were no longer there.’

Kovács’ distance-based continuum model of code-switching describes the phenomena in other terms. The model moves from borrowing and smooth switches, which are formally consistent with the matrix language, via flagged switches (e.g. *jee no se teki jotain semmosta metal polishingia* (T15I29F) ‘yeah he did metal polishing’ where the switch is flagged by the determiner *semmonen*) to non-agreement in the use of transferred codes (e.g. *meijän pittää mennä eri ajoilla [...]* (CSF. *eri aikoina*) ‘we must

go at different times’) and bare forms (e.g. *me oltii* youth camp *joo* (T5I9F) ‘we were [on a] youth camp yeah’ where the word ‘youth camp’ in a Finnish sentence should have the adessive case ending *-llä*). The other type of non-agreement with Finnish matrix language is agreement with L2. The stages after borrowing and smooth switches are double marking (e.g. , short and then long embedded language islands: e.g. *tuota mutta tuota eh pitäs niinku* little bit slower (T11I19F) ‘well but eh I should (speak) a little bit slower’) (*meneekö ne sinne ei* you can’t put them all in (T12I22M) ‘do they fit there no you can’t put them all in’) (Kovács, 2001a, p. 210). The coded language material in this data is clustered based on these models, but mainly the Lauttamus model, to see whether the language contact phenomena in this data are similar to the profiles suggested by previous studies. Switches into English for a stretch of several words are at the English end of the continuum, and at the other end is the fully Finnish-sounding and inflected material.

Table 4.6 Clusters of language contact phenomena.

Code-Switch	English word	English pronunciation +Finnish morphology	Mild English pronunciation +Finnish morphology	Finnish pronunciation +Finnish morphology
203 cases	333 cases	764 cases ←	91 cases	1411 cases (1308)

By far the largest cluster is the material fully adapted to Finnish (1411 instances): these are words like *varmi* ‘farm’, *kompuutat* ‘computers’, *flätti* ‘flat’. The figure includes 26 cases of calques when an English word has been literally translated into Finnish morpheme by morpheme. These sound Finnish and are structurally used correctly, but are not lexically Finnish:

(2)

kouluopettaja (CSF. *opettaja*) ‘school teacher’

meriruokaa (CSF. *meren eläviä*) ‘seafood’.

In seventy-seven cases the informants use an unsuitable Finnish word. Structurally the words fit the sentence and they are Finnish words, but standard spoken Finnish would not use them in these situations:

(3)

tanssi näyttelyt (CSF. näyttökset) *ne on kauniita* T11I20M

‘dance exhibitions (shows) they are beautiful’.

[...] *muu perhehän oli jo ristitty* (CSF. pantu ristille, haudattu) *ennen kun mä lähin tänne*. T6I11F

[...] the rest of the family had already been christened (buried) before I left’.

There are also three cases of what in this study is called “creative language”: with the word *turistoimaan* the informant has taken the word “tourist” or the Finnish *turisti* and turned that into a verb. The English version would be ‘touristing’. One informant quotes their grandchild who instead of saying *huomenta* ‘good morning’ said *aamunta* (lit. morning + *n* + partitive), because to her *huomenta* is too similar to *huomenna* ‘tomorrow’ rather than ‘this morning’. *Huomen*, which used to mean the dawn of a new day, and which is the root of the greeting, is less used today. *Verittäin good* is a clever humorous combination of English and Finnish, only available to Finnish-English bilinguals. The first word of the English phrase ‘very good’ has been combined with the Finnish equivalent *erittäin* resulting in *verittäin*.

The next cluster on the continuum is single words with English phonetics but Finnish morphology. The majority (345) of these are proper names. For instance, *Beenleighssä* (lit. Beenleigh+inessive) is used by seven informants, *Athertoniin* (lit. Atherton +illative) by one. There are 330 words other than names used in the same manner, for instance, *informationia* (lit. information + partitive) or *public transportissa* (lit. public transport + inessive). If the distinction was not made in the degree of Anglicisation of the pronunciation, the category of Mildly English phonetics but Finnish morphology could be included in the English+Fin morphology cluster, making a total of 855 occurrences. In these the pronunciation is closer to English than Finnish, or in the case of compounds one of the words is pronounced in English. For instance, in the word *dämitsit* ‘damages’ the “dzh” sound is replaced with a more Finnish “ts”. In the compound *soft drinkkilöihin* the first word is pronounced in English and the second in Finnish. The Finnish morphology includes elements typical of Eastern Finnish dialects, as a speaker of for instance Helsinki spoken Finnish would say *soft drinkkeihin*.

Single English words in otherwise Finnish speech were coded 333 times. These include a few occurrences of words such as *anyway*, *whatever*, *somehow*, but there is no distinct pattern or typical recurring words:

(4)

annetaan liian paljon responsibilities *pienenä* (T15I29F)

‘give too many responsibilities when little’ (-talking about children)

(5)

[...] *niinku tämä kaiteet* balustrade *kaikki ni* [...] (T3I5M)

‘[...] like the railings balustrade and all [...]’

There are 203 code-switches for stretches longer than one word:

(6)

Alright, jee jee joo, that’s okay no worries. (T4I6M)

‘Alright, yeah yeah yeah, that’s okay no worries.’

(7)

Kiitoksia paljon ja excuse me now *mun minun täytyy lähteä.* (T10I18F)

‘Thank you very much and excuse me now I have to leave.’

Of the 203 code-switches which were allocated codes, thirty-four occur in the speech of four informants, when they talk to their own or another informant’s grandchildren. The possible correlation of this behaviour to the language use patterns reported and the language skills of the informant or grandchild will be discussed in a later section (4.4.) on language maintenance issues.

Other differences found in immigrant Finnish in addition to the ubiquitous lexical variation are the differences from Finland Finnish morphology and syntax. Kovács (1998) lists typical variation for Australian Finnish to be the use of bare forms of nouns and verbs (when Finnish would require morphological inflection), changed word order, abundant use of the *se*-subject, confusion in government and literal translation of English phrases into Finnish. Kovács’ data includes speakers of the first, second and

third generations. The first generation data in the current study also has examples of these phenomena.

The bare forms are not very numerous. Even the following example could be classed as deviation from adjective noun agreement. If the pronunciation of *käri* is interpreted as Finnish and the word was syntactically integrated into Finnish, it would still have the Finnish partitive ending *käri-ä* or similar, depending on the speaker's Finnish dialect. If the pronunciation is interpreted as accented English, the word is a bare form of the word 'curry':

(8)

Se tilas sitä intialaista käri (CSF. partitive käriä) oikein vahvaa (T8I14)
'He ordered that Indian curry very spicy '

Word order changes:

(9)

[...] työn aikana olis ollu vaihtaa parempi kans englantilais nimiseks kans
(T11I20M)
(CSF. työn aikana olis ollu parempi vaihtaa englantilais nimiseks kans)
'[...] during work it would have been to change better to an English name
CSF. During work it would have been better to change to an English name'

(10)

Kun minä seitkytkaks sitte Adelaidessa mainostoimistoon pääsin[...] (T16I31M)
(CSF. kun mina seitkytkaks sitte Adelaidessa pääsin mainostoimistoon)
'When I in seventy-two in Adelaide into an advertising agency got
CSF. when I in seventy-two got in Adelaide into an advertising agency'

There is abundant non-Finnish use of the word *se* 'it'. These are also found in contemporary colloquial Finnish, but they appear to be more frequent in Australian Finnish. Using the *se*-subject (from the English 'it is' and 'there is' structures) is very common in the data:

(11)

Se oli yhdeksän vuotta sitten kun äijin kanssa [...] T5I9F

‘it was nine years ago when with mum [...]’

(12)

Se oli lehdessä toissapäivänä oli että ni [...] T13I23M

‘It was in the paper the day before yesterday was that [...]’

Using *se* in flagging the following code-switch or otherwise non-Finnish form has the highest frequency in the data: twenty-three out of forty-one coded:

(13)

Hänelle tuli se cataract silmiin. (T6I11F)

‘He had a cataract in his eye (lit. eye+plural).’

(14)

Minä en tykkää siitä decaffeinated. (T12I21F)

‘I don’t like the decaffenated’

(15)

Jee se conversation jää lyhyeks (T15I29F)

‘yeah the conversation stays short’

Confusion in government can result in for instance the following choices in case:

(16)

aattoilta oli aina pietään perhe kanssa. (T5I9F)

‘(Christmas) Eve evening was always with the family.’

(17)

Meidän pittää aina mennä eri ajoilla. (T11I20M)

‘We must always go at different times.’

Phrase translation:

(18)

ni ilmeisesti se teki eron, että [...] (T2I4M)

‘so apparently it made a difference that [...]

(19)

tämä valo on just joka nosta sen ylös. (T16I31M)

‘This light is exactly what brings it out.’

In her study of the speech of two second generation Australian Finns Gita (2001) found cases of deviation in consonantal gradation, variation in verb government, in the case of the object, in the case of the predicative and in agreement (Gita, 2001). Hirviniemi’s study of three Australian Finnish speakers of three consecutive generations reports similar findings (Hirviniemi, 2000).

According to Martin (1993a), first generation American Finns produce hardly any forms deviant from Finland Finnish, and in the second and third generations the average of such deviations is only sixty occurrences per hour of speech. American Finns cannot speak Finnish without knowing the morphology: if the speakers’ skills are not sufficient to apply correct morphology, the language is switched to English (Martin, 1993a). The assumption is that good passive skills allow the speakers to recognise the correct forms even if they are not able to produce them.

These deviations in the morphology and syntax are more frequent in the speech of the second and further generations of Finnish speakers in Australia, but are also present in the current data of first generation speakers. There are forty-six cases of deviance in case morphology (twenty-six nouns, six adjectives, six numerals, five pronouns, and three adverbs), only six cases of deviance in verb forms, eight coded cases of foreign word order, and forty-five cases of direct translation of English phrases.

In Kovács’ data the first generation are shown to use matrix language (i.e. Finnish) phonology significantly more than the second generation (Kovács, 2001a, p. 169). Their main code-switching strategy is to ‘Finnishise’ the code-switched items, at least at the

level of grammar (Kovács, 2001a, p. 194). The profile presented by the coded language material in the current data is in accordance with previous studies on spoken Australian Finnish.

4.1.3. Attitude data from recorded conversations

Because the interviews conducted in the recorded conversations were semi-structured, informants were not expected to systematically express their attitudes to issues. The conversation data cannot be analysed only quantitatively. Hence the number of times an attitude is coded in the transcripts is not a direct indication of its relative importance. An attitude that is expressed only once in this sample can still be important, even without several other occurrences. On the other hand when there are several occurrences, the range of distribution can indicate the importance the particular issue has for those informants who mention it. As discussed in the literature review, attitudes are not seen as stable entities. Therefore the attitudes expressed in this data are not dealt with as absolutes, but are looked at in relation to the attitudes expressed by the same informants in the questionnaire, and the language use of the same informants in the recordings.

Attitude codes have the second highest type~token ratio in the data, i.e. after language codes the attitudes have the most occurrences per code. The highest frequency for an attitude code is sixty-nine occurrences for “attitude towards adjusting to life in Australia” (\ATT_AUSADJUSTING). The questionnaire collected attitude data and asked for the informants’ reactions to statements, and asked them to rank language maintenance methods. In the conversations the expressions of attitude can be explicit, uninvited or inferred.

Explicit expressions of attitudes were instances when the informants gave their opinion or view after one of the interviewers had asked them for it:

(20)

Interviewer: *Oliks se sulle se sopeutuminen kauhee helppoo ku sä sanoit että sul ei ollu mitään pakkoo lähtee?*

T2I3M: *jee mä mä jäin sinne mun isovanhempien luo ja sitte armeijassa mul tuli mieleen et mä lähen kanssa ku vanhemmat ku muistan me oltii talvileirillä*

ja oli kauheet pakkaset kolmeekyvtiittä ja siellä ja mä et samperi soikoon et @@@@ lähetää kattoo sinne sillo mä päätin ja ostin liput ja tulin tota mut ei mul ollu mitään semmosta niinku mä sanoin jos mä oisin jos mun vanhemmat tääl ei ois tullu ni en mä ois ikinä tullu kyllä mä olin ihan tyytyväinen vaimohan se on semmonen seikkailija.

‘Interviewer: Was adjusting really easy for you because you said that you didn’t have to leave (Finland)?

T2I3M: Yeh I stayed with my grandparents and in the army it occurred to me that I’ll go as well because my parents had gone. I remember during the winter camp it was so cold 35 below zero and I thought stuff it @@@@ I’ll go to check it out and then I decided and bought the tickets and came but well I had no real as I said if my parents had not come here I would never have come I was really quite content it is my wife who is the adventurer.’

There are also instances where informants bring up an attitude issue without the interviewers prompting it in any way. The following positive culture maintenance attitude was given uninvited as the informant was describing some of the handicrafts she makes:

(21)

Et tällasta täytyy tehdä jos meinaa suomalainen olla. (T14I25F)

‘so you have to do these kind of things if you are to be Finnish.’

Much of the material that has been coded as attitudes is inferred. Described behaviour, for instance, can be taken as an indication of an attitude:

(22)

Hän ei sekota niitä ollenkaa (T11I19F)

‘He doesn’t mix them (i.e. English and Finnish) at all.’

The person’s effort in keeping the languages separate can be seen as an indication of a positive attitude towards language maintenance:

(23)

Ei niil ollu leikkikavereita ollenkaa ni me luultii ettei ne osaa sanaakaa käytännöllisest katsoen (englantia) (T2I3M)

‘They didn’t have any friends to play with so we thought that they knew practically no English’

This comment by a parent about their children reveals a positive attitude towards language maintenance. They had used only Finnish with the children and assumed that in the absence of English speaking friends the children were Finnish monolinguals.

The coded attitudes cover a wider field of topics related to immigration than the language issues which the questionnaire concentrated on. Coded language attitude material can be compared to the questionnaire data to see whether the two different data sets support or complement each other. But the coded recordings also give unique data not available in the questionnaires.

The coded attitude material is presented in clusters:

- attitudes to migration and to Australia
- attitudes to language issues
- attitudes to Finland
- attitudes to the Finnish community in Australia
- attitudes to culture maintenance
- Australians attitudes reported by informants.

The attitude codes also reveal the general content of the conversations. Experienced migrants were talking to new-comers, the investigator and her husband, whom they had just met for the first time or in some cases whom they had briefly met at community activities. In such contexts migration in general, and particularly the experience of migrating to Australia, is the most coded topic, followed by language issues, Finland and Finnish issues, the Finnish community in Australia, and culture maintenance.

Migration and especially migration literally to the other side of the world is an enormous change in a person’s life. The experience, the reasons behind it, and the circumstances under which it took place are bound to have a great effect on a person and on the development of their identity as an immigrant in Australia.

Attitudes towards migration and Australia

After an over twenty years stay in Australia, the informants seem to have had an overall positive experience. After all, these are people who decided to stay, although they say that their early experience was often difficult. They seem to have known very little about Australia before migrating. One informant recalls how he thought Australia to be paradise after listening to his grandfather's stories about his visit to Australia in the 1920's. Another informant similarly comments about having an idealised view of Australia as mostly beautiful beaches. These two are the only comments on expectations before migration that are recorded in the data.

Twenty-five informants commented on migration (code \ATT_MIGR), and thirty-one of the sixty-eight comments were more negative than positive. These are comments such as:

(24)

Kyllä se oli vähä ni tuota uhkarohkeeta lähtee nii suuren sakin kansa. (T5I10F)

‘It was a bit foolhardy to leave with such a big family.’

(25)

No, kyllä se oli aivan ummessa silmin lähtö (T10I18F)

‘Well, it was like leaving with your eyes wide shut.’

Many said that in hindsight they were in awe they could ever have made the decision to migrate. One informant commented that if he was now asked to migrate, e.g. to China, he could not do it. He then continued to speculate that if he was given the opportunity to migrate to Australia again, and could have the knowledge he has now, he would do it. The desire for adventure is the reason that leading studies list as the main reason Finns give for leaving Finland and migrating to Australia (Koivukangas, 1975; Mattila, 1990; Watson, 1999a). The informants in this study also mention adventure. Discussions with other community members have offered more insight into the subject, and it seems that although many like to give adventure as the reason for migrating, more concrete reasons also existed. Finnish migration in Australia between the 1950s and 1970s was dominated by push factors in Finland, particularly unemployment, and coupled with the pull of the Australian Government's assisted passage scheme (Koivukangas, 1999).

Australia offered to pay for all or part of the trip, recruited workers, and the support of the immigrant camps was also available. The search for adventure may well have been an issue, but assisted migration was also clearly a chance to look for a better life. Although many, especially of those who arrived in the late 1950s wave of immigration, had to sell everything to pay for the migration, they knew that the Australian Government would offer some support when they arrived in Australia.

Looking back at the hardship of the first months or years one informant said:

(26)

Kyllä se oli kyllä romanttista aikaa (T8I13F)

‘yeh it was a very romantic time’

Another informant says that coming to Australia was easy:

(27)

Joo ja se oli tuota alussa ku lähettii jotta jos jos ei tykkee ni ei olla pitkään mut jos tykkää ni ollaan vaikka eihän sitä koskaan lähtiissään tiijä. (T11I19F)

‘Yeh and in the beginning when we left we thought that if we don’t like it we don’t stay long but if we like it we stay but you never know when you leave.’

(28)

Meki kun tultii minäki ku tulii ni minä olin Bonegillan leirillä olinko minä kuus viikkoo. Se tuntu et se on niin heleppo olla ku tar- ja vielä antovat rahhooiki että tupakkoo sai ostoo [...] (T11I19F)

‘When we came when I came I was in the Bonegilla camp for six weeks I think. It felt so easy to be there when and they gave money too so I could buy cigarettes [...]’

According to Winter (1992) humour and jokes could be viewed as less threatening or a lesser negative evaluation than a direct criticism expressed in a declarative statement. In the data one male informant talked ironically about his decision to leave Finland, which he thought had been unwise. These comments may have been meant to be jokes, but

since he also described some of the difficulties he had encountered, we can assume he was at least partly serious in his regrets, and remembered the hardship he had endured:

(29)

Ihminen älytön ku lähtee tuota hortoilemmaa oisin ollu Suomessa mul oli työ...
(T9I16M)

‘Stupid person to go wandering I should have stayed in Finland I had a job...’

(30)

Minä tuota lähen heti sinne ku saan matkaliput takasin [...] ja minä nyt vielä sitä tienaan. (T9I16M)

‘I’m going back as soon as I can afford the fare [...] and I’m still earning it.’

It also seems that those planning to migrate did not receive much support from the people around them in Finland. Unless family or relatives were planning on migrating themselves, the reaction to the informants’ decision was either neutral or negative. Five informants report very negative reactions by relatives. Here is an extreme case:

(31)

Ne sanos sulle että eihän sinne voi mennä siel on ni eh tuota ni cannibals...(T5I9F)

‘They said to you that you can’t go there, there are cannibals...’

Other relatives thought that the migration would not be permanent, but that the informants would return in a few years’ time.

(32)

Sukulaiset kaikki omaiset sano että joo viiden vuoden päästä sitten nähdään ja tulette takasin sieltä vähintään (T8I13F)

‘Relatives and all family said that yeah see you in five years when you come back at the latest.’

The most frequent attitude code in the data is about adjusting to life in Australia (\ATT_AUSADJUSTING). Twenty-four informants were coded commenting on this

topic. Twenty-three of the sixty-nine coded instances express a negative attitude. These mostly describe the difficulties at the beginning of the residency:

(33)

Mä tulin Veikolin leirille takasin että ei oo mitään toivoa (T9I16)

‘I came back to the camp in Wacol thinking there is no hope.’

(34)

Oli jo puhetta että se kaks vuotta ku ollaan ni tota takasin (T8I14)

‘We were saying that we’ll stay for the two years and then go back.’

When things started to work out and life settled into a routine, the comments become more neutral and positive. Several informants comment on how in time they became used to the conditions and the new way of life. One informant summarises what many think:

(35)

Kaks ensimmäistä vuotta ollaan pakosta ja loppuaika sit olosuhteitten pakosta. (T2I4F)

‘You stay the first two years due to the passage assistance condition, the rest due to the circumstances.’

Finding work was a corner-stone in the Finns’ settling in. Most of the comments on work are positive. The informants seem happy with the fact that work was available and often the pay was also good. The positive comments are about professions like mining, construction, sewing, factory work and nursing:

(36)

Rakennusläl työpaikkoi sai niin paljo ku halus vaa... (T2I3M)

‘In construction you could have as many jobs as you wanted.’

The informants who arrived at a time when work was not so readily available or who had low income jobs even started thinking about returning to Finland. This sample includes two couples who mention that had they not relocated to Mt Isa they would

have returned to Finland. Mining seems to have paid well, but the negative comments about work conditions are also mostly about mining:

(37)

Mainaus oli kovaa hommaa [...] oli niin pölysiä ja kuumia paikkoja kakssataa kakskymmentä faarenhaittia oli kuumin lämpö kalliassa missä mä olin työskentelemässä.. (T4I6M)

‘Mining was a tough job [...] there were such dusty and hot places the hottest rock I worked in was two hundred and twenty Fahrenheit.’

The informants seem quite happy with the work they have done in Australia, and are particularly pleased with the fact that work was available. Some have been really happy with the money the job has paid, but this is industry-dependent, and attitudes vary according to circumstances. Only two informants bring up the issue of differences in work ethic between Finns and other nationalities. One of these informants quit jobs because he thought management was not up to the standard he had expected. The other informant compares Finnish miners to the others, and criticises the results of the other teams (T7I12M, T1I1M):

(38)

Katoin niin nyt se onneton poraa ihan vikapäin... ja järjen käyttää et se nyt menis sinne minne pitäis ammuksii menee enempi ja työtä on enempi eikä metrejä tule. (T1I1M)

‘I looked the poor bugger drilling completely in the wrong direction ... and use your brain to go where it should go. You use more explosives and don’t make the meters.’

It seems that in spite of all the recruiting and passage assistance, immigrants still knew relatively little about the country they were migrating to. Many informants talk about the surprise that the Australian climate gave them. They had not expected the cold weather, and although they knew Australia to be a land of eternal summer, they could not have imagined the summer to be so hot:

(39)

Ai kauheeta se oli tämmöset jääpuikot roikku räystäältä ulkopuolella eikä ollut mitään lämmityksiä (T4I7F)

‘It was horrible icicles hanging from the guttering outside and the house had no heating.’

(40)

Sitte kehuvat semmoset jotka siäl ollu jouluna niin kuuma täytyy pannulappujen kanssa aukasta lukot (T15I29F)

‘Those who had been there at Christmas bragged that it is so hot you must have oven mitts to open the locks on doors.’

Fauna, mainly the household insects but also snakes, are another of the often mentioned topics. The informants talk about these in an almost joking fashion, laughing at their first reactions. In a way it seems the attitude is no longer negative, and they have become used to these unexpected aspects of Australia, but at first they came as quite a shock. Joking can be used as a way to soften negative attitudes (Winter, 1992).

The comments on nature and climate have a lot to do with housing. Finns are used to cold weather, but not to being cold inside the house. They are also used to insects to an extent, but again not to insects in the house. The overall attitude is that informants seem very happy to have more spacious houses, but comment that the standard of building is very different to the standard in Finland:

(41)

Kyllä se oli vähä niinku harakan pesissä ne asunnot sitte (T1I1M)

‘It was a bit like jerry built the houses then.’

(42)

Myö ku oltii Suomessa meil oli yhen maakuuhuoneen mökki ja yheksän henkee ja nyt ku myö ollaa tääl kahestaa meil o kolme makuuhuonetta ja olohuone ja iso keittiö (T14I25F)

‘When we were in Finland we had a one bedroom cottage/house and nine people and now it is just the two of us and we have three bedrooms, a lounge and a big kitchen.’

So on the whole the attitude towards migrating and life in Australia has been positive. The complications of the first months or years have been overcome and the informants seem to have adjusted to the new way of life fairly quickly. These two examples are more general expressions of contentment with Australia after years of experience:

(43)

Mutta kuitenkin me haluttii tulla takasi tänne jollaki tavalla tääl oli suurempi vapaus ollu tääl Australiassa (T3I5M)

‘But after all we wanted to come back here, somehow here you have more freedom.’

(44)

Kyllä täällä helpompi on elää (T13I24F)

‘It is easier to live here.’

The above attitudes towards life as an immigrant in Australia are important to understand the complexity of the experience and how these might affect the immigrant identity. Even more crucial in relocating to a different culture and language are the attitudes the informants have towards language issues.

Attitudes towards language issues

Earlier research has indicated low proficiency in English as one of the main obstacles for the first generation Finns who arrived in the 1950s and 1960s. Research on Finnish migrants adjusting to Australia has suggested that although economic stability has been reached fairly quickly, socio-cultural assimilation has been much slower (Koivukangas, 1975; Mattila, 1990). On the other hand, the first generation language maintenance ratio is very high 75% (Clyne, 1991).

The data in the present study relating to maintaining Finnish seems to indicate that these first generation informants take their own Finnish skills for granted. The most extreme expression of this by an informant is:

(45)

Suomea ei unohda kukaan (T7I12M)

‘Nobody forgets Finnish.’

The informants seem to think that what has been learnt as a child is never forgotten. Similarly they talk about their children’s spoken Finnish as something to take for granted, particularly if the children were born and went to school in Finland, but also when they learnt Finnish in Australia. It has been natural to learn Finnish from the parents, and particular emphasis is put on the mother speaking Finnish to the children. Mothers passing on the language is also brought up when the informants discuss the Finnish maintenance in their children’s families. As a general rule, if the children (second generation) married a Finn, the grandchildren also speak Finnish. If the spouse is a non-Finnish speaker, the Finnish language is lost, particularly if the mother cannot speak Finnish to the children. The grandparents play a big role in the third generation learning Finnish. One informant tells how her daughter and son-in-law asked her to always speak Finnish to the children (T12I21F). Two other informants comment on the grandchildren’s Finnish and say that it does not hurt the children to know some Finnish as well, or as the other informant put it after her grandson had complained that Finnish does not work in his mouth:

(46)

Vöökkii se tahi ei vööki mut puhutaa kuitenkin (T14I25F)

‘Whether it works or not we speak it anyway.’

One informant mentions during the recording that even if their children have kept Finnish as the home language, the third migrant generation tends to answer in English to their parents’ Finnish:

(47)

Kyllä ne puhuu mutta se on vähän semmosta että ne melkein aina ne vastaavat jo sitten englanniksi. (T12I21F)

‘Yes they speak (Finnish) but it is a bit like that they almost always they answer in English.’

Three informants bring up the fact of losing a language if it is not used. Interestingly in all three cases the language is Swedish, which all of them have lost due to lack of opportunities to use it. Two of these informants learnt Swedish when they lived in Sweden for some years. One informant was brought up as a Finnish-Swedish bilingual. Only one informant mentions not having enough opportunities to speak Finnish. She has solved the problem by talking to herself:

(48)

Mitäs sä siihen pistät ku mä puhun yksinään täällä suomee ettei se unohdu koska ei kukaan käy tääl x x ku kato tääl ei käy kukaan ja mä puhun yksin etten mä unohda suomen kieltä. (T6I11F)

‘How do you fill that in when I speak Finnish alone here so that it isn’t forgotten because no-one visits x x you see no-one visits and I talk to myself so that I don’t forget the Finnish language.’

Finns are expected to speak Finnish to other Finns, and Finnish is maintained because there are many opportunities to speak with other Finns. Trips to Finland do not have great importance in language maintenance for the first generation, but for the grandchildren (the third generation) the chance of a visit is a motivation to learn and maintain Finnish.

One informant expresses concern about the status and future of the Finnish language now that Finland is in the European Union. He even talks about the prospect of Finnish disappearing altogether. Less extreme concerns that some informants express are about how they do not understand all the new terminology in Finnish or how there are too many loan words from English, and how the Finnish they have known is disappearing:

(49)

Nii mutta se on hirveen paljo tuota semmosta et siin on englanninkielisii sanoja

...

joo ne puhuu enemmän fineskaa ku myö. (T14I25F)

‘Yeah but there is a lot of well like, there are English words... yeah they speak more Finglish than we do.’

The term ‘Finglish’ has many variants (Hentula, 1990), and informants in this study also refer to their language in these terms. Finglish is recognised to be a mixture of Finnish and English. Some can have a negative attitude towards it, as for instance this informant, who takes pride in being able to keep his languages separate:

(50)

...siansaksaa puhuu ku sekotat nää kielet... (T11I20M)

‘... you speak mumbo-jumbo when you mix the languages...’

Finglish is mostly accepted and goes unnoticed among Australian Finns as long as the message is communicated. Finns can disparage their Finnish language because it is a regional dialect or because it has English elements:

(51)

Interviewer: x x *Puhuu hyvää suomee*

T14I27F: *Tätä tämmöstä*

T14I26M: *Rautjärveläistä*

’Interviewer: x x speak good Finnish

T14I27F: this kind of Finnish

T14I26M: Rautjärvi dialect’

(52)

... se taitaa olla kyllä että se on vähän sellasta sekakieltä nyt että paljon tulee englannin kielen sanoja sinne väliin. (T10I18F)

‘...it may be a bit of a mixed language now with a lot of English words mixed in between.’

The difference between Finnish in Finland and Finnish in Australia is due to change in both varieties. Both varieties have also been influenced by English but with different results. Many informants have noticed changes in spoken Finnish in Finland and they also realise that Australian Finnish works best in its Australian context. One informant mentions the third possible source of difference between the Finnish varieties in addition to them both changing. He points out how some of the songs and poems he has written preserve archaic Finnish language no longer commonly used anywhere else:

(53)

Ja ja ja eh ni sillä tavalla no niissä on säilyny sit sitä ihan vanhaa kieltä kansa mitä nykyään ei enää paljo ole käytössä. (T16I31M)

‘And eh that way they have preserved that old language as well which is not used much any more these days.’

The poems the informant refers to are not available, but examples of archaic words have been heard elsewhere in the Australian Finnish community. For instance the word *ammoin* used to mean ‘in the past’, but it is now seldom used in spoken Finnish, and if written refers to events in the ancient past. An Australian Finn can use the word *peijaiset* about a funeral. In modern Finnish this word no longer has this meaning but is mainly used in the context of *hirvipeijaiset*, which is the celebration dinner after successful elk hunting, or humorously about a big festive occasion.

The informants express strong faith in their children’s language learning ability when it comes to learning English. Several informants comment how their children picked the language up automatically. Those informants who arrived young and went to school in Australia with no English skills talk about how quickly they became used to the new language. They do not talk about learning English but becoming used to it. They do not mention that they were taught English at school but were expected to pick it up as they went along, and to their and their parents’ surprise they did. The man who arrived in the late 1930s in Queensland talks about his school experience:

(54)

... se oli niin juluma semmonen vanahapiika kuule ni sano että hän hakkaa teijät jos ette kahen viikon sisällä tuo opi englantii (T12I22M)

‘... she was a cruel spinster you know said that she’ll beat you if you don’t learn English in two weeks.’

Those who entered Australian schools in the 1950s and 1960s with no English skills do not mention any English instruction either, but talk about finding the beginning hard and then just naturally and very quickly picking up the language:

(55)

Ei sillon n- ne opet- opettanu englantia niinku nyt ne mennee kouluun ja opettaa kieltä sillon se meni vain luokkaan istu ja teki mitä osas. (T5I9F)

‘Then they didn’t teach English like now when they go to school and teach the language, then you just went in class sat and did what you could.’

Some of the parents seem to envy their children who have acquired native Australian English proficiency in this manner, yet the parents have always struggled:

(56)

Heillä on hyvä ku he on käyny koulun täällä ni ne on täysin kie- kieli ja kaikki tietävät. Meidän se nyt on aina ollu vähän hankalaa mutta pärjätty on. (T13I24F)

‘It’s good for them that they have gone to school here so they are fully language and know everything. For us it has always been a bit difficult but we have managed.’

Attitudes to adult English learning vary. One opinion is that using the language would have made you learn it, and if you stayed at home you had no chance to learn. On the other hand one informant said that those who made it their business to learn English succeeded in learning it, and poor skills are the result of laziness. Another informant talked about Finns who as a matter of principle refused to utter a word of English. The spouse explained this to be a question of not wanting to feel humiliated when not speaking correctly. Another informant points out that many Finns stopped studying or trying to learn when they noticed they had enough English skills to manage. This way even their spoken proficiency never reached high levels. Two informants also express

concern for losing their acquired English skills with old age and dementia. This has happened to one of their parents.

Attitudes towards Finland

The informants say on tape that the things they miss about Finland or have a nostalgic longing for are food, Lapland, summer and the lakes. These are often childhood memories, like remembering the good old times. Two informants talk about the inexplicable longing, of being homesick:

(57)

Joo mut kyl se aina tuntu se Suomi tota ni et se on kotimaa mul oli kauhea semmonen mikä [...] kyllä se oli ihanaa ku pääsi x mä olin kaivannu sinne eh näkemään eh joo. (T5I9F)

‘Yeah but it always felt like Finland is my homeland I had a terrible like [...] yeah it was wonderful to be able to x I had longed to do there eh see eh yeah.’

(58)

Kyllä me myytiin meidän talo ja mikä se tuliki kuule se täytyy päästä Suomeen. (T10I18F)

‘Yeah we sold our house and I don’t know what came over us that we had to go to Finland.’

The questionnaire inquired about visits to Finland, but many also discuss them on tape. It seems that when the informants arrived many thought that they would stay only the minimum two years required. Often to their own surprise a much longer time passed before they went back to Finland even for a visit. Those who talk about this on the tape had seven to thirty years from arrival to their first trip back. Many mention being homesick and that the early experience in Australia was difficult, but the determination to build a life in Australia was stronger than the longing to be back home.

(59)

Interviewer: *niin ettet sä täältä sitte kaivannu Suomesta mitään sillon alkuvuosina et ois ollu mitään koti-ikävää Suomeen mihinkään paikkaan*

T6I11F: *en mä tiedä se ei ehkä sitä ei niinku kerinnykkään ajattelemaan kun on niin kovasti tehty töitä kokoajan*

Interviewer: *kova tahti ollu päällä*

T6I11F: *se on kova vauhti ollu päällä ja sit tosiaan viikonloput aina oltiin suomiseuran touhuissa siäl viikot töissä ja sitä vielä kotityöt teet siinä välissä*

‘Interviewer: so you didn’t miss anything in Finland in the first years and were not homesick of any particular place in Finland

T6I11F: I don’t know maybe there was no time to think when we worked so hard all the time

Interviewer: High pace all the time

T6I11F: High speed was on and weekends were always spent in the Finnish association activities weekdays we worked and still had to do the housework in between.’

(60)

Interviewer: *kauanko se kesti se koti-ikävä muistatko*

T5I10F: *no muutama vuos no toista vuotta pari ku sitte ku sai oman kojnin ku mun miehen rakenti sen tultiin tänne Prispään nin talon ja ni sitte rupes eh ikävä niinku haihtumaa mutta ensin ku kulettiin eh Ponegillat ja tonne mont-
@@ mikä Mosmannii asti nii se tunti vähä oli ku mustalaisena kyllä et aina
@@*

‘Interviewer: How long were you homesick do you remember

T5I10F: well a few years well over a year two when we had our own home when my husband built it and we came to Brisbane then the homesickness started to go away but first we travelled from Bonegilla to Mossman and it felt like being a gypsy.’

It must be remembered that in those days holiday travel to overseas destinations was not as common as it is today. When Australian Finns eventually made the trip back to Finland it was often alone and for several weeks, maybe even months, leaving the spouse and children in Australia. The trips were very expensive, so it was worthwhile to stay longer once you made the trip. Some of these informants have visited Finland several times after the first visit, and one has even lost count. But there is also a couple who have never returned to Finland and do not intend to do so in the future:

(61)

Ei myö sinne jos meil o niin paljo rahhaa ni tääl on paljo nähtävää (T14I26M)

‘No we won’t go there if we have that much money there is a lot to see here in Australia.’

The comment on the migratory birds is often heard in the community and it is also mentioned in this data. During Finnish summer months it is common for Australian Finns to go on holiday in Finland:

(62)

Syksy alkaa tuomaan muuttolintuja (T8I13F)

‘Autumn starts to bring the migratory birds back.’

Many informants have also taken their children back to Finland, and some of the second generation went alone. At the time of the interview the grandchildren in four informant families had also visited Finland. The informants find it important that the children and grandchildren have seen the place where the informants come from. To make the most of the experience the informants prefer the children and grandchildren to speak Finnish:

(63)

T14I25F: *jos ne mänöö niinku Suomes käymää niinku heiänkii lapset käi ni ni tuota ei se ois olt yhtää mukavaa jos ei ois ymmärtäny*

Other guest: *se on nolo olla siellä ku et ymmärrä mittää*

T14I26M: *nii*

T14I25F: *ei mittää*

T14I26M: *nii ja sitte vähä semmosena tuppisuuna*

‘T14I25F: if they go to visit Finland like their children went so it would not have been nice at all had they not been able to understand

Other guest: it’s embarrassing to be there when you don’t understand anything

T14I26M: yeah

T14I25F: nothing

T14I26M: yeah and to be a bit tongue-tied.’

The informants have kept in touch with people in Finland, and many have also had visitors from Finland in Australia. The attachment is mainly to the parents, siblings and the original family home in Finland.

The data show five informants who returned to Finland with the intention of staying a year or indefinitely. Four of them left Finland again in under a year, and only one informant stayed approximately two years. Their decision to return to Australia agrees with what two other informants, who have only returned to Finland for holidays, say about living in Finland:

(64)

Kyllä siel on mukava käydä ja nähä niitä mutta ei minusta sinne asumaan ois.
(T10I17F)

‘It’s really nice to visit but I could not live there.’

(65)

Tietysti ei sinne ikinään ennee ossois ees ossois ajatellakkaa asettuukkaa
(T11I19F)

‘Of course I could never again even think about settling down there.’

An aspect of Finland that prompts a clearly negative attitude is the climate. Twelve informants bring up Finnish weather and nature in the conversation and all but two have a negative comment to give. The cold and dark winter was also mentioned when the reasons for migrating were discussed, but the codes in this category are more to do with how Finland is remembered or experienced after years in Australia and visits to Finland. One informant describes her experience this way:

(66)

Kyllä siel oli pimnee voi min en muistanu miten pimnee ja kylmä ja vettä tuli ja oli kylmä. (T11I19F)

‘It was really dark oh I had forgotten how dark and cold and it was raining and it was cold.’

Other negative comments after visiting Finland, for instance, are that people are apathetic and not interested in doing anything, or that Finnish acquaintances made in Australia are often more hospitable than friends and relatives in Finland. One informant offers a sharp observation on an aspect of the Finnish mentality, the dislike of self-enhancement:

(67)

Että katos se on sehän se on niinku sanotaan Suomen maaseudulla tai missä tahansa mä koetan rohkasia ihmisiä esiintymään ja suomalainen asenne on kumminki se mitä tuokii luulee olevasa. (T16I31M)

‘You see it is like they say in the Finnish country side or anywhere really I try to encourage people to perform and the Finnish attitude is always who does that person think he/she is.’

Overall it seems that these first generation informants have a positive attitude towards Finland, yet it is not entirely without criticism. The informants have kept in contact with their family and relatives in Finland, and all but two informants have returned to Finland for at least a visit. The first generation also encourages the second and third generation to visit Finland and experience their cultural heritage. There is a generally positive feeling about Finland, but two specific negative issues are mentioned: the weather and the mentality of Finland Finns. These may not actually have changed much over the years, but the informants’ perceptions after their years in Australia are clearly negative. Time has not entirely romanticised the memories.

Attitudes towards the Finnish community in Australia

For these informants the support and company of the surrounding Finnish community have been very important. On the other hand, they have always been able to rely on the communities’ existence, since they migrated at a time when Finnish migration to Australia was at a high level and they knew that they were not alone in their venture. One informant sums up the special connection Finns have in Australia as follows:

(68)

Suomessa varmaan ei olis samanlaista yhteyttä ku täällä se on ihan niinku tuntis et on niinku sukulaisia tai välillä on parempia ku omat sukulaiset siinä se on täällä on kaikki niinku vähä koettaa auttaa toinen toisiaan. (T11I20M)

‘In Finland we probably would not feel the same connection as here. It is as if you feel you are relatives or sometimes better than your own relatives. Here everyone sort of tries to help one another a little.’

A few informants tell how Finns who had arrived earlier helped them get started by letting them stay in their home or lending them household items. The Mt Isa community particularly, which was quite isolated, was a very close-knit community. There are also comments about the community in Melbourne being very active. As one informant compares the activities in Melbourne to those in Brisbane she concludes that there are very few in Queensland. Then again, a couple who moved to Brisbane from Sydney are said to have been surprised at the participation rate in the church activities compared to that in Sydney. Six informants talk about taking part in the church activities, and five emphasize the importance of being together with other Finns and not the worship itself.

Differences are found not only between communities in different locations but also between groups at different arrival times. The vintages are mentioned in different contexts. In Mt Isa, for instance, those who had arrived earlier, i.e. before the second migration wave around 1968, were considered a distinct group:

(69)

Ne oli pikkusen niinku omaa luokkaa ne mitkä oli kymmenen viistoista vuotta (T11I1M)

‘They were a little bit like a class of their own the ones who had been ten fifteen years.’

On the other hand one of those informants who paid for most of the trip in the late 1950s also recognises that the Finns who received the fully assisted passage are a different group in that respect. They were financially better off from the start, because they did not need to contribute to the cost of relocating to Australia.

Based on the conversation data it seems that these first generation Finns seek the company of other Finns, but the group is not entirely homogeneous. Finnish cultural heritage is an overriding factor over interests or personalities, and being Finnish has been sufficient to bring people together. The first generation, for the most part, participate in community activities, but as much as they would like the following generations to be involved, they also realize that this is not very likely.

Attitudes towards culture maintenance

Twenty-two informants were coded commenting on issues relating to culture maintenance. Only four informants talk about the celebration traditions and it seems that only Christmas is a holiday celebrated in a particularly Finnish way. The main difference is that the celebration starts on Christmas Eve. The community does also celebrate Midsummer to some extent, but this is not discussed in these recordings. The Churches have the normal religious events and the Finnish Association has celebrations on, for instance, Finnish Independence day, and Mother's Day, but these are not necessarily privately celebrated in a particular Finnish tradition, and are not present in the conversation data.

Finnish food seems to be important to many informants. Especially at Christmas the traditional dishes are prepared. But rye bread, Finnish coffee and buns are part of the diet all year round:

(70)

Interviewer: *tosi hyvää kahvia*

T12I21F: *se on suomalaista kuka uskaltaa tätä moittia se on sairas*

'Interviewer: really good coffee

T12I21F: it is Finnish. Anyone who dares to criticise this is not well.'

Coffee and coffee drinking has a special importance in the Finnish culture. Visitors are traditionally offered coffee, these days often filtered coffee, or more traditionally percolated or boiled. In Australia many have started drinking instant coffee, often only because 'real coffee' with the correct flavour and strength was not available. Similar comments on the superiority of Finnish coffee are very common among Australian Finns.

The food traditions have been passed on to the next generations. Informants talk about their children and grandchildren enjoying the Finnish dishes as well. How many of them actually know how to prepare them is not clear:

(71)

No ne söi ruisleipää ne on kaikki semmosia ruisleivän syöjiä (T5I8F).

‘They (grandchildren) ate rye bread. They are all rye bread eaters.’

Sauna, a Finnish institution, is a part of the culture that seems to follow Finns wherever they go. Nowadays saunas are found in many spas and health clubs in Australia and around the world, but the Finnish sauna culture is still unique (cf. Section 5.1.). Eleven of these thirty-one informants had their own sauna at the time of the interview or had had one in a previous house in Australia. Eight informants mention their sauna in the conversation. One informant remembers their first years in Mt Isa and how they did not have a sauna yet:

(72)

Sitte ettittii niinku talviaikaa aina sauna sitten kellä oli saunoja siellä ni kyllä oli saunavieraita (T8I13F)

‘Then in the winter we looked for a sauna who had saunas there they had plenty of sauna guests.’

Various traditional Finnish crafts are held in high esteem. Many informants mention making handicraft e.g. weaving, crocheting, knitting or wood work. There are also those who enjoy having these items in their home, but admit to not being able to make them. One informant expresses a strong attitude about the importance of maintaining this cultural heritage:

(73)

Et tällasta täytyy tehdä jos meinaa suomalainen olla. (T14I25F)

‘So you have to do these kind of things if you are to be Finnish.’

When talking about the future of the Finnish Lutheran Church, another informant gives an example in the history of the Finnish community in New York. The Lutheran Church

there revived after Finnish language had been lost in the third and further generations, contrary to predictions of the death of the community:

(74)

Ni tuli sitte se kuuluvuus johonki siihen että mitä meidän perijuuret on
(T16I31M)

‘The feeling emerged of belonging to something that is our heritage.’

(75)

Olin kerran jotain viistoista kakskymmentä vuotta sitten yhen kerran
seurakuntaneuvoston puheenjohtajana ja jo sillon sanottiin että seurakunta tulee
kuolemaan. (T16I31M)

‘I was once fifteen twenty years ago the chairman of the congregational council and already then it was said that the congregation will die.’

The Priest of the Finnish Lutheran Church in Brisbane believes that the Brisbane congregation will survive many years. He also mentions that there have been predictions that the congregation will die, but those were made at a time when only the older people were active in the church. The Brisbane area has the biggest Finnish population in Australia, and due to increasing interstate migration, if not immigration from Finland the community can still grow and stay active. The priest’s aim at the start of the new millennium was to attract also the younger middle-aged Finnish population to the church activities. For instance, starting a choir has brought new people into the Church’s ambit. The Finnish Seamen’s Mission started its work in Brisbane and it seems Brisbane will have Australia’s last active Finnish community (Interview, September 1999).

Evidently many elements of Finnish culture have been maintained including food, the sauna, crafts and activities. The conversation data contains twenty-two coded attitudes to culture maintenance. No-one gave negative comments indicating a wish to forget Finnish culture.

Australians' attitudes as reported by informants

The conversation data also includes material on what the informants have perceived to be Australians' attitude towards Finns, migrants and languages other than English. On the whole these instances are not many (nineteen occurrences of five codes). Three informants say employers thought highly of Finns as employees. Community members often tell the story of Mt Isa Mines threatening to shut down if Finns had been interned during WWII. Two informants mention that having Australian citizenship was sometimes a prerequisite but always preferred in gaining employment.

One couple discusses how their children's Australian friends have a very positive attitude and great interest towards the Finnish language. The friends have even wanted to learn Finnish and are extremely proud of the few words they have learnt. The father comments though, that Australians' attitudes towards foreign languages have not always been so tolerant, and there have been times when people did not like anyone to speak a foreign language in the presence of English-speaking Australians. The same issue is brought up by another informant who mentions in passing that now it is all right to speak Finnish anywhere, but this has not always been the case:

(76)

Ennen oli semmonen erilainen suhtautuminen et ennen tota ei kaikki tykänny ollenkaan että puhu muitten aikana ni puhu omaa kieltänsä ja jotku ihmiset sanoki jossain voi jopa yleisel paikall bussiski sanoi jos jotku puhui kauan sitte.

(T2I3M)

‘Earlier the attitude was different not everyone liked it at all that you spoke your language in the presence of others and some people said sometimes even in public places in busses some said too if you spoke a long time ago.’

4.2. Finnish and English language skills

4.2.1. Evaluations of Finnish skills

The Finnish language skills of these thirty-one first generation Australian Finns are still very good after decades away from Finland. The averages are calculated from the informants' own evaluations on a scale from 5 for very good skills to 1 for no skill. As

discussed in the methods chapter, self-evaluations were chosen over proficiency testing, because a test could have jeopardised informants' participation in the study, and due to the test situation the results might not have been entirely reliable. The risk of these Finnish informants over-estimating their skills was not considered significant. Traditionally Finnish culture does not have the tendency of self-enhancement, in comparison to some western cultures. It is more likely that while aiming at being honest and truthful, the informants were modest in their evaluations.

This study is concerned with the attitudes the informants have towards immigrant experience with special reference to the language attitudes. It is appropriate that the language skills are also ascertained through the informants' own evaluations which, while they give ratings of the proficiency, also contribute to the expressions of attitudes. This chapter concentrates on presenting the language skills of the informants. How the self-evaluated skills correlate with attitudes towards language maintenance, code-switching, culture maintenance, language learning and bilingualism will be discussed in detail in later sections (4.4., 4.5., and 4.6.).

Numeric values for language skills have been given during analysis. The questionnaire had a verbal description of the skill level (very well, well, etc.). The Finnish skills average of thirty informants (one did not evaluate Finnish skills) is 4.03:

- Spoken Finnish 3.9
- Understanding spoken Finnish 4.03
- Understanding written Finnish 4.17
- Writing Finnish 4

Even if the Finnish skills appear to be high, evaluation of mother tongue skills were expected to be even higher. Speaking Finnish has the lowest average followed by writing. Comprehension skills are rated higher.

Table 4.7 Self-evaluated Finnish skills.

Code	Spoken Finnish	Understanding spoken Finnish	Understanding written Finnish	Written Finnish	Average skill
T111M	4	4	5	2	3.75
T112F	4	4	4	4	4
T213M	4	4	4	4	4
T214F	5	5	5	5	5
T315M	4	4	4	4	4
T416M	4	4	4	4	4
T417F					
T518F	3	3	3	3	3
T519F	2	2	2	2	2
T6111F	4	4	4	4	4
T5110F	3	3	5	4	3.75
T7112M	4	4	4	4	4
T8113F	5	5	5	5	5
T8114M	4	5	5	5	4.75
T9115F	5	5	5	5	5
T9116M	5	5	5	5	5
T10117F	3	3	3	3	3
T11119F	4	4	4	4	4
T11120M	3	3	3	3	3
T13123M	4	4	4	4	4
T13124F	5	5	5	5	5
T12121F	4	4	4	4	4
T12122M	3	3	3	3	3
T14125F	5	5	5	5	5
T14126M	4	4	4	4	4
T14127F	4	4	4	4	4
T15128M	3	4	3	3	3.25
T15129F	3	3	5	4	3.75
T16130F	4	5	5	5	4.75
T16131M	4	5	5	5	4.75
T10118F	4	4	4	4	4
Averages	3.9	4.03	4.17	4	4.03

Low evaluation of non-standard varieties of Finnish is common in and outside Finland. According to Lindgren (2003), Finns in and outside Finland have often compared the different varieties of Finnish to standard Finnish, not to spoken Finnish in the homeland. Due to this comparison with standard Finnish, Finns for instance in Sweden, Norway, Ingria (the area along the southern shore of the Gulf of Finland, east of Estonia, in present day Russia), and North America have had their language called a mixture, no language at all or incomprehensible, and have also themselves judged their languages in such manner. It has been suggested that from the beginning of the 1900s until the 1960s standard spoken Finnish was fashionable (Koski, 2002). Recently opinions in Finland

have started to change; since the 1970s spoken Finnish and dialects have gained in status and respect (Nuolijärvi, 1986). Interest towards Finnish outside Finland has also increased (Lindgren, 2003). Still, for instance, Finnish students undertaking their studies in Estonia hear endless comments from their friends in Finland about their Finnish being an incomprehensible mixture with Estonian (Kataja & Klaas, 2003).

The informants in the present study left Finland at a time when varieties of Finnish and dialects had not yet established this stronger status. The informants were still likely to compare their Finnish to the standard, which they would have been taught in Finnish comprehensive school. The data indicate that many are deliberately quite modest in their Finnish skill evaluations.

The average of all the self-rated Finnish skills is 4.03 (thirty informants). The average Finnish skills of those fifteen who claimed to speak a dialect of Finnish is 3.92 and the average Finnish skill of those twelve who claimed to speak standard spoken Finnish is 4.17. The self-claimed standard speakers have evaluated their Finnish skills slightly higher than the skills of the dialect speakers seem to be. This is not a big difference as both figures 3.92 and 4.14 are close to value 4, which here means “good skills”. It is interesting, however, that the dialect speakers have rated their skills slightly lower. This could be due to the kind of low evaluation of regional dialects described above.

Question 1.24. asked the informants whether they thought they spoke a dialect of Finnish or standard spoken Finnish. Fifteen informants claimed to speak a dialect, twelve standard spoken Finnish. Three claimed to speak a mixture of dialect and standard spoken Finnish and one informant answered “neither” (his recorded speech was closer to standard spoken Finnish than dialect). In an L2 environment the distinction between varieties of L1 may lose some of the importance it has in the country of origin (Pauwels, 1986). In studies by Pauwels (1986) and Bettoni (1991) dialect speakers felt a need to maintain their regional identity and mixed more with those from their own regions. The Finnish community is not big enough for Finns to have the luxury of choosing to mix with speakers of the same dialect only. On the other hand, in Australia they are not under pressure to converge towards other Finnish varieties, which would have happened had they moved within Finland. Internal migration to Helsinki often led to the variety of Finnish shifting towards standard

spoken Finnish or the Helsinki variety (Nuolijärvi, 1986). There is no evidence of the Finnish regional dialects spoken in Australia shifting towards a more standard spoken variety.

The conversation data offers some comments to shed light on how dialects are valued. The informant in example 77 is proud of the family's regional dialect but seems to accept the Helsinki variety as a prestige variety, and that from its point of view their dialect is considered less Finnish. Later the same informant criticises the Helsinki variety as having too much English influence, more than their Australian Finnish *Fineska*:

(77)

minä sanoin että meidän kaik räpeltää samanlaista suomii ku myö ni jos Helsingin horisontist kattois ni myö osata ensinkää (T14I25F)

‘I said that our children all speak the same kind of Finnish as we do and if you’d look at it from the Helsinki point of view you’d say we don’t know Finnish at all.’

This informant has shifted from her original South-eastern dialect to standard spoken Finnish as a result of migration within Finland. The fact that half of the informants speak a dialect could indicate that they left for Australia from their original place of residence:

(78)

Sen huomaa et monet vielä karjalaiset puhuu sitä mie ja sie mut mult se on jääny pois se on jääny jo Suomessa. (T6I11F)

‘It is noticeable how many Karelians still speak the dialect but I have stopped speaking it already in Finland.’

Question 1.25. asked whether the informant switched from dialect to standard spoken Finnish according to situation and interlocutor. Seven informants admitted that they do switch and twenty-three informants said that they do not switch. There are some inconsistencies in the answers to these two consecutive questions on the use of Finnish dialect or standard spoken Finnish. Of the seven informants who said they switch

between dialect and standard, only two claimed to speak both varieties in the previous question. Three claimed to speak a Finnish dialect, and two claimed to speak standard spoken Finnish, yet they say they switch between the two varieties. One informant added in the questionnaire that he uses dialects as the situation requires, for instance, imitated the Helsinki slang. Based on this data it is not possible to say how complete the switch between the dialect and standard spoken Finnish is in actual speech of the informants. However, it is interesting that seven informants have recognised this behaviour of accommodating their speech according to who they are speaking to and in what situation. Since the informants are all first generation, they would still have standard Finnish as a linguistic ideal, and could theoretically adjust their Finnish more or less according to the standard. Hirviniemi (2000) found that a third generation Australian Finn who had learnt Finnish from family in Australia had learnt only the dialect, and does not know standard spoken Finnish in the way that particularly the first generation, and to some extent the second generation speakers do, and cannot adjust or switch between varieties of Finnish. This kind of dialect speaker has also no reason to feel ashamed of the dialect, because he/she has not experienced the prejudice against features of his/her speech.

One of the questionnaire's attitude statements was about the importance of dialects. Those who claimed to speak a dialect had varying attitudes towards the dialect's importance to them. In fact the attitudes varied from totally agreeing with the importance of the dialect to totally disagreeing with its importance. Self-claimed standard speakers expressed similar varying attitudes. Only three informants claimed to speak both dialect and standard and their answers varied from totally disagreeing with dialect being important to totally agreeing with the statement. When the answers to the two questions "Do you think you speak a dialect or standard spoken Finnish?" and "My dialect is important to me" were compared, the most common answer combinations were that dialect speakers agreed with dialect being important (eight informants out of thirty). The second most common answer combination was that speakers of standard spoken Finnish totally agreed with their dialect being important to them (five informants out of thirty). These informants seem to consider standard spoken Finnish one of the dialects:

Table 4.8 Language variety spoken and the attitude towards the importance of own dialect.

Attitude towards importance of Finnish dialect	very positive	positive	neutral	negative	very negative
Dialect speakers	2	8	3	1	1
Speakers of both dialect and standard spoken Finnish	1	1			1
Speakers of standard spoken Finnish	5	1	2	1	3
Total	8	10	5	3 ⁴	5

The questionnaire did not ask about switching from Australian Finnish to standard or non-standard Finnish, but at least two informants comment that it is necessary when talking to visitors from Finland or Finns in Finland. Australian Finnish is a language that other Finns cannot understand.

(79)

T11I20M *x x siansaksaa puhuu ku sekotat nää kielet x kieltä puhuu*

T11I19F *aijoo mutta työ kuitennii ymmärrättä ja*

T11I20M *ei sitä tiedä kun on vieraita Suomesta ni*

T11I19F *aa mutta hyö on ollu tiällä niin kauan*

[...] mutta sitten ku männöö Suomee ja sitte eivät ne jotka ei ymmärrä ni sitte sannoo oh boy mää että sitte ku on monta sannoo joita ei muista mikä se on suomeksi [...]

‘T11I20M *x x you speak mumbo jumbo when you mix the language speak a x language*

T11I19F *oh yeah but you understand anyway*

T11I20M *you never know when there are visitors from Finland*

T11I19F *aah but they have been here for so long*

[...] but when you go to Finland and they don’t understand and say oh boy and there are many words that I don’t remember in Finnish.’

⁴ One informant did not specify the language variety spoken

(80)

[...] kaikki neljä puhuu suomee mutta se on semmosta fingliskaa kun ne sit jos ne joutuu ihan pakosta puhumaan oikeen suomee ni kyl se löytyy sieltä [...] (T2I4F)
‘[...] all four speak Finnish but it is kind of Finglish when they if they really have to speak proper Finnish they can find it there somewhere [...]

(81)

ei se ite huomaa se luulee puhuvansa suomee mut sit ku se joutuu niinko isänsä äidille puhumaan esimerkiks tai sitte kun mun sukulaisii on ollu Suomest käymässä täällä ni se löytyy se suomen kieli sieltä et täkäläisille ku se tietää et se fingliskalla pärjää ni se luulee puhuvansa suomee kyllä sillonki mutta (T2I4F)

‘she doesn’t notice it herself she thinks she is speaking Finnish but when she has to for instance talk to her grandmother or if my relatives from Finland are visiting she can find the Finnish language there somewhere but with the local Finns she knows she can manage with Finglish and thinks she is speaking Finnish’

4.2.2. Evaluations of English skills

The averages for the self-evaluated English language skills for the whole sample of thirty-one informants are:

- Spoken English 2.9
- Understanding spoken English 3.29
- Understanding written English 3.26
- Written English 2.71

Combining these averages gives 3.04 as the overall average for English skills. This average means moderate English skills:

Table 4.9 Self-evaluated English skills.

Code	Spoken English	Understanding spoken English	Understanding written English	Written English	Average skill
T111M	2	2	3	2	2.25
T112F	2	2	2	2	2
T213M	3	4	4	4	3.75
T214F	3	4	4	2	3.25
T315M	3	3	3	3	3
T416M	3	3	4	3	3.25
T417F	3	3	3	2	2.75
T518F	0	3	3	3	2.25
T519F	4	4	4	4	4
T6111F	3	3	3	3	3
T5110F	1	2	1	1	1.25
T7112M	3	4	3	2	3
T8113F	3	3	2	1	2.25
T8114M	2	3	3	2	2.5
T9115F	3	3	3	3	3
T9116M	3	3	3	3	3
T10117F	3	3	3	3	3
T11119F	4	4	4	3	3.75
T11120M	4	4	4	4	4
T13123M	2	3	3	2	2.5
T13124F	3	3	3	2	2.75
T12121F	3	3	3	2	2.75
T12122M	4	4	4	4	4
T14125F	4	4	4	3	3.75
T14126M	2	2	2	2	2
T14127F	5	5	5	5	5
T15128M	3	3	3	2	2.75
T15129F	3	3	3	2	2.75
T16130F	3	5	5	4	4.25
T16131M	3	4	4	3	3.5
T10118F	3	3	3	3	3
Averages	2.90	3.29	3.26	2.71	3.04

The conversation data has additional information on twenty-seven informants' English skills. Fourteen informants claim to have known no English at all when they arrived in Australia. The comment often heard from community members, and also present in this data, is:

(82)

Eikä osannu kyllä kieltä ei sitten niin ei ei jees eikä nou eikä tuota sitäkään jos niin väärään paikkaan nekin. (T8I13F)

‘And we didn’t know the language (English) at all not even yes or no and even those in the wrong situation.’

Six informants claim to have had little skill in English when they arrived in Australia, and three informants claim to have had some English skill. Ten informants say that they had studied English before migrating to Australia. The extent of these studies varied from a few evening classes to four years study in the Finnish intermediate school. Four

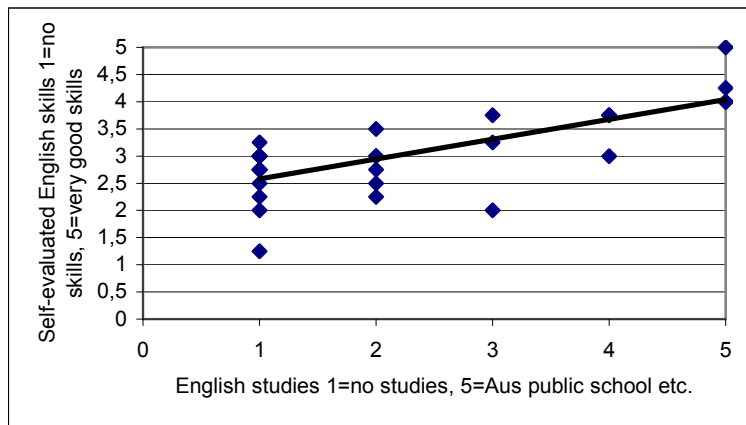
informants have taken part in the government's immigrant language courses in Australia. All of these informants arrived in the early 1970s. Two informants took a correspondence course in Australia, and one informant who worked for Mt Isa Mines participated in the compulsory language course provided by the company. The new Finnish employees had to take part in the lessons until they demonstrated adequate English skills to follow and implement the safety and hygiene regulations. Two other informants have studied English in Australia, but it is not clear from the conversation or questionnaires what form of study they undertook. There are also three informants who arrived at a young enough age to go to school in Australia. They do not mention having been taught English as a second language, but have reached a native-like fluency in English, and evaluate their English skills to be on average 4 or 5 (good or very good). The other two informants who have evaluated their skills as good or very good arrived as adults, but have acquired their professional qualifications in Australia.

To allow for correlation analysis between language skill and language study, the English studies which the informants mention in the questionnaire or on tape were categorised:

- 1 no English studies
- 2 short courses: evening courses, correspondence courses, Mt Isa Mine course
- 3 government ESL course
- 4 EFL in Finnish school
- 5 Australian public school, professional qualification in Australia

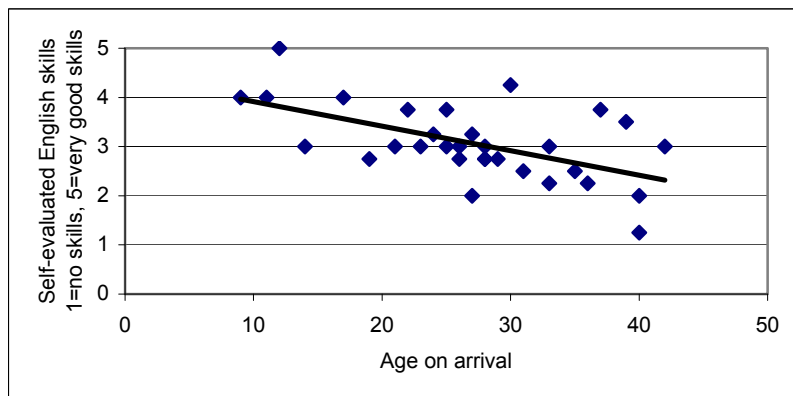
As can be expected, those who have gone to Australian schools have better English skills than those who have not. On the other hand there are informants with no formal language training who have acquired moderate skills:

Figure 4.1 Correlation between English studies and self-evaluated English skills.



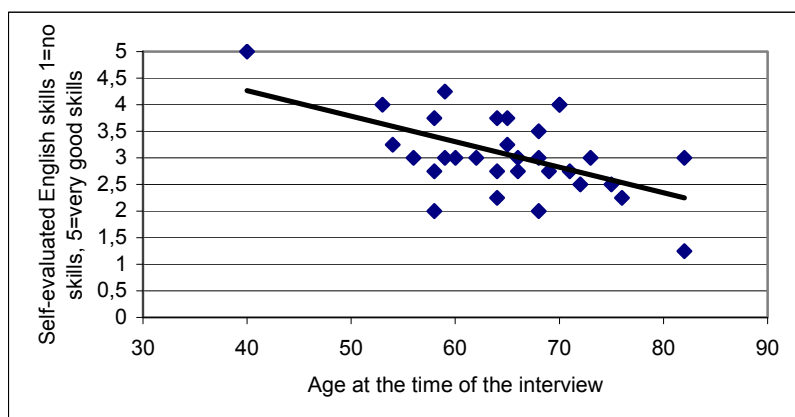
The correlation is clearer when age on arrival and English skill evaluations are compared. The younger the informants were at the time of arrival in Australia the better their English skill evaluations were at the time of data collection:

Figure 4.2 Correlation between self-evaluated English skills and age on arrival.



There is a correlation between English skill evaluations and age at the time of the interview: the older the informant when evaluating own skills, the lower the evaluation. The length of residence varies from twenty-seven to sixty-one years, so those who were youngest at the time of arrival were not necessarily the youngest at the time of the interview:

Figure 4.3 Correlation between self-evaluated English skills and age at the time of the interview.



Overall the informants report having moderate English skills. The more the informants have studied in Australia, be it language or other studies, the better their English skills. The younger the informants were on arrival in Australia the better their English skills at the time of data collection. Finnish skills are still very good after two to six decades away from Finland. The average Finnish skills do, however, show patterns of foreign and second language proficiency, i.e. the passive skills are evaluated as stronger than the active skills. The informants are very critical of their written Finnish and also of their spoken Finnish. The averages of the English and Finnish skills are 3.04 for English and 4.03 for Finnish.

On the face of it, moderate English skills self-evaluated by the informants are in contrast with the recurring emphasis in other studies on Finnish immigrants' lack of English skills (Koivukangas, 1975; Mattila, 1990). However, even moderate English skills may not be good enough to allow linguistic integration into Australian society. As long as a 'foreign' accent is distinguishable it is a cue for Anglo-Australians to elicit ethnic stereotypes, as discussed in Section 2.1.3.

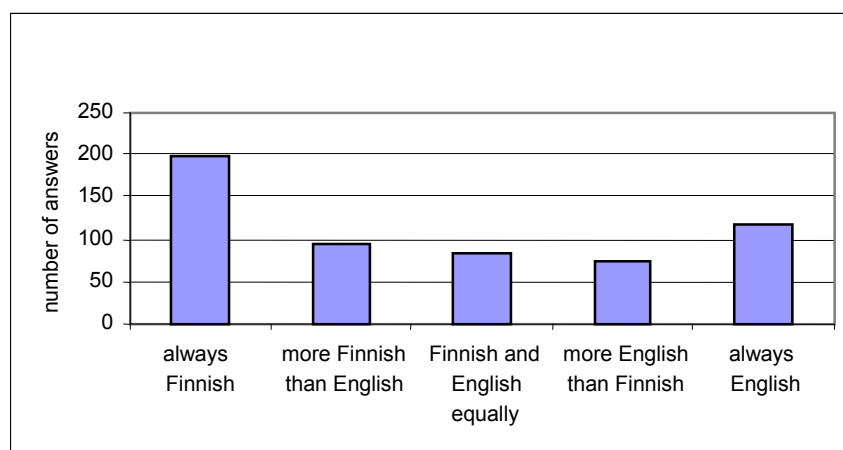
4.3. Use of Finnish and English

The questionnaire inquired about the informants' language choice when communicating with ten different interlocutors, and when undertaking thirteen different tasks:

1. children
2. spouse
3. mother
4. father
5. grandchildren
6. siblings
7. relatives
8. friends
9. boss
10. work mates
11. listening to music (songs)
12. watching TV
13. watching videos and films
14. reading papers and magazines
15. reading books
16. listening to the radio
17. religious matters
18. writing personal letters
19. counting
20. writing a shopping list
21. writing a note
22. praying
23. swearing

Informants answered the questions they considered relevant to their situation, so that the total number of answers was 568 instead of 713, the total if all thirty-one informants answered all twenty-three questions. Overall language choice in all these twenty-three instances is polarised between the extremes. 30.04% of the answers indicate that Finnish is always used, and the next highest percentage is 20.95% for answers claiming that English is always used:

Figure 4.4 Average language use with ten interlocutors and when undertaking thirteen different tasks.



Since the informants are first generation Finnish speakers, we can infer that Finnish has a strong position in many domains, particularly in non-public domains.

4.3.1. Language use at home and with the family

The questions on language use with children and spouse relate most clearly to the home domain. 64% of informants who have children speak only or mostly Finnish to them. In the questionnaire (question 1.3.1.) thirteen informants (46.4%) out of twenty-eight who have children claim to always speak Finnish to their children. Five other informants (17.9%) speak more Finnish than English to their children.

92.6% of the informants speak only Finnish or more Finnish than English to their spouses. Three informants did not answer. One of them has never been married, one is widowed and one divorced. Another divorcee, however, did answer the question. She has not remarried so the answer must relate to the Finnish ex-husband. Only one informant is married to a non-Finn and the researcher expected the rest of the married informants to speak Finnish to their Finnish spouses. To a great extent they do, as 82.1% claim to always speak Finnish to their spouses. There are four exceptions in addition to the woman with an English-speaking husband. One couple claims to speak mostly Finnish to each other (T11I19F, T11I20M). They have good English skills, and use English also when talking to their children. One man claims to speak more Finnish than English to his wife, yet his wife claims to always speak Finnish to him. This male informant's answers to the language use questions include no "always Finnish" answers. He has shifted into using at least some English in all the areas included in this study. One of the younger female informants claims to use Finnish and English equally when speaking to her Finnish husband. The couple have native-like command of English, since they migrated as teenagers. They have taught Finnish to their children, and in fact Finnish was the only language the children knew until they started school. At the time of the interview, however, her reported language use with their children is Finnish and English equally.

Comments on the language used at home were coded ten times in the conversation data in the speech of nine informants. Five of these informants had said in the questionnaire that they speak only Finnish to their children, and one informant had indicated speaking mostly Finnish. One of the informants has no children, so that her home language refers to language used with her husband. Because of the unstructured nature of the conversations not everyone commented on the home language issue on the tape. Two of

those informants who say on tape that their home language is Finnish, claim in the questionnaire to speak English and Finnish equally to their children. One of these contradicting informants goes on to explain on tape how the children knew Finnish when they lived at home, but have since forgotten most of it:

(83)

oo meidän tuota ne oppi kun ne oli pienii ne oppi suomen

[...] ja myö ne puhu niin kauan kotona puhuttiin niinkun suomee mutta mutta niilt on se suomi unohtunu (T11I9)

‘oo our well they learnt when they were little they learnt Finnish [...] and we they spoke as long as at home we spoke Finnish but they have forgotten Finnish.’

The other person with similar answers says on tape that her family still speaks Finnish at home even if it has become a mixture of Finnish and English. It seems, then, that in both these cases English has affected the home language, either by gradually replacing Finnish or by interfering with the Finnish spoken. It is a common phenomenon in immigrant families that as children venture outside the home, and become fluent in the dominant language, their language use changes in favour of the dominant language (Clyne, 1991, p. 57). The first language is no longer used with siblings, and with parents only if absolutely necessary. Examples of speaking English to brothers and sisters are also present in this data on first generation immigrants. According to questionnaire answers, the majority of the informants speak Finnish with their siblings. 90% of answers to the question on language spoken to siblings were only or mostly Finnish, and 81.8% were always Finnish. Since the informants are first generation migrants, most of them left parents and siblings in Finland. There are eight informants who have siblings in Australia, and seven of them also speak English to them. One of these informants, who arrived in Australia at the age of nine, claims to speak more English than Finnish to his brother. An informant, who was eleven when she arrived, speaks Finnish to the eldest sister, but English to all the other siblings. The elder sister, however, claims to speak Finnish to all the siblings. Another informant who was twelve at the time of arrival claims to use Finnish and English equally with her siblings. An informant who was over twenty when he arrived in Australia to join his parents, brothers and sisters, also claims to speak more Finnish than English to his siblings.

Since most of the informants were elderly at the time of the interview (twenty-two informants were sixty or older, cf. 3.1.2.), many had already lost their parents. Everyone (thirteen informants) who answered one or both of the questions on language use with parents claimed to speak only Finnish with them. The parents of five of these informants are in Australia.

Grandparents' answers about language use with their grandchildren spread across the whole answer continuum. 54.5% of the grandparents speak mostly or only English to their grandchildren. 40.9% of them always speak English. 27.3% of grandparents speak mostly or always Finnish. This figure consists of five informants who always speak Finnish and one informant who speaks mostly Finnish. One of the grandmothers who speaks only Finnish to the grandchildren related in conversation that her children asked her to always speak Finnish to the grandchildren and she is consistently doing so. The questionnaire did not ask about the grandchildren's Finnish skills, but six informants commented on this in conversation. Four informants mentioned that the grandchildren speak Finnish to them. These four, and two other informants, said that their grandchildren understand Finnish. Incidents of grandchildren answering in English to the grandparents' Finnish were also related. There is clearly more English use with grandchildren than with any other group of family members or relatives addressed in the questionnaire. Clyne (2003, p. 28) notes that it may appear that language shift is often complete in three generations in many ethnolinguistic groups in the urban immigrant situation, but this need not always be the case. Kovács has also concluded in her study of Australian Finnish code-switching that language shift, at least in her data, was complete in three generations (Kovács, 2001a). Contradicting data also exists. For instance, Hirviniemi (2000) found that in her sample the representative of the third generation informant still spoke Finnish, in fact the purest Finnish regional dialect of the representatives of three consecutive generations. The English use with grandchildren in this data, however, is a sign of language shift in the third generation. More discussion on the dynamics of language use and language maintenance will follow in Section 4.4. (Language maintenance).

4.3.2. Language use with relatives

The question in Finnish asks “What language do you speak to your relatives?” In Finnish, if the distinction needs to be made between relatives and in-laws, it has to be explained. There is no one term for ‘in-laws’. The questionnaire was administered in Finnish and it was assumed that the word relative would be understood according to its Finnish semantics. However, on analysing the answers it became clear that for some informants the categories ‘relative’ and ‘in-law’ had become contaminated by English. It is not necessarily entirely clear whether in-laws are included in relatives. The majority 74% (twenty out of twenty-seven answers) claim to speak only Finnish to their relatives. This is a high percentage considering that most have children who are married to non-Finns and are bound to have non-Finnish-speaking in-laws. The data does not systematically indicate how many in-laws are English-speaking, and how much contact these informants have with the English-speaking in-laws. The sample has six informants who claim not to speak English, so communication with everyone must be in Finnish.

One male informant claims to speak more English than Finnish to his relatives. Interestingly his Finnish wife always speaks Finnish to her relatives. This difference in language choice can be due to a difference in defining the term “relative” or the level of assimilation, as he has lived in Australia longer than his wife and is fluent in English. He may have more contact with his children’s spouses, nieces, nephews and their spouses and families than with Finnish speaking relatives in Finland, and this explains the higher proportion of English use. His wife, on the other hand, stays in touch with her family in Finland, and speaks Finnish to all the family members in Australia who know Finnish or wish to maintain it.

4.3.3. Language use with friends

First of all, the definition of the Finnish word *ystävä*, which was used in the questionnaire, is usually different from its English translation, ‘friend’. Often someone who in English would be referred to as a friend would in Finnish be called an acquaintance. Secondly, this generation of Finns in Australia still realistically had a chance to make social links with Finns, having arrived during the major Finnish migration waves. Twenty-nine informants said that they have many Finnish friends in

Australia. One informant claimed to have some Finnish friends, and one informant says that about half of her friends are Finnish.

A little under half of the informants 40% (twelve of thirty answers) say they speak only Finnish with their friends. 30% of informants claim to speak mostly Finnish and 26.7% claim to speak Finnish and English equally. Only one person claims to speak only English with her friends. All of the eight informants who arrived at the age of twenty-two or younger speak English to their friends: one speaks always English, four speak English and Finnish equally, and three speak more Finnish than English. 52.2% of the twenty-three informants who arrived at the age of twenty-three or older always speak Finnish to their friends. 26.1% speak more Finnish than English, and 17.4% speak Finnish and English equally. Age on arrival correlates with language use with friends. The younger the informant was on arrival, the more English they claimed to speak in social context: in other words, the arrival at an age when natural acquisition of English through immersion was possible has enabled assimilation to social life with English speaking Australians.

Figure 4.5 Correlation between language spoken to friends and age on arrival.

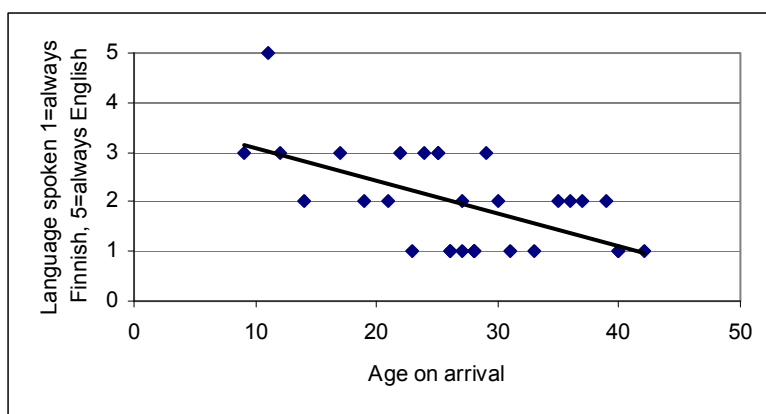
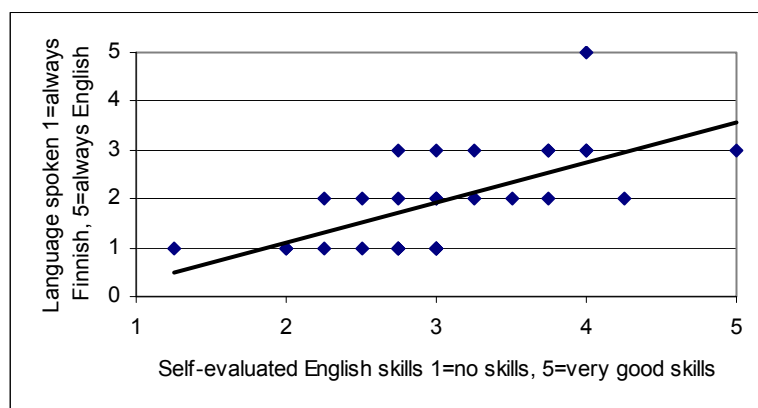


Figure 4.6 Correlation between language spoken to friends and English skills.



The English language skills and language used with friends also correlate. None of those informants who claim to have on average better than moderate English skills (English skill average 3.25 or higher) speak only Finnish to their friends. Those who have no or very low English proficiency would not have been able to make friends with English speakers. Those who are reasonably proficient in English have chosen to keep socialising with Finns, and with one exception, the person whose friends are all English-speaking, they claim that their use of English with friends has not exceeded the use of Finnish (no answers of type 4 = more English than Finnish). As for instance Pavlenko (2001) has found not only intimate relations, but also interactions with friends and casual acquaintances may be a difficult terrain to navigate in a second language.

Comments from the conversations offer some explanation to this tendency of keeping Finnish company:

(84)

Even jopa huumorikin joskus on niin erilaista [...] en tiedä tosiaan mikä siin on onks se sitte että sanotaan sä voit jutella niinkö Suomesta ja tiedät että toinen ymmärtää heti sen tai mistä tahansa tommosesta sanotaan mitä sä et voi taas aussin kanssa [...] ja joku siinä on että sä tunnet niinkön se on jotenkin yksinkertasempaa seurustella suomalaisten kanssa (T2I4F)

‘Even the humour is sometimes so different [...] I don’t know what it is really is it that you can you know talk about Finland, and you know that the other person immediately understands you or anything like that, which you don’t

have with an Aussie [...] and there is something there that makes you feel that it is somehow less complicated to socialise with Finns.’

Another informant comments how in his opinion Finns keeping Finnish company is clearly the Finns’ choice:

(85)

ei siinä mitään semmosta ettei sitä vois käydä mutta ja mä luulen että se on melkein enemmän suomalaisten puolelta että ne ei niinku kyl ne australialaiset monta kertaa ne ihan tykkäis olla suomalaisten kanssa ja noin olla mutta en mä tiä suomalaiset kuitenkin on niinku samanlaisii enemmän ja puheenaiheet vähän ehkä erilaisii ja suomalaisten kesken (T2I3M)

‘no there isn’t anything like that that you couldn’t go (and visit Australians) and I think it comes almost more from the Finns that they don’t yeah Australians often would actually like to be with Finns and so on, but I don’t know Finns are after all more similar and talk about the same things with other Finns.’

One informant comments that it is easier to make good friends with other migrants than with Australians:

(86)

[...] eh en mä tiedä kyl niitä on tietenki työmaalla paremminki kavereita työkavereita tulee parempia tulee oikeestaa läheisemp- mutta niit ei perheitten kans ei silti enempää mut kyl tuo kaverit tulee aika läheisiä voi ja hyviä kavereita mutta mä tiä hirvee vaikea jollakin tavalla niinkun ... saada niinku oikeen hyvä oikee luotettava tuttu ni täält niinku australialaisesta [...]
ne niiden se niiden ajatustapa on niin paljo erilaine elämästä [...] Mutta niinku siirtolaisia enemmän jotka on siirtolaisia eurooppalaisia niistä voit saaha paljo helpommin (T3I5M)

‘ eh I don’t know of course at work on the site mates work mates can become close but you don’t know their families but the mates can be close but I don’t know it’s terribly difficult somehow to ... have a really good reliable acquaintance here I mean an Australian [...] their outlook on life is so much

different [...] but immigrants, those who are immigrants from Europe are easier to get to know.’

4.3.4. Language use in the work domain

Most of the informants were retired at the time of the data collection, and did not answer the questions regarding language use in the work domain. Some did, however, and some informants were still in the workforce. “Language spoken to boss” was reported by fifteen informants. Twelve of them claim to always speak English to their boss. Only two people say they always spoke Finnish to their boss: one cleaned private homes of other Finns and the other worked in logging. One informant claimed to use more English than Finnish with his boss. Based on the recording, one of his many bosses in Australia had been Finnish. Language use with colleagues was reported by fifteen informants. Nine informants claim to have always spoken English with their colleagues. One informant particularly pointed out, as she answered this question, that she never worked with Finns. Her tone of voice made it sound almost as if it was less worthy to work with Finns in Finnish:

(87)

Interviewer: *Entäs pomon kanssa?*

T6I11F: *nii no se on ilman muuta englanniks kun en mä muuta kun sen alun olin suomalaisen nii eihän niitten kans pysty*

Interviewer: *samoin työkaverit*

T6I11F: *joo ei mul oo koskaan ollu suomalaisia työkavereita*

‘Interviewer: How about to the boss?’

T6I11F: well it had to be English because I worked only in the beginning for a Finn and you can’t speak Finnish to them

Interviewer: and work mates

T6I11F: I have never had Finnish work mates.’

Two informants, who have mostly worked as carpenters, claim to have spoken more English than Finnish with work mates. Unfortunately all the informants who worked for Mt Isa Mines did not answer this question, probably because they had been retired for several years at the time of the interview. One informant, who had worked for the

railways before being employed by the mine, but who was not a miner, claims to have spoken Finnish and English equally with colleagues. Another former Mt Isa Mines employee comments on tape that he worked with Finns some of the time if not all the time. According to him the mine wanted to keep the Finns together because those teams made the most metres of tunnel per day (T111M). One informant claims to speak more Finnish than English with colleagues, and two informants claim to have always spoken Finnish to their colleagues. These are the same two whose bosses were also Finnish.

4.3.5. Language use with different tasks

In multicultural Australia Finnish TV programs are rare. Radio programs, however, are a regular weekly event. Finnish literature or videos have to be sent from Finland. It is clear, then, that English dominates in entertainment. Magazines and newspapers are also mostly read in English. The answers indicate that seven of thirty-one informants read magazines and newspapers only in English. The spread of the answers indicates, however, that many informants read magazines and papers in Finnish too. These are likely to be the Australian Finnish newspapers. When asked about reading the Australian Finnish language newspapers, thirty informants claimed to read them and twenty-five were subscribers. This figure does not match the number of informants who claim to read papers and magazines in Finnish. Seven of the thirty-one informants say they read only in English, yet six of them later claim to read the Australian Finnish newspapers, and all six also subscribe to at least one of the papers. Some informants are also known to have subscribed to homeland Finnish magazines. There are groups of families who share a subscription and have the Finnish magazines delivered in Australia. Reading books is divided quite evenly across the Finnish-English continuum, and interestingly thirty out of thirty-one informants answered this question, which indeed is an indication of a strong reading tradition within the community. Eleven informants read mostly or only in Finnish, seven equally in both languages, and twelve mostly or only in English.

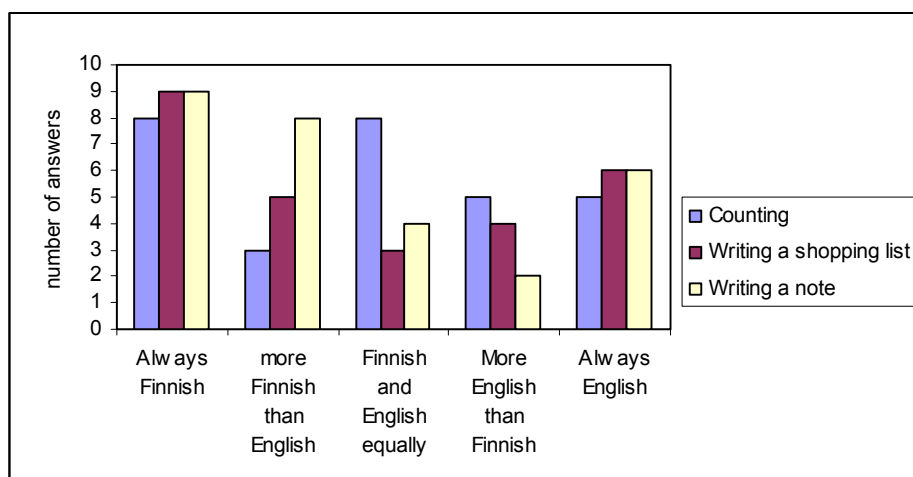
Religion, on the other hand, shows Finnish dominance, as fourteen out of the twenty-three who wished to comment on the language of religious matters said that it was always Finnish. For five informants the language of religion is mostly Finnish, for two it is English and Finnish equally, and for two mostly English. No-one reports the

language of religious matters to be entirely English. The language of prayer was only given by twenty informants, and ten of them claim to pray in Finnish. Religious beliefs, praying and other practices are very private matters, which Finns are not often heard discussing in public. The informants who did not answer these questions may be indicating either that they would not class themselves as practising believers, or that they do not wish to give this information.

The language of personal letters was given by twenty-seven informants. Fifteen of these informants claim to always write letters in Finnish, seven mostly in Finnish, three use both languages equally and two write mostly in English.

Counting, and writing a shopping list or a note to oneself are thought to be similar activities, something done privately for oneself. The written activities of writing a shopping list and a note, however, are done more often in Finnish than counting. 37.9% of answers to language used when counting to oneself is always or mostly Finnish, while the corresponding percentages for writing a shopping list or a note are 51.9% and 58.6%. This difference could be due to the difference in proficiency level and spoken English being stronger than written English. More informants are able to count in English than are able to write English in a shopping list or note.

Figure 4.7 Language used when counting and writing a shopping list or a note.



When asked which language they use outside home and work, fifteen of twenty-seven informants claimed to use both Finnish and English. There are five who always speak

Finnish, and seven who always speak English in those situations. These figures are difficult to interpret. The question was not specific enough to allow us to say with certainty what situations outside home and work the informants have considered in their answer. For instance, those seven who claim always to speak English outside home and work have clearly omitted Finnish community activities where they certainly use Finnish. When a fluent English speaker claims always to use Finnish outside home and work he must be omitting all commercial, trade and professional transactions.

Twenty-three informants claim to take part in the activities of the Finnish community, namely the activities of the Finnish Lutheran Church and the Finnish Association. According to the informants' reports, some English is used in the activities if necessary for the *kielinen* or 'non-Finnish-speaking' people, but mostly the language is Finnish. Because Queensland and particularly South-East Queensland has the largest Finnish population in Australia, it also has a range of Finnish services. *Finlandia News* has advertisements, for instance, for a Finnish dentist, a dental technician, two real estate agents, car repairs, TV & video repairs, a shoe factory, sauna companies and a bakery. There are also Finnish optometrists and doctors who do not advertise in the papers. Our sample happens to include several informants who visit the same Finnish-speaking doctor, and this mostly explains the fourteen answers of using Finnish services. Sixteen informants also claim to do shopping in Finnish. Although other shops exist, presumably many refer to the Scandinavian Bakery in Kingston in Brisbane, which they visit more regularly.

Based on the questionnaire, language use with ten interlocutors and with thirteen tasks indicates that the private domains are dominated by Finnish use, while English is the language of work and media. The highest percentages of the answer "always English" are found with:

- | | |
|------------------------------------|-------|
| ▪ language spoken to boss | 80% |
| ▪ TV | 80% |
| ▪ language spoken to colleagues | 64.3% |
| ▪ language spoken to grandchildren | 40.9% |

If the answers "more English than Finnish" are included, the other media also have high percentages of English use:

▪ papers and magazines	61.3%
▪ videos and films	60.7%
▪ radio	60.3%
▪ books	40%

The highest percentages of the answer “always Finnish” are with:

▪ parents	100%
▪ siblings	81.8%
▪ spouse	81.5%
▪ relatives	74%
▪ religion	60.9%
▪ personal letters	55.6%
▪ prayer	50%
▪ children	46.4%
▪ friends	40%

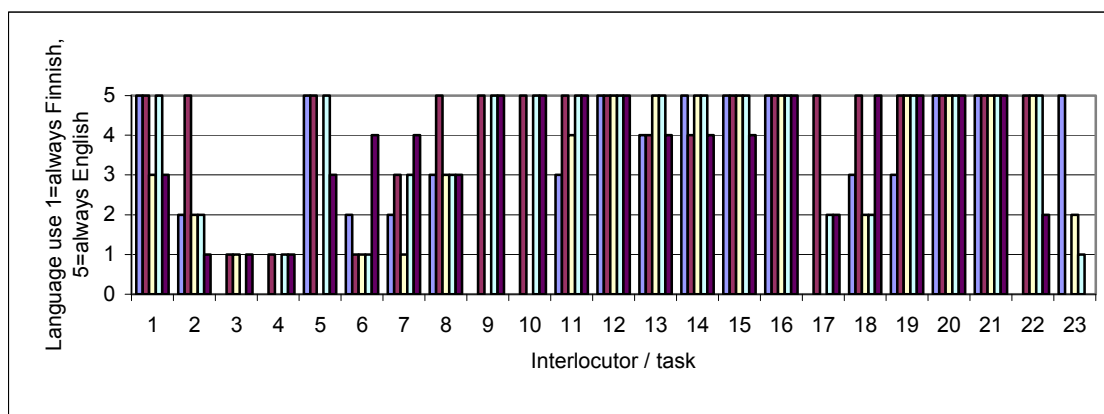
The task of swearing received the highest percentage 51.6% of no answer or the statement “I do not swear”.

4.3.6. Individual language use profiles

On average these informants use Finnish and English almost equally. The calculated average of language use answers (1= always Finnish – 5= always English) to the twenty-three language use questions is 2.68, i.e. just below 3, which in the questionnaire stands for Finnish and English used equally. The following bar charts present language use profiles of four informant groups based on whether their average language use amounts to more English than Finnish, English and Finnish equally, more Finnish than English or only Finnish. The charts are intended to help visualise the language use profiles in general as interpreting exact values from the charts particularly with thirteen and eleven informants in a group (Figures 4.8 and 4.9) is difficult. However, the charts are a more meaningful way of making sense of the profiles than for instance a table of values would be.

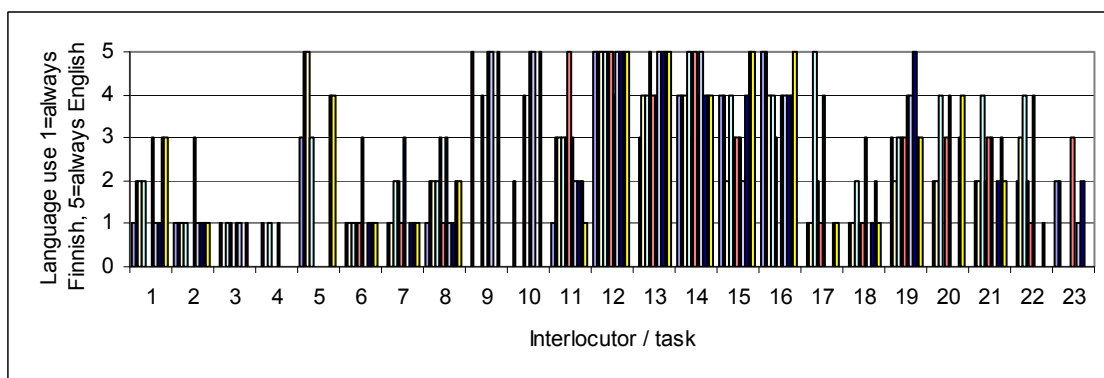
There are five informants who, on average, use more English than Finnish. The profiles show that English is used with every other person but their parents (questions 3 and 4). Of the tasks, religious matters (task 17), personal letters (task 18) and swearing (task 23) are still to some extent done in Finnish:

Figure 4.8 Language use profiles: five informants who use more English than Finnish.



There are thirteen informants whose language use average indicates equal use of Finnish and English. This profile shows Finnish use with most of the interlocutors. Grandchildren (interlocutor 5), boss and colleagues (interlocutors 9 and 10) are the only three with whom English is used more than Finnish. There is more English use with the tasks, i.e. items 11-23. Only writing personal letters (task 18) has at most equal English and Finnish use:

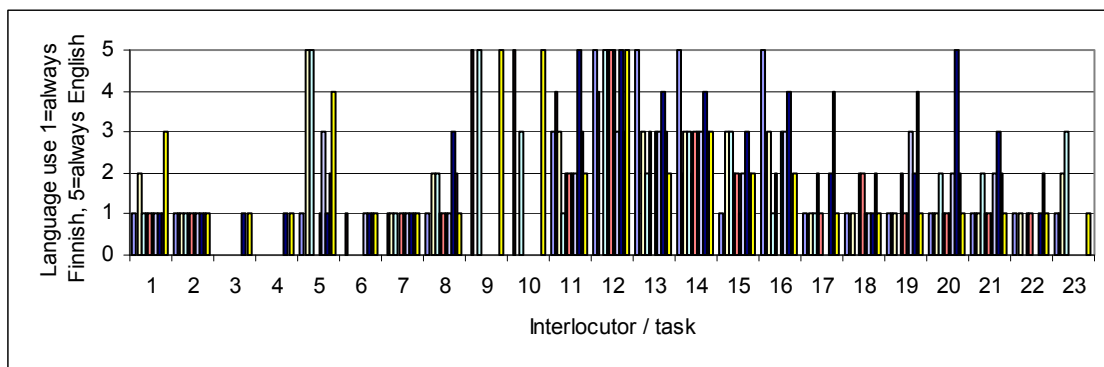
Figure 4.9 Language use profiles: thirteen informants who use English and Finnish equally.



Eleven informants use on average more Finnish than English. In this profile the only task that is systematically English-dominated is watching TV (task 12). Finnish use is

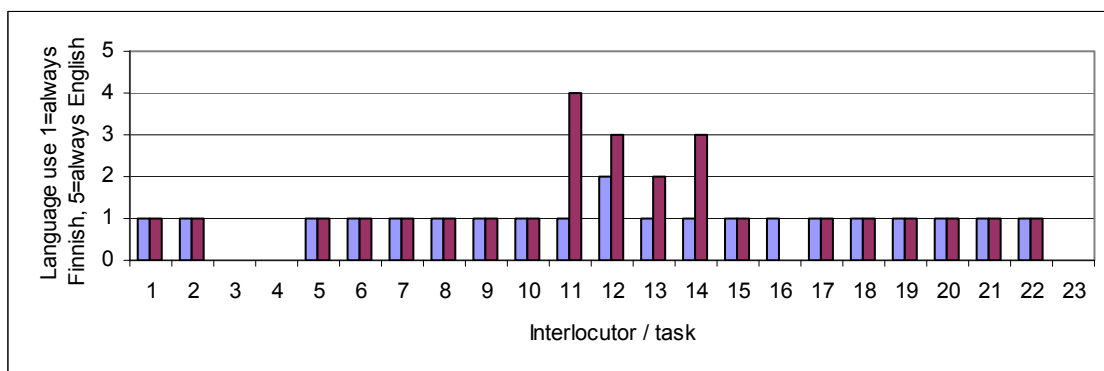
strong with family and friends, talking to the grandchildren being the exception. Boss and colleagues are also spoken to in English:

Figure 4.10 Language use profiles: eleven informants who use more Finnish than English.



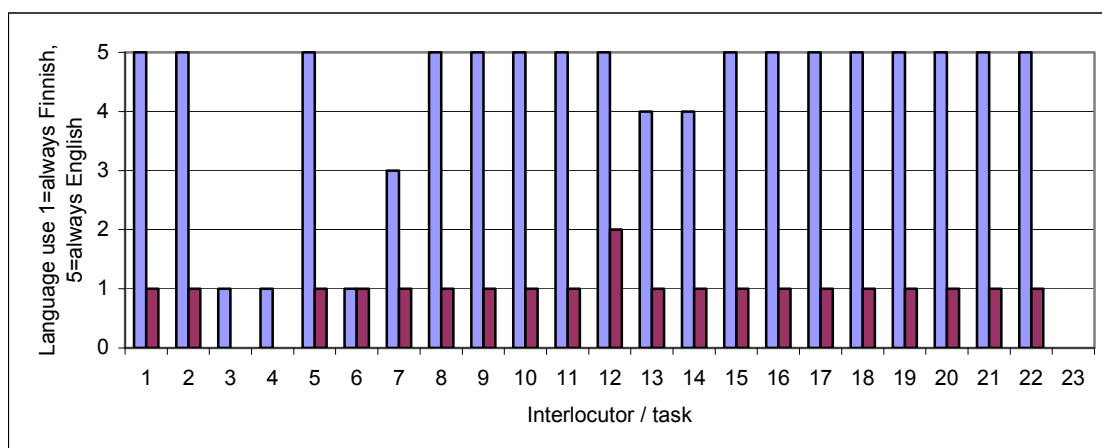
There are two informants who use English so little that their language use average remains low enough to be “always Finnish” (1.24):

Figure 4.11 Language use profiles: informants who use always Finnish.



The individuals at the extreme ends of Finnish dominating or English dominating language use are a mother and a daughter. In order to appreciate the extreme difference in language use these profiles are presented in a single graph.

Figure 4.12 Language use profiles of a Finnish speaker and an English speaker.



The mother clearly lives her life in Finnish. The only bar indicating some English use is watching TV (task 12). The daughter, on the other hand, uses English in most situations and with most people. She speaks Finnish to her parents (interlocutors 3 and 4), and siblings (interlocutor 6). On tape she comments though that she always speaks Finnish with one sister but English with all the other sisters and brothers. This graph is based on the questionnaire answers. With relatives (interlocutor 7) she uses English and Finnish equally. She watches some videos and films in Finnish (task 13), and reads some Finnish papers and magazines (task 14). On tape she comments to her mother how good it is that the mother subscribes to the Australian Finnish newspapers and all the children can read her papers.

As the averages of the use of Finnish and English show, the first generation informants in this sample use more Finnish than English with the interlocutors and in the tasks selected in this study. The family domain has remained most strongly Finnish, while media and the work domain are most clearly English domains. There are five informants who report more English use than Finnish with the selected interlocutors and in selected tasks, eleven informants report equal use of English and Finnish, eleven informants report more Finnish than English use, and two informants claim to use almost only Finnish.

4.4. Language maintenance

This section discusses the informants' attitudes towards Finnish language maintenance based on selected questionnaire answers and coded attitudes in the conversation data.

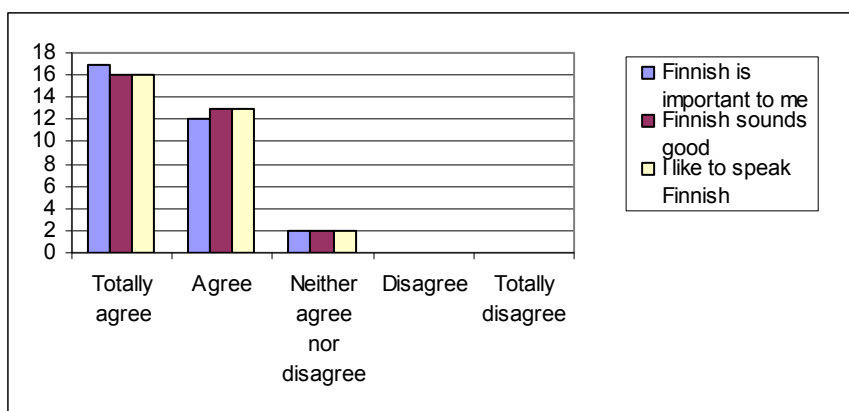
Correlations between attitude and language use, language skill and code-switching are also discussed. The section presents profiles of four Finnish language maintenance groups.

4.4.1. Attitude to language maintenance

Informants' attitudes towards language maintenance were investigated in the questionnaire by asking them to respond to seven statements relating to language and language maintenance. Expressions of attitudes to language maintenance were also coded from the data in the recorded conversations.

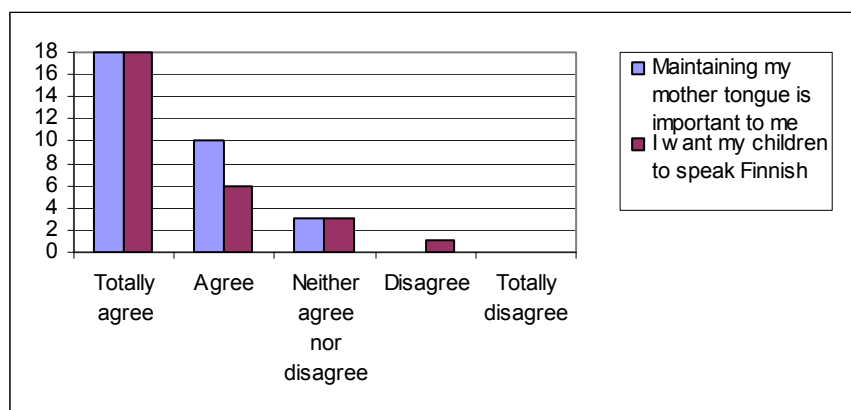
The first three statements of the questionnaire's attitude section were about attitudes towards the mother tongue. "Finnish language is important to me" (2.10.1.), "Finnish sounds good" (2.10.2.), and "I like to speak Finnish" (2.10.3.), prompted very positive attitudes from the informants. The responses of all thirty-one informants varied from "totally agree" to "neither agree nor disagree". No-one disagreed with these statements:

Figure 4.13 Attitudes towards Finnish.



A direct language maintenance statement: "Maintaining my mother tongue is important to me" (2.10.5.) had similar responses. Eighteen informants totally agreed, ten agreed and three did not agree or disagree:

Figure 4.14 Attitudes towards L1 maintenance and children being able to speak Finnish.



Twenty-eight of the total of thirty-one informants have children, and eighteen of them totally agreed with “I want my children to speak Finnish” (question 2.10.8.). Six informants agree with the statement and three neither agree nor disagree. One informant disagrees. This means that it is not very important to him that his children speak Finnish, yet the conversation data indicates that his children do indeed speak Finnish. This informant’s children were born in Finland and arrived in Australia very young. Within a few years the family returned to Finland for several months. The children are also fluent speakers of Australian English.

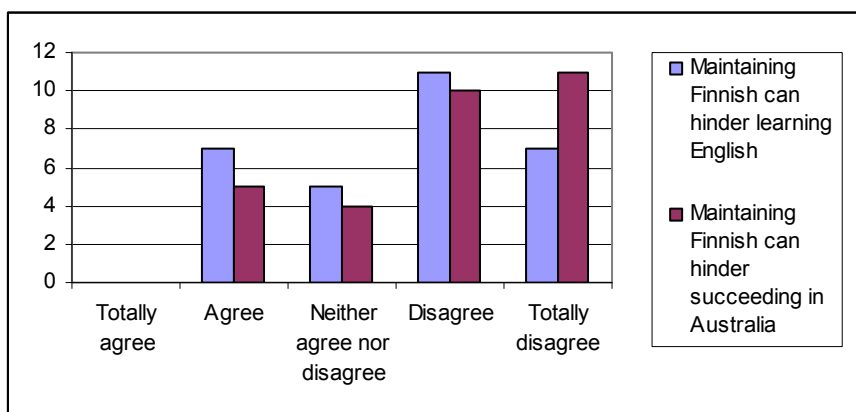
85% of the parents in this sample want their children to speak Finnish. Similar strong attitudes to second generation maintenance of the community language have been found in Australia, for instance, among Greeks and Southern Italians (Marjoribanks, 1980, p.120). In his study of Russian and Swedish communities in Melbourne, Garner (1985; 1988) found that 84% of Russians in Melbourne regarded language maintenance as important and 90% of parents had made concerted attempts to improve their children’s command of the language. Approximately half of the Swedish parents felt that it was important for their children to maintain competence in Swedish. Under one third of the children were considered by parents to be able to speak Swedish competently. Many of the second generation have no command of Swedish, so parents must use English.

Overall this sample shows a strongly positive attitude towards wanting the second generation to be able to speak Finnish. At the time of the interview only one informant had young children and it could be reasonable to think that the her attitude could still affect her maintenance efforts with her children. For the other parents results of their

efforts are at hand and we cannot be sure whether and how the attitude has been influenced by them. The questionnaire and conversation data include information about children's and grandchildren's Finnish skills and use. An extended discussion of these attitude answers correlating to actual Finnish use and children's and grandchildren's Finnish skills is presented below (Section 4.4.3.).

Two statements enquired about the informants' attitudes towards the possible consequences which Finnish language maintenance might have on adjusting to life as an immigrant in Australia:

Figure 4.15 Attitudes to L1 maintenance making it harder to learn English or succeed in Australia.



No-one totally agreed with the notion that Finnish language maintenance makes it harder to learn English (2.10.9.). The overall attitude is against this idea, as seven informants totally disagreed with the statement, and eleven disagreed. There are, however, seven informants who agreed with this statement, and think that maintaining Finnish can make it harder to learn English. Overall the informants agree with the accepted view that maintaining one language does not diminish the capacity to learn other languages. This positive attitude cannot be entirely due to their own successful second language learning, as the English skills of the eighteen informants who disagreed or totally disagreed with 2.10.9. vary from poor skills (2.25) to very good skills (5).

Disagreement is even stronger with the statement that Finnish language maintenance makes it harder to succeed in Australia (2.10.10). Eleven informants totally disagreed with the statement, ten disagreed, four neither agreed nor disagreed and five agreed.

Most informants – twenty out of thirty informants who responded – gave the same reaction to both these statements, and saw no difference in the impact which Finnish language maintenance can have on English language learning or succeeding in Australia. They agreed or disagreed in the same manner with both statements. These informants are referred to as giving consistent answers, and the other ten are referred to as giving inconsistent answers.

Consistent answers

Seven informants totally disagreed with both statements (answer 5), and think that maintaining Finnish does not interfere with learning English or succeeding in Australia. Seven informants disagreed with both the statements (answer 4). One informant neither agreed nor disagreed with both statements (answer 3). Five informants agreed with both statements and think that maintaining Finnish can interfere with learning English and succeeding in Australia. The overall pattern is to express a similar attitude towards the effect of Finnish language maintenance to learning English and succeeding in Australia, and to think that language maintenance does not have a negative effect on either.

Inconsistent answers

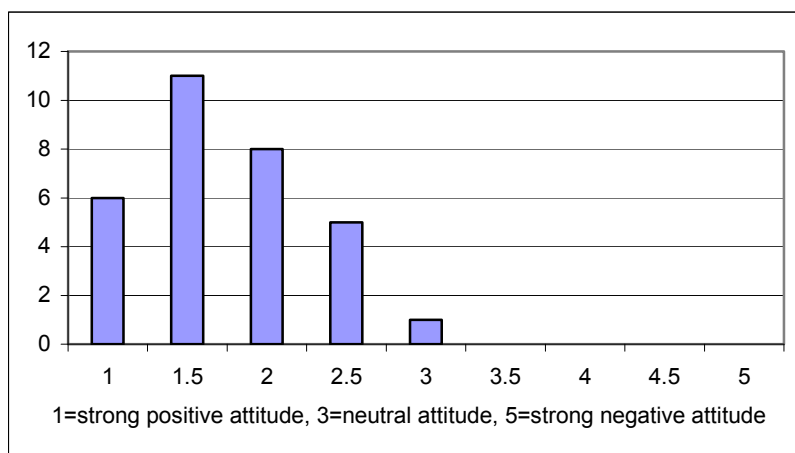
Ten informants gave different answers to the two statements. Eight informants gave consecutive answers of the answer scale. Two informants gave combined answers 4 and 5. Two other informants answered 4 and 3, three informants answered 3 and 4, and one informant answered 2 and 3. None of these answer combinations was more typical than the others.

Only two informants reacted clearly differently to the two statements. One of them neither agreed nor disagreed with Finnish maintenance interfering with learning English, but totally disagreed with language maintenance interfering with succeeding in Australia (answers 3 and 5). The other inconsistently answering informant agreed with language maintenance making it harder to learn English, but totally disagreed with it making it harder to succeed in Australia (answers 2 and 5). These two informants

indicate that in their opinion mother tongue maintenance can hinder second language learning, but at the same time believe that this does not have so much to do with succeeding in Australia. These answers do not reveal exactly how they see the relation of English skills and success in Australia. Especially the last two informants' conflicting answers could be interpreted to mean that language issues on the whole cannot necessarily be taken as interfering with success as long as there are sufficient other skills. Alternatively, if language skills are an integral part of success, the language has been learnt regardless of interference from mother tongue maintenance.

Based on their similar answers to the two statements, the majority of the informants think that English skills and success in Australia are connected. The connection of language skills to success was expressed by an informant from the pilot study. He said that his only regret was that he had not made the effort to learn English properly. Good English skills would have enabled him to be even more economically successful:

Figure 4.16 Summary of attitudes to seven statements about language maintenance.



Averages of the informants' answers to the seven language maintenance statements indicate a very positive attitude. Only one informant is not particularly strongly in favour of Finnish maintenance, but he is not against it either.

The questionnaire asked the informants to rank four selected reasons for language maintenance. Six informants did not rank the reasons, but answered that all four are important and ranked them as number 1. One informant did not answer at all. One

informant added his own reason as number one “To maintain literary expression”, and then ranked the other given reasons from 2 to 5.

Table 4.10 Ranking of language maintenance reasons.

Reasons to maintain Finnish in Australia	1.	2.	3.	4.
To maintain one’s identity	4	6	2	9
To participate in the culture of the country of birth	2	6	8	5
To communicate with friends and relatives	13	7	4	-
To stay in touch with the country of birth	8	5	5	4

“To communicate with friends and relatives” received the most (thirteen) number one rankings, and no-one ranked it as the least important language maintenance reason. There are two informants who ranked this reason at number one, together with “To maintain contact with Finland”, and one informant ranks it as number one with “To maintain one’s identity”. Maintaining contact with Finland had eight number one rankings, identity maintenance had four and participating in Finnish culture only two. Clearly, communicating with friends and relatives and maintaining contact with Finland are the most important reasons for these informants to maintain Finnish language in Australia. Identity maintenance had the highest number four rankings. The term ‘identity’ was not defined in the questionnaire nor discussed during the meetings. Overall the concrete, practical reasons are the main motivation for maintaining Finnish. The informants claim they need Finnish to communicate with friends and relatives, and generally to stay in touch with Finland. Culture and identity maintenance, which may appear more abstract to the informants, are seen as less important. Based on these answers it is not possible to say whether the informants explicitly realise that communicating in Finnish is directly linked with identity and culture maintenance. They maintain their Finnish to communicate with people who are important to them, and at the same time this communication is helping them maintain their identity and culture.

The informants were asked to indicate the language maintenance methods they found effective from a list of selected methods. The method selected most often, twenty-four times, was “Finnish is spoken at home”. Books and papers as language maintenance methods were selected by twenty-two informants, and Finnish school by seventeen. Next were trips to Finland (fourteen times), radio (twelve times), Finnish clubs (twelve

times), videos (eleven times), grandparents being part of the family (ten times), and TV (five times):

Table 4.11 Effective language maintenance methods

Which of the following methods are the most effective in maintaining Finnish in Australia?	
Finnish is spoken at home	24
Books, papers and magazines	22
Finnish School	17
Trips to Finland	14
Radio	12
Finnish clubs, sports teams	12
Videos	11
Grandparents are part of the family	10
TV	5
Other: Finnish associations (1) Friends (4) Church (1) Finnish is maintained without these (1) Not specified what other method (1)	8

4.4.2. Action taken to maintain Finnish

The questionnaire asked whether the informants had made a deliberate effort to maintain their Finnish. Twenty-eight informants answered: half of them said “yes” the other half “no”. Eleven informants also described the deliberate effort. Six informants said that for them speaking Finnish was their language maintenance effort. Two informants said they read in Finnish, one said he listened to his wife speak. This may sound like a joke, but the wife is very talkative and sociable, and able to provide a Finnish enclave for others including her husband to maintain his Finnish. One informant writes daily in Finnish and listed this as his language maintenance effort. One informant wrote “as necessary”. Although this answer does not reveal the specific language maintenance effort, it indicates that the effort is not proactive and he does not take active steps to maintain Finnish, only reacts when he feels he is losing command of an aspect of Finnish.

The questionnaire asked about the informants’ language use with children and spouse, and from those answers a score was calculated for home language:

Table 4.12 Home language

Home language score	Total informants	Informants with deliberate language maintenance effort	Listed deliberate effort
1 always Finnish	14	9	5x speaking 1x reading 1x as necessary
1.5	5	1	1x speaking
2 more Finnish than English	4	2	1x reading 1x daily writing
2.5	1		
3 Finnish and English equally	1		
3.5	2	2	1x listen to wife
4 more English than Finnish	1		
5 always English	1		
	29	14	11

Of the fourteen informants whose home language is always Finnish (score 1), nine claimed to have made a deliberate language maintenance effort. Five listed speaking Finnish as the method. The other nine informants whose home language is always Finnish (score 1) include one informant who listed reading as a deliberate language maintenance effort, and four informants who did not specify the effort. Four informants whose home language score is 1 claimed not to have made a deliberate effort to maintain Finnish. On the other hand there were five informants who claimed to have made a deliberate language maintenance effort, and their home language scores vary from 1.5 to 3.5. One of the two informants who use English more than Finnish at home (score 3.5) and claimed to have made a deliberate language maintenance effort does not specify what he has done. The other is the man whose wife provides the Finnish language environment.

Many of the informants whose home language is Finnish also report a deliberate effort to maintain their Finnish, but there are also many who have maintained Finnish as the home language but do not regard this as a deliberate language maintenance effort. Overall the informants considered the need to communicate with close and important people to be the most important reason to maintain Finnish, but they do not necessarily realise that continuing to speak Finnish at home has great importance in language maintenance. For many continuing to speak the mother tongue has not been a deliberate choice but a matter of course.

Attitudes to language maintenance were coded forty-one times in the transcriptions in the speech of fifteen informants (nine female, six male). Some of this data was discussed in Section 4.1.3. when attitudes to language issues were described. Overall the attitudes expressed towards maintaining Finnish were positive. The informants did not express concern over their own Finnish skills. Most of the comments relate to the language maintenance of their children. The second generation had learnt Finnish either in Finland or from the parents at home in Australia. How well the second generation has maintained their Finnish varies. One mother commented how her son's Finnish deteriorated when he was a young adult, but when he started working for a Finn his Finnish improved, and the mother thought that his skills were at a level where they would stay with minimum or no additional effort. Another mother comments on how the children stopped using Finnish in any other situation but with the parents. In the interview she still thought that the children could access their Finnish skills at will if absolutely necessary. She did not think that the children would be able to pass Finnish on to their children:

(88)

sitte Mary Mary puhuu heiän pikku pikku pojalle ni puhuu suomee mut se on aika huonoo kun miehesä ei ossooo mutta tuota [...] niin nin tuota mutta en mä usko en mä usko sitte jotta niinku lastenlapset puhus ennee suomee sitte
(T11I19F)

‘and Mary Mary speaks to their little boy she speaks Finnish but it is no good because her husband doesn’t know Finnish but [...] so well but I don’t believe I don’t believe that grandchildren would be able to speak Finnish’

In one family where many of the second generation married Finns and most of the third generation also speaks Finnish, the grandmother related that one of her tactics for encouraging the little ones to speak Finnish was to offer them money. However, generally acting as if she does not understand English works best as a motivator to encourage the grandchildren to speak Finnish.

One couple discussed an interesting difference in the second generation language maintenance in their family. Two children were born in Finland and two in Australia. In the parents’ opinion the children who were born in Australia have much better Finnish

skills. Those who lived in Finland the first few years of their lives are evaluated by their parents as having weaker Finnish skills as adults than those who learnt Finnish as their first language in an English speaking environment. Studies of immigrant language maintenance have shown that the second generation – i.e. those born in Australia – shift to English more than the first generation, i.e. overseas-born. This category includes also those who arrived as children (Clyne, 1991, p. 85). The children in this family are clearly an exception. Second generation attitudes are not within the scope of this study, but we can infer that the immigrant status that the older children in this family had to cope with could have affected their language attitudes and use. The two younger children with stronger Finnish skills were also reported by the parents to have very positive attitudes towards Finnish, and are not ashamed to speak Finnish to their parents in front of their Australian friends. These two children grew up to accept bilingualism: Finnish at home, English outside the home. Because they were born in Australia they would have had to face less of the stigma of being seen as foreigners by their peers, which had been the case with their elder Finland-born siblings. At school the younger children found positive use for Finnish: it was their secret code which allowed them to exclude the other children from their conversation. According to Grosjean (1982), children's need for absolute identity with peers makes it difficult for them to assume the two cultures that their immigrant parents can assume. In this particular family the elder children fit this description and their reaction would have been to reject the Finnish language and culture and assume the Australian one. For the younger siblings, now the better Finnish speakers, this conflict did not exist because they had not experienced Finnish culture in Finland. They were Australians like their class mates, with the exception that they could speak a language to each other that the other children could not understand. This did not necessarily stigmatise them, because they were also fluent speakers of Australian English. In this case speaking Finnish was not necessarily a way to express being different or special, but had a practical purpose: to be able to speak behind other children's backs.

(89)

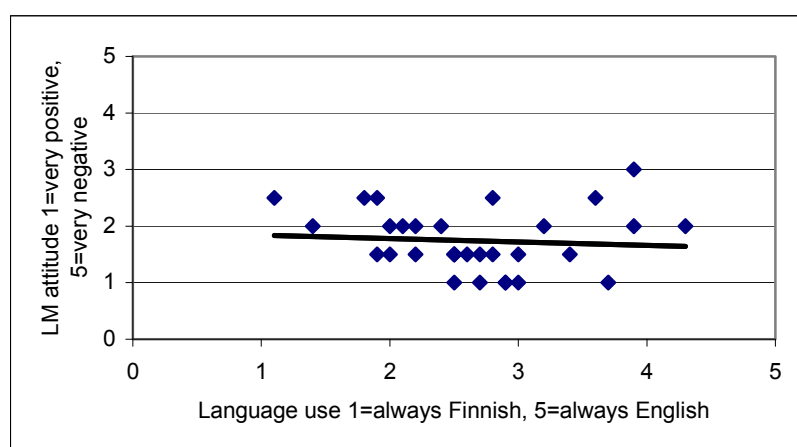
Jee ni ne nautti siitä et ku heil o oma kieli mitä he voi puhua ja muut ei ymmärrä sitä. (T2I4F)

'Yeah they enjoyed having their own language that they could speak and the others didn't understand.'

4.4.3. Correlation of language maintenance attitudes to other data

Correlation between language use and language maintenance attitude was investigated by using the calculated averages for each. The average language use score is based on language use with ten interlocutors and with thirteen tasks (Section 4.3.). The average language maintenance attitude score is based on the seven attitude statements discussed at the beginning of this chapter. As discussed in the literature review (Section 2.1.), a strong correlation between attitude and behaviour was not often found.

Figure 4.17 Correlation between language use and attitudes to language maintenance.



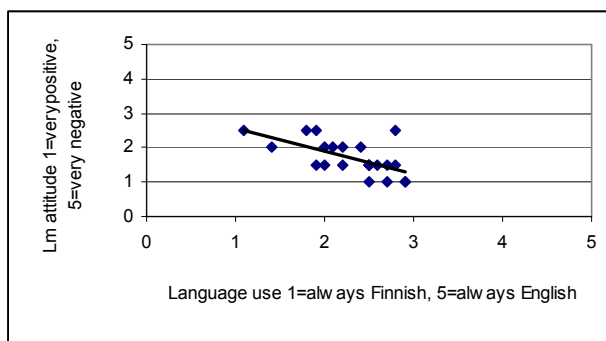
Here the correlation is not strong, but the trend line indicates that the more positive the language maintenance attitude, the more the informant uses English.

Those six informants who claim the most positive attitude towards language maintenance (score 1) are not among the most frequent Finnish speakers, as their language use average varies from 2.5 to 3.7. (3=English and Finnish equally, 4=more English than Finnish). The informants can be divided into two groups according to Finnish use. There are twenty-two informants who use Finnish more than English – i.e. their language use score is under 3. This group's language maintenance attitude score average is 1.53. There are nine informants who use English equally or more than Finnish, and their language maintenance attitude score average is 1.83. Seen from this perspective, the informants who use more Finnish have on average a slightly more positive attitude towards language maintenance than those who use English and Finnish equally, or more English than Finnish. When the language maintenance attitudes and

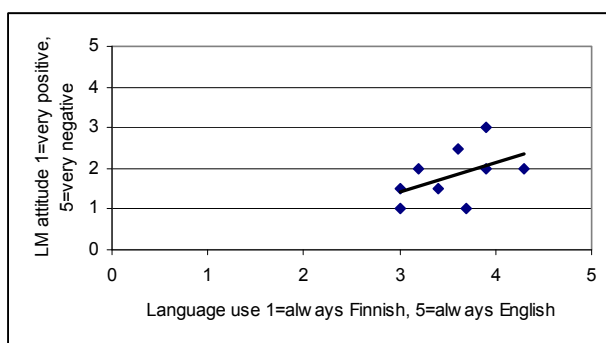
language use scores of these two groups are plotted separately the trend lines take different directions. The group which on average uses more English than Finnish has the more negative attitude towards language maintenance the more they use English. The majority of the sample, twenty-two informants, uses on average more Finnish than English. Within that group the more the use of English, the more positive the attitude towards language maintenance.

Figure 4.18 Correlation between language use and language maintenance for two language use groups.

Twenty-two informants who use Finnish more than English.



Nine informants who use English and Finnish equally much, or more English than Finnish.

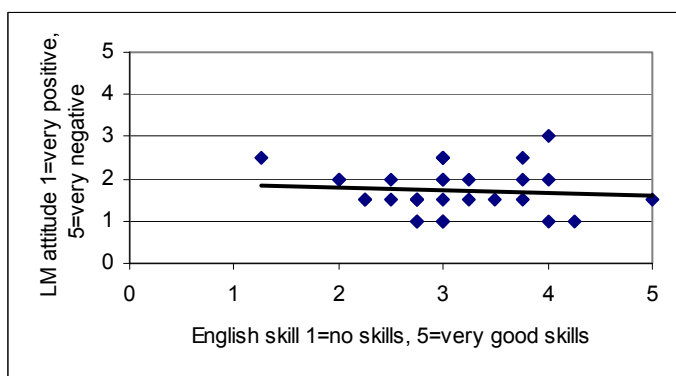


Attitudes to language maintenance, correlate with Finnish and English skills, but not in the way expected. The better the Finnish skills, the more neutral the attitude towards Finnish language maintenance. The better the English skills, the more positive the attitude to Finnish language maintenance:

Figure 4.19 Attitudes towards language maintenance and Finnish skills.



Figure 4.20 Attitudes towards language maintenance and English skills.

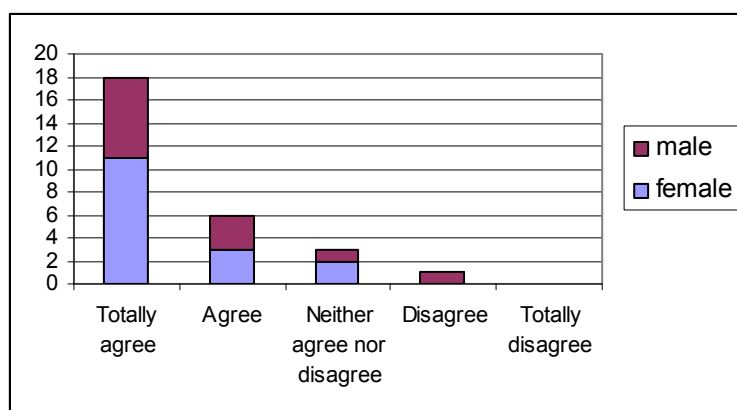


Fourteen informants said in the questionnaire that they had made a deliberate effort to maintain Finnish. Their attitudes to language maintenance vary from 1 to 3 – i.e. very positive to neutral. Those fourteen who had not made a deliberate language maintenance effort had similar, even slightly more positive attitudes varying from 1 to 2.5.

If the informants are grouped according to the variety of Finnish they claim to speak, small differences in attitudes can be found. The language maintenance attitude average of the fifteen self-claimed dialect speakers is 1.83 (answer range 1-2.5), and of the standard speakers 1.71 (range 1-3). Those three who claim to mix dialect and standard have a language maintenance attitude average of 1.6 (range 1.5 -2). The differences are not great, but the mixers of Finnish varieties have the most positive attitude towards language maintenance, and the dialect speakers have the most neutral attitude. The importance of dialects for identity and attitudes was discussed in Section 4.2. about language skills.

Most of the twenty-eight parents in the sample totally agreed that they want their children to be able to speak Finnish. Twenty-four informants of those twenty-eight who have children said that their children can speak Finnish. Four other informants said that their children had poor Finnish skills, could speak a little or would try to speak Finnish if they absolutely had to. Of these four parents one totally agreed with wanting the children to speak Finnish (T16I31M), one agreed with the statement (T3I5M), and two did not agree or disagree (T5I9F and T11I20M).

Figure 4.21 I want my children to be able to speak Finnish (2.10.8.).



Information about the grandchildren's Finnish skills is only available in the conversation data. Twenty-three informants are grandparents, and nine of them comment on the grandchildren's Finnish. One couple said that all their grandchildren speak Finnish, and a dozen of them speak it well. The grandfather claims in the questionnaire always to speak Finnish to them, and the grandmother claims to speak more Finnish than English.

The questionnaire answers indicate that there are four other grandparents who always speak Finnish to grandchildren. All of them or their spouses comment in conversation that their grandchildren can understand Finnish. In one case, however, the grandmother must always speak Finnish because it is her only language, and only some of the grandchildren speak and understand Finnish. Nine informants said in the questionnaire answer that they always speak English to the grandchildren. Only one of these informants talked about the issue on tape. She said that her daughter had been lazy with teaching the children Finnish, and as a result the grandchildren know only a few isolated words:

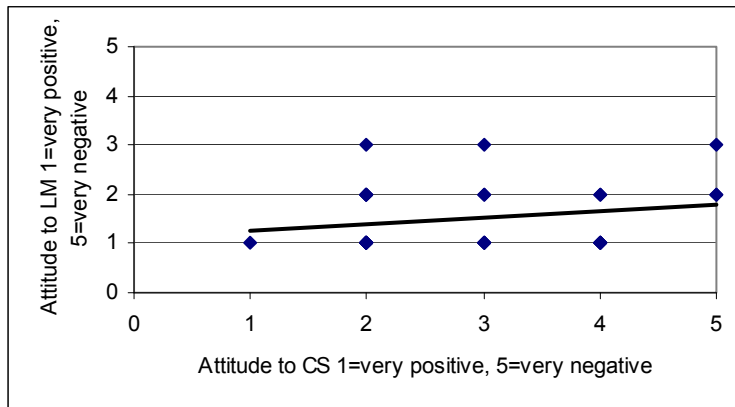
(90)

Se on pakko puhua Jaana on ollu liian laiska että se ois niinkö ku toinen osapuoli on ollu englanninkielinen se on ollu automaattinen niillä sitte se englannin puhuminen Jaana ei oo sit niinkön hä- häne mielestä hänen suomen kieli on niin huono mun mielestä sil on tavallisen hyvä suomen kieli Tietty joitakin sanoja on vähä hassuja tommosii se taivutus mut noi loppuje lopuks sil on hyvä suomen kieli mut ei se oo koskaan opettanut Osaa ne nyt muutamii sanoja osaa ja John itse asiassa se poika van- on vanhempi nin tota parin ensimmäisen vuoden aikana sillon ne asu lähempänä ja se oli aika paljo siis meillä aina me asuttii sillo Springwood:issa ni se ymmärs kyllä aika paljo suomee mut se o se on nyt menny sit se että ei paljo ymmärrä. (T214F)

‘They have to speak (English) Jaana has been too lazy to you know when the other half has been English speaking it has been automatic for them to speak English and Jaana hasn’t she thinks her Finnish is so bad but I think her Finnish is pretty good of course some words are funny and the inflection but in the end she has goof Finnish but she has never taught the children. They know a few words and John in fact the son who is older for the first couple years when they lived closer to us spent quite a lot of time at our place. We lived in Springwood then and he understood quite a lot of Finnish but it has gone so he doesn’t understand much.’

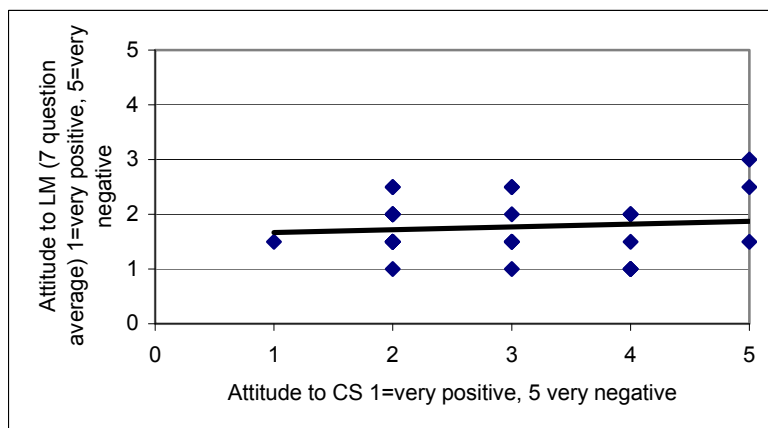
When there is a difference between spouses’ language use with grandchildren, the difference is not systematic. Two male informants speak English and Finnish equally, while their wives speak only Finnish. Two male informants always speak Finnish, while their wives speak either mostly Finnish, or English and Finnish equally.

Figure 4.22 Correlation between attitudes towards mixing English with Finnish (2.10.12.) and attitudes towards maintaining mother tongue (2.10.5.). (N=30)



Here the attitude towards maintaining the mother tongue is the average of all answers to one statement (2.10.5). The trend line indicates that the more positive the attitude towards mother tongue maintenance, the stronger is the agreement with mixing English with Finnish being acceptable.

Figure 4.23 Correlation between attitudes towards mixing English with Finnish (2.10.12.) and average language maintenance attitude scores. (N=30)



The trend also remains similar when the attitude to language maintenance is calculated from answers to seven language maintenance statements. It is possible for an informant to be in favour of language maintenance, and be tolerant towards changes in the language that is maintained.

In general research on attitudes has been unable to agree on the relation of attitudes and behaviour, but for instance Ladegaard's (2000) study on language attitudes and sociolinguistic behaviour claims that it may be possible to predict people's sociolinguistic behaviour if we know about their attitudes or vice versa. It could be expected that a positive attitude towards Finnish language maintenance would coincide with good Finnish skills and frequent Finnish use. Clyne (1991, p. 31) notes that positive attitude may be one of the prerequisites for language maintenance. He also adds that overall language maintenance attitudes in Australia have changed towards the more positive. In their study of Spanish speakers in Sydney, Gibbons and Ramirez (2003) found that self-assessed proficiency, which by nature contains an attitude, and attitude measures had a strong inter-relation. Support for Spanish was strongly related to proficiency in Spanish. Spanish pride was found to be useful in maintaining the basics of the language, but to achieve proficiency in the higher registers an appreciation for the need to maintain and develop the language for international purposes is necessary. Positive attitude to Spanish maintenance was related to self-evaluations of Spanish proficiency. A study on language maintenance among second-generation Dutch in Australia (Bennett, 1992) found that a positive general opinion was linked to greater commitment to take steps conducive to language maintenance. Informants who claimed they use Dutch more frequently recorded a more positive attitude towards language maintenance.

Contrary to expectations, this study revealed different attitude and behaviour correlations:

- The more positive the attitude score towards Finnish language maintenance, the more the use of English.
- The more positive the attitude score towards Finnish language maintenance (or attitude to mother tongue maintenance), the more positive the attitude towards mixing English with Finnish.
- The more positive the attitude score to language maintenance, the better the English skills.
- The more neutral the attitude score to language maintenance, the better the Finnish skills.

The positive attitude expressed towards maintaining the mother tongue does not correlate with frequent Finnish use or good self-evaluated Finnish skills. As an idea Finnish maintenance is important to these informants, but it is not necessarily acted on. This outcome does not at first seem to match the very Finnish first impression that the community gives.

We could interpret this result as another indication of the uncertain relationship between attitudes and behaviour. It is apparently feasible to have positive attitudes towards a particular variety without expressing these attitudes in overt behaviours (Ladegaard, 2000). If positive attitudes towards language maintenance had correlated with good Finnish skills and high frequency of Finnish use, we would have had a continuum from those with positive maintenance attitudes, high use and good skills at the other end, and negative attitude, low skills and use at the other. In acculturation terms, a continuum from separation to assimilation (Berry, 1992), from hanging on to Finnish only to shifting to English. However, these contradicting results show that the case of Finns in Australia is more complex.

First generation Australian Finns can often take their Finnish skills for granted. The informants in this study did not mention making great language maintenance efforts to maintain their own Finnish skills. Finns with good Finnish skills do not necessarily feel they need to make a great effort to maintain the skills. Similarly they would not have expressed, or would not have felt they needed to express, very positive attitudes towards Finnish language maintenance. The first generation is most active in the Finnish community, and they are often responsible for the very Finnish first impression. The first generation, if anyone, needed the Australian Finnish subculture provided by the community to assist them in integrating into Australia. Their children, the second generation, have learnt Finnish from parents at home. According to informant reports this was natural and did not require a great effort. When effort would have been required, for instance when children started mixing with and marrying non-Finnish-speakers, the effort was often considered too great and eventually not a priority. The second generation generally starts to shift to English, unless they marry a Finn, in which case the language is often passed on, and the third generation still has some Finnish skills. If a second-generation Australian Finn marries a non-Finn, the third generation can still have passive skills, but all this really depends on the cultural loyalty and

enthusiasm of individual families. Based on the scarce data in this study it is not possible to generalise about the third generation.

While Finnish is considered important in communication with the family, the importance of English in Australian society is also realised. The average of the self-assessed English skills in the sample was moderate skills. English skills have in previous studies been indicated to be the main obstacle in the integration of Finns in Australia (Koivukangas, 1975; Mattila, 1990). The informants in the present study who have reached the higher levels of proficiency in English may feel that they have done so at the expense of their Finnish. By reacting very positively to the language maintenance attitude questions they may compensate for this new balance of their languages. It is also possible that their awareness of language issues is higher due to the process of acquiring good English skills, and this awareness is indicated in their attitudes.

The Australian Finnish community accepts varieties of Finnish which may have even extensive English influence. There are only three male purists in the sample who did not accept English being mixed with Finnish (question 2.10.12. discussed in the next Section 4.5.). This helps explain the correlation between positive language maintenance attitude, and accepting Finnish being mixed with English. The so-called *Finglish* is considered an acceptable variety of Finnish for communication in Australia and it is the variety that is passed on to following generations.

When it comes to Finnish language maintenance in Australia in general, the informants may well be of the opinion that their cultural heritage can be maintained by the following generation without them having to learn Finnish. In this case the effort to pass on the language to a sometimes unwilling second generation would not be absolutely necessary. Culture maintenance will be discussed below (Section 5.1.).

Overall, there is a positive attitude towards Finnish language maintenance. Finnish is seen as important for concrete communication purposes, and the best way to maintain it is by speaking it within the family. The first generation has passed Finnish on to their children. How well their attitude to the importance of Finnish maintenance has been passed on is not known, based on the current data. On the other hand the positive

language maintenance attitude does not correlate with high Finnish language use or good Finnish skills among first generation Finns.

4.4.4. Profiles of maintainers and shifters

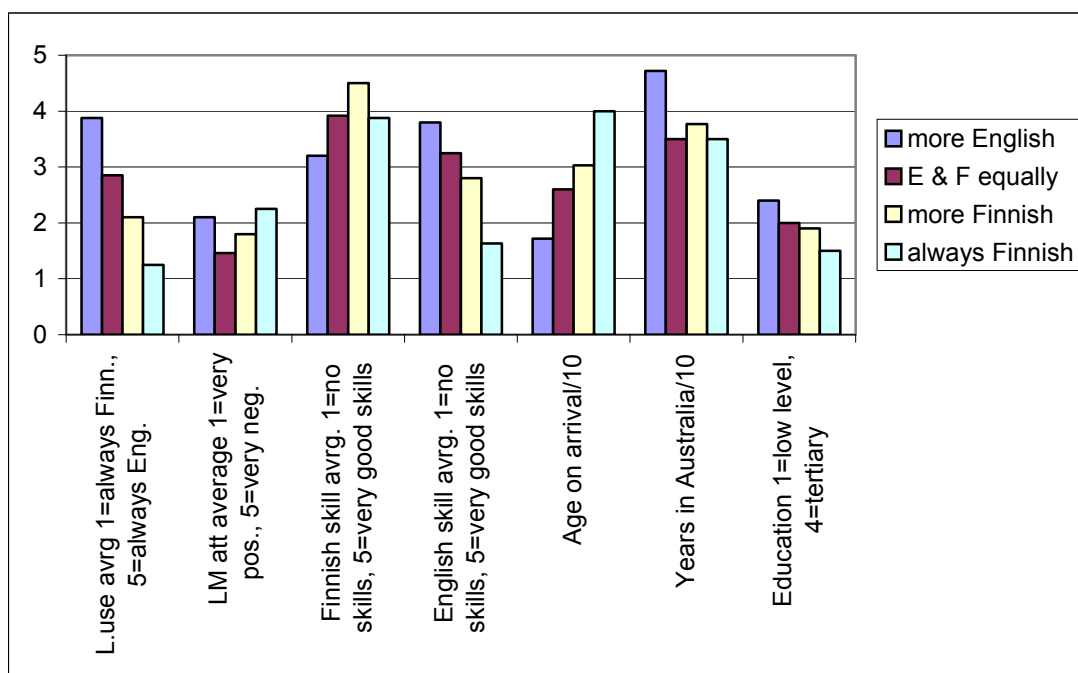
To distinguish levels of language maintenance, language use is taken as an indication of high or low maintenance. Four groups emerge:

- Five informants speak more English than Finnish (low maintenance)
- Thirteen informants speak English and Finnish equally
- Eleven informants speak more Finnish than English
- Two informants always speak Finnish (high maintenance)

Table 4.13 Values for profile items per maintenance group.

	Always Finnish	More Finnish than English	English and Finnish equally	More English
Language use avrg. 1=always Finnish, 5=always English	1.25	2.1	2.85	3.88
LM attitude avrg. 1=very positive, 1=very negative	2.25	1.8	1.46	2.1
Self-evaluated Finnish skill avrg. 1=no skills, 5=very good skills	3.88	4.5	3.92	3.2
Self-evaluated English skill avrg. 1=no skills, 5=very good skills	1.63	2.8	3.25	3.8
<i>Avg. age on arrival</i>	40	30.3	26	17.2
Years in Australia on avrg.	35	37.7	35	47.2
Education avrg. 1=low level, 4=tertiary studies	1.5	1.9	2	2.4

Figure 4.24 Values for four language maintenance level groups per profile item.



The high maintainers who always speak Finnish have the most neutral language maintenance attitude score. Interestingly the low maintainers share this neutral attitude. The most positive language maintenance attitude is expressed by the group that uses Finnish and English equally. Self-evaluated Finnish skills are best among those who use more Finnish than English, but although the high maintainers do not have the best Finnish skills, theirs are still noticeably better than the low maintainers' Finnish skills. The low maintainers clearly have the best English skills, while the high Finnish maintainers have almost no English skills. The figures for age on arrival have been divided by 10 to better present them in the same scale with the other profile items. The low maintainers arrived at the youngest age. Their average age on arrival is 17.2 years. The high maintainers, on the other hand, arrived on average at the age of 40. The low maintainers also had the longest period of residence at 47.2 years, while high maintainers' period of residence was 35 years.

Factors that are traditionally considered to have an effect on language maintenance and language use vary systematically between these Finnish language maintenance groups. The low maintainers have systematically the highest or lowest values. For instance, they have the lowest Finnish skills (3.2), the highest English skills (3.8), and the highest education level (2.4). The second highest maintenance group holds the second position

with regard to every item other than period of residence. The group shares the shortest period of residence with the high Finnish maintainers. The moderate maintainers of Finnish hold the third position in other items, but have the best Finnish skills and the second longest period of residence. The high maintainers have the lowest English skills, arrived at the oldest age and have the lowest education level, but they share the shortest residence with the second highest maintenance group, and have the second lowest Finnish skills.

Language maintenance attitudes stand out from the profile. The high and low maintainers have a very similar attitude score. Of the other language maintenance groups, the group with lower maintenance has a more positive language maintenance attitude.

4.5. English influence in Australian Finnish

In this section we discuss the attitudes towards English influence in Australian Finnish which the informants expressed in the questionnaire and in conversation and the occurrences of language contact phenomena. In the questionnaire the informants were asked to give their opinion towards English influence in Finnish. Attitude statement 2.10.12. was worded: “It is all right to mix English with Finnish”. This was deliberately not described in linguistic terms like “code-switching” or “code-mixing” in order not to confuse the subjects.

The conversation data contains two kinds of data discussed in this chapter:

- the informants’ comments about mixing English with Finnish, and the Australian Finnish variety that includes these phenomena;
- profiles of occurrence of language contact phenomena in the informants’ speech.

In this study the term “code-switching” means a stretch of English in Finnish matrix text (Myers-Scotton, 1993). When language contact phenomena were coded in the conversation transcripts, stretches of English longer than one word were coded as code-switches or “\CS”. Single English words were coded according to word class, e.g. “\NAME_PHON_ENG”. The analysis and discussion below include the terms “long

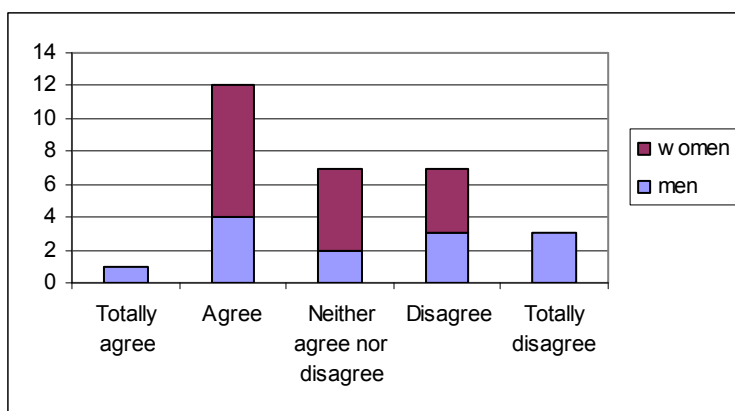
CS” and “short CS”. The former refers to stretches of unassimilated English longer than one word, and the latter to single words of unassimilated English.

The questionnaire data and two types of conversation data were studied to investigate patterns of English influence in the Finnish of these informants, what attitudes the informants have towards English influence in Finnish, and possible correlations between attitudes and behaviour. Profiles of English influence in the informants’ Finnish will be presented.

4.5.1. Questionnaire data and comments from conversation

The Finnish wording of statement 2.10.12. “It is all right to mix English with Finnish” clearly states that the matrix language is Finnish. Figure 1. presents the distribution of answers among thirty informants. The majority of answers vary from “agree” to “disagree” i.e. answers 2-4 on a scale from 1 to 5. The average calculated was 2.97. which approximates answer 3, and indicates a neutral attitude:

Figure 4.25 Answers to the statement “It is all right to mix English with Finnish”.



The mode (the most selected response) to this statement is to agree. Twelve informants agree with the statement and one totally agrees. Women’s answers vary between agreeing and disagreeing, while men’s answers cover the whole answer continuum. The three purists, who totally disagree and do not approve of English being mixed with Finnish, are men. This is not a study on gender differences, but it is interesting to note that the strongest attitudes regarding this language issue are expressed by men, and that their recorded speech has for the most part retained Finnish phonology.

One of the purists, who are strongly against English influence in Finnish, also expressed this in conversation:

(91)

...siansaksaa puhhuu ku sekotat nämä kielet... (T11I20M)

‘... you speak mumbo-jumbo when you mix the languages...’

The following examples 92 and 93 indicate slightly disparaging attitudes towards the language variety which consists of a Finnish regional dialect combined with English influence. In the questionnaire these informants agreed that mixing English with Finnish is acceptable. On the face of it these attitudes are contradictions. However, the disparaging attitude in example 92 is related to the comparison of their Finnish variety with standard spoken Finnish (see also Section 4.2.). Example 93 reflects accepting the inevitable variation in Australian Finnish, and according to the informant’s observations also in contemporary Helsinki Finnish:

(92)

Interviewer: *x hyvää suomee kaikki*

T14I27F: *@ tätä tämmöstä*

‘Interviewer: x good Finnish all

T14I27F: *@ well this kind of (Finnish)’*

(93)

Minä sanoin että meidän kaik räpeltää samanlaista suomii ku myö ni jos Helsingin horisontist kattois ni myö osata ensinkää [...] ne puhhuu enemmän fineskaa ku myö. (T14I25F)

‘I said that our children all speak the same kind of Finnish as we do and if you’d look at it from the Helsinki point of view you’d say we don’t know Finnish at all [...] they (Helsinki Finns) speak more Finglish than we do.’

The next informant talked about the Finnish use in their family, and English influence appears to be accepted as a matter of course. Her attitude in the questionnaire was also neutral (answer type 3):

(94)

T10I18F: *oo puhutaan edelleen mutta että se taitaa olla kyllä että se on vähä sellasta sekakieltä nyt että paljon tulee englanninkielen sanoja sinne väliin mutta*

Interviewer: *joo*

T10I18F: *mutta kyllä me on yritetty niinku pitää että lapset ny puhuu suomea kaikki lapset mutta ei tietysti se oo perfect mutta [...]*

‘T10I18F: oh we still speak (Finnish) but it is a bit of a mixed language now with a lot of English words mixed in between but

Interviewer: *yeah*

T10I18F: but we have tried to keep it so that the children speak Finnish all children but of course it isn’t perfect but [...]

One couple discussed their children’s Finnish and found the mixture they speak amusing. Particularly the youngest daughter’s speech is mentioned. They also commented that in Australia this mixed code serves a specific purpose i.e. talking to other Australian Finns. In the questionnaire the mother’s attitude towards mixing English with Finnish was neutral, while the father’s attitude was negative (4= disagree):

(95)

Sil on joka toinen sana englantii ni sit se ihmettelee et kui se Patrickki tietää et mist se puhuu koko ajan se on australialainen @@@ se on joka toinen sana englantii ni kyl se pysyy kärryllä. (T2I3M)

‘Her every other word is English and then she wonders how Patrick knows all the time what she is talking about he is Australian @@@ every other word is English so he can follow all right.’

The next informant is fully aware of mixing English with Finnish. When criticised by her husband for mixing the languages, her defence is that it does not stop the message being communicated. These comments support the neutral attitude she revealed in the questionnaire towards mixing English with Finnish:

(96)

Aijoo mutta työ kuitennii kaikki ymmärrättä. (T11I19F)

‘Oh yeah but you all understand anyway.’

[...] määh opetin sen suomen se osovaa paremmin suomen nytte kun minä minä sotken vinnille vinnille englantii sekkaan. (T11I19F)

‘[...] I taught him Finnish he knows Finnish better now than I. I mix English with Finnish when talking to Finns.’

Two informants offer explanations as to why they mix English words in their Finnish: there are Australian English concepts or realia which simply do not exist in Finnish. For instance, Finnish schools do not have tuck shops, so to talk about one it is easiest just to use the English word and possibly assimilate it phonologically and morphologically. Sometimes subjects cannot remember the Finnish term, even if the item is not particularly Australian:

(97)

[...] ku myö ei muistettu semmonen pikkanen kerra se oli kuulemma polakka suomeksi ennen vanahaa en tiää liekö nyt meist ei ymmärtäny mikä se semmonen on. (T11I19)

‘[...] when we couldn’t remember a little one it was called *polakka* in Finnish in the old days wonder if it still is none of us understood what it was.’

(98)

Että sitte ku on monta sanno joita en muista mikä se on suomeksi. (T11I19F)

‘And there are many words that I don’t remember in Finnish.’

(99)

Interviewer: *ja sit varmaan jotai semmosia asioita jot- joku semmonen mikä on kovin australialainen asia että ei oo*

T14I25: *Joo nii o aika paljo semmosia sanoja ja asioita joita ei suomeks oo ei tiää meikäl-*

‘Interviewer: and maybe some things that are so Australian that they are not

T14I25F: yeah there are quite many words and things that are not in Finnish the likes of us don't know'

4.5.2. Language contact phenomena data from recorded conversations

The frequency tables in Section 4.1. showed that language contact phenomena were the most frequently coded items in the recorded data. At this stage of the analysis the Concordance package was used to make individual concordance analyses of the speech of each informant. The language contact phenomena were grouped into similar categories already presented in Section 4.1.2. When the occurrences of types of language contact phenomena are studied as average percentages of all speech produced, it is clear that the dominant group is language material which has been assimilated to Finnish both phonologically and morphologically (Figure 4.26 and Table 4.14). Words and names that are pronounced in English but have Finnish morphology are the second largest group. Single English words in otherwise Finnish speech are the second smallest group, and switches to English for more than one word are the smallest group, and also show the least variation. The order is the same whether we look at averages or medians. The category 'other' includes Finnish that has been influenced by English in other ways. The most frequent single item in this group is *jee* 'yeah', which is a prominent feature in Australian Finnish (Hentula, 1990; Kovács, 2001a). Other typical items in the category are variations in case morphology, consonantal gradation, word order, intonation and the use of the word *kielinen* 'non-Finnish speaker':

Figure 4.26. Percentage of language contact phenomena in recorded speech.

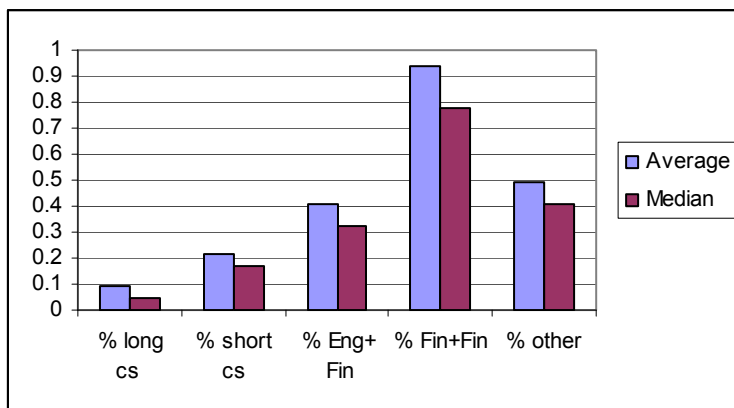


Table 4.14 Percentage of language contact phenomena in recorded speech.

	% long CS	% short CS	% Eng+ Fin	% Fin+Fin	% other
Average	0.096	0.217	0.411	0.942	0.491
Median	0.05	0.17	0.32	0.78	0.41
Stdev	0.136	0.187	0.403	0.642	0.373

There are eleven informants (six women and five men) whose speech does not include any stretches of unassimilated English over one word (“long CS”). The women’s average percentage of this LCP was slightly higher than the men’s (0.11% and 0.07% respectively). For women the highest percentage of this LCP is 0.48%, and for men 0.35% (standard deviations 0.16 and 0.10); women’s speech varies more with respect to this LCP. The percentage of men who do not produce this LCP at all is higher than the percentage of women (38% and 33% respectively). The gender factor alone does not explain this difference, but it is interesting to find that the women’s average attitude towards mixing English with Finnish was more neutral, and they also have more switches to unassimilated English in their speech. In the current data for the top two switchers, who are both women, this phenomenon makes up 0.5% of recorded speech (thirty-eight and thirty-two cases). Examples 100 and 101 are from their speech. The types of language contact phenomena found in the recorded conversations are discussed in more detail in Section 4.1.2:

(100)

T11I19F: *x x x jotta minä en oo elläissäni ollu näin hilijoo viikkoo ku ei ei kukkaa puhunu suomee or englantii ei radiost en ymmärtäny TV:st eikä ollu mittään luettavvoo*

Interviewer: @@

T11I19F: drive me mad

never been on my whole life so quiet yes

Mrs P: *on se ollu tylsää*

T11I19F: *olha se aika tylsää*

‘T11I19F: x x x that I have never in my life been so quiet for a week when no-one spoke Finnish or English I didn’t understand the radio or TV and didn’t have anything to read

Interviewer: @@

Mrs P: it must have been dull

T11I19F: well it was rather dull'

(101)

I think Pekka has oh *ottakaa lissää* yes that's a good idea you need *kato toi* purple can Samantha hu huu purple can (T16I30F).

'I think Pekka has oh have some more yes that's a good idea you need look that purple can Samantha hu huu purple can.'

One-word switches to unassimilated English ("short CS") are not found in the speech of four informants. Two of them did not produce any longer switches either, while the other two had three and two long switches respectively. On the other hand, there are two informants 0.6% of whose speech consisted of single English words (forty-nine and twenty-eight cases). These informants are also women (T5I9F and T15I29F), and overall the women's percentage of this LCP in recorded speech was higher than the men's (0.23% and 0.19%).

(102)

Kyllä ainaki kuus jee ku ku minä tulin ensiks ku minä en muista oliko se ku minä menin Commonwealth pankkiin työhön vai sairaalaan niin piti olla Australian citizen (T5I9F).

'Yes at least six yeah when when I became first when I can't remember was it when I went to work for Commonwealth bank or the hospital and you had to be an Australian citizen.'

(103)

Paljon ottas takasi jos vois jee ne tulee liian oma- tiäks eh eh self- eh ihminen semmosesta joka joutuu oleen heti annetaan liian paljo responsibilities pienenä (T15I29F).

'One would take a lot back if one could yeah they become too self you know eh eh self- eh person of one who must be is given too many responsibilities when they're little.'

Women produced more unassimilated English than men. Differences between women's and men's language seem to be found in every speech community (Ladegaard, 1998), and Trudgill (1983, p. 162) refers to this pattern as "the single most consistent finding to emerge from sociolinguistic studies over the last twenty years". On average women's speech is closer to the prestige standard than men's speech. Based on available data it cannot be concluded to what extent women's higher LCP numbers than men's is a result of needing to show off the English skills, the prestige language skills, by letting it leak into spoken Finnish, or a result of other sociological factors in the language contact situation.

Words with English phonology but Finnish morphology ("Eng+Fin") occur in the speech of twenty-nine informants. Only two informants produce none of these. One of them did not have any of the previous switch categories either, and the other had one single word switch, and one longer switch which was a quotation:

(104)

[...] miul on perheessä yheksän henkii jotka on kielitaidottomia et eks mie sais kotia sitä oh good idea sano se @@@@ ja nehä järjesti [...]. (T14I26M)

'[...] I have nine people in my family who know no English so couldn't I have it at home oh good idea he said @@@@ and they organised it [...].'

These two informants are those who reported their level of English use as close to none (Section 4.3.), and English skills as poor or non-existent (Section 4.2.). Their speech patterns are consistent with their language use and skill reports. There are four informants in whose speech over 1% consists of items with English phonology and Finnish morphology:

T11I19F	1.13%
T12I22M	1.23%
T15I28M	1.27%
T16I30F	1.34%

(105)

Ja sitte tuota ni se on semmonen must- laatikko siinä ja sul on ja siin on sitte tuota ni mustia ja mustia ja näitä valakosia marbleleita⁵ (T12I22M).

‘And then well it is a kind of black box there and you’ve got there are black and these white marbles.’

(106)

Joo ei nyt mutta se on ne sano justii että kaikki tämä niinkun transportti mitkä käyttää diiseliä niin niille tuli olik se nyt niinku sentti kilometriä päälle niin tulee nousemaan ni kaikki niiden kustannukset (T15I28M).

‘Yeah not now but they just said that all this sort of transport that uses diesel that they got was it a cent per kilometre their costs will go up.’

Material that has been assimilated both phonologically and morphologically into Finnish (“Fin+Fin”) occurs in the speech of all informants. The number of occurrences varies from seven to 124. The lowest percentage is 0.14% of speech for an informant who stated in conversation that English was her stronger language. There are six other informants whose speech had under 0.5% of these phenomena. The top two producers of these phenomena reached 2.91% and 2.45%. Interestingly they are a couple: it is as if this way of talking is their idiolect:

(107)

Sähköveturit kaksi ni viikon instraktori⁶ opetti ajamaan uutta kuskii (T1I1M).

‘Electronic engines two of them and the instructor taught a new driver for a week.’

(108)

Maito x x taasko siltä milkkimanilta pulloon pantiin se raha ja illalla ja sitte se aamulla otti se aikasi (T1I2F).

‘Milk x x from the milkman you put the money in the bottle in the evening and he took it early in the morning.’

⁵ Non-italicized word root pronounced in English.

⁶ Underlining is used to identify English word which has been fully assimilated to Finnish

The third highest percentage of fully assimilated English to Finnish is much lower, 1.88%, by one of the lowest ranking English speakers in both skill and use (T14I26M). The informant who had the lowest self-evaluated English skills produced no language contact phenomena other than the fully assimilated words in her Finnish speech. Her twenty-three cases of English fully assimilated to Finnish make up a hundred percent of language contact phenomena in her speech.

The use of *jee* ‘yeah’, which was recorded in the category “other”, varied extensively. The average number of *jee* in the speech of informants is 13.29, while the mean is 7. Seven informants did not produce it at all, while the informant with most *jee* in her speech had 66 cases or 1.02% of her speech. As a percentage the occurrence of *jee* may not appear significant, but when an expression like *jee* occurs repeatedly in Finnish speech it stands out as a common feature in the individual’s speech.

The percentage of codes in the recorded speech was used to ascertain high, medium and low levels of English influence in the informants’ recorded Finnish. The lowest percentage of language contact phenomena (“LCP”) in speech was 0.89% and the highest 4.46%. The rest of the percentage values were between 1% and 3%. Because only these two values were outside the area between 1% and 3%, the boundaries for the LCP levels were set at 2% and 3%. Those informants whose speech had 2% or less of coded language contact phenomena were grouped as the low English influence group. The speech of the medium influence group had between 2% and 3% coded LCP. The group with high English influence had 3% or more coded LCP.

Five informants had high levels of language contact phenomena in their recorded speech. Tables 4.15, 4.16 and 4.17 show the breakdown of the phenomena by level:

Table 4.15 LCP breakdown, high level.

Informant	% long CS	% short CS	% Eng+Fin	% Fin+Fin	% other	% LCP of speech
T1I1M	0.23	0.14	0.45	2.91	0.7	4.46
T1I2F	0	0.05	0.07	2.45	0.66	3.24
T15I28M	0	0.42	1.27	1.41	0.42	3.54
T15I29F	0.12	0.64	0.7	0.64	0.91	3.01
T16I30F	0.5	0.52	1.34	0.38	1.04	3.77
Average	0.17	0.35	0.77	1.56	0.75	3.60
Median	0.12	0.42	0.7	1.41	0.7	3.54

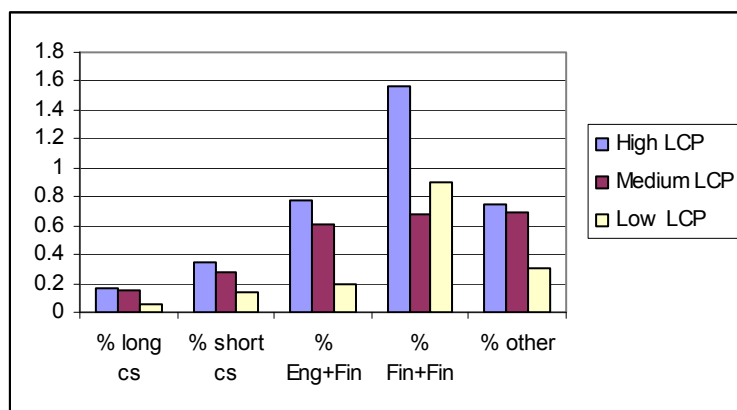
Table 4.16 LCP breakdown, medium level.

Informant	% long CS	% short CS	% Eng+Fin	% Fin+Fin	% other	% LCP of speech
T2I3M	0.11	0.4	0.82	0.57	0.34	2.25
T2I4F	0.14	0.36	0.46	0.57	1.19	2.72
T4I6M	0.08	0.17	0.7	0.55	0.61	2.1
T5I9F	0.02	0.55	0.32	0.14	0.95	2.16
T11I19F	0.48	0.21	1.13	0.6	0.14	2.9
T12I22M	0.35	0.17	1.23	0.36	0.13	2.24
T14I26M	0.03	0.03	0	1.88	0.39	2.32
T14I27F	0	0.36	0.36	0.65	1.25	2.61
T10I18F	0.13	0.27	0.47	0.81	1.21	2.89
Average	0.15	0.28	0.61	0.68	0.69	2.47
Median	0.11	0.27	0.47	0.57	0.61	2.32

Table 4.17 LCP breakdown, low level.

Informant	% long CS	% short CS	% Eng+Fin	% Fin+Fin	% other	% LCP of speech
T3I5M	0	0.31	0.7	0.32	0.61	1.94
T4I7F	0	0	0.19	1.06	0.44	1.68
T5I8F	0.27	0.49	0.08	0.6	0.41	1.87
T6I11F	0.1	0.26	0.37	0.52	0.6	1.84
T5I10F	0	0	0	1.33	0	1.33
T7I12M	0.05	0	0.05	1.57	0.13	1.79
T8I13F	0.03	0.11	0.02	0.78	0.24	1.21
T8I14M	0	0.39	0.07	1.24	0.18	1.91
T9I15F	0.04	0.09	0.09	1.05	0.23	1.48
T9I16M	0.06	0	0.03	1.22	0.28	1.59
T10I17F	0.08	0.17	0.23	0.85	0.52	1.85
T11I20M	0	0.31	0.2	0.36	0.92	1.78
T13I23M	0	0.02	0.08	1.63	0.03	1.75
T13I24F	0	0.05	0.18	1.22	0.2	1.65
T12I21F	0	0.04	0.57	0.25	0.04	0.89
T14I25F	0.11	0.07	0.08	0.82	0.11	1.2
T16I31M	0.06	0.12	0.47	0.47	0.35	1.46
Average	0.05	0.14	0.20	0.90	0.31	1.60
Median	0.15	0.09	0.09	0.85	0.24	1.68

Figure 4.27 Distribution of LCP for high, medium and low levels of LCP.



Those whose speech has a high percentage of language with English influence (i.e. the high LCP level group in Table 4.15) have as a group the highest percentages in all contact phenomena categories. Material fully assimilated to Finnish (examples 107 and 108) is clearly the dominating category of LCP, and for three informants out of five at this level it is their largest LCP percentage.

The medium level has nine informants. Their average LCP percentages are the second highest for all other LCPs except for the material fully assimilated to Finnish (examples 107 and 108). The group's highest percentage is for the "other" LCPs.

Seventeen informants who have a low level of LCPs indicate the clearest concentration on material fully assimilated to Finnish. For thirteen out of seventeen informants at this level the category for fully assimilated LCP has the largest percentage. The other LCP categories have noticeably lower percentages.

To investigate correlations between occurrences of different LCP, all four types of LCP were plotted against one another. The scatter plots show that the categories with English phonology ("long CS", "short CS" and "Eng+Fin") correlate positively with each other, while they all correlate negatively with the category "Fin+Fin". The more LCP with English phonology, the less LCP with Finnish phonology and morphology. The high percentage of LCP with English phonology also correlates positively with self-evaluated English skills: the better the English skills, the higher the percentage of LCP that have English phonology. When an informant has better English skills, and is thus able to

transfer English pronunciation into Finnish, there are fewer cases of English items fully assimilated into Finnish.

Individual profiles of language contact phenomena

Concordance data on each individual’s speech allowed us to study the “LCP profiles” i.e. which LCP categories were the largest for each individual. The largest percentage in the profiles was either “Fin+Fin”, “Eng+Fin” or “Other”. Profiles are divided into three groups, based on the largest categories and similarities within groups.

Group 1: LCP profiles with “Fin+Fin” as the largest category

As can be expected from the above data, in the majority of profiles (sixteen) the figures for “Fin+Fin” are the largest:

Table 4.18 Types of “Fin+Fin” profiles.

No. informants	Largest LCP category	Second largest LCP category	Third largest LCP category
8	“Fin+Fin”	“Other”	“Eng+Fin”
2	“Fin+Fin”	“Eng+Fin”	“Other”
2	“Fin+Fin”	“Other”	“Long CS”
2	“Fin+Fin”	“Short CS”	“Other”
1	“Fin+Fin”	“Other”	“Short CS”
1	“Fin+Fin”	-	-
Total 16			

Of these sixteen profiles eight follow the pattern that after the fully assimilated material the second largest category is “Other” and third largest is “Eng+Fin”. Table 4.19 shows the individual percentages for each category:

Table 4.19 LCP profiles “Fin+Fin”, “Other”, “Eng+Fin”.

	% Fin+Fin	% other	% Eng+Fin	% long CS	% short CS
T111M	2.91	0.7	0.45	0.23	0.14
T112F	2.45	0.66	0.07	0	0.05
T417F	1.06	0.44	0.19	0	0
T7112M	1.57	0.13	0.05	0.05	0
T9115F	1.05	0.23	0.09	0.04	0.09
T10117F	0.85	0.52	0.23	0.08	0.17
T13124F	1.22	0.2	0.18	0	0.05
T14125F	0.82	0.11	0.08	0.11	0.07

This group of eight is the largest group with similar profiles. This profile is the typical in the sample. Their profile is consistent with the expectation regarding first generation Finnish speakers in Australia: the most common way to incorporate English into Finnish is to fully integrate it into the matrix language (Kovács, 2001a). The material found in category “Other” for these informants is also phonologically Finnish. In case of five informants “Other” consists mainly, and in one case only, of *jee* ‘yeah’. Other phenomena include seven cases of variation in morphology in one informant’s Finnish (example 109) and use of unsuitable though proper Finnish words on four occasions by two informants (example 110).

(109)

Muuten aina täys vauhti päällä ja kuorma täytee ja sitte dipattii alas ni tunneleista tuli levulille sitte murskaamo⁷ [CSF. murskaamolle] dipattii se oli vielä alempana [...] (T111M)

Otherwise I was always going full bore load it up and dip down the tunnel and come to a level and then [to] the crushing plant which was even lower [...]

(110)

Ne sanoo että se on ilman vaihto [CSF. ilmaston vaihdos] tai jotenki on voinu niinku tulla toisille mille tulee mitäki tautia toisille ei tuu mitään. (T9I15F)

They say it is the change of air (climate) or something that could you know people get different ailments others get none.

If all five LCP are considered to be on a phonological Finnish-English continuum, for these informants “Other” is located closer to the Finnish end of the continuum. For five of the eight informants the numbers of LCP systematically decrease the more apparent the English influence is.

The next informant also had “Fin+Fin” as the largest category followed by “Other”, but the third most common LCP were “short CS”:

⁷ underlining is used to indicate words that are not suitable in the context

Table 4.20 LCP profile "Fin+Fin", "Other", "short CS".

	% Fin+Fin	% other	% short CS	% long CS	% Eng+Fin
T8I13F	0.78	0.24	0.11	0.03	0.02

Ten out of fifteen items in the "Other" category are *jee* 'yeah', and there are also two items coded as "\CREATIVE": Finnish terms possibly created by the speaker and not in wider use, one case of correcting own Finnish, one "\PAIKKA": translating the English use of place eg. "The Johnson's place" into Finnish *paikka*, and one case of a Finnish sentence spoken with English intonation (example 111).

(111)

niit oli aika suuri porukka siinä laivas nin mun muistin mukaan meit oli sataviiskytä kolme. (T8I13F)

There was quite a big group of them on that ship if I remember right we were a hundred and fifty-three.

There are two informants whose third largest LCP category after "Fin+Fin" and "Other" is "long CS". However, the third category is much smaller (Table 8.):

Table 4.21 LCP profiles "Fin+Fin", "Other", "long CS".

	% Fin+Fin	% other	% long CS	% short CS	% Eng+Fin
T9I16M	1.22	0.28	0.06	0	0.03
T14I26M	1.88	0.39	0.03	0.03	0

Although the first category is "Fin+Fin", the content of "Other" indicates English influence. Category "Other" of one of the informants includes three cases of asking for the Finnish equivalent for an English item, three cases of choosing to use an unsuitable Finnish word and two cases of repeating a word in Finnish once it has first been spoken in English. The other informant has ten cases of *jee* 'yeah', corrects his Finnish once, repeats an English word in Finnish once and chooses an unsuitable Finnish word once. English phonology is not strongly present in these informants' recorded speech, but other influence from language contact is present.

Two informants' profiles (Table 4.22) indicate that category "Eng+Fin" was the second most common, and "Other" the third most common. T13I23M has a much bigger concentration on "Fin+Fin", but the order of the three largest categories is the same:

Table 4.22 LCP profiles "Fin+Fin", "Eng+Fin", "Other".

	% Fin+Fin	% Eng+Fin	% other	% short CS	% long CS
T13I23M	1.63	0.08	0.03	0.02	0
T15I28M	1.41	1.27	0.42	0.42	0

T13I23M has only two tokens in category "Other": they are cases of repeating an English term in Finnish. The other informant produced one *jee* 'yeah', one non-Finnish use of *se* 'it' (see 4.1.2.), and chose an unsuitable Finnish word once:

(112)

Erikoinen se niinku pääsisäänkäytäväki [CSF. pääsisäänkäynti] *on sinne tielle päin sitte vähä pyöree siinä ja [...]*

(T15I28M)

The main entry corridor [main entrance] is special towards the street slightly round and [...]

There are two informants whose second largest LCP category was "short CS", and "Other" was the third (Table 4.23):

Table 4.23 LCP profiles "Fin+Fin", "short CS", "Other"

	% Fin+Fin	% short CS	% other	% long CS	% Eng+Fin
T5I8F	0.6	0.49	0.41	0.27	0.08
T8I14M	1.24	0.39	0.18	0	0.07

These informants do not add Finnish morphology to words pronounced in English. They produce the word or sentence completely in either English or Finnish, avoiding the "Eng+Fin" combination. The category "Other" for T5I8F includes eight *jee* 'yeah', three cases of variation in Finnish morphology, two cases of choosing an unsuitable Finnish word, and one case of asking for the Finnish equivalent. T8I14M's "Other" consists of two *jee* 'yeah', one creative word, one use of unsuitable Finnish word and one use of *paikka* 'place'.

One informant’s LCP profile consists only of material fully assimilated into Finnish:

Table 4.24 LCP profile ”Fin+Fin” only.

	% Fin+Fin	% other	% long CS	% short CS	% Eng+Fin
T5I10F	1.33	0	0	0	0

Group 2: LCP profiles with “Eng+Fin” as the largest category

Material pronounced in English but with Finnish morphology was the largest LCP category in the speech of eight informants. Table 4.25 shows the types of “Eng+Fin” profiles:

Table 4.25 Types of “Eng+Fin” profiles.

No. informants	Largest LCP category	Second largest LCP category	Third largest LCP category
2	“Eng+Fin”	“Other”	“Fin+Fin”
2	“Eng+Fin”	“Fin+Fin”	“Other”
2	“Eng+Fin”	“Fin+Fin”	“Long CS”
1	“Eng+Fin”	“Other”	“Short CS”
1	“Eng+Fin”/”Fin+Fin”	“Other”	“Short CS”
Total 8			

For two informants category “Other” was the second most common LCP category followed by “Fin+Fin”:

Table 4.26 LCP profiles “Eng+Fin”, “Other”, “Fin+Fin”

	% Eng+Fin	% other	% Fin+Fin	% short CS	% long CS
T3I5M	0.7	0.61	0.32	0.31	0
T4I6M	0.7	0.61	0.55	0.17	0.08

These two profiles indicate that although switching into unassimilated English (“long CS” and “short CS”) is less common than the other LCP, there is a strong English influence in the Finnish of these informants. For both informants “Other” includes cases of Finnish spoken with an English intonation, and both have cases of variation in Finnish morphology and vocabulary as well as cases of English syntax in Finnish. There are also cases of *jee* ‘yeah’, *paikka* ‘place’ and *se* ‘it’.

There are two informants whose most common LCP categories were “Eng+Fin”, “Fin+Fin”, “short CS”:

Table 4.27 LCP profiles “Eng+Fin”, “Fin+Fin”, “short CS”.

	% Eng+Fin	% Fin+Fin	% short CS	% other	% long CS
T2I3M	0.82	0.57	0.4	0.34	0.11
T12I21F	0.57	0.25	0.04	0.04	0

Although the order of the largest three LCP categories is the same for these two informants, their recorded Finnish sounds in fact very different. T12I21F has the lowest total percentage of LCP in the data. She prefers to assimilate English into Finnish by adding the appropriate morphology. Her pronunciation of the word root, though, is often English. There is one single word switch to English and one case of using *se* ‘it’. On the other hand, T2I3M has overall more occurrences of every LCP category. His completely Finnish-sounding category “Fin+Fin” has nine calques: cases of him taking an English expression and translating that into Finnish (example 113). “Other” includes a case of Finnish spoken with English intonation, two cases of variation in Finnish morphology, a case of using an unsuitable Finnish word and a case of English word order in a Finnish sentence.

(113)

Se oli vaa et alunperin suomalaiset jotka oli tota ajautunu sille alalle ja sitte ne huomaa et sillä teki aika hyvää rahaa [...] (T2I3M)

It just happened to be that Finns who originally ended up in that line of work and then they realised that you made quite good money in it [...]

There are two informants whose most common LCP categories were “Eng+Fin”, “Fin+Fin”, “long CS”:

Table 4.28 LCP profiles “Eng+Fin”, “Fin+Fin”, “long CS”.

	% Eng+Fin	% Fin+Fin	% long CS	% short CS	% other
T11I19F	1.13	0.6	0.48	0.21	0.14
T12I22M	1.23	0.36	0.35	0.17	0.13

Though the two largest LCP categories of these informants are the predictable ones for first generation Australian Finns, the special features in their speech are the switches into English for strings longer than one word. They are among the top three producers of this phenomenon in the data. This together with the high numbers of “Eng+Fin”, and “short CS” also makes them overall sound different from the typical first generation Australian Finns as English phonology is very prominent.

(114)

Leijonilla ni mittään x klubille ei mittään ite me autetaan semmosia niinku help those who can't help themselves ni se on niinku leijona motto enempi.
 ‘With the Lions nothing x for the club nothing we ourselves help those well help those who can't help themselves that is more the Lions' motto’.

For one informant the most common LCP are “Eng+Fin”, “Other”, and “short CS”.

Table 4.29 LCP profile “Eng+Fin”, “Other”, “short CS”.

	% Eng+Fin	% other	% short CS	% long CS	% Fin+Fin
T16I30F	1.34	1.04	0.52	0.5	0.38

English influence is very prominent in the speech of this informant. Her percentages of the English sounding LCP “long CS” and “Eng+Fin” are the highest in the data, and her “short CS” percentage is the third highest. “Other” which is the second largest category is dominated by *jee* ‘yeah’ (64% of the category), and other phenomena include ten cases of *se* ‘it’ and eight cases of variation in Finnish morphology.

One informant has an equal percentage of fully assimilated material (“Fin+Fin”) and “Eng+Fin” material in the first position:

Table 4.30 LCP profile equal “Eng+Fin” and “Fin+Fin”.

	% Eng+Fin	% Fin+Fin	% other	% short CS	% long CS
T16I31M	0.47	0.47	0.35	0.12	0.06

The two LCP categories with Finnish morphology are equally present in the speech of this informant. The percentages are not very high compared for instance to those in

Table 4.29. Switches to unassimilated English are rare. Almost half of the category “Other” is *jee* ‘yeah’ (48%), but there are three cases of variation in word order eg. *ruudutus siellä oli alla* CSF. *oli siellä alla* ‘the checkered pattern was underneath it’, eight cases of morphology variation eg. *ei ollu kolmeen vuonna nähny* CSF. *ei ollu kolmeen vuoteen nähny* ‘he hadn’t seen (her) for three years’, and four cases of choosing an unsuitable Finnish word eg. *jos mä panisin siihen enemmän aikaa* CSF. *jos mä käyttäisin siihen enemmän aikaa* ‘if I put more time in it’. Overall this informant gives the impression of being meticulous with his spoken Finnish. The percentage of LCP in recorded speech is the fifth lowest in the data. Although language contact has influenced his Finnish, the profile indicates an effort to keep this influence unobtrusive.

Group 3: LCP profiles with “Other” as the largest category

The category “Other” had the largest percentage in the profiles of seven informants. Because this category can consist of very different phenomena, the importance of the category being larger than other LCP categories is sometimes less important than the fact that the other generally ubiquitous LCP are in fact produced less than the ones found in the category “Other”:

Table 4.31 Types of “Other” profiles.

No. informants	Largest LCP category	Second largest LCP category	Third largest LCP category
4	“Other”	“Fin+Fin”	“Eng+Fin”
1	“Other”	“Fin+Fin”	“Short CS”
1	“Other”	“Short CS”	“Eng+Fin”
1	“Other”	“Eng+Fin”	“Short CS” / “Fin+Fin”
Total 7			

Four informants had “Fin+Fin” as the second largest category and “Eng+Fin” as the third.

Table 4.32 LCP profiles “Other”, “Fin+Fin”, “Eng+Fin”.

	% other	% Fin+Fin	% Eng+Fin	% short CS	% long CS
T2I4F	1.19	0.57	0.46	0.36	0.14
T6I11F	0.6	0.52	0.37	0.26	0.1
T10I18F	1.21	0.81	0.47	0.27	0.13
T14I27F	1.25	0.65	0.36	0.36	0

The typical strategies of assimilating English at least morphologically have been overtaken by the category “Other”. In all four cases *jee* ‘yeah’ has the highest frequency of the items classed in this category. Informant T2I4F in fact is the top user of *jee* ‘yeah’ in the whole data set. Otherwise her speech follows the pattern of LCP numbers decreasing as English phonology in LCP increases. T14I27F, who incidentally has the best self-evaluated English skills of all informants, produces no “long CS” and equally few cases of “short CS” and “Eng+Fin”. The strong English skills come through in the calques, which constitute a little over a quarter of “Fin+Fin”. Her *jee* ‘yeah’ could even be the Australian English *yeah* the use of which she does not need to control since it is also very common in Australian Finnish. Another indication of the position of Finnish in her repertoire are the cases of using an unsuitable Finnish word (example 115). The percentage of these in “Other” is almost as high as the percentage of *jee* ‘yeah’:

(115)

Mut nykyisi ku ne sitä eh monikansalaisuutta yrittää levittää ni ne tykkää et jos on niinku muun maalaisii enempi. (T14I27F)

But these days when they try to spread the idea of multinationalism (multiculturalism) they prefer to have more foreigners.

The remaining three informant profiles with “Other” as the largest category are all different:

Table 4.33 LCP profile “Other”, “short CS”, “Eng+Fin”.

	% other	% short CS	% Eng+Fin	% Fin+Fin	% long CS
T5I9F	0.95	0.55	0.32	0.14	0.02

Jee ‘yeah’ is the most prominent coded feature in this subject’s speech. It makes up 0.63% of her recorded speech, which is the third highest percentage in the data, and 66.7% of the tokens in category “Other”. Although she does not switch into unassimilated English for longer stretches, English phonology is present in the short switches (example 116), and the words she pronounces in English and to which she adds Finnish morphology (example 117). Items fully assimilated to Finnish are very few (five plus one calque). She also has seven cases of variation in Finnish morphology,

four cases of choosing an unsuitable Finnish word, asks once for the Finnish equivalent of a word, and once also follows English word order in a Finnish sentence:

(116)

Minä menin ensiks olin office työssä [...]. (T5I9F)
 ‘I went first I did office work [...].’

(117)

Eihän ne täältäkään tienny mittään Suo- Suomesta ku ne kysy eh koulussa eh Suomesta eh ne luuli että me asutaan niinku Eskimos Suomessa ei ne tienny mittää eihän sitä mittään opetettu koululla täällä. (T5I9F)

‘They didn’t know anything about Finland when they asked eh at school eh about Finland eh they thought we lived like Eskimos in Finland they didn’t know anything it wasn’t taught at school here.’

Table 4.34 LCP profile “Other”, “Fin+Fin”, “short CS”.

	% other	% Fin+Fin	% short CS	% Eng+Fin	% long CS
T11I20M	0.92	0.36	0.31	0.2	0

This profile has one of the highest differences between the percentage of largest category “Other” and the following categories. This is particularly important considering that “Other” does not include any cases of *jee* ‘yeah’. Using an unsuitable Finnish word has the highest frequency within the category (eight out of eighteen cases). Other phenomena include variation in Finnish morphology, asking for Finnish equivalents for English words, and Swedish influence in the syntax.

The last profile is the most evenly balanced of all the profiles, though “Other” is the largest.

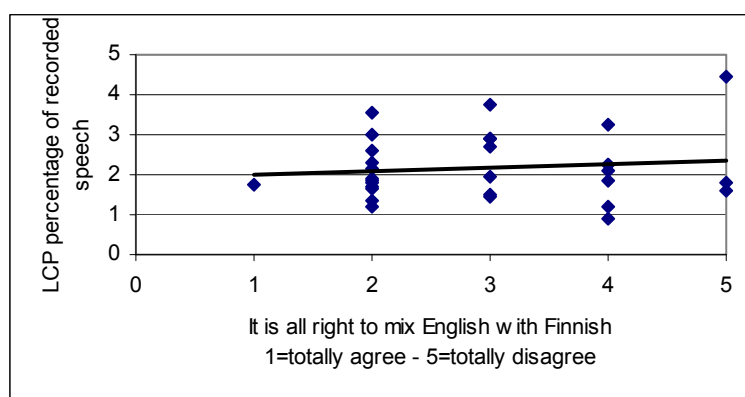
Table 4.35 LCP profile “Other”, “Eng+Fin”, “Fin+Fin”.

	% other	% Eng+Fin	% Fin+Fin	% short CS	% long CS
T15I29F	0.91	0.7	0.64	0.64	0.12

Jee ‘yeah’ is again dominant, comprising nearly 64% of category “Other” and thus causing it to be the largest. Only long switches into unassimilated English are noticeably fewer than other LCP.

4.5.3. Correlation of LCP and attitude expressed in the questionnaire

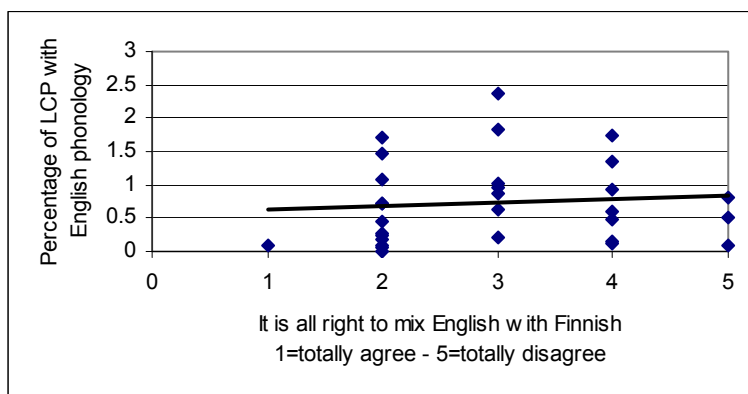
Figure 4.28 Correlation between attitudes towards mixing English with Finnish and LCP percentage. (N=30)



There is a weak correlation between the attitude towards mixing English with Finnish and the amount of language contact phenomena in recorded speech. The stronger the disagreement with the attitude statement, the more language contact phenomena coded in recorded speech. One interpretation is that informants are over-compensating through positive attitudes for something that is inevitably present in their speech. The more positive the attitude towards keeping the languages separate, the more English influence can be found in the informants’ speech.

In case the informants might have considered that the statement “mixing English with Finnish” involves only material which is phonologically English, the following correlation includes only the three LCP categories with English phonology (“long CS”, “short CS” and “Eng+Fin”).

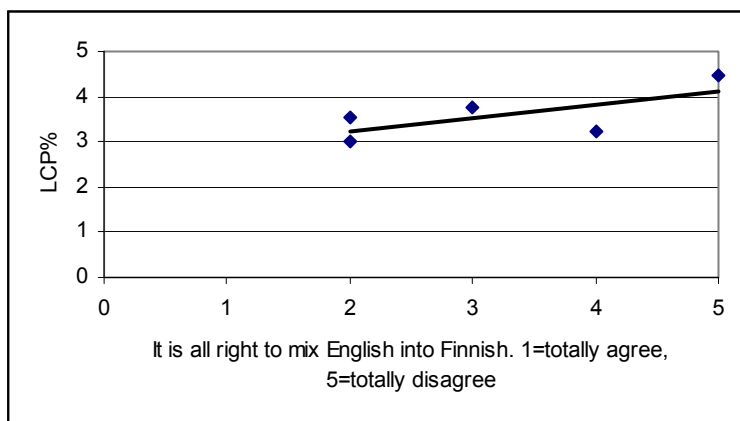
Figure 4.29 Correlation between attitudes towards mixing English with Finnish and English phonology LCP. (N=30)



This does not change the correlation. The stronger the disagreement with the attitude statement, the more language contact phenomena are coded in recorded speech.

When the informants are divided into groups according to the amount or type of LCP in their speech, some of the correlations between this attitude and LCP percentage change. Previously three levels of language contact phenomena were identified: High, Medium, and Low. Figures 4.30-4.32 present correlations of LCP percentages and attitudes towards statement 2.10.12. for each of these groups.

Figure 4.30 Group with High level LCP percentage. (N=5)



For those who had three or more percent LCP in their speech, a negative attitude towards mixing English into Finnish correlates with increasing numbers of LCP. The less they approve of mixing English with Finnish, the more their Finnish contains English influence. This is very similar to the above correlations for the whole sample.

Figure 4.31 Group with Medium level LCP percentage. (N=9)

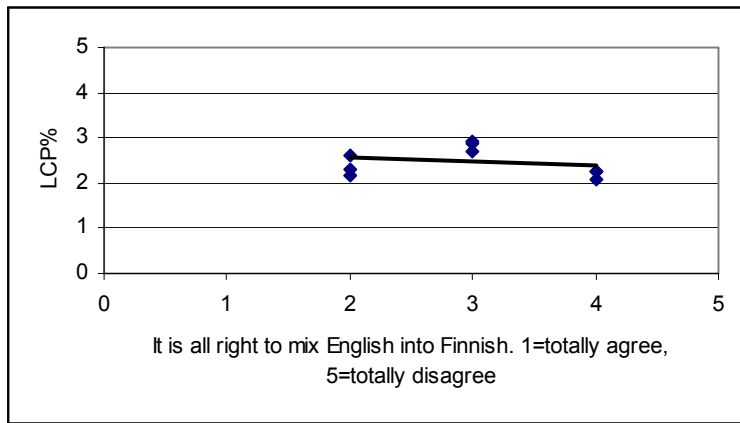
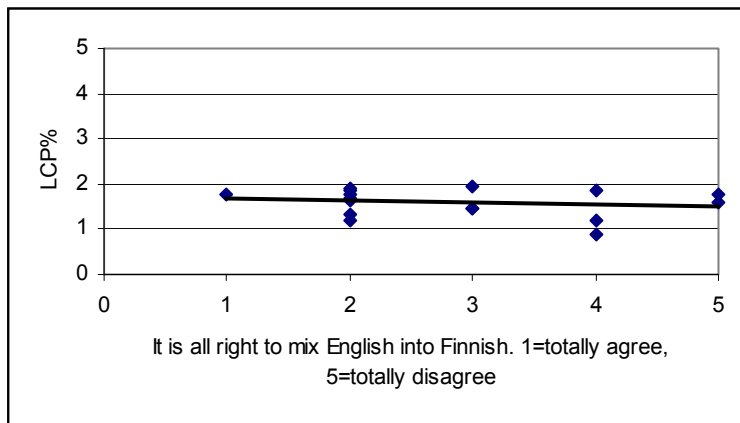


Figure 4.32 Group with Low level LCP percentage. (N=17)



The above correlations of the Medium and Low level LCP groups indicate that among these informants the less they approve of mixing English into Finnish, the less they do it themselves. Their attitudes are consistent with their performance.

Three groups were also defined by dividing the sample according to the profiles: sixteen informants had “Fin+Fin” as the largest LCP category, seven informants had “Other”, and eight informants had “Eng+Fin” as the largest LCP category. Correlations between attitudes towards mixing English with Finnish and the percentage of LCP for these groups are presented in Figures 4.33-4.35:

Figure 4.33 "Fin+Fin" the largest LCP group. (N=16)

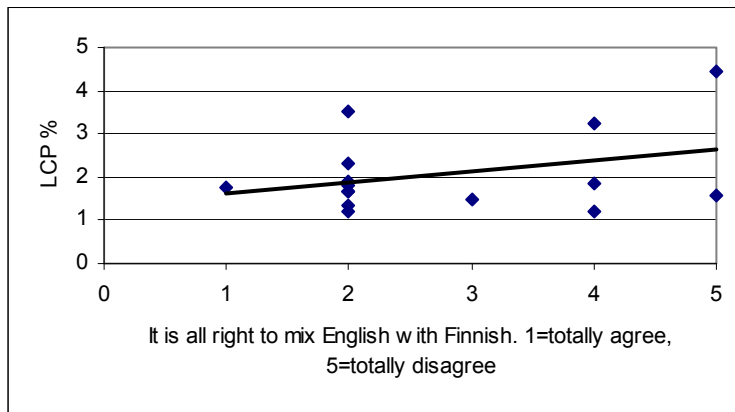


Figure 4.34 "Other" the largest LCP group. (N=7)

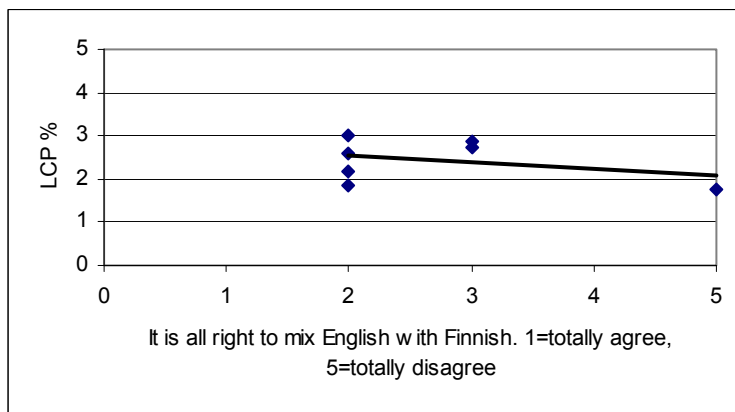
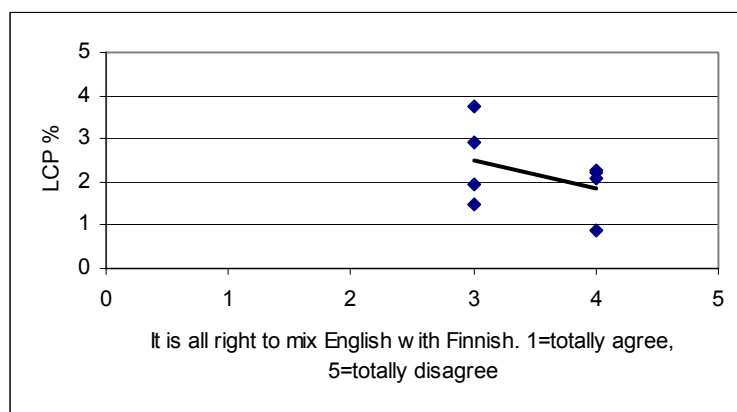


Figure 4.35 "Eng+Fin" the largest LCP category. (N=8)



Those informants who mostly produce LCP by fully assimilating English material into Finnish share a similar correlation with the High level LCP group. The less they approve of mixing English with Finnish, the more they do it. The other two groups

whose largest LCP categories are “Other” or “Eng+Fin” have a different correlation: the less they approve of mixing English with Finnish the less they do it.

4.5.4. Summary

On average the subjects’ attitude towards mixing English with Finnish is neutral, yet the most frequent reaction is to approve of mixing English with Finnish. The Finnish variety with English influence is considered to serve a specific purpose in the community. English words in Finnish speech are justified for instance by there not being a satisfactory Finnish equivalent for an Australian item, or by admitting that a Finnish term for a Finnish item has been forgotten. Some informants display a slightly disparaging attitude towards the mixed language variety. Possible reasons for this were discussed in Section 4.2.

The most typical language contact phenomena in the conversations are items that have been assimilated both phonologically and morphologically into Finnish, for instance *instraktori* ‘instructor’. The second most typical are items with English phonology and Finnish morphology, for instance marble *leita* ‘marbles’.

Since material fully assimilated to Finnish so clearly dominates the overall LCP frequencies, it follows that the most typical LCP profile is also one with “Fin+Fin” as the largest category. Eight informants share a profile of material fully assimilated to Finnish as the largest category, the category “Other” as the second largest category, and material with English phonology and Finnish morphology as the third largest category.

For one section of the sample the attitude towards mixing English with Finnish and the extent of LCP correlate negatively: in other words, the less these informants approve of the mixing, the more they do it. This is the case for the informant group which has a high level of LCP (over 3% of recorded speech consist of LCP), and the group in whose LCP profile “Fin+Fin” is the largest category. There are only two informants who are in both these groups. For the others with smaller LCP percentages or with different LCP profiles the correlation indicates an expected consistency of attitude and behaviour: the more they disapprove of mixing English with Finnish the less they do it.

The inconsistency of attitude and behaviour can have many explanations. As was suggested earlier, it is possible that the disapproving attitude towards mixing overcompensates for the inevitable changes in the spoken Australian Finnish. It is also possible that informants may not have had a previously formed stable attitude towards English influence in Finnish, and their reaction to the statement was hasty. We could also speculate that not all informants are aware of their own LCP, particularly when most of it is fully assimilated to Finnish. The attitude they reveal may then be a general one and based on critique of the behaviour of others, while consistent with the belief of own innocence in producing the phenomena they disapprove of.

The data shows that LCP profile types are linked to language skills. Those eight informants whose largest LCP category was “Fin+Fin” followed by “Other” and “Eng+Fin”, have an average self-evaluated English skill score of 2.8. On the other hand, those eight informants whose largest LCP category was “Eng+Fin” with any combination of the other categories, have an average English skill score of 3.5. The correlation of the LCP types is in accordance with this: the more fully assimilated material, the less material with English phonology (with or without Finnish morphology).

With regard to language skills the profiles can be seen as indications of place on a continuum. The better the English skills, the more English phonology LCP in recorded speech. As language skills are a major factor in integration to host culture, the LCP profiles contribute to determining the level of integration.

4.6. Bilingualism

4.6.1. Attitudes towards bilingualism

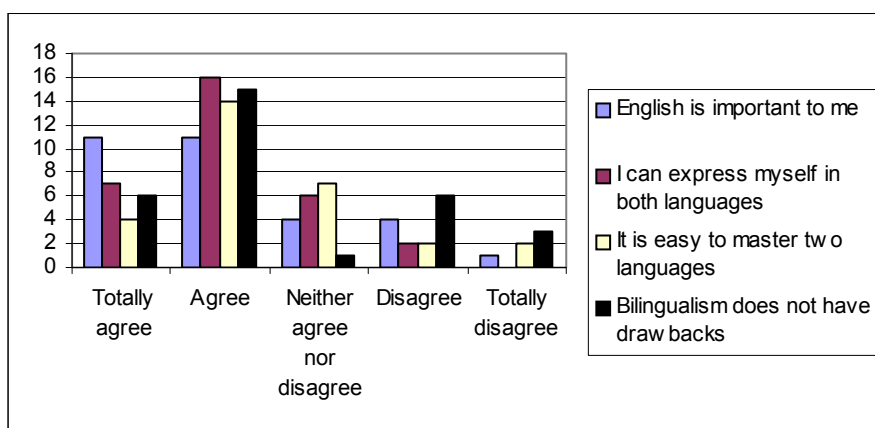
Section 4.6. will discuss the attitudes the informants express towards bilingualism and how these attitudes relate to their language skills and use of English and Finnish. Bilingualism attitudes were investigated by four main attitude statements in the questionnaire. Expressions of attitudes towards bilingualism-related issues were also coded in the conversations.

The attitude section of the questionnaire had twenty statements to which the informants were asked to react to on a five-point scale. The four statements about bilingualism were:

- 2.10.6. “English is important to me”
- 2.10.7. “I can express myself in both languages”
- 2.10.13. “Mastering two languages is easy”
- 2.10.15. “Bilingualism has its drawbacks”

Informants’ reactions to the four statements are summarised in Figure 4.36:

Figure 4.36 Attitudes towards four statements about bilingualism.



Section 4.4. presented unexpected correlations between English skills and Finnish language maintenance. The informants’ realisation of the importance of English bilingualism was presented as one possible factor for their positive attitude towards Finnish language maintenance and good English skills. Answers to statement 2.10.6. “English is important to me” indicate the same, as twenty-two informants agreed that English is important to them. Since no informants have completely shifted to English, it is reasonable to assume that the attitude towards English is connected to Finnish-English bilingualism:

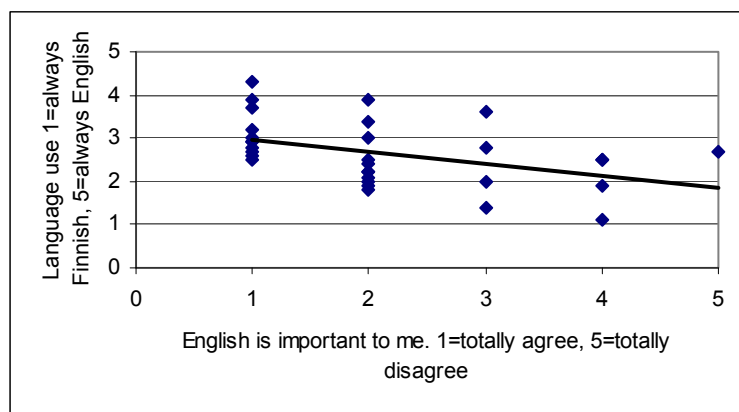
Table 4.36 Answer distribution to statement 2.10.6.

	1 Totally agree	2 Agree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Disagree	5 Totally disagree
2.10.6. English is important to me	11	11	4	4	1

The average answer to this statement is 2 “agree”. Two of the informants who disagreed with the importance of English also evaluated their English skills as bad or non-existent, and so did the person who totally disagreed with the statement. The other two who disagreed have reasons other than their own poor skills to think that English is not so important to them (T2I4F, T4I7F). Their English use is similar to the average of the sample, and does not help to explain their attitude. The data does not explicitly reveal the frequency of English use in daily life. Because the study’s main interest is in attitudes, frequencies of situations when one language is chosen over the other were not investigated. Even if an informant uses English in certain domains, those activities may not be frequent enough for the informant to think that English is important to them.

Language use correlates negatively with attitudes towards the importance of English in the sense that the more the informants disagreed with the importance of English, the more they claimed to use Finnish:

Figure 4.37 Correlation between the importance of English and use of Finnish and English.



The self-evaluations of Finnish and English skills already included an attitude element regarding proficiency. The statement “I can express myself in either language” (2.10.7) investigated the same issue: what do the informants think about their language skills – their bilingualism? Degrees of bilingualism are difficult to ascertain. According to Mackey’s model (1968), bilingualism needs to be measured at the phonological, grammatical, lexical, semantic, stylistic, and graphic levels in listening, reading, speaking and writing skills. Recently there has been an emphasis on communicative competence, which includes the patterns of grammar and rules for their use in socially

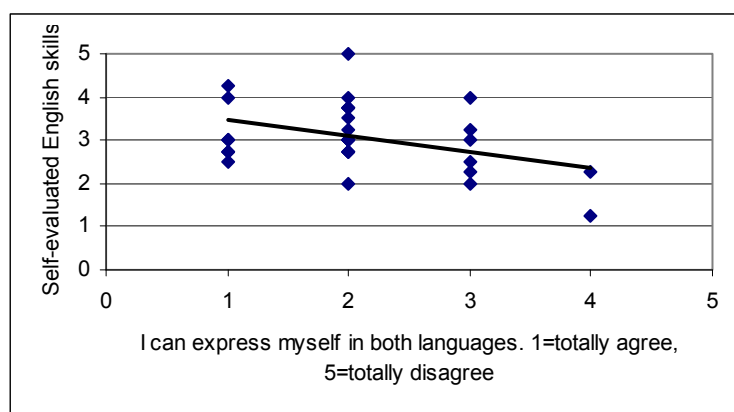
appropriate circumstances (Romaine, 1995); for a full summary on the measuring methods see Romaine 1995. Fishman (1971) notes that bilinguals are rarely equally fluent in both languages about all possible topics. “The notion of balanced bilinguals is an ideal one, which is largely an artefact of a theoretical perspective which takes the monolingual as its point of reference” (Romaine, 1995, p. 19). The current study does not involve test measures of language skills. The informants’ self-evaluations included an expression of confidence towards their own skills, which was a key indicator of attitude. Reactions to the attitude statement help shed light on how the informants assess their degree of bilingualism. Most informants agree that they can express themselves in both Finnish or English:

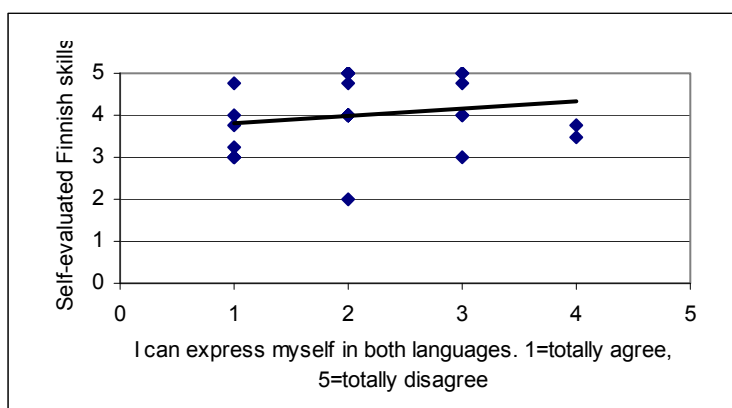
Table 4.37 Answer distribution to statement 2.10.7.

	1 Totally agree	2 Agree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Disagree	5 Totally disagree
2.10.7. I can express myself in both languages	7	16	6	2	-

Seven informants who totally agree with being able to express themselves in either Finnish or English also claimed to have at least moderate English skills. There is one informant who shares this attitude but reports to have poor English skills. Those two who did not think they could express themselves in either language also evaluated their English skills as poor (T111M, T5110F):

Figure 4.38 Correlation between attitudes to bilingual skills and self-evaluated English and Finnish skills.





The scatter plots show clear correlations. The more positive the attitude towards the ability to express oneself in either language, the better the self-evaluated English skills. However, the self-evaluated Finnish skills correlate less clearly and in the opposite way. The more positive the attitude, the lower the self-evaluated Finnish skills. For a first generation Finnish speaker the attitude statement is really about English skills. To say that you can express yourself in either Finnish or English you would have to have skills in English. Finnish is the mother tongue of these informants, and with regard to this statement it may be taken for granted. When Finnish skills were self-evaluated outside any such context the evaluations appeared very modest, as discussed in Section 4.2.

Eighteen out of twenty-nine informants agreed with statement 2.10.13. that mastering two languages is easy:

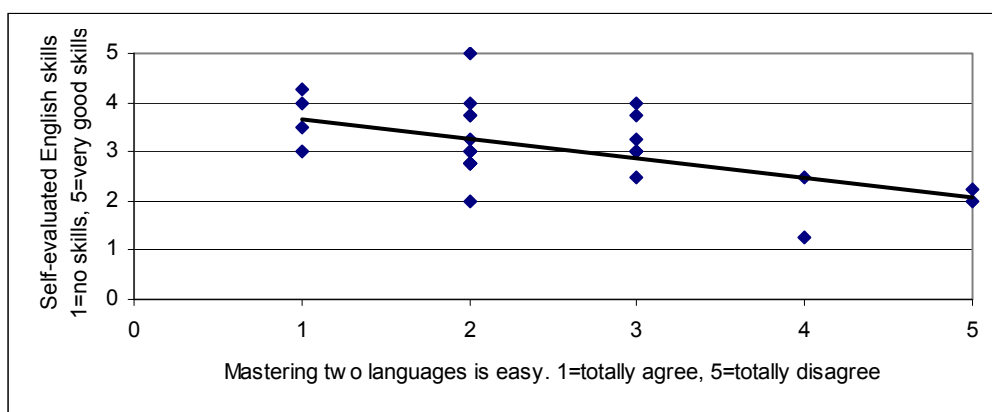
Table 4.38 Answer distribution to statement 2.10.13.

	1 Totally agree	2 Agree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Disagree	5 Totally disagree
2.10.13. Mastering two languages is easy	4	14	7	2	2

Over half of the answers indicated a positive attitude. Such a positive reaction to mastering two languages was unexpected, considering the comments made in conversation about difficulties in learning English (cf. Section 4.1.3. attitudes to language issues), and the results of studies on Finnish integration in Australia (Koivukangas, 1975; Mattila, 1990). It must be remembered, though, that the self-evaluated English skills already contradicted this expectation of poor English skills, as the average for English skills was 3.04 (moderate skills). Figure 4.39 shows that there is

a correlation between English skills and the attitude towards mastering two languages. The more positive the attitude that mastering two languages is easy, the better the self-evaluated English skills:

Figure 4.39 Correlation between answers to statement 2.10.13 and self-evaluated English skills.



In the questionnaire, statement 2.10.15. was worded as “Bilingualism has its drawbacks”. To make the statement and its answers more comparable to the other data presented in Figure 4.36, the answers were recoded to opposite values, as if the informants had reacted to a statement “Bilingualism does not have drawbacks”: the information was preserved, but presented differently from the original data:

Table 4.39 Answer distribution to statement 2.10.15.

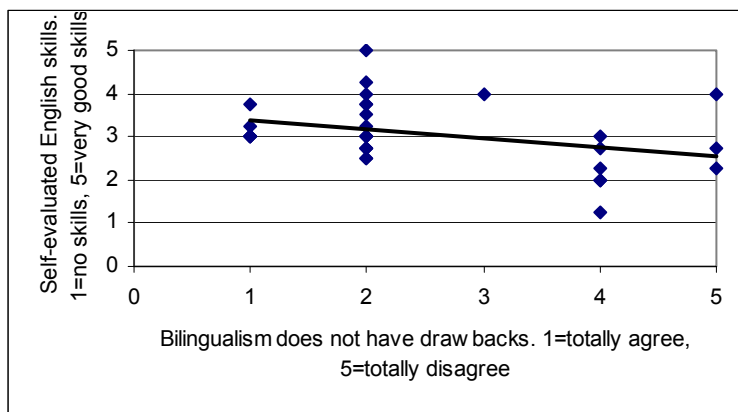
	1 Totally agree	2 Agree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Disagree	5 Totally disagree
2.10.15. Bilingualism does not have drawbacks	6	15	1	6	3

Twenty-one out of thirty-one informants thought that bilingualism does not have drawbacks. Those who disagreed did not elaborate what drawbacks they were aware of. There are no direct comments on the drawbacks of bilingualism in the taped conversations.

To see if this attitude correlates with indications of bilingualism, the attitude answers towards bilingualism having drawbacks were plotted against self-evaluated English

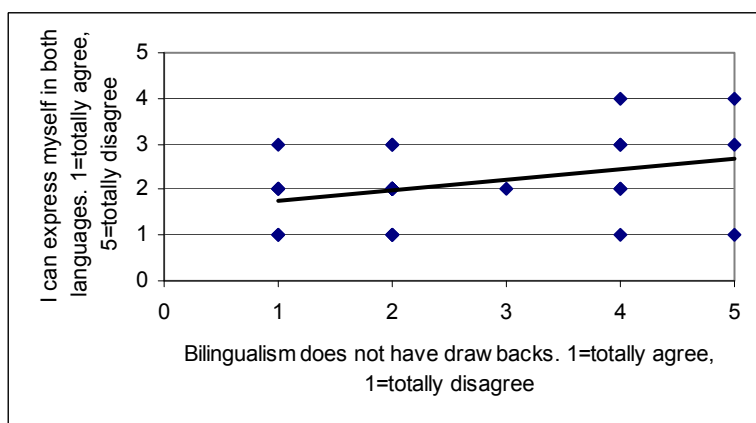
skills, and attitudes towards being able to express oneself in either Finnish or English (Figures 4.40 and 4.41):

Figure 4.40 Correlation between attitudes towards bilingualism having drawbacks and self-evaluated English skills.



The stronger the agreement that bilingualism does not have drawbacks, the better the English skills. Those nine who thought that there are drawbacks have an English skill average of 2.47, which is slightly under the average of the whole sample (3.04). The median English skill value for these nine informants is 2.25, which is more clearly below the median for the whole sample (3).

Figure 4.41 Correlation between attitudes to bilingualism having drawbacks and ability to express oneself in either Finnish or English.



This correlation indicates that the stronger the agreement that bilingualism does not have drawbacks, the more confidence in the ability to express oneself in both languages.

The answers are scattered but the trend line shows a correlation. From this it can also be inferred that the informants may consider bilingualism as a personal rather than a societal phenomenon.

One informant is known to be trilingual with Swedish. He expressed a neutral attitude towards the ease of mastering two languages. In conversation he said that he had almost lost his Swedish skills because he had not used Swedish for years. He also said that English is his strongest language, although it is the one he learnt last. He is trilingual, but based on this data he does not take the skills for granted: he is one of the most meticulous multilinguals in the sample. He thinks that languages should not be mixed, and makes the effort to speak one language at a time. Without these attitude answers it would not have been known that the apparent ease of keeping the languages separate has not come without deliberate effort.

The four statements discussed above yield an average attitude score of 2.27 towards bilingualism. On the five point scale totally agreeing (1) reveals a very positive attitude, and totally disagreeing (5) reveals a very negative attitude. The attitude score 2.27 indicates an overall positive attitude.

Table 4.40 Attitudes towards bilingualism: basic statistics

Statement	2.10.6. English is important to me	2.10.7. I can express myself in either language	2.10.13. It is easy to master two languages	2.10.15. Bilingualism does not have drawbacks
Average 2.27	2	2.1	2.45	2.52
Median	2	2	2	2
Stand. deviation	1.15	0.83	1.06	1.29

On average the most positive attitude was towards statement 2.10.6. “English is important to me”. On the other hand, the most neutral attitude was towards bilingualism not having drawbacks. The median answer for all the statements is 2 “agree”. Reactions to “I can express myself in either language” deviated the least from the median answer, and had the strongest level of agreement.

Overall the attitude towards bilingualism is positive. Statement 2.10.14. “Speaking and understanding spoken language is more important than writing and understanding written language” investigated the attitudes towards the different bilingual skills. The average answer of thirty informants was 2.13, i.e. “agree”. The majority agreed that being able to speak and understand a language is more important than being able to read and write a language.

Table 4.41 Answer distribution to statement 2.10.14.

	1 Totally agree	2 Agree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Disagree	5 Totally disagree
2.10.14. Speaking and understanding spoken language is more important than writing and understanding written language	6	16	6	2	

Only two informants thought that writing and reading a language was as or more important than speaking and understanding it. These two informants also brought up related issues in conversation. For one of them writing is an essential means of expression. He writes songs and poems in Finnish and English. When the other informant said she had taken up reading in Finnish, she also mentioned that for years she had read only English texts. One of the six informants who neither agreed nor disagreed expressed a fairly strong attitude on tape about her parents’ English skills:

(118)

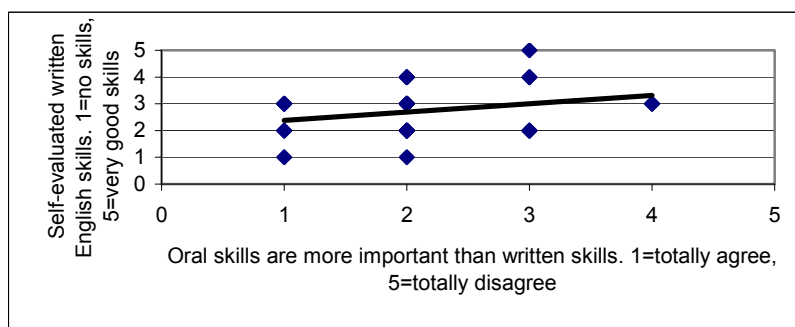
Sai sen pohjan niinku nyt nää osaa lukee ja kirjottaa kanssa ettei vaa puhuu.

(T14I27F)

‘They acquired the basic skills and now they can read and write too not just speak.’

She clearly sees the significance of having also written skills in English. She sounds proud of her parents because they have skills many of their peers do not have.

Figure 4.42. Correlation between attitude towards importance of oral or written skills and self-evaluated written English skills. (N=30)



There is a correlation between the attitude towards oral or written skills and the actual self-evaluated English written skills. The more the informants are against oral skills being more important than written skills, the better their written English skills.

The majority of informants agreed with the statement “Some things cannot be expressed in English” (2.10.4.).

Table 4.42 Answer distribution to statement 2.10.4.

	1 Totally agree	2 Agree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Disagree	5 Totally disagree
2.10.4. Some things cannot be expressed in English	7	16	1	-	6

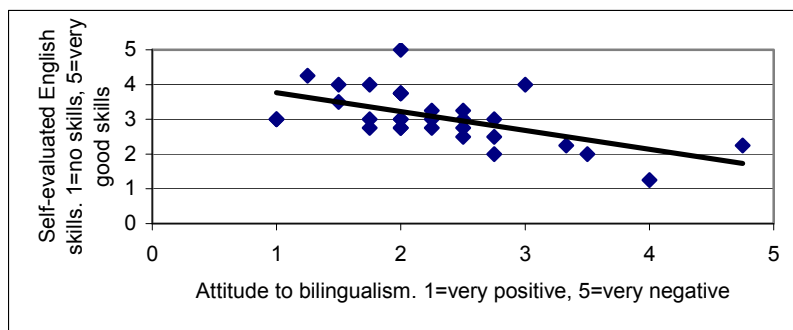
On the face of it the statement could mean two things: that English and Finnish in general have different expressive capacities, or that the informants’ personal ability to express ideas in the two languages is not equal. Referring to the context the statement was presented in it is likely, however, that the informants related the statement to their own language use. Some of those informants who totally agreed that some things cannot be expressed in English have good English skills. Even if it is possible to talk about any subject in any language, it can sometimes be more convenient to express oneself more accurately in Finnish. “Languages differ essentially in what they must convey and not in what they may convey” (Jakobson, 1959). At the other end of the answer continuum are informants who totally disagreed and thought that everything can be expressed just as well in English and Finnish. These include three informants with good English skills, two with moderate and one with poorer English skills. The attitude of the informant

with the poorer English skills is in contrast with the language skills if indeed the attitude is regarding own ability to express things in English.

4.6.2. Bilingualism attitude scores compared to bilingual behaviour

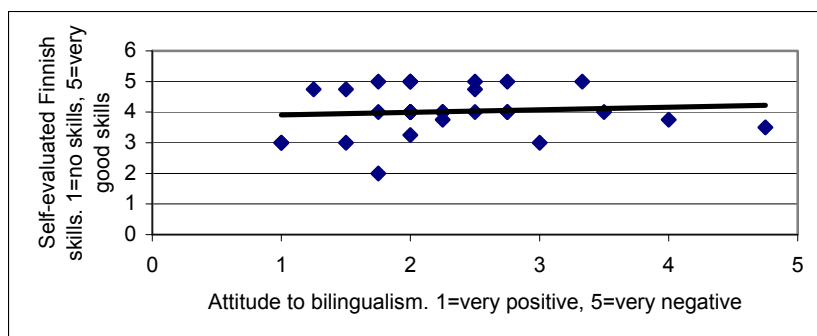
The above discussion of attitude answers included correlations between answers to individual attitude statements, language skills and language use. We now present the average attitude scores towards bilingualism which were calculated from answers to the four statements (Figure 4.36) correlated with language skills, language use and attitude to language maintenance:

Figure 4.43 Correlation between attitudes to bilingualism and self-evaluated English skills.



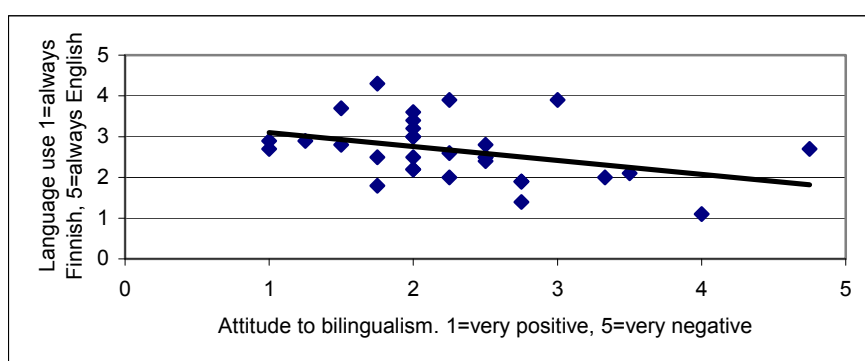
There is a clear correlation between attitude to bilingualism and self-evaluated English skills. The more positive the attitude towards bilingualism, the better the self-evaluated English skills.

Figure 4.44 Correlation between attitudes to bilingualism and self-evaluated Finnish skills.



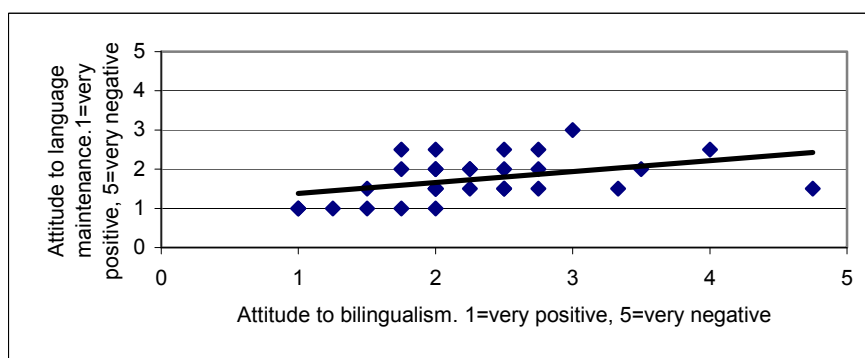
The correlation between attitude to bilingualism and self-evaluated Finnish skills is weaker, but there is still a slight correlation. The whole sample had very good Finnish skills. The average score was 4.02, which stands for good skills. The scatter plot shows that the more negative the informants' attitude towards bilingualism, the better their Finnish skills. L1 is reinforced by the negative attitude towards bilingualism. In Section 4.4. we discovered a correlation between good English skill and positive attitude towards maintaining Finnish. L1 was reinforced by the positive attitude towards maintaining it while claiming to have bilingual skills.

Figure 4.45 Correlation between attitudes towards bilingualism and language use.



Attitude to bilingualism also correlates with language use. The more negative the attitude towards bilingualism, the more the informants use Finnish. As discussed in Section 4.3. the language use score is an average calculated from the extent of Finnish and English use with selected interlocutors and with selected tasks. The data does not indicate how frequent these situations are.

Figure 4.46 Correlation between attitudes towards bilingualism and attitudes towards language maintenance.



This scatter plot compares answers to two attitude statements. The more positive the attitude towards bilingualism, the more positive the attitude towards language maintenance. On the attitude level the informants value both bilingualism and language maintenance. In practice the environment requires English skills. The first generation reaches bilingualism via learning English as a second language and maintaining Finnish. They have not found it very easy to learn English, but once the skills in two languages have been acquired, they find the skills relatively easy to maintain. For the second generation the dominant language, English, soon becomes the first and stronger language, and Finnish language maintenance can change from mother tongue maintenance to maintenance of the (parents') ethnic language. Bilingualism in the parents' ethnic language often requires little effort on the part of the second generation, but the skills and registers are also limited:

(119)

Joo ja se (poikansa) pystyy lukeen suomen kieltä niinku lehtiä ja ei tääl oo vaan paikallisia lehtiä mutta se että sano ei hän kirjottaa sitä osaa. (T15I29F)

'Yeah and he (son) can read Finnish like papers and there aren't (real Finnish papers) only the local papers but he said that he can't write it.'

(120)

Kyl senki kans pärjää suomen kielellä iha mut ei ne osaa lukee eikä kirjottaa (T3I5M)

'you can manage with Finnish when talking with him, but they (son and daughter) can't read or write (Finnish)'

(121)

Kaikki neljä (lasta) puhuu suomee mutta se on semmosta fingliskaa kun ne sit jos ne joutuu ihan pakosta puhumaan oikeen suomee ni kyl se löytyy sieltä mut sit siellä tulee just tämmösii setä lehmiä ja muita @@joil ei oo koskaa löytynyt sitä suomen kielistä että ne se on niinkö lapsen tasolla tosiaan jääny se. (T2I4F)

'All four (children) speak Finnish but it is a kind of Finglish when they absolutely must speak proper Finnish they can find it there but along come these mister cows and others @@ which have never had a Finnish name so it (the vocabulary) has in a way been left on a childish level.'

(122)

[...] *sehän setä sanoo Suomessa että minä puhun niinku lapsi.* (T5I9F)

‘[...] the uncle says in Finland that I talk like a child.’

Results presented in Section 4.4. included a correlation between attitude to Finnish language maintenance and English skills. The more positive the attitude towards Finnish language maintenance, the better the English skills. This section has shown that good English skills also correlate with a positive attitude towards bilingualism, but that the attitudes towards bilingualism and language maintenance also correlate. There are nine informants whose self-evaluated English skills were good. They had evaluated their English skills from 3.5 to 5. The following table presents data for this group as opposed to the other twenty-two informants, who have lower English proficiency:

Table 4.43 Bilingualism and language maintenance attitudes of two English skill groups

	Good or very good English skills (9 informants)	Moderate or poor English skills (22 informants)	Whole sample
Attitude towards bilingualism	1.89	2.46	2.27
Attitude towards language maintenance	1.78	1.73	1.73
Language use	3.83 (4= “more English than Finnish”)	2.4 (2= “more Finnish than English)	2.7 (3=Finnish and English equally)

These nine informants’ attitude score towards bilingualism was 1.89, which indicated that they had a more positive attitude towards bilingualism than the other twenty-two informants, whose attitude score was 2.46. Their attitude towards bilingualism is also more positive than the average of the whole sample at 2.27. Language maintenance attitudes of the nine informants with good English skills were very similar to the attitudes of the rest of the sample (1.78 and 1.73). The groups with moderate or poor English skills had the same language maintenance attitude average as the whole sample at 1.73. A similar attitude, of only 0.05 answer values less positive, was indicated by the group of nine informants who have good English skills.

Good English skills certainly do not factor into the informants thinking less of Finnish language maintenance, while lack of English skills is related to less positive attitudes towards bilingualism. The correlations in the current section indicate that positive attitudes to language maintenance and bilingualism are connected. However, the relation of each of these attitudes to language skills is different. With the attitude to bilingualism the correlation to language skills was as expected: the more positive the attitude towards bilingualism, the better the English skills and the poorer the Finnish skills. With attitude towards language maintenance the correlation was surprising: the more positive the attitude to Finnish language maintenance, the better the English skills. And the more neutral the attitude to Finnish language maintenance the better the Finnish skills. It was suggested in Section 4.4. that informants with good English skills may overcompensate for the importance they have given English, and express an exaggerated positive attitude towards Finnish language maintenance. The attitudes towards bilingualism, on the other hand, did not raise a suspicion of such overcompensation. Had this been the case, the informants claiming moderate to poor English skills would need to have expressed a more positive attitude towards bilingualism, which they did not do. However, these results do not eliminate the possibility that with those informants who claim good English skills, Finnish language maintenance attitudes are high because of overcompensation. In this sample the mother tongue is to a degree taken for granted. Bilingualism is reached by learning a second language and English skills are considered to equal bilingualism. As discussed in Section 4.4., the more positive language maintenance attitudes of the bilingual informants may well be explained by their general awareness of language issues.

4.7. Summary and discussion

After discussing different language issues individually in Chapter 4, this section will summarise it by correlating and comparing results from different sections. The issues discussed are attitudes to language maintenance and bilingualism, reported language use and self-evaluated language skills, and recorded spoken Finnish, i.e. the LCP profiles.

Scatter plots show a correlation that the more positive the attitude towards Finnish language maintenance, the more reported use of English. The less positive the attitude to language maintenance (neutral attitude the most negative in the data), the more

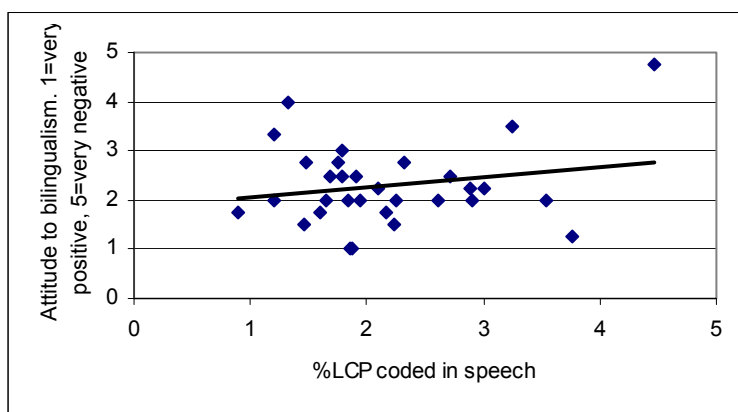
reported use of Finnish (cf. 4.4.3.). Informants who use more Finnish do not indicate that language maintenance is an important issue for them. Finnish is their mother tongue, which is not threatened by English. Self-evaluated English skills correlated with reported English use: the better the English skill the more use of English. Informants who have better English skills use English more and have more LCP in their speech are also more aware of the need for Finnish maintenance as indicated by their more positive language maintenance attitudes.

Attitude towards bilingualism correlated with language use. The more positive the attitude towards bilingualism, the more use of English (cf. 4.6.2.). The more negative the attitude towards bilingualism, the more the use of Finnish. This reflects the clear connection of bilingualism and English. Bilingualism is a result of acquiring English skills. English skills make a bilingual as Finnish is the base which is often taken for granted.

Attitudes towards both language maintenance and bilingualism correlate in a similar fashion with English use and skills. A positive attitude towards both language maintenance and bilingualism goes with better English skills and more English use. However, a scatter plot of the two attitudes also indicates a correlation: the more positive the attitude towards language maintenance, the more positive the attitude towards bilingualism. Informants who have learnt English and use English regularly have become more aware of these language contact issues: maintaining the first language and developing skills in the second language.

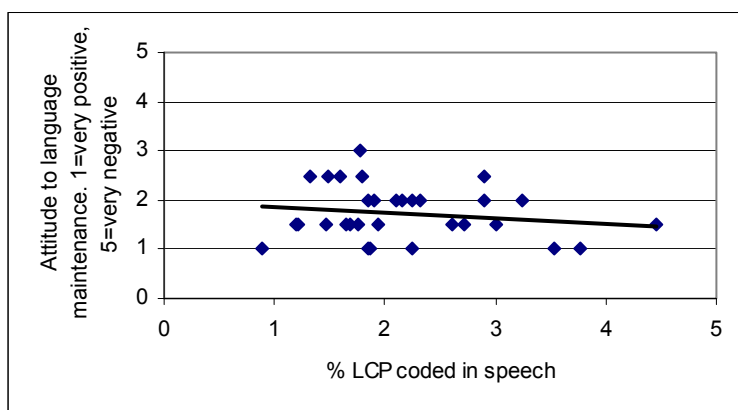
The profiles of language contact phenomena presented in Section 4.5. were used to ascertain users of high, medium and low levels of English influence in the informants' spoken Finnish. Scatter plot in Figure 4.47 shows the correlation between percentages of LCP coded in speech and average attitudes towards bilingualism.

Figure 4.47 Correlation between LCP percentage and attitudes towards bilingualism.



The trend line indicates that the smaller the percentage of coded LCP in speech, the more positive the attitude towards bilingualism. Since the positive attitude towards bilingualism also correlates with frequent English use, English skills and a positive language maintenance attitude, this correlation with lower LCP percentages in speech shows that this awareness of language issues is connected to keeping English influence on Finnish at a lower level. In other words, the better the English skills, the higher the use and the more positive the attitudes to language maintenance and bilingualism, the less interference in Finnish i.e. better the Finnish skills. This contradicts the correlation between self-evaluated English and Finnish skills. The scatter plot of self-evaluated English and Finnish skills indicated a slight correlation: the better the self-evaluated English skills the worse the self-evaluated Finnish skills. This contradiction between correlations of bilingualism attitudes and Finnish skills based on self-evaluations and recorded language supports the suggestion that overall the self-estimations of mother tongue skills may have been under-estimations (cf. 4.2.1.). On the other hand, the reliability of the individual self-evaluated English and Finnish skills were supported by correlation of percentage of LCP and self-evaluated skills. The more LCP in speech, the better the self-evaluated English skills and the worse the self-evaluated Finnish skills.

Figure 4.48 Correlation between LCP percentage and attitudes to language maintenance.



The scatter plot in Figure 4.48 indicates that there is a very slight correlation between attitude towards language maintenance and percentage of LCP in speech. The higher the percentage of LCP, the more positive the attitude towards language maintenance. This correlation is yet another indication of language maintenance being regarded important when English is already infiltrating Finnish. When the LCP percentage is lower, the attitude is less positive. The positive attitude answers may have been given to overcompensate for the apparent loss of Finnish skills, or more likely the awareness of the interference and problems with Finnish cause this reaction in the expression of attitudes.

Levels of language maintenance ascertained by level of reported Finnish use were connected to factors such as age on arrival, period of residence and level of education, but not to the attitude expressed towards language maintenance (cf. Section 4.4.4).

Table 4.44 Connection of language use and other factors

	Always Finnish	More Finnish than English	English and Finnish equally	More English
Language use avrg. 1=always Finnish, 5=always English	1.25	2.1	2.85	3.88
LM attitude avrg. 1=very positive, 1=very negative	2.25	1.8	1.46	2.1
Self-evaluated Finnish skill avrg. 1=no skills, 5=very good skills	3.88	4.5	3.92	3.2
Self-evaluated English skill avrg. 1=no skills, 5=very good skills	1.63	2.8	3.25	3.8
<i>Avg. age on arrival</i>	40	30.3	26	17.2
Years in Australia on avrg.	35	37.7	35	47.2
Education avrg. 1=low level, 4=tertiary studies	1.5	1.9	2	2.4

Those informants who use Finnish and English equally had the most positive attitude towards language maintenance, while those who speak mostly English or mostly Finnish shared a very similar less positive attitude average. The group that uses the two languages equally also has the most positive average attitude to bilingualism (1.9). The difference with the attitude average of the group that speaks more English than Finnish is very small, while those who speak more Finnish than English have on average a less positive attitude (2.4).

The connection of attitudes and language behaviour in this data is not consistent as in many other studies. Attitudes are not always acted on in the way expected. For instance a positive attitude towards language maintenance does not correlate with high maintenance in language use patterns. Those who claim to speak only Finnish (the high maintenance group) have the least positive attitudes towards bilingualism, but also the least positive attitudes towards Finnish language maintenance. The most positive attitudes to both language maintenance and bilingualism belong to those who use Finnish and English equally.

Overall the informants express a positive attitude towards Finnish and maintaining it in Australia. They think that continuing to use Finnish in Australia will not hinder chances of learning English or being successful in Australia. These informants have been in Australia for so long that managing in the environment and society has become second

nature and is no longer questioned, while those who have arrived more recently may labour with doubts about fitting in or wanting to fit in. Interestingly some of the informants also comment on how Australians' attitudes towards immigrants has changed over the years. They make a point of mentioning how during the assimilation policy one could not use Finnish as freely. However, at the time of the interviews they acknowledged that currently the environment was much more accepting and tolerant.

The informants' reasons for maintaining Finnish are concrete and practical. After all, the purpose of any language is to communicate. The ability to communicate with a certain group of people in a certain language contribute to maintaining the culture and identity connected with the language and the group. It is difficult and maybe unnecessary to define whether it is the Finnish identity that compels Australian Finns to continue using Finnish, or does Finnish as the first language give them their Finnish identity. Data suggest that Finnish is seen as a core value, the connection between Finnish language, culture and identity is strong.

The informants' Finnish skills are good both when evaluated by the informants themselves or informally by the researcher. It is likely that the informants evaluated their skills as a comparison to Finland Finnish, but it is also possible they see it as a variety of its own. There are examples of informants realizing that communicating with Finland Finns requires switching to a different code, a different variety of Finnish. However, the examples the informants bring up include cases of both Australian Finnish diverging from Finland Finnish and contemporary Finland Finnish diverging from the homeland Finnish the informants were used to. The two varieties are slowly developing apart.

Informants claim moderate self-evaluated English skills. The correlations of English skills, education, and age on arrival confirm that formal language studies facilitate learning and the younger the person in that situation is the better the results. This correlation is not surprising. A more surprising result was that the self-evaluated English skills were as high as moderate. This does not support the traditional stereotype of Finns in Australia having problems to learn English. At least it is an indication of the informants positive attitude that their skills are good enough for them to manage. To completely blend in with the Australian society English skills would have to be fluent.

While even native speakers of English speak it with different accents, it is still the non-English accent that stands out and often raises comments. If entry to the circle of Australian English speakers is near impossible to gain, one might as well settle for moderate skills and direct energy to other areas in life. Looking at the situation of this vintage of first generation Australian Finns they appear to be making the most of both worlds. They are maintaining their Finnish skills and are able to communicate in English in the public domain.

Language use in different domains often follows the pattern of Finnish in the private domains, English in the public. The size of the community sets certain limits to the use of Finnish outside the home and the private domain. The groups of Finns working in the mines are the exception in this data. In a way the division into private and public may have worked in favor of these Australian Finns. There is a clear division of one language and culture for the private social identity, and another language for the public social identity.

Continuing to communicate in Finnish in the private domains is listed as the most important way of maintaining Finnish in Australia. Bilingual Australian Finns have said that they seek the company of other Finns to be able to speak Finnish. However, it is likely that this is not just to practise the language but also, and maybe more importantly, to be able to talk about Finnish topics. In the macro (community) level the most important way to keep Finnish alive is to continue speaking it at home. This is how parents have passed Finnish on to their children. In the typical situation second generation Australian Finns have learnt Finnish from their mother. This is mentioned as a matter of course. The discussions with informants hardly ever extend to the realization that reading and writing a language, also the first language, has to be studied and learnt. As the chances of this are very limited in Australia, the second generation's Finnish remains limited to spoken language. Parents would like their children to be able to speak Finnish, and spoken skills are the only ones they often have. This is sufficient to keep in touch with the family. It will not, however, allow a deeper understanding of or participation in Finnish culture. The first generation often sees their offspring as Australian and are happy to see them being accepted as 'Aussies'. Finnish culture and language are seen as heritage which the parents hope the children will respect and preserve, but it is additional to the second generation's Australian identity.

5. Culture maintenance and identity

Chapter 4 discussed aspects of language contact and attitudes towards language issues in the immigrant context. To complete the framework in which attitudes are investigated in this study, we need to devote attention to culture and identity. Culture, identity and language are hard to disentangle; they are partly overlapping and partly separate (e.g. Kim, 2002; Vaughan & Hogg, 2002). What are the interrelations of these three? Does any one of the three determine any of the others? Does culture determine identity and/or language or vice versa? As discussed in the literature review (Chapter 2), definitions of culture, identity and language contact vary greatly, and there are different views on how stable these factors are.

One view that aims to explain this relation is linguistic relativism. The strong version of this theory, enunciated by Sapir (1929) and Whorf (1940), claims that language entirely determines our experience, and people who speak different languages perceive and think about the world quite differently. For instance, in English we differentiate between living and non-living flying things, while the Hopi of North America do not. Does this mean that they actually see no difference between a bee and an aeroplane (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002, p. 423)? A weaker form of the same theory suggests that language does not determine thought, but rather permits one to communicate more easily about those aspects of the physical or social environment that are important for the community (Krauss & Chiu, 1998). This view accepts that a particular language can be more suitable for purposes of a particular community or culture. These theories of linguistic relativism are in contrast with universalism, which claims that any thought can be expressed in any language, and everything said in one language can be translated into any other language (Popper, 1965). Fodor (1983) claims that thinking is built in an inner language that is structurally the same for all human beings and is not related to the facts of linguistic diversity.

These contrasting views illustrate the complex relation of culture and language. To what extent is culture manifested through language and to what extent does language shape culture? How much of culture is non-linguistic? Crozet et al. (1999) define culture in three ways: as knowledge, as aesthetics, and as practice. Culture as knowledge and aesthetics can be learnt without skills in the language of the particular culture, but the

person remains an observer of the culture. Seeing culture as practices (as a collective way of acting through language) gives it a stronger link with language as it sees action through language as central to culture. Similarly, parts of culture can be maintained without language skills, for instance, non-verbal rituals, food and artefacts, but knowing the language allows for a different cultural maintenance in levels of tradition, values and cultural practices (see 5.1.1.). How much of language is culture-free? Lim (2003) suggests that the search for universals should focus more on the basic semantic elements or semantic primitives and the study on specific uses of language or pragmatics should be more sensitive to cultural diversity.

Part of the problem in the discussion of the relation of culture, language and identity is the definition of the term culture. As discussed in Section 2.2.1. culture has been defined in numerous ways. For instance, Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1954) found over three hundred definitions of culture in their study. For our purposes Ting-Toomey's definition is taken as a working definition: "culture is a learned meaning system that consists of patterns of traditions, beliefs, values, norms, and symbols that are passed on from one generation to the next and are shared to varying degrees by interacting members of a community" (1999, p. 10). This definition suits the immigrant context because the first generation came to Australia as representatives of Finnish culture. In the new environment, often under assimilation pressure, they have continued to practise and share the culture with the community, and have, to varying extents, also passed Finnish culture on to the next generation. Studies on culture maintenance often concentrate on the physical display of culture rather than the beliefs, and the deeper layers such as traditions, values and beliefs, which are more difficult to identify or measure.

5.1. Culture maintenance

What is maintained if Finnish culture is maintained in an immigrant context? Pentti (2001) suggests that if a list of markers of American Finnish culture was made, an easy consensus would emerge consisting of the sauna, *sisu* 'stamina' (cf. 5.1.1.), food, and communion through language. Saarinen (2001) extends the list in his discussion of phases of Finnish adaptation and cultural maintenance in the Sudbury area in Canada. His continuum spans the 1880s to the 21st century. Research on Finns in the United

States and Canada often uses the term 'North America' to cover both countries. The term is also used here. Since Finnish migration to North America and Australia differ, for instance, with regard to period of migration and number of immigrants, the groups cannot be directly compared. However, many of the issues mentioned by Saarinen have been present in the experiences of Australian Finns. A periodization of aspects of culture maintenance based on the North American experience is presented below. This is relevant because the aspects of the phases are similar to Finnish migration in Australia although the period is much later:

- **an early phase** (1881s to WWII): During this phase many Finns in North America lived in linguistic-cultural enclaves. The use of Finnish remained dominant and it strengthened the bond within the Finnish community. On the other hand this minimized the need to learn English. The Finnish language press had an important role in providing entertainment and information relating to the wider local, national and international world. For Finns who migrated as working people, survival rested in their own hands. The strong work ethic applied to both men and women, and they had a solid reputation as reliable workers. *Sisu*, the Finnish characteristic of persistence and resolve to complete a task that needs to be completed, whatever it takes, is related to the work ethic (cf. 5.1.1.). The sauna has also been the cultural symbol for Finns for centuries. It is part of the Finnish identity and a national institution. Its roots extend back to Kalevala folklore (cf. Chapter 1). Its origins are rural and in addition to being the place for cleansing the body, it also served as the place for many key activities of the agricultural economy. The sauna was part of people's lives from the cradle to the grave, women gave birth in the sauna, and the dead were washed in the sauna (when the sauna was not heated). For a Finn the sauna is sacrosanct. From olden times children have been taught to behave in the sauna as if in a church. Sexuality, noisiness and otherwise indecent behaviour have never had a place in the sauna. The sauna cleanses and heals the body, and it relaxes and soothes the mind. The terms 're-creation' and 'rebirth' are used to describe the effects of the sauna. Finns cannot manage without a sauna and are known to take the tradition with them wherever they go (see e.g. Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Finland, 2001; The Finnish Sauna Society, 2004). In North America, too, the sauna emerged as one of the features of the Finnish landscape.

Finns were also active in forming and joining organizations. A highly visible aspect of the Finnish presence was the annual summer festival tradition. The Finnish associations often went on to build a hall where the community could hold the events including dances, parties and meetings. The hall was a symbol of Finnish culture and a place to practise the culture. In North America there were also political bodies and co-operatives. Within this framework, however, the North American Finnish ethnic community came to reflect the presence of the great divide between its leftist and conservative factions;

- **a transitional phase** (after WWII): The Finnish hall, the home away from home declined as the first-generation Finnish population aged. The supply of voluntary labour to organise activities diminished and the economic situation became impossible, as there were fewer people contributing to the running and funding of the organisation. Central organisations suffered a similar fate. The second and further generations had higher education levels, migrated out of the Finnish communities, married non-Finns and consequently lost Finnish. They had much less need for the support of the Finnish community. There were simultaneous compensating influences: the aging demographic gave rise to the rest-home movement and the subsequent development of the Finlandia Village in Sudbury, Ontario. The Finnish rest-home in Australia is also called Finlandia Village and shares a similar mission statement with its Canadian counterpart. The churches (Lutheran and Pentecostal) continued to serve as a strong sustaining force. As the use of Finnish as the home language declined there was a need to start developing heritage language schools. One aspect of the heritage phenomenon involved the establishment of the war veterans' association in 1976. New fraternal groupings such as Suomi Lions and Knights and Ladies of Kalevala also appeared. Knights and Ladies of Kalevala is an organization dedicated to spreading an awareness of the cultural achievement of the Finnish people and Americans of Finnish heritage, and of their contribution to the development of the commonwealth and the nation. The Finnish presence in North America was also enhanced by the success of individuals in business, professions and politics;

- **a contemporary phase:** In Canada, existing institutions appear sufficiently viable to maintain an ongoing sense of Finnishness for another generation (Saarinen, 2001). There is a heightened awareness of Finland by Finns and the rest of the world at the international level. The Expatriate Parliament was established in 1997 to act as a co-operative forum and a promoter of interests for all Finns living abroad. Its role has been important in promoting dual citizenship, which was implemented in the Citizenship Law on 1st June 2003. The Internet also serves as an active maintenance tool, providing Finnish connections independent of geography or demography. Cable and satellite television give opportunities for learning more about Finland. Publishing firms are promoting interaction through the publication of Finnish classics in the English language. Exchange agreements in universities and colleges have been developed. Many of the above aspects are not particularly connected to having immigration ties with Finland or to symbolic ethnicism, but to self-interest related to for instance employment opportunities and academic achievement (Saarinen, 2001).

Australian Finns share many of the issues discussed above in the North American context. When the influx level of new migrants was high (cf. 3.1.1.) many of the early phase issues listed here also applied in Australia including use of Finnish language, the work ethic, sauna, and organised activities (see 5.1.1. below). As the first generation of these large groups aged and the second generation adopted a more Australian lifestyle, the situation became similar to the transitional phase described above. The peaks of migration to Australia are much more recent than the mass migration to North America. Finns in Australia have experienced similar phases at a faster pace in a shorter period of time. Finns who arrived in Australia in the first large groups would have experienced life as described in the North American ‘early phase’, but have also had a chance to benefit, for instance, from the latest communication technology.

A major dimension of culture maintenance is found in the notion of expressing ethnicity. In their large survey study Palo Stoller and Haapanen (2001, p. 150) found that Finnish American women are more likely to “do ethnicity” within the context of families, and are more likely to report “feeling ethnic” than men. Koivukangas (1975) discusses in a more concrete level ways by which the Australian Finnish community in

his survey sample are able to maintain Finnish culture. Clyne (2003) concentrates on issues that are more directly connected to the language of migrant communities in Australia. Culture maintenance issues relevant in the discussion of the present data set are listed below. The list is based on earlier studies on North-American Finns (Palo Stoller & Haapanen, 2001; Pentti, 2001; Saarinen, 2001), Australian Finns (Koivukangas, 1975, 1998) and ethnic groups in Australia (Clyne, 2003):

- Enclaves
- Ethnic language press
- Organized activities
- Church
- Hall
- Ethnic schools
- Rest home
- Lions Club
- Expatriate Parliament
- Work ethic
- Food
- Crafts and artefacts
- Sauna
- Video/DVD
- Radio/TV
- Music
- Friends
- Visits to Finland
- Sisu
- Keeping or translating Finnish names
- LOTE offered at schools and universities
- Interpreter service

The following section discusses Finnish culture maintenance in Australia and particularly as it was present in the current data.

5.1.1. Finnish culture maintenance in Australia

Awareness of Finland is currently clearly greater than it was at the times when the informants of the current study left Finland. The fact that Finland is nowadays known around the world not only for Sibelius, the sauna and Paavo Nurmi, but also for Nokia, Formula 1 (Mika Häkkinen, Mika Salo and Kimi Räikkönen), rally driving (Tommi Mäkinen, Marcus Grönholm), achievements of symphony orchestra conductors (Esa-Pekka Salonen, Jukka-Pekka Saraste, Kai Franck) and opera singers (Soile Isokoski, Karita Mattila, Martti Talvela, and Jorma Hynninen) has changed the culture maintenance environment from both the Finnish and the non-Finnish perspective. This change is relevant for more recent generations of migrants. Someone who left Finland in the 1990s migrated into a very different world from, for instance, the migrants in the 1950s. The culture they maintain is also different. Current communication technology allows us to stay in touch with people and events at the other end of the world with low effort and cost. The Internet gives Australian Finns access to Finland in real time. More recently arrived immigrants can easily keep up with the news and developments in homeland Finnish society. There is a constant link to the original culture if the immigrant so wishes. Those who left Finland a long time ago – for instance in the materially deprived years after WWII – might not be able to relate to the information about contemporary Finland, even if they have access to, and an interest and competence in, communication technology. Many who left Finland decades ago have lost track of the popular culture, politics and other events. Finland is no longer how they remember it. The original conception of Finland as it then was remains with immigrants at a deeper emotional level, even if they are aware of the great material development. A member of the Brisbane Finnish community commented in informal conversation that he no longer wishes to go to Finland, because his memories of it are of hunger and misery, while in Australia he has been wealthy and happy. He has visited Finland and stays in touch with relatives there and even subscribes to the local Finnish newspaper. Knowing about changes in Finland does not alter how he feels about Finland.

To maintain a culture or language, opportunities for revitalising the knowledge can be important. Currently the Internet, media and advanced communication technology make this easier. More traditional ways have been visits to Finland, visitors from Finland, or better yet, new immigrants from Finland. It is extremely unlikely that the Australian

Finnish community will be re-enforced by a new mass migration from Finland (cf. Chapter 1).

Australian Finns have created their own culture, which of course is Finnish but not in a way that would ever have existed in Finland. As in North America, it may have preserved elements which in Finland have become outdated, just as the immigrants' language has features that in Finland have become archaic. On the other hand the blend of the Finnish regional backgrounds and contact with Anglo-Australian and other cultures in Australia has enriched the Australian Finnish culture so that a Finn freshly arrived from Finland may be taken aback by the strangely different Finnishness of Australia. Some of this has to do with preserving Finnish customs and behaviour that in Finland have developed and been replaced. This is particularly noticeable in the community activities, even if it is not always immediately obvious at an individual level. The Finnish Hall and some of the activities there recall the Finnish countryside and towns a long ago. For a contemporary urban Finn this is like stepping back in time into their grandmother's youth. Examples of integrating Australian culture into Finnish culture are, for instance, the church picnics (the Lutheran church Sunday service in a community member's backyard followed by lunch), or triangle-shaped sandwiches served together with the Finnish cakes, buns and Finnish coffee.

The first generation culture and language maintainers are also learners of English as a second language and culture. The question is how much and what of their original language and cultural knowledge is replaced by what is learnt in Australia, and how much and what is added and remains co-existent with their existing Finnish language and culture. For second and foreign language learners who remain in their original environment, the second language does not replace the first, nor does the culture which they learn about threaten their original culture, but in an immigrant context this is inevitable and even desirable. In studies of immigrants the emphasis is often on their adjustment, integration and assimilation to the new. For instance, Koivukangas (1975) concludes that Finns have integrated well into Australian society, especially economically, but have been slower in their cultural and social integration. This slower cultural integration is related to the maintenance of Finnish culture in Australia.

Culture maintenance data in the current study

An overview of the attitudes towards culture maintenance that were coded in the conversation data has been presented in 4.1.3. The comments in the conversations are used to expand on the questionnaire data, which provides information on many of the above areas, including newspapers, radio and community activities.

The number of Finland-born people in Australia has not exceeded 10,400. Enclaves, such as the ‘Finn towns’ in North America, have not been formed. There was a time in the early 1970s when Mt Isa had about a thousand Finns, and men in the mine were able to work in Finnish with other Finns. An older example would be the farmers in Tully and Long Pocket in Far North Queensland. In the 1920s Cairns had the first important Finnish community. The communities in Tully and Long Pocket developed as a result of rising numbers and the cane workers starting to buy their own land.

The Finnish language press has a long history. The first issues of a hand-written paper *Orpo* ‘orphan’ were read aloud in the meeting of the *Erakko* ‘hermit’ Association in the early 1900s. The names were symbolic of the feeling of isolation and great distance from the homeland. Today there are two Finnish language newspapers published in Australia *Suomi News* (1926-) and *Finlandia News* (1977-) which are still very popular. Of the thirty-one informants in this study, thirty indicated in their questionnaire answers that they read one or both of the Australian Finnish newspapers. Twenty-six informants are subscribers.

Australian Finns have been active in founding clubs and associations. Not all of them may have been very long lived, due to the movement of the members, but when a cluster of Finns found themselves in the same location they typically started some form of organised activity. In our sample sixteen informants claim to take part in the activities of the Finnish Association. One of the informants was acting as secretary of one of the Finnish associations at the time of the interview, and she described the current role of the Association to be that of organising entertainment:

(1)

Interviewer: *mikä se se suomi seuran mission statement niinku on tavallaan mihin mitä ne niinku pyrkii ajamaan mitä?*

T16I30F: *ne on vaan näitten suomalaisten täällä olevien suomalaisten niinku yhteinen seura mitä siirtolaisten asioita*

T16I31M: *tuskin niillä mitään erikoista*

T16I30F: *ei niillä erikoista mitään semmosta*

T16I31M: *eikä jos ois nuorempaa porukkaa niillähän vois ajatella että että se ois vähän henkiselkei tasolle menevää*

Interviewer: *mm*

T16I31M: *nyt se on viihdettä*

[...]

T16I30F: *tanssimista*

‘Interviewer: what is the mission statement of the Finnish Association in a way what do they aim to achieve?’

T16I20F: they are just the association of these Finns the Finns here not the immigrant issues

T16I31M: I doubt they’d have any special

T16I30F: there’s nothing special like

T16I31M: and not maybe if there was younger people for them you could think that it would go also to an intellectual level

Interviewer: *mm*

T16I31M: now it is entertainment

[...]

T16I30F: dancing’

There is also a suggestion here of the difference between the ‘old school’ and younger members of the community. The transition is inevitable. It is also becoming increasingly difficult to find Finns willing to take on the administrative responsibilities of the Association. In the current sample sixteen informants claimed to take part in the activities of the Brisbane Finnish Association.

The Finnish summer festival tradition is still strong in Australia. The Finnish associations organise *Suomipäivät* ‘Finnish games’ once a year, and the Lutheran church has its own festival *Suvipäivät*. People are known to still travel great distances to take part in the festivities:

(2)

Mä oon istunu täältä ni Adeleitiinkin pussissa ja se on vaan kakskytäkuustuntia se ajo aika ja Melpoorniin sama juttu [...] Me oltiin Suomi päivillä ni .. edellisenä vuonna ni pussilla mentii eikä se matka oo [...] ni se on ihan alright.
T10I17F

‘I have sat from here to Adelaide in a bus and it is only twenty-six hours drive and the same to Melbourne [...] we went to the Finnish Games .. the year before last and took a bus and the trip is not [...] well it is quite all right.’

The church has been important to Australian Finns, as for so many other immigrant groups. Koivukangas (1975) found that participation in church activities was often more active in Australia than it had been in Finland. For many Australian Finns the chance to meet with other Finns is seen as a more important reason to participate than the actual religious content. In this study sixteen informants claimed to take part in the church activities:

(3)

Siirtolaisyhteisö on sillä tavalla että sehän on me pidetään itse yllä tämä koko seurakunta ni se on se mulle ei se uskonto merkitse sitä mutta jotain tehdään yhdessä. (T16I31M)

‘An immigrant community is in the way that we ourselves maintain the whole congregation and it for me the religion doesn’t mean that but that we do something together.’

Of the cities that currently have church and Association activities, Brisbane is likely to preserve these activities the longest. According to the priest of the Brisbane Finnish Lutheran Congregation, South East Queensland will be the last area in Australia to lose its congregation, as it has the largest Finnish population, which is still growing as a result of interstate mobility (interview in 1999).

Schools which in Canada are called Heritage schools are Finnish schools in Australia. The Brisbane Finnish School was brought up in two conversations. The daughter of an informant couple was the school teacher at the time of the interviews, and the parents were involved in some of the activities:

(4)

Ku ol Suomikoulun joulujuhla ja se oli itsenäisyys päivänä kuuvees päivä joulukuuta ni sit mie lainasi nuo hatut ja sitte ne suomikoulun lapset laulovat Maamme-lauluu suomenlippu hatut päässä [...] ni se ol hyvä näkönen.

(T14I25F)

‘When we had the Finnish School’s Christmas celebration and it was on Independence Day the sixth of December and I lent them those hats and then the Finnish School children sang Maamme song wearing the hats with Finnish flags [...] it looked good.’

Another informant mentions the practical reasons why her grandchildren do not go to the Finnish School:

(5)

Se on lauantaisin ja se on ainoo Annan vapaapäivä nykyään ja mä tuun niin myöhään töistä kotia et mää pysty menemään ku se on Suomi talolla. (T16I30F)

‘It is on Saturday and it is Anna’s (the daughter’s) only day off and I come home from work too late so I can’t go and it is at the Finnish Hall.’

The Finnish rest home Finlandia Village in Redland Bay, Qld, has been in operation since 1986. The association behind it, however, has been working since the mid-1970s. The rest home provides a variety of services for the ageing Australian Finnish population. And among the more recent developments in the Brisbane Finnish community is the Finnish Lions Club (Lions Club Brisbane-Finlandia). One of the informants was an honorary member of the club. In addition to the more traditional Lions club activities, Finlandia has organised the annual Wife Carrying Competition since 1998. The event is an Australian version of a similar event hosted in Sonkajärvi in Finland since 1992.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Expatriate Parliament’s major achievement so far has been the passing of the law allowing Finns to hold dual citizenship. The law came into effect on 1st June 2003. At the time of the interviews for this study when dual citizenship was still at a discussion stage, the Brisbane member of the Expatriate Parliament presented the issue to his fellow Australian Finns and emphasised the

importance that this would have for their Australian-born children and grandchildren, in addition to the first generation being able to reclaim their Finnish citizenship.

A strong work ethic has traditionally been a part of Finnish culture. This means a tremendous sense of pride in a job well done, but also expecting to be rewarded by fair wages and conditions, and wanting to get ahead and become independent, for instance by buying a farm (Saarinen, 2001, p. 205). This also applies to Finns in Australia. The work situation occurred in most of the conversations in this project. If work was not brought up by the informants the investigator asked what work the informants had done or if the women had worked outside the home. Work has a central role in defining the life of the migrants:

(6)

et sitte ku urakalla teki ni mä saatoin ottaa illalla viel töitä tein kotona viel siin äkkiä ruoka välillä ja sitte aamulla sit taas töihin vaan turhan paljo tein töitä ja nyt ei oo mitään jälellä @@@ (T6I11F)

‘and when you did piece work I often took work to do at home quick dinner and in the morning back to work again I worked too hard considering that there is nothing of it left now @@@’

The pride in the Finnish work ethic is illustrated in these comments:

(7)

maini sano kauppa kiinni jos suomalaiset pannaan leireille [...] ku nämä oli semmosia etta vaikka kuin @ vaarallinen työp- @ työmaa taikka sotkunen ni ne meni vaa ja (T1I1M)

‘the mine said they’ll close shop if Finns are put in the camps [...] when they were the kind that no matter how dangerous the place of work or messy or filthy they would go and’

(8)

no sit mää pääsin mattotehtaalte siel oli paljo suomalaisia ne tykkäs suomalaisista [...] siel oli vissiin viiskymmentä suomalaista. (T15I29F)

‘well then I got in to the carpet factory. They had a lot of Finns they liked Finns [...] there must have been fifty Finns’

The informants who arrived during the largest waves of Finnish migration to Australia in the late 1950s and 1960s, groups to which these informants also belong, no longer necessarily aimed at buying a farm, although some still did. For many, owning their own home and having financial independence and security through investments such as *flättitalo* ‘rental flats’ were the goal.

Penti (2001) mentioned *sisu* as one of the markers of American Finnish culture. *Sisu* is an important concept for Finns, which cannot be translated in one word. It stands for the philosophy that what must be done will be done, regardless of what it takes. *Sisu* is a special strength and persistent determination and resolve to continue and overcome in the moment of adversity, an almost magical quality, a combination of stamina, perseverance, courage, and determination held in reserve for hard times. In the past Finns were obliged to struggle against nature and against foreign intruders. In the immigrant context *sisu* characterises the unwavering determination of surviving the hardship of the first years and achieving the goals one had set oneself such as the economic stability mentioned above.

Home is the last of the domains to be affected by the host country’s culture (Clyne, 1991), and among other cultural markers at home food is prominent. Koivukangas (1975) found that two-thirds of Australian Finns ate only Finnish food daily or most of the time. Length of stay was an important factor, but even of those who had been in Australia over fifteen years still ate Finnish food mostly or at least half of the time, yet no-one ate only Finnish food. In the current data food is often mentioned, but mostly in relation to traditions to do with celebrations and festivals. Christmas especially brings out the Finn in many Australian Finns:

(9)

meil o oikein kunno joulu dinnert aina ja sit o laatikot ja kaikki (T14I25F)

‘we always have a proper Christmas dinner and the casseroles and everything’

But there are also those whose regular diet includes Finnish rye bread, *pulla* ‘sweet buns’ and *Karjalanpaisti* ‘Karelian stew’ and many other Finnish dishes.

Traditional Finnish crafts or home decoration with Finnish items were not mentioned very often. Comments on Finnish crafts were coded ten times in the speech of six informants. However, it is not uncommon for Finns to display Finnish artefacts and memorabilia in their homes. If the ethnic symbols of second and further generation Finnish Australians were studied, we might find more emphasis on representing ethnicity through decorative items. The period when the migrant left Finland would also have influenced the kind of craft skills they had and possibly maintained in Australia. One of the most culturally traditional informants in the current data still has her Finnish loom and continues to weave rugs:

(10)

T14I25F: *meil menee aika siinä mie kuvon mattoja aina jatkuvasti mul on kangas mänössä*

Mrs P: *niin kommeita mattoja*

T14I25F: *nää on miun talvimatot*

‘T14I25F: time passes as I weave rugs I always have a ...

Mrs P: such beautiful rugs

T14I25F: these are my winter rugs’

Her children and grandchildren appreciate her efforts, though there is no need for them to learn the skill while *mummu* ‘grandma’ makes the rugs and other crafts.

As discussed above regarding North America, wherever Finns go the sauna goes with them. So also in Australia. Eleven of the informants in this study talk about their sauna. This topic was not prompted by the research team, which illustrates the importance of the sauna for these Finns. The following example is also a good example of the modesty and lack of self enhancement in presenting one’s own achievements:

(11)

nii on tuota mulla se sauna kyllä sitä voi kattoo vaikka ei se kaksinen oo mutta tuota ni kyllä siinä lämmin tulee (T13I23M)

‘yeah I have a sauna you can have a look it’s nothing fancy but it does get hot’

The Internet and the latest communication technology was not emphasised in the data. Many informants were elderly. Outside the investigation the researcher has learnt of Finns who use the available technology to, for instance, watch Finnish TV news daily on the Internet, read the web editions of Finnish papers and tabloids or download Finnish music. Many Finns receive videos and nowadays DVDs from Finland as presents from friends and relatives or some mail order them.

Trips to Finland are an important part of culture and identity maintenance for Australian Finns. This “migrating birds” phenomenon was discussed in 4.1.3. As travelling between continents became more accessible and the migrants had established themselves financially, many have visited Finland on holidays and some continue to do so on a regular often annual basis.

The high language maintenance figures of first generation Australian Finns clearly indicate the value of the mother tongue. According to Clyne (1991) 75.1% of first generation Finns had maintained Finnish, 60% of the second generation, and of those who had a first and a second generation Finnish parent, 13.3% had maintained Finnish. In this study the first generation continues to speak Finnish to other Finns as much as possible, also to the second and further generation Finns. They seek opportunities to use the language. Details of the language use, skill and maintenance of the current informants have been discussed in 4.2., 4.3., and 4.4.

Culture maintenance profiles in the current study

The informants were asked in the questionnaire about their participation in community activities, whether they read and subscribe to the Australian Finnish newspapers, and if they listen to the Finnish radio programs broadcast in Australia. Combining the answers to the three questions shows that the majority of the informants are active in all these fronts (Table 5.2). Fourteen informants take part in community activities, read the Australian Finnish newspapers and regularly listen to the Finnish radio programs. Seven

other informants also do all three, but listening to the radio is sporadic rather than regular. There are five informants who do not take part in the community activities but read the papers and listen regularly to the radio. Two informants never listen to the radio programs but take part in community activities and read the papers. One informant does not take part in community activities and listens only sporadically to the radio but does read the papers. One informant only reads the papers but does not participate in activities nor listen to the radio programs. And one informant does none of the three.

Table 5.1 Indicators of culture maintenance in questionnaire data.

	1.7. participate in community activities	2.4. read the Australia Finnish newspapers	2.7. listen to Australian Finnish radio programs
14 informants	Yes	Yes	Regularly
7 informants	Yes	Yes	Sporadically
5 informants	No	Yes	Regularly
2 informants	Yes	Yes	Never
1 informant	No	Yes	Sporadically
1 informant	No	Yes	Never
1 informant	No	No	Never

Individual concordances of recorded and coded speech indicated how much each informant talked about matters to do with culture maintenance. This is very closely related to language and identity maintenance, but in the context of the present investigation we concentrate on comments on what has been done in Australia or what aspects of culture the informants find important. Depending on how much and what kind of emphasis this topic had in the conversation the data per informant in their concordance was given a value from 1 to 3:

1. emphasis on culture maintenance (CM)
2. mentions CM
3. no CM comments.

The majority (74%) mention culture maintenance in conversation (rating 2). Four informants put a great emphasis on CM and four informants do not mention it at all. Again we must remember the nature of the recorded conversations. They were semi-structured and not all informants were expected to discuss all issues. However, twenty-three informants do spontaneously mention culture maintenance issues, which enhances the comments' prominence in analysis.

Combining the questionnaire and conversation data shows that all informants are doing something to maintain areas of their Finnish culture. The informant who neither listens to the Finnish radio programs, reads the papers, nor takes part in the activities, nevertheless enjoys regular visits to Finland, watches Finnish movies on SBS, and acknowledges the similarity of mindset he shares with other Finns. He is not keen on maintaining Finnishness through the Australian Finnish community, and aims to blend into the Anglo-Australian majority, but selectively and privately maintains Finnish culture. He had lived in Australia for several years before meeting his Finnish wife, and only really joined the Finnish community through her connections.

There are altogether seven other informants who claim not to take part in the community activities (church or Association). However, two of them have regularly been seen at such events, and one of them mentioned in conversation that she and her husband do not take part in the church's activities but do go to some of the Finnish Association's events. All of these seven read the papers and only one never listens to the radio programs. They mention Finnish food, crafts and traditions as well as having a Finnish circle of friends. In the questionnaire all informants indicated to have many Finnish friends in Australia. Visits to Finland are mentioned by four informants of this group. Two informants also returned to Finland to stay for a few months. The visits are experienced in many different ways. One emphasises the importance of meeting with siblings, for another the food remains a prominent memory. One has lost count of the times she has been on holiday in Finland. This informant has a special tie to the family's place of origin as she and her Finnish husband now own the original family home, which has become their holiday home. Another couple talk about the lakeside block of land they still have in Finland and could not bring themselves to sell, although it has become clear that none of the children are interested in building on it or being able to spend enough time in Finland for such a place to be worth having. It is not uncommon for Australian Finns to own property in Finland. Conversations with community members outside the research project have revealed that some still own property that has belonged to the family or have bought a summer place in or close to the region they have a close connection to by residence or family association.

Seventeen of the informants had visited Finland in the five years preceding the interview. The average length of stay calculated from information given by twenty-eight

informants is nine weeks. Twelve informants mention in conversation that members of their family in Finland have visited them in Australia. Everyone also stays in touch with family and friends in Finland by letters and phone calls. Only two informants mention writing email to relatives outside Australia.

One informant who claims not to take part in the Finnish community activities also specifies that she and her husband only visit two Finnish couples. She makes great efforts, however, to maintain Finnish culture in her home. Much of the baking, cooking and craft for everyday purposes and traditional celebrations like Christmas is not only Finnish, but also representative of a more local regional (Karelian) culture.

The culture maintenance issues mentioned by the rest of the informants are very similar. Finnish music is not singled out very often, although music is part of the Finnish radio programs, the festivals, and many activities of the church and the Finnish Association. One informant, however, mentions his tango singing hobby. Finnish tango developed from the South American tango after its introduction to Finland in 1913. The Finnish genre was established in the 1940s by composer Toivo Kärki. The melodies are predominantly in minor and have Finnish folk tradition and Slavic influence. The tempo is slower than in the Argentinean tango. The Finnish character and identity is most prominent in the lyrics, which typically deal with longing and nostalgia. The themes and metaphors are said to continue the tradition of national poetry in *Kalevala* and *Kanteletar* (cf. Chapter 1). Finnish mythology can be expressed in a way that is only available to Finns (Finnish Music Information Centre, 2000). The dance is called social or Nordic tango. In the 1990s tango enthusiasm in Finland reached new heights. Annual festivals are now organised around tango singing competitions. These include Nordic tango dancing competitions. The tango festival practice has already been adopted by the Australian Finnish community, who organise similar competitions for Australian Finnish singers.

One way to maintain Finnish traditions is to give children Finnish names. Only two informants did not convey this information in conversation, but it is known that of the rest of the sample only one couple have given their children English names. The Finnish father pronounces these systematically in English, while the mother assimilates them into Finnish by adding Finnish morphology for example *Annille* 'to Ann'. On the other

hand, one of the informants, a grandmother, comments on how she prefers to call her grandsons by Finnish equivalents of their English names, for instance *Matti* for Matthew or *Antti* for Andrew.

The behaviour that this chapter has classed as culture maintenance can also be called the behavioural component of ethnic identity (Abrams, O'Connor, & Giles, 2003), which is discussed in the following section.

5.2. Identity

Identity is the second topic identified at the beginning of Chapter 5 as an important area of attitude study in the immigrant context. Phinney (1990), in his review of identity research published between 1972 and 1990, states that there is no widely agreed-on definition of ethnic identity. Ethnic identity has been defined as the ethnic component of social identity and feelings of belonging have been emphasised as well as cultural aspects of ethnic identity: language, values, behaviour, and knowledge of the ethnic group. Martin and Nakayama (2004) define ethnic identity as a set of ideals about one's own ethnic group membership, including self-identification and knowledge about ethnic culture, and feelings about belonging to a particular ethnic group. Ethnic identity, unlike biological identity, is also seen as a dynamic product that is achieved rather than simply given (Phinney, 1990), and this achievement requires substantial commitment and resources.

The literature review (Section 2.2.) discussed the development of minority identity and how it evolves through stages from unexamined identity to a strong sense of own group identity which is external and objectified (Martin & Nakayama, 2004). On the other hand, the process, once it has started, can lead to an identity which is not defined by a sense of belonging to one group, but by being at the margins of several cultures and central to none. If considered from the bidimensional point of view, this identity is called multicultural identity. It refers to a person being neither part nor apart from the host culture and acting situationally (Martin & Nakayama, 2004). The same sense of not belonging to one group, but being on the margins of several cultures and being central to none is also called integration. This refers to one's experience of self expanding to include the movement in and out of different worldviews (Bennett, 1986). In the

unilinear model which requires strengthening of one identity as the other weakens, such a state of not being central to any culture is called marginalization (Stonequist, 1935).

This study was not designed to give an extensive investigation of the concept of identity. However, the questionnaires and conversations include select issues regarding identity which are discussed along the lines of components of ethnic identity as summarised by Phinney (1990):

- Self-identification
- Sense of belonging
- Attitude to one's group
- Ethnic involvement: language, friendship, religious affiliation and practice, structured ethnic social group, political ideology and activity, area of residence, miscellaneous ethnic/cultural activities and attitudes.

5.2.1. Discussion of identity in the current data

Self-identification

National origins are a part of the informants' master identity (Tracy, 2002). All informants were born in Finland to Finnish parents. Even the trilingual Swedish speaker's mother was Finnish, although from a Swedish speaking area. His original Finnish ethnic identity would have been partly Finland Swedish. The questionnaire deliberately did not ask the informants a direct question about their ethnic identification. The researcher raised the issue in conversation with two members of the community outside data collection meetings. One of these people, who was also an informant in the study, said that she did not consider herself to be a Finn or an Australian but an Australian Finn. Another woman who had been speaking in Finnish switched to English to tell the researcher that she would not class herself as a Finn.

The great majority of the informants could legally call themselves Australian since twenty-five are Australian citizens. Following the pattern adopted by many other groups in Australia, these individuals could more precisely identify themselves Finnish Australians. Only six informants were still Finnish citizens at the time of the interview when dual citizenship was not yet available, and taking Australian citizenship meant losing Finnish citizenship.

Sense of belonging

The importance attributed to one's ethnicity was investigated through questionnaire statement 2.10.16: "Maintaining ethnic identity is indifferent to me". Due to the wording of the statement, subjects needed to disagree with the statement to show a positive attitude toward ethnic identity maintenance. It is possible that some informants were confused by the wording and gave an unintended answer agreeing when they really meant to disagree. This is particularly likely in the case of the male informant who was the only one who totally agreed with the statement. He had given answer '1' also to the preceding statements, and may have continued ticking the same answer.

Table 5.2 Attitudes towards importance of ethnic identity.

2.10.16. Maintaining ethnic identity is indifferent to me	1 Totally agree	2 Agree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Disagree	5 Totally disagree
Women		1	3	12	1
Men	1	3	5	2	2
Total	1	4	8	14	3

Over half of the informants (seventeen out of thirty answers) have a positive attitude towards ethnic identity maintenance. Men's answers cover the whole scale, and indifference is the most commonly chosen answer. On the other hand, the majority of the women (thirteen out of seventeen answers) indicate a positive attitude. This attitude result is consistent with a study on American Finns which found that women are more likely to report "feeling ethnic" (Palo Stoller & Haapanen, 2001, p.150).

Attitudes towards one's ethnic group

Because the informants are first generation Finns their ethnic group based on descent is Finnish. However, ethnicity is also defined by self-identification. It is possible particularly for those who arrived at a younger age not to identify so strongly with Finns or Australian Finns, but consider themselves members of the Anglo-Australian majority, much like second generation immigrants. Those informants who arrived in Australia at an age under twenty indicated a neutral or positive attitude towards the importance of maintaining ethnic identity (statement 2.10.16). Section 4.1.3. discussed the informants' attitudes towards Finland and the Australian Finnish community. Overall the attitude towards Finland was positive. The attitude towards the Finnish community in Australia

is also positive, and the majority of the informants actively seek the company of other Finns.

Ethnic involvement

Involvement in the social life and the cultural practices of one’s ethnic group is the most widely used indicator of ethnic identity (Phinney, 1990, p. 505).

Language is the most widely assessed cultural practice associated with ethnic identity. In this material the language maintenance data can be interpreted as part of identity (including the parents’ wish for children to speak the ethnic language). In this study the attitudes toward Finnish language being a core value (Smolicz, 1981) for Finnish ethnicity vary considerably:

Table 5.3 Is Finnish a core value?

2.10.17. If I forgot Finnish I'd no longer be a Finn	1 Totally agree	2 Agree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Disagree	5 Totally disagree
Women	3	5	3	5	1
Men	1	3	1	5	2
Total	4	8	4	10	3

Twenty-nine informants reacted to the statement. One comment that was not placed on the answer scale was a male informant’s conviction that no-one forgets Finnish. Twelve informants agree with the Finnish language being a core value. Thirteen informants do not find Finnish language an integral part of Finnish identity. Four informants are undecided. Overall the attitudes are fairly evenly divided. When we look at the male and female answers separately it is clear that the women hold a more positive attitude towards Finnish language being a core value than do the men in this study. Eight out of seventeen women agree with the statement, while only four of twelve men do.

Dialects are an expression of a regional identity. As mentioned in Section 4.1., fifteen informants in this study claim to speak a Finnish regional dialect. Attitude statement 2.10.18. “My Finnish dialect is important to me” elicited a very positive reaction with eighteen informants agreeing and eight of them agreeing totally. Five informants totally disagree and three disagree. Those fifteen informants who claimed to speak a Finnish dialect expressed a positive attitude towards the importance of their own dialect:

Table 5.4 Dialect speakers' attitudes towards the importance of dialect

Speakers of dialect	1 Totally agree	2 Agree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Disagree	5 Totally disagree
2.10.18. My Finnish dialect is important to me	2	8	3	1	1

Twelve informants claimed to speak standard spoken Finnish and their attitudes towards their own dialect, which they class their standard spoken Finnish to be, varied across the answer scale.

Table 5.5 Standard Finnish speakers' attitudes towards the importance of dialect.

Speakers of standard spoken Finnish	1 Totally agree	2 Agree	3 Neither agree nor disagree	4 Disagree	5 Totally disagree
2.10.18. My Finnish dialect is important to me	5	1	2	1	3

There are three informants who claimed to speak both dialect and standard. They indicated the dialect to be very important, important and not at all important (answers 1, 2, and 5).

”Regardless of linguistic variation and the wavering differences between languages and dialects, people need to feel that they speak a language which they acknowledge as their mother tongue. This is a question of identity rather than a linguistically definable phenomenon” (Nikanne, 2002, p. 31, TL's translation). Definitions of mother tongue range from the first learned language to the language spoken in the childhood home, though not necessarily spoken by the individual (Romaine, 1995). Pattanyak (1998, p. 132) suggests that “mother tongue is both a sociolinguistic reality and a product of the mythic consciousness of a people. It provides social and emotional identity to an individual with a speech community”. The question of mother tongue was not asked in the questionnaire. In conversation some informants used the terms “stronger language” and “first language” to distinguish between their languages. All informants learnt Finnish as their first language except for one informant who was brought up as a Finnish-Swedish bilingual. Based on the self-evaluations of Finnish and English skills, Finnish is the stronger language for twenty-six informants. According to the language use patterns Finnish is also the home language for twenty-seven informants.

Because language change and variation are inevitable, there does not seem to be much sense in guarding the correctness and purity of a language. However, we want our language to stay pure and beautiful. We feel our language to be such an integral part of ourselves that changes in our language threaten our identity (Nikanne, 2002, p. 30, TL's translation). It is possible that the negative attitudes expressed towards mixing English with Finnish (4.5.) are connected to a fear of losing Finnish identity. However, as the reactions to attitude statement 2.10.17 "If I could not speak Finnish I would no longer be a Finn" indicated, these informants have an overall neutral attitude towards Finnish as a core value of Finnishness. Twelve informants thought Finnish was integral to being Finnish, while thirteen did not find it important and three answered that they were indifferent.

Dialects have gained prestige in Finland in recent years. This may have had an effect on the attitudes of dialect speakers outside Finland too. On the other hand, the dialect speakers in Australia have not been under pressure to converge towards standard Finnish as were dialect speakers who moved from the countryside to cities in Finland. Those who moved to Helsinki in the 1960s wanted to hide their rural origins, and giving up their dialect was a major part of the process (Nuolijärvi, 1986). Rubino and Bettoni (1998) found that Italians in Australia have maintained their dialects well. They have retained the diglossia of Italian and dialect, and use Italian in the more public, formal and regionally heterogeneous space in the community, and dialect in the more private, informal or homogeneous one. Dialect features in the informants' speech can serve as an expression of a regional identity. Similarly elements typical for the Australian variety of Finnish can express Australian Finnish identity or expatriate identity.

Friendship

The language of friendship in the data is mainly Finnish. Twenty-nine informants claimed to have many Finnish friends in Australia. Their language choice when speaking to friends also indicated that Finnish was dominant. 40% of the informants claimed to speak only Finnish with their friends, 30% claimed to speak mostly Finnish and 26.7% claimed to speak Finnish and English equally. Koivukangas' survey (1975) also found that Finns had more Finnish friends than friends of other ethnic backgrounds. He also suggests that Finns outside Finland in general take time to make friends with non-Finns. The language barrier is mentioned as one reason for this.

Area of residence

As has been discussed in previous chapters, Finnish enclaves have not existed in Australia to the extent that they were found in, for instance, North America. However, there have been concentrations of Finns in the bigger cities, for instance in Mt Isa. This sample includes people representing both types. Particularly the choice of staying in Mt Isa was influenced by the presence of an active community together with good work opportunities:

(12)

Interviewer: *miten te muuten viihdyitte siel Aisassa ku se on aika kaukana on kaikesta?*

T13I24F: [...] *Aisassa siell' on ni tota on se oli se oma ympyränsä sielläki siel oli sillo aika paljo suomalaisia Mount Aisassa ni*

T13I23M: *siel oli vissiin toista tuhatta vissiin yhteen aikaan*

Mrs P: *siel ol huvituksia ja*

T13I24F: *iso suomi talo pidettiin tansseja käytiin uimassa piknikillä siel oli vesireikiä monessa paikassa kaikki kolot tutkitti.*

‘Interviewer: how did you like it in Isa it is pretty far away from everything_

T13I24F: [...] in Isa well you had your circles there too there were quite a lot of Finns then in Mount Isa

T13I23M: I think there were over a thousand Finns there at one stage

Mrs P: there was entertainment

T13I24F: a big Finnish Hall, had dances, went to picnics there were water holes in many places and explored the area.’

(13)

[...] *ja kun toinen toisilleen vielä tuotiin ja vietiin niinku sillon ne nyt oli jo aikasemmin tulleita ni no meil on nyt tätä tämmösiä juustolaseja ja tommosia nyt met tuotiin nyt teille että saatte käyttää niitä sitten kato ja näin mutta nin en mä tiedä se oli jo se oli sillon vielä ni se oli kaikki vähän semmosta että se oli semmonen yhteishenki paljon. (T8I13F)*

‘[...] and we gave each other stuff those who had arrived earlier said we have these cheese glasses and stuff and brought them for you to use you see but I

don't know back then it was all still like that there was a great community spirit.' (T8I13F)

Participating in community activities, miscellaneous ethnic activities

Section 5.1. discussed culture maintenance based on the data and concluded that activities of the Association and the church are very popular. Informants also keep up with current events by reading Australian Finnish newspapers and listening to the Finnish language radio programs. The data indicates some differences between female and male informants. 50% of women but only 38.5% of men claimed to participate in community activities, read the Australian Finnish newspapers and listen regularly to the Finnish radio programs. Women offer more comment in conversation about culture maintenance issues than men. Those four who put great emphasis on culture maintenance were all women, while the four who did not mention the topic in conversation were all men. The comments that were offered differ between men and women. Ten of the eighteen women talk about culture maintenance within the context of home and family (food, craft, traditions) while seven of the nine men who talk about culture maintenance focus on the community activities or trips to Finland, and only two mention culture maintenance within the family and at home. In this data women express a more positive attitude than men towards maintaining ethnic identity and they also offer more insight into how they have kept Finnish culture as part of their and their family's life in Australia. A similar result was presented by Palo Stoller and Haapanen (2001) in their study of Finns in the United States, where women were found to more often act in a way which explicitly embodies their ethnicity more than men within the context of families.

Political ideology and activity

In Finland politics is a much less acute factor in social interaction than in many other European countries, for instance France or Italy. On the basis of the data we collected political affiliation is not emphasised as an important factor of identity. Politics was not included by the informants in any of the conversations.

Religious affiliation and activity

Koivukangas (1975) found that although fewer people were official members of a church in Australia than had been the case in Finland, participation in church activities

was more frequent than it had been in Finland. This supports the view also present in this data that people find social interaction more important than the religious message (cf. 5.1.1.). In Finland people would go to church for religious purposes. In Australia the fact that Finns congregate is often more important than why they congregate.

5.3. Summary

Within the framework of these components of ethnic identity (self-identification, sense of belonging, attitude to one's group and ethnic involvement), the first generation informants in this study have maintained a Finnish identity in Australia. The discussion of culture maintenance overlaps with identity maintenance and the two support each other. The data indicate that all informants are involved in some ethnic activities and participate in at least some community activities. Women indicate stronger ethnic involvement than men. Women also see language more often as a core value than men, they participate more in community activities and mention more often efforts to maintain Finnish culture within the home domain.

Finnish culture is maintained at the level of social and cultural practices. It appears natural for the first generation to continue traditions of their homeland also in Australia. When presented with the more abstract question of the importance of ethnic identity, 56.7% of informants indicated that maintaining ethnic identity was important or very important to them.

The attitude towards the importance of language as a Finnish cultural core value was investigated by statement 2.10.17. "If I forgot Finnish I would no longer be a Finn". Twelve informants agreed that losing Finnish skills would affect ethnicity and thirteen disagreed with this. Four informants were indifferent to the statement. The role of language in culture as presented in this statement was not unanimously agreed on. However the connection of language, culture and ethnic identity is apparent in a correlation.

Figure 5.1 Correlation between attitudes towards the importance of ethnic identity and language considered a cultural core value. (N=31)

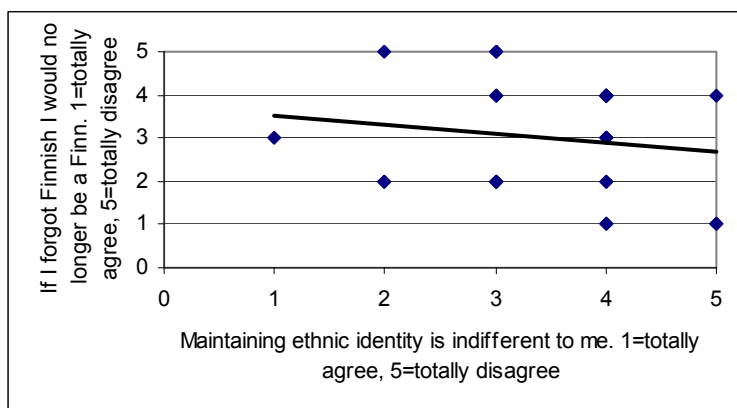


Figure 5.1 shows the correlation between attitudes towards the importance of ethnic identity and the role of language as a cultural core value. The more they disagree with the statement “Maintaining ethnic identity is indifferent to me” i.e. the more important ethnic identity is to the informants, the more they agree with Finnish language being a core value in Finnish culture.

These first generation informants have considered it important to maintain cultural identity and characteristics which is one of the dimension in Berry’s model presented in Figure 2.1. For a first generation immigrant this comes naturally: as one moves to a new environment the lifestyle, customs and routines do not change overnight, but adapting the familiar to the new continues over varied periods of time. In the new environment materials for creating the cultural environment of the first culture can be difficult, but people can be surprisingly resourceful. It appears that among Finns the Finnish ways, traditions and cultural symbols are maintained through decades. Why is this? At the time when these informants migrated multicultural identities were not widely recognised or common. Globalization or internationalization were not the trend yet. They are not likely to have identified themselves as ‘citizens of the world’ to the extent people today might do. They were Finns uprooted from their homeland, possibly adventurers, and always willing to make the move, but still identified as Finnish. The term Finnish Australian which is currently used is in fact very suitable as it emphasises Finnishness in Australia. The Finnish term *australian suomalainen* has always implied this. *Australian suomalainen* is a Finn with the additional definition that she/he is in Australia.

The first generation has remained distinctly Finnish. Ethnic identity is considered important, more so by women than men, and language is seen as a core value. Australian Finnish identity is recognised and many also identify with Australian Finnish as their distinct language variety. In fact, the purist's reactions to language contact phenomena (e.g. not accepting code-switching) could be interpreted as desperate reactions to protect Finnish identity when it is in fact already being replaced by Australian Finnish identity.

6. Conclusion

The present study has focused on the language and culture contact and attitudes among first generation Australian Finns in the Brisbane area. We have investigated the informants' attitudes towards their languages and towards Finnish language and culture maintenance. Language use patterns and language contact phenomena (LCP) in the informants' recorded speech were studied and related to correlations between attitudes, language use patterns, LCP and background factors.

6.1. Attitudes and language use

Overall these first generation informants had very positive attitudes towards Finnish and indicated that mother tongue maintenance was important to them. There was also a strong positive attitude towards passing Finnish skills on to the second generation. The majority of those who have children also claimed that they had succeeded in this as their children were able to at least speak Finnish, if not always write. Few informants thought that maintaining Finnish in Australia would have negative effects on learning English or succeeding in Australia.

The self-evaluations of language skills reveal an attitude towards the informants' own proficiency. On average these informants evaluated their Finnish skills to be good. However, only 19% evaluated their Finnish skills as very good. This modest opinion of their own Finnish skills may be due to the informants' awareness of English influence in their own Finnish, or may stem from comparison of their own Finnish skills to Standard Finnish. Those who claimed to speak a Finnish dialect evaluated their Finnish skills on average as weaker than those who claimed to speak standard spoken Finnish. This is an indication of the influence of attitude in evaluating one's own language skills. Finnish dialects have traditionally had lower prestige than the standard or the Helsinki variety, and these values can still be reflected in evaluations of own Finnish skills. On the other hand, Australian Finns are generally aware that the Finnish spoken in Australia often shows English influence. They call this variety *Fineska* or *Fingliska* 'Finglish'. If they consider themselves to be speaking this variety of Finnish and compare it to Finland Finnish, the evaluations naturally are less than very good.

The informants indicated that communicating with friends and relatives is the most important reason for maintaining Finnish. Staying in touch with Finland and participating in its culture were ranked moderately important, but identity maintenance, when isolated from the context of language or culture, was not seen as a particularly important reason for maintaining Finnish. The most efficient language maintenance method in the informants' opinion was speaking Finnish at home. This was also how the second generation learnt their Finnish at home from their parents. A very close second in the listing of efficient language maintenance methods was reading in Finnish. The language use patterns of this sample show that private domains are dominated by Finnish use, while English is the language of work and media. Average language use calculated from answers regarding language use with ten interlocutors and with thirteen tasks indicates equal use of Finnish and English. However, this average consists of very different language use profiles. Five informants who use more English than Finnish use Finnish only when talking to their parents. Thirteen informants who use Finnish and English equally use Finnish with most interlocutors, the exceptions being the boss, colleagues and grandchildren. Of the tasks surveyed, only writing personal letters is done equally often in Finnish and in English. For eleven informants who use more Finnish than English, the only task systematically undertaken in English is watching TV, and interlocutors addressed in English are the boss, colleagues and grandchildren. There are two informants who always use Finnish.

The importance of English skills is clearly indicated in the questionnaire and conversation data. Often mother tongue skills are taken for granted, and the role of Finnish maintenance in bilingualism is overshadowed by the importance of acquiring skills in English. Attitudes towards bilingualism measured by four statements in the questionnaire indicated a positive attitude. The self-evaluated English skills supported this positive attitude. On average the informants considered that they had reached a moderate level of fluency in English.

Attitudes towards mixing English with Finnish, i.e. code-switching, were on average neutral, although the mode is to accept it. Only three informants were totally against mixing English with Finnish. Interestingly their speech recorded in Finnish conversation has for the most part retained Finnish phonology. Overall the amount and type of English influence in the informants' speech varied a great deal. The highest percentage

of language contact phenomena (LCP) in an informant's speech was 4.46% and the lowest 1.68%. The dominant type of LCP in the recorded speech of these informants was English material that is assimilated into Finnish, both phonologically and morphologically. Earlier studies of Finnish in contact with English report the same result. It is typical of the first generation to completely assimilate English material into Finnish. Words and names that are pronounced in English but given Finnish morphology were the second largest group. Single English words in Finnish speech were the second smallest group, and switches to English for over one word were the smallest group. The most frequent single Australian Finnish expression coded in the transcripts was *jee* 'yeah'.

Language is an important part of culture, and the positive attitudes to language maintenance also reflect attitudes to culture maintenance. Much of Finnish culture maintenance involves using the Finnish language. Most of the informants indicated that they are active within the Finnish community. Activities organised by the church and the Association are very popular among these first generation Finns. The majority also read the Finnish-language newspapers published in Australia and regularly listen to the Finnish language radio programs broadcast in Australia. Aspects of culture not so integrally tied to language such as food and traditions, particularly the sauna, have also followed Finns everywhere they go. The culture maintenance efforts in this data demonstrate the importance of the language in Finnish culture maintenance of these first generation informants. However, when specifically asked about Finnish language being a core value in Finnish culture and identity, the response was evenly divided: half of the informants agreed that Finnish language is a core value, and the other half disagreed. The first generation parents who themselves take their Finnish skills somewhat for granted and have struggled with English expressed an ambivalent attitude to their children's situation. They were happy that the children have had an easier time blending in with the mainstream population, but also sad at having to accept the inevitable partial loss of Finnish language and heritage. The following generations will not be able to continue the traditions fully, but first generation informants hope that some aspects of the Finnish heritage will be maintained also in the generations to come.

Culture provides us with attributes to define our identity. Because culture pervades almost all aspects of our existence, we may only become aware of features of our

culture (and identity) when we encounter others or when our own culture is threatened (Vaughan & Hogg, 2002, p. 463). In the current study the abstract concept “identity” was deliberately not defined during data collection. The informants’ efforts to maintain language and culture indicate that ethnic identity has been maintained through these practices, even if the informants did not always recognise or label them as specifically relating to identity. The majority of the informants had a positive attitude towards maintaining ethnic identity, although the average attitude score was close to neutral.

6.2. Correlations

The main data on attitudes, language skills and language use as well as selected background factors were plotted against each other in search of correlations. The main outcomes of the correlations are summarised here. Positive attitudes to Finnish language maintenance correlated with better self-evaluated English skills, weaker self-evaluated Finnish skills, using more English than Finnish, and a higher tolerance of mixing English with Finnish. On the face of it this contradicts the expectation of consistency between positive attitude to language maintenance and better Finnish skills. However, it is possible that these positive attitudes compensate for the weaker Finnish skills. The positive language maintenance attitude is not strongly reflected in practice. On the other hand, we could argue that the strong role of English which features in these correlations is the cause of the positive language maintenance attitude. As informants realize that English was becoming more and more important to them and continued to permeate their Finnish, they started to appreciate the need for maintaining Finnish. This realization may not be rigorously acted on, but is expressed on the attitude level.

Positive attitudes to bilingualism correlated with better self-evaluated English skills, weaker self-evaluated Finnish skills, and using more English. Bilingualism is clearly identified with English (cf. Section 6.1.). The correlation of attitude to bilingualism with self-evaluated English skills is consistent in showing this connection and the expected outcome. The correlation of attitudes to bilingualism with weaker Finnish skills and using more English than Finnish was a less expected outcome. These correlations do, however, highlight the unbalanced nature of English-Finnish bilingualism in this sample, and in this case the importance of English for these informants. These correlations are very similar to the correlations between language maintenance attitudes

and English skills, Finnish skills and English use. Attitudes to language maintenance also correlated positively with attitudes to bilingualism. The more positive the attitude towards language maintenance, the more positive the attitude towards bilingualism. This suggests that informants who have acquired fluency in English and use English regularly have gained a certain more analytical awareness of the language contact situation, and appreciate the intricacies involved in remaining fluent in two or more languages. Monolingual adults may take the mother tongue for granted as long as they stay in an area where the language is widely used, but when relocated into a language contact environment, most of them realise the threat the mother tongue is under, as English skills are a requirement for social success and advancement. Nevertheless, the positive language maintenance attitude is likely to also be closely related to Finnish language maintenance in the following generations, as the first generation often does not envisage losing their Finnish skills at this stage of their life and residence in Australia.

The expectations concerning correlations of background factors and language skills were confirmed. The younger the informants were on arrival to Australia, the better their self-evaluated English skills and the weaker the Finnish skills. The more language or other education they had had, the better their self-evaluated English skills. Recorded speech provides a reference to the spoken Finnish skills which the informants self-evaluated in the questionnaire. Investigating the extent of language contact phenomena in recorded speech allowed us to compare the amount of observed variation to the speakers' own perception of their language skills and the other language attitudes which they expressed. Correlations were found between attitudes and the extent of LCP. The attitudes to bilingualism correlated with LCP percentages. The more positive the attitude towards bilingualism, the smaller the percentage of LCP in speech, i.e. the less English influence in spoken Finnish. On the other hand, positive bilingualism attitudes also correlated with weaker self-evaluated Finnish skills. If we take the smaller numbers of LCP as an indication of a better command of Finnish that remains unaffected by English, the correlations are in contrast: a positive bilingualism attitude correlating with both less English influence in spoken Finnish (low LCP) and weaker self-evaluated Finnish skills. This contrast is interpreted as supporting the possibility that self-evaluations of the informants' own Finnish skills were modest. The attitudes towards

own Finnish skills are less positive than what is actually demonstrated in recorded speech.

Attitudes towards Finnish language maintenance correlated with the extent of LCP, and self-evaluated Finnish skills. The more positive the attitude towards language maintenance, the higher the percentage of LCP in speech. This correlation contradicts our expectation of consistency, like the correlation of positive language maintenance attitudes with weaker self-evaluated Finnish skills. It appears that informants have positive attitudes towards Finnish language maintenance instead of strong Finnish skills (see above).

Inconsistencies are also found in correlations of attitudes towards mixing English with Finnish and actual occurrences of LCP. The more negative the attitude to mixing English with Finnish, the more LCP in recorded speech. However, among those informants at the lower levels of language mixing (under 3% of speech), the attitudes towards mixing English with Finnish and LCP percentages correlate in the opposite, more consistent, way: the more negative the attitude to mixing English with Finnish, the less occurrences of LCP. The behaviour of informants at the higher level of language mixing (over 3% of speech) was not consistent with their negative attitudes towards mixing the languages. However, their negative attitude may have been formed to compensate the mixing in their speech.

6.3. Summary

Language maintenance includes the issues of language shift and proficiency (Fase et al., 1992). Language shift – the reduction of use of a particular language – can happen separately from reduction of proficiency. Among Australian Finns and among the first generation informants in this study, signs of shift of language performance and attitudes are present. The public domains have required a shift into English. The first generation has retained proficiency in their mother tongue, although attitudes towards their own skills were surprisingly modest; but for the second generation acquiring proficiency in skills other than speaking is rare. For a language to be maintained it needs to be transmitted from one generation to the next. As has been shown by this and previous studies on Finnish in Australia, generally only spoken Finnish is passed on to the second

generation, and most of the third generation has only passive or no Finnish skills. Based on linguistic analysis shift is ongoing in the Australian Finnish community (Kovács, 2001a, 2004). The first generation has best retained proficiency in Finnish and the most typical English influence in their speech is items fully assimilated into Finnish. First generation Finnish speakers do diverge from the matrix language into code-switching, but to a much lesser extent than the later generations. These results by Kovács were supported by the language data in the current study.

Considering the prediction that the Finnish variety spoken in Australia is expected to disappear, the first generation's attitudes towards language maintenance and the Finnish language were surprisingly positive. On the other hand, inconsistency between attitudes and actual behaviour has frequently been the outcome of attitude-behaviour research. This study presented correlations which indicated similar outcomes to those reported for instance by Ladegaard (2000), that it is perfectly feasible to have certain attitudes and not express them in overt behaviours. Positive attitudes towards Finnish maintenance are not sufficient to ensure Finnish maintenance. In contrast to this pattern of attitude-behaviour inconsistency, consistent correlations were also found. Positive attitudes to bilingualism, better English skills and higher education levels correlated. Maintaining a small minority language like Finnish in an English-speaking country like Australia requires institutional support and particularly language education. In multicultural Australia the resources are limited and much remains the responsibility of the ethnic community, particularly in the small language groups. Community responsibility takes us back to attitudes. Even if attitudes within the community appear positive, creating the opportunities for the children to gain full literacy in Finnish with very little institutional support is too big a task. The positive attitudes are sufficient to maintain the first generations' own skills and continue using Finnish, but the reality in multicultural Australia is that Finnish, as sentimentally valuable as it may be to the first generation, has very little market value for the following generations. As Clyne (2003, p. 68) puts it "In the long run, it would appear that perceived cost-benefits will tip the balance between language maintenance and shift in favour of the latter. But how and when this occurs is subject to a great deal of variation". According to these first generation informants the second generation shifts to English use and has lost or never gained high proficiency in Finnish.

The Finnish language is important for the first generation, but it is not unanimously indicated to be a core value. A section of the sample thought that it is possible to be and feel Finnish without proficiency in the language. This attitude does not necessarily relate directly to the first generation themselves, who often appeared to be taking their Finnish skills and Finnish heritage for granted. However, agreeing that maintaining Finnish heritage does not entirely rely on knowing the language is consistent with the expressions of hope for Finnish culture continuing to be maintained by the following generations even if they no longer speak the language. In North America this has taken place, and it is possible that later generations of Australian Finns will do something similar. The difference in the period of Finnish migration to these continents will have an effect on the outcome of the Finnish heritage maintenance efforts. The developing communication technology and means of intercontinental travel already allow access to the Finnish society and culture in real time. The question is, will the future generations of Australian Finns continue to maintain the culture and heritage their ancestors brought from Finland, which has since developed in Australia, or will this be replaced by identifying with contemporary Finland and continuing contact with it?

Weiss (1993) suggests that nowadays we are increasingly able to choose and construct our culture. This is a recent phenomenon. For the informants in this study immigration provided in a way an opportunity to choose and construct their culture and identity. A chance to choose and combine aspects of cultures to make one's own was perhaps not a reason to migrate in those days. The reasons were usually more concrete and often economic. However, the culture contact situation the immigrants were in allowed them, or forced them, whichever way we want to see this, to deal with multiple cultures and languages. The 'flight' and 'fight' models of J. Bennett (1998) describe the approaches migrants can take. In this sample there are those who chose to keep their life as Finnish as possible maintaining traditions and the Finnish language. There are also the 'fight' types, who had very little contact with other Finns and adopted the Anglo-Australian ways. In this sample only a few had had such a phase and then "returned" to contact with Finns. The various models developed to explain culture contact and acculturation can be applied to the situation of Finnish immigrants in Australia, but we must remember that there is always a great deal of variation in how individuals deal with a situation. For instance, immigrants may only become aware of their own culture when they arrive in a different culture (M. J. Bennett's (1986) orientations of intercultural

sensitivity). Their approach can then be anything from assimilating to the new culture and abandoning the old, to continuing to preserve the original culture and to being marginalised from the mainstream (Berry, 1997). The informants in this study accepted the economic necessity of integrating into the Anglo-Australian mainstream culture, but made use of the “flight” model in their private life, i.e. keeping the home domain Finnish and mainly socialising with other Finns. Previous studies have suggested that lack of English skills has been a main obstacle preventing social relations with non-Finnish speaking Australians. It is true that even moderate or good, but accented, English stigmatises a foreigner in the eyes of an English-speaking Australian (Pham, 1998). We should not make the generalisation that Finns have not been able to learn English. As one of the informants pointed out “those who made it their business to learn English did learn”. The Finnish immigrant groups which this sample represents left Finland at least partly in search of a better economic situation. Achieving this in Australia was their main aim. Many did not want the additional stress of engaging in Australian social life, which would have placed additional requirements on their language skills. Many were also fortunate to live in the vicinity of other Finnish immigrants and to have a Finnish circle of friends. Using Berry’s acculturation framework (cf. Figure 2.1) we could argue that first generation Australian Finns who arrived in the large migration waves in the 1950s and 1960s did integrate at the economic level, but at the social level their strategy was often separation. According to informant reports, cultural difference had a greater effect than language skills or the so called language barrier.

Culture and ethnicity appear more resilient and slower to change than language in an immigrant situation. Clyne’s argument of the language with cost-benefit winning in the long run is likely to be true also in relation to culture. In this age of multilingualism, multiculturalism and globalisation, one would hope, though, that multicultural identities will continue to gain prestige, and that people with multiple cultural and linguistic backgrounds will feel less pressure to choose one over the others. There are even suggestions that ethnicity will be replaced by lifestyle (Weiss, 1993). Will the lifestyle of third generation Australian Finns later in the 21st century still include Finnish elements?

6.4. Implications for further study

As the focus in the current study was on the attitudes, it did not aim to investigate the linguistic features in the recorded Finnish in great detail. The data could be reanalysed with a focus on linguistic issues, for instance, the occurrences of neologisms and newly created collocations which may not have been established in Australian Finnish idiolect and whose occurrences are not predictable.

Many of the questions and ideas for further research involve the second generation. Second generation Australian Finnish has been studied to an extent, but not their attitudes and cultural identity. Research on the main groups of Finnish migration to Australia is extremely timely, as the numbers of its representatives are declining rapidly. The children of first generation Finnish immigrants are just as unique a group among Finns outside Finland as their parents. Finnish migration continues to decrease and all Finnish groups outside Finland receive fewer new migrants. In Australia the generation these informants' children represent was still numerous enough for some to marry Australian Finns. As the numbers of incoming Finns declined from the 1970s onwards, the respective second generations were also smaller. Research on the integration, attitudes and identity of the descendants of the 1950s and 1960s arrivals would verify if the hopes the first generation expressed on the continuing of Finnish heritage in Australia are at all justified. So far research agrees that language shift is ongoing among Australian Finns. The requirement for reversing language shift is that whatever the efforts and support for revitalising a language, the young generation must be involved. Ascertaining the likelihood of this among the Finns would require involving members of the second and third generation, their language use, language skills, cultural and language attitudes and intentions.

Kovács's (2001a) linguistic study concluded that among Australian Finns shifting into English is observable both at the micro and macro level. Her study included the first, second and third generation. The current study focused on the first generation and data on their language alternation agreed with Kovács's results. However, our focus was on the attitudes of the first generation and the correlations between attitudes and issues in language and culture contact. One course of action in future study is to continue research into the generations of descendants of those who arrived during the main

Finnish migration waves. The other would be to shift the focus onto more recently arrived Finnish immigrants. This would provide a contrast based on migration period. Strategies for coping with the contact situation are likely to be different. Comparing the more recent experiences to the earlier groups' reports would be valuable. For instance, are the latest arrivals' experiences and strategies for coping more comparable to those of sojourners. Australian Finnish data on attitudes, culture, identity and language could also be compared to similar data in other countries. However, such comparative studies are very challenging as the histories of the groups are very different, and if the comparison was to be based on existing research, it would be a challenge to find data with comparable approaches and variables.

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Appendix 1.

Basic characteristics of Finnish

This summary includes basic characteristics of Finnish which are relevant to the issues discussed in this thesis. For a full description of Finnish grammar see for instance Fred Karlsson's *Finnish: An essential grammar* (1999) which is the source for this brief summary.

Finnish is an agglutinative language, thus differing clearly from the Indo-European languages of Europe. The basic principle of word formation in Finnish is the addition of endings (bound morphemes, suffixes) to stems. For instance, by attaching the endings - *i* 'plural', -*ssa* 'in', -*si* 'your', and -*kin* 'too, also' to the stem *auto* 'car' in different ways, the following words can be formed:

<i>auto/ssa</i>	in the car	<i>auto/si/kin</i>	your car too
<i>auto/i/ssa</i>	in the cars	<i>auto/ssa/kin</i>	in the car too
<i>auto/ssa/si</i>	in your car	<i>auto/i/ssa/kin</i>	in the cars too
<i>auto/si</i>	your car	<i>auto/i/ssa/si/kin</i>	in your cars too
<i>auto/kin</i>	the car too		

Finnish has more case endings than is usual in European languages. There are fifteen cases and the case endings normally correspond to prepositions or postpositions in other languages. Finnish often uses suffixes where Indo-European languages generally have independent words e.g. *kirja/ni* 'my book'

Another characteristic feature of Finnish is the wide-ranging use made of derivative endings in the formation of new independent words. For instance, *kirja* 'book' and derived forms *kirj/e* 'letter', *kirja/sto* 'library', *kirja/llinen* 'literary', *kirja/llis/uus* 'literature', *kirjo/ittaa* 'to write', and *kirjo/itta/ja* 'writer'.

The endings are ordered. However, often the form of the basic stem (root, lexical form) alters when certain endings are added. Consonant gradation affects the long and short stops *p*, *t* and *k* before the case ending (e.g. *kaappi* 'cupboard' *kaappi/ssa* 'in the

cupboard' or *tupa* 'hut' *tuya/ssa* 'in the hut') and a set of vowel changes can occur before certain endings with *-i* (e.g. *puu* 'tree' *puita* 'trees' plural partitive).

A word may sometimes have different stems according to what kind of ending follows. The different stems are formed via sound alternations. Often the basic form (nominative singular), or the basic form and the partitive singular have their own stems, and all other case, number and possessive endings are attached to a second or third stem. This is called the inflectional stem. Nominals where the basic form differs from the inflectional stem can be divided into three main groups:

-basic form ends in *-i* inflectional stem in *-e* e.g. *kieli* 'language' *kiele/n*

(Most nominals with a basic form ending in *-i* do not have a separate inflectional stem, and endings are attached directly to the basic form itself applying the rules of consonant gradation and vowel change e.g. *tunti* 'hour' *tunni/n*, *laki* 'law' *lai/n*. Loan words are often of this type.)

- basic form ends in *-e*, inflectional stem in *-ee* e.g. *perhe* 'family' *perhee/n*

- basic form ends in a consonant which alternates with other sounds in the inflectional system e.g. *kysymys* 'question' *kysymyse/n*.

Verb forms are built in the same way as declension of nominals. Using the verb stem *sano-* 'say', and the endings *-n* 'I', *-i* 'past tense', and *-han* 'emphasis', we can form these examples:

<i>sano/n</i>	I say
<i>sano/n/han</i>	I do say
<i>sano/i/n</i>	I said
<i>sano/i/n/han</i>	I did say

The stems needed for the conjugation of verbs are the infinitive stem and the inflectional stem. On the basis of these stems the verbs can be divided into the following main groups:

	Infinitive		First person singular
1.	<i>anta/a</i>	'give'	<i>anna/n</i> 'I give'
2.	<i>huomat/a</i>	'notice'	<i>huomaa/n</i> 'I notice'
3.	<i>saa/da</i>	'get'	<i>saa/n</i> 'I get'
4.	<i>nous/ta</i>	'rise'	<i>nouse/n</i> 'I rise'

5. *tarvit/a* 'need' *tarvitse/n* 'I need'
 6. *lämme/tä* 'get warm' *lämpene/n* 'I get warm'

The object in Finnish is marked by a case ending. In the following sentences the ending –n indicates 'this word is the object of the sentence'. *Minä ostan kirja/n.* 'I (shall) buy the book.' *Kalle näki auto/n.* 'Kalle saw the car.' The rules governing the use of this ending and other possible object endings are fairly complex.

The most difficult feature of the pronunciation of Finnish is the length (duration) of the sounds: differences of length serve very frequently to distinguish separate words. Compare for instance,

kansa 'people' *kanssa* 'with'

muta 'mud' *mutta* 'but' *muuta* 'other' *mutaa* 'mud' partitive case

Karlsson, F. (1999). *Finnish: An essential grammar*. New York: Routledge.

Appendix 2.

CODES

Language use

\ENG_STUDY_AUS_PRIV	privately organised lessons
\ENG_STUDY_AUS_GOV	government courses in Australia
\ENG_STUDY_FIN_YES /NO	
\ENG_STUDY_TRIP_YES /NO	
\ENG_LEARN_OTHER	ways other than formal study to learn English

\ENG_WITH_KIDS_YES / NO
\ENG_WITH_SPOUSE_YES / NO
\ENG_WITH_PARENTS_YES / NO
\ENG_WITH_GRKIDS_YES / NO
\ENG_WITH_SIBLINGS_YES / NO
\ENG_WITH_RELS_YES / NO
\ENG_WITH_INLAWS_YES/NO
\ENG_WITH_FRIENDS_YES / NO
\ENG_WITH_BOSS_YES / NO
\ENG_WITH_WORKMATES_YES / NO
\ENG_WITH_CUSTOMERS_YES/NO

\ENG_ANSW_KIDS_YES / NO
\ENG_ANSW_GRANDKIDS_YES / NO

\ENG_MUSIC_YES / NO
\ENG_TV_YES / NO
\ENG_MOVIES_YES / NO
\ENG_VIDEOS_YES/NO
\ENG_PAPERS_YES / NO
\ENG_BOOKS_YES / NO
\ENG_RADIO_YES / NO
\ENG_RELIGION_YES / NO
\ENG_LETTERS_YES / NO
\ENG_COUNT_YES / NO
\ENG_SHOPPINGLIST_YES / NO
\ENG_NOTE_YES / NO
\ENG_PRAY_YES / NO
\ENG_SWEAR_YES / NO

\ENG_HOMELANG	
\ENG_HOMELANG_KIDS	2 nd generation changed to English
\ENG_CHURCHLANG_YES / NO	

\FIN_WITH_KIDS

\FIN_WITH_SPOUSE
\FIN_WITH_PARENTS
\FIN_WITH_GRKIDS
\FIN_WITH_SIBLINGS
\FIN_WITH_RELS
\FIN_WITH_INLAWS
\FIN_WITH_FRIENDS
\FIN_WITH_BOSS
\FIN_WITH_WORKMATES
\FIN_WITH_CUSTOMERS
\FIN_WITH_PETS

\FIN_ANSW_KIDS_YES / NO

do children answer in Finnish when spoken
to in Finnish

\FIN_ANSW_GRKIDS_YES / NO

\FIN_MUSIC_YES / NO
\FIN_TV_YES / NO
\FIN_MOVIES_YES / NO
\FIN_VIDEOS_
\FIN_PAPERS_YES / NO
\FIN_BOOKS_YES / NO
\FIN_RADIO_YES / NO
\FIN_RELIGION_YES / NO
\FIN_LETTERS_YES / NO
\FIN_COUNT_YES / NO
\FIN_SHOPPINGLIST_YES / NO
\FIN_NOTE_YES / NO
\FIN_PRAY_YES / NO
\FIN_SWEAR_YES / NO

\FIN_HOMELANG_YES / NO

\FIN_HOMELANG_KIDS

children have kept Finnish as home
language

\FIN_CHURCHLANG_YES / NO

\FIN_SHOP
\FIN_DOCTOR
\FIN_DENTIST
\FIN_OTHERSERV

\INTERPR_USE
\INTERPR_USE_SELDOM
\INTERPR_NO

Language skill evaluation

\ENG_ONARRIVAL_NONE

\ENG_SKILL
\ENG_SKILL_MOD
\ENG_SKILL_KID

\ENG_SP_VWELL
\ENG_SP_WELL
\ENG_SP_MOD
\ENG_SP_BAD
\ENG_SP_NONE

\ENG_LC_VWELL
\ENG_LC_WELL
\ENG_LC_MOD
\ENG_LC_BAD
\ENG_LC_NONE

\ENG_RC
\ENG_RC_VWELL
\ENG_RC_WELL
\ENG_RC_MOD
\ENG_RC_BAD
\ENG_RC_NONE

\ENG_WR
\ENG_WR_VWELL
\ENG_WR_WELL
\ENG_WR_MOD
\ENG_WR_BAD
\ENG_WR_NONE

\FIN_SKILL
\FIN_KIDS_UND
\FIN_KIDS_SPEAK
\FIN_KIDS_VWELL
\FIN_KIDS_WELL
\FIN_KIDS_MOD
\FIN_KIDS_BAD
\FIN_KIDS_BAD_WR
\FIN_KIDS_NONE

\FIN_GRKIDS_UND
\FIN_GRKIDS_SPEAK
\FIN_GRKIDS_VWELL
\FIN_GRKIDS_WELL
\FIN_GRKIDS_MOD
\FIN_GRKIDS_BAD
\FIN_GRKIDS_NONE

they understand Finnish

\FIN_KIDS_MISTAKES	examples of mistakes children make
\KID_MULTILINGUAL	
\GRKID_MULTILINGUAL	
\KID_KID_ENG	kids speak English to each other
\KID_KID_FIN	
\KID_KID_ENGFIN	kids speak both English and Finnish to each other

\SIGNL_OTHERP	how someone who cannot speak English signs/gestures
\SIGNL_OWN	

Background

\MIGR_AGE
\MIGR_AGE_KID
\MIGR_PERIOD (YEARS)

\MIGR_REASON_WORK
\MIGR_REASON_FAMILY
\MIGR_REASON_OTHER
\MIGR_REASON_NONE
\MIGR_INAUS_FRIENDS
\MIGR_INAUS_RELS
\MIGR_INAUS_FAMILY

had friends in Aus
had relatives in Aus
had immediate family in Aus

\MIGR_PROCEDURE
\MIGR_PROCEDURE_SHORTAPPL
\MIGR_PROCEDURE_RECRUIT

\MIGR_FIN_SELL
\MIGR_FIN_KEEP
\MIGR_FIN_KEEPELL
\MIGR_THINGS_FREIGHT
\MIGR_THINGS_LUGGAGE

\MIGR_TRIP_BOAT_PAID
\MIGR_TRIP_BOAT_PAY
\MIGR_TRIP_PLANE_PAID
\MIGR_TRIP_PLANE_PAY
\MIGR_TRIP_PLANE

\CIT_AUS	has taken Australian citizenship
----------	----------------------------------

\SCH_SUCC_OTHER_GOOD school success in subjects other than English

\SCH_ENG_TEACH_NONE

\SCH_ENG_TEACH

\WORK_FIRSTJOB

\WORK_FIRSTJOB_FIND

how found it and applied/got

\WORK_FIRSTJOB_START

how soon

\WORK_FIRSTJOB_LENGTH

\WORK_OTHERJOBS

\WORK_OTHERJOBS_FIND

\WORK_FINN

worked with or for Finns

\WORK_FINN_NO

Attitudes

\ATT_MIGR

\ATT_MIGR_KIDS

kid's attitudes when left Finland

\ATT_MIGR_RELS

relatives attitudes

\ATT_ASSIM

\ATT_INTEGR

\ATT_IDM

attitude to identity maintenance

\ATT_FINCORE

Finnish a core value

\ATT_FINVISIT

\ATT_FINVISIT_NONE

\ATT_FINVISIT_FIRST (YEARS FROM ARRIVAL)

\ATT_FINVISIT_NUMBER ()

\ATT_FINVISIT_LAST (YEAR)

\ATT_FINVISIT_KIDS

\ATT_FINSTAY

returned to Finland to stay and came back to Australia

\ATT_FINCONTACT_REG

\ATT_FINCONTACT_RARE

\ATT_FINCONTACT_NONE

contact with Finland

\ATT_FINCONTACT_RELSHERE

relatives have visited Australia

\ATT_FINCONTACT_NORELSHERE

particular mention that no relatives have visited

\ATT_FINCONTACT_LPAPER

gets a local paper from Finland

\ATT_FINCONTACT_OTHER

eg. writes to the local paper

\ATT_KID_FINSPOUSE (4/7)

how many of the kids have Finnish spouses

\ATT_CHURCH	
\ATT_SOCPARTIES	e.g. association activities
\ATT_FINCOM	the community
\ATT_FINCOM_CONTACT	how regular contact
\ATT_AUSADJUSTING	
\ATT_IRONY	
ATT_CIT_AUS	has taken Australian citizenship
\ATT_LOYALTY	
\ATT_STIGMA	
\ATT_FINLAND	
\ATT_FINLAND_CHANGE	
\ATT_FCUSTOMS_CHANGED	
\ATT_WORK	
\ATT_WORK_PAY	
\ATT_WORK_CONDITIONS	
\ATT_WORK_ETHIC	
\ATT_ENG	
\ATT_FFINNISH	
\ATT_FFINNISH_CHANGED	
\ATT_FFINNISH_FORGOT	
\ATT_FINDIAL	
\ATT_FINNISH	
\ATT_LM	
\ATT_LM_INLAW	e.g. son in-law wants kids to learn Finnish
\ATT_MUMLM	mothers teach the kids the language
\ATT_KIDSFIN	
\ATT_LM_FORFAMILY	
\ATT_LM_FORRELS	
\ATT_LM_FORFINLAND	
\ATT_LM_FINNSCHOOL	
\ATT_LM_HOMELANG	
\ATT_LM_HOMELANG_KIDS	
\ATT_LMEFFORT_SP	LM effort is to speak Finnish
\ATT_LMEFFORT_WR	
\ATT_LMEFFORT_RD	
\ATT_LMEFFORT_OTHER	
\ATT_BIL	attitude to bilingualism
\ATT_CS	attitude to code-switching
\ATT_AUSFIN_GEN	general attitude to Australian Finnish
\ATT_AUSFIN_OWN	
\ATT_AUSFIN_ENG	attitude to Australian Finnish
\ATT_FIN_KIDS_REASON_PARENTS	pronunciation of English words
\ATT_FIN_GRKIDS_REASON_	Children learn Finnish because of parents

GRPARENTS	Children learn Finnish because of grandparents
\ATT_FIN_GRKIDS_REASON_FVISIT	
\ATT_ENG_LEARNING	eg. those who have been serious about it have learnt
\ATT_LLEARNING	more generally about languages
\ATT_AUSFIN_EXPL_NOWORD	reasons for using Eng words in Finnish speech
\ATT_LANG_AWARE	being generally aware of the differences between Finnish and English
\ATT_CM	attitude to culture maintenance
\ATT_CM_INLAWS	
\ATT_CM_GRKIDS	
\ATT_CM_SAUNA_OWN	
\ATT_CM_FOOD_BAKE	
\ATT_CM_FOOD_OTHER	
\ATT_CM_CRAFT_MAKE	
\ATT_CM_CRAFT_OTHER	buy or use but not make oneself
\ATT_CM_TRAD	maintaining cultural traditions
\ATT_SCLASS	attitude regarding social class
\ATT_CULTDIFF	
\ATT_NATURE_FIN	
\ATT_NATURE_AUS	
\ATT_CULTURE_FIN	
\ATT_CULTURE_AUS	
\ATT_LSTYLE_FIN	
\ATT_LSTYLE_AUS	
\ATT_LSTYLE_HOUSE	
\ATT_LSTYLE_FREETIME_TRAVEL_AUS	
\ATT_LSTYLE_FREETIME_TRAVEL_ABR	
\ATT_LSTYLE_FREETIME_BUSH	
\ATT_FINCULT_IN_AUS	e.g. Finnish films
\ATT_AUS_ADMIN	
\ATT_AUS_POL	
\ATT_AUS_EDUC	

Australians' attitudes

\ATT_AUS_FIN
\ATT_AUS_MIGR +
\ATT_AUS_MIGR =
\ATT_AUS_MULTIC +
\ATT_AUS_MULTIC =
\ATT_AUS_LOTE +
\ATT_AUS_LOTE =

\ATT_AUS_CIT

\ATT_ENG_FEEDBACK +
\ATT_ENG_FEEDBACK =

what others have said about their English

Language codes

PHON_FIN GR_CASE+/= LX+/=
PHON_MILDENG GR_GRAD+/=
PHON_ENG GR_NO+/=
 GR_VFORM+/=

\WORD_ and any combination of the above
\NAME_
\COMPOUND_
\PHRASE_

\WORD_LX= choice of unsuitable word
\WORD_GR_CASE= incorrect case
\WORD_PHON_ENG one word of unassimilated English
 'whatever'

\WORD_CALQUE
\PHRASE_CALQUE
\WORDORDER_ENG
\INTONATION_ENG

\CS all English, longer than one word
\CS_QUOTE

\SPELL_ENG
\SPELL_FIN

\CORR_FIN self correction (*sisälinnoissa* –
 sisälennoissa)
\TRANSL_REP repetition translation (*fruitsi hedelmät*)
\VERIFY *mikä se on suomeksi* 'what is it in Finnish'

\SEARCH_FINWORD

\SYNTAX

\SE

\NE

\JEE

\OK

okay, all right

\YES

\NO

\WELL

\KIELINEN

\PAIKKA

\CREATIVE

sickies *happani, mennä turistoimaan*

Appendix 3

Section of transcript 12.

Each utterance starts with a speaker reference. References starting with 'I' refer to informants and 'O' refer to speakers other than the informants. Non-informant speech is placed inside brackets to enable omitting it in concordance analysis. Names in the text have been changed to restore anonymity. Codes start with a backslash \.

<T 12>

<I 22M> se on joskus siinä kaksikymmentäyheksän kolomekkymmentä kuule tuota vuonna kuule täällä jo x tuolla tietyö sitte ne laitto ... se oli
\NAME_PHON_FIN_GR_CASE+ Talisa sillon ku me tultiin tunteen hänet ni se oli
\NAME_PHON_FIN_GR_CASE+ Greg Normannin niinku isoäiti
{<O MP> joo
<O TL> aaa
<O MP> Rek Noomanni o Aisassa syntyny
<O ML> joo}
<I 22M> x x
{<O MP> Aisassa ne x}
<I 21F> Halmeen Kaisan x x
<I 22M> joo se oli kyllä ni x x x
{<O MP> sitä pitäs käyvä
mutta hän on jossain lepokoessa vai missä hän on }
<I 22M> ei se on semmosessa niinku \COMPOUND_PHON_ENG_GR_CASE+ retirement koti tuossa ni eh eh mihinkä se kuuluu nyt eh
<I 21F> lähellä \NAME_PHON_ENG_GR_CASE+ Brisbane river:a
<I 22M> lähellä Morningside:ia siel
<I 21F> jossain semmosessa \WORD_PHON_ENG_GR_CASE+ private:ti nursing home:ssa piti maksaa eikö se ollu siinä viiskymmentätuhatta jotakin että pääsi sisälle
<I 22M> mutta eikö se ollu sanonu ku joku sano viiskymmentä että enempi oli sanonu
<I 21F> nii no voi olla vähä päälle mutta ei
{<O MP> Annikki tietää missä on}
<I 22M> sil on oma tuo sillähä oli oma \WORD_PHON_ENG_GR_CASE+ unit:ti tuola \NAME_PHON_ENG_GR_CASE+ Hollan Park:isa
{<O MP> no myö käytiin Annikin kansa siinä }
<I 21F> ottakaa vaan se ei oo hyvä kuitenkaan sitte ku vanhenee
{<O MP> kiitos minä en ota enempee
<O ML> mitä te noist leijonist sillon ku tanoini liittysiks sä ite vai kutsuttiik}
<I 22M> Leijoniin ei saa tuota niin ite mennä kysyyn
{<O ML> joo}
<I 22M> että nyt tuntuu että ne on muuttaneet sitä lakia vähän
{<O TL> mm}
<I 22M> ja niinku nyt ku tää nii minä en enää oo mitään ku tuo oli sillon ku minäkin olin täs nin kaikki tuota ne kysyyn tulee ni vierahaks joku vie sut vierahaks ensi pari kertaa
{<O TL> mm}

<I 22M> ja sitte tuota ni se on semmonen must- laatikko siinä ja sul on ja siin on sitte tuota ni mustia ja mustia ja näitä valakosia \WORD_PHON_ENG_GR_CASE+ marble:leita

{<O ML> mm}

<I 22M> jos tulee \CS black ball et on mustia niitä ni sillen kukaan ei tiä kuka sen panee Leijona o- meilläki oli kolkytäviis \WORD_PHON_ENG member niinku

\TRANSL_REP jäsentä kaikilla

{<O TL> mm}

<I 22M> ja minul ei tullu yhtään mustaa kaikki valkeita jos ykski musta tulee ni ne ei ota sillen klubiin

{<O TL> aha

<O ML> aika mielenkiintonen}

Appendix 4

Questionnaire in Finnish, followed by an English translation

I Kielen käyttö

1. Opiskelitko englantia ennen Australiaan muuttoa? Kyllä / Ei

2. Missä ja kuinka kauan opiskelit? Vuosia / kuukausia

3. Mitä kieltä puhut näille ihmisille?

	Aina suomea	Enemmän s. kuin e.	Yhtä paljon s. ja e.	Enemmän e. kuin s.	Aina englantia
Lapset					
Puoliso					
Äiti					
Isä					
Lapsen lapset					
Sisarukset					
Sukulaiset					
Ystävät					
Esimies					
Työkaverit					

4. Käytätkö koskaan tulkin, tuttavan tai ammattilaisen, palveluja?

5. Millä kielellä teet seuraavat asiat?

	Aina suomea	Enemmän s. kuin e.	Yhtä paljon s. ja e.	Enemmän e. kuin s.	Aina englantia
Musiikki					
TV					
Videot ja elokuvat					
Sanoma- ja aikakauslehdet					

Kirjat					
Radio					
Uskonnolliset asiat					
Henkilökohtai set kirjeet					
Laskeminen					
Kauppalista					
Muistilappu					
Rukoileminen					
Kiroileminen					

6. Mitä kieltä yleensä käytät jutellessasi ihmisten kanssa kodin ja työn ulkopuolella?

7. Osallistutko seurojen tai järjestöjen tai kirkon toimintaan jossa käytetään suomen kieltä? Kyllä/Ei

8. Mihin niistä osallistut?

9. Puhutaanko niissä myös englantia ja/tai muita kieliä?

10. Asioitko koskaan liikkeissä joissa puhutaan suomea? Kyllä/Ei

11. Kuinka usein asioit tällaisessa liikkeessä?

12. Käytkö koskaan suomea puhuvan juristin, lääkärin, hammaslääkärin tms. vastaanotolla? Kyllä/Ei

13. Mitä kieltä puhut hänelle?

14. Kuinka paljon keskimäärin päivässä käytät suomea?

	Koko ajan	Suurimman osan ajasta	Joskus	Harvoin	Ei koskaan
Puhut suomea					
Luet suomea					
Kuuntelet suomea					
Kirjoitat suomea					

15. Miten arvioisit englannin kielen taitosi? Kuinka hyvin mielestäsi:

	Erittäin hyvin	Hyvin	Kohtalaisesti	Huonosti	Ei lainkaan
Puhut englantia					
Ymmärrät puhuttua englantia					
Ymmärrät kirjoitettua englantia					
Kirjoitat englantia					

16. Miten arvioisit suomen kielen taitosi? Kuinka hyvin mielestäsi:

	Erittäin hyvin	Hyvin	Kohtalaisesti	Huonosti	Ei lainkaan
Puhut suomea					
Ymmärrät puhuttua suomea					
Ymmärrät kirjoitettua suomea					
Kirjoitat suomea					

17. Tiedätkö tilanteita joissa olisit puhunut suomea vieraskieliselle henkilölle? Missä tilanteessa tämä tapahtui?

18. Onko sinulla ystäviä tai sukulaisia Suomessa?
19. Kirjoitatko heille?
20. Millä kielellä kirjoitat heille?
21. Puhutko heidän kanssaan puhelimesta?
22. Mitä kieltä puhut heille?
23. Koska olit viimeksi Suomessa? Kuinka kauan vietit siellä? Kk/vk?
24. Puhutko mielestäsi suomen murretta vai yleispuhekieltä?
25. Vaihdatko murteesta yleispuhekieleen ja päinvastoin tilanteesta ja kuulijasta riippuen?

II Mielenpitoista

1. Kuinka paljon sinulla on suomenkielisiä ystäviä Australiassa?

Useita – muutamia – ei monta – ei lainkaan

2. Oletko koskaan tietoisesti yrittänyt parantaa tai ylläpitää suomen kieltäsi? Kyllä / Ei

3. Jos olet, miten?

4. Luetko Australiassa ilmestyviä suomenkielisiä sanomalehtiä? Kyllä / Ei

5. Oletko tilaaja? Kyllä / Ei

6. Kuunteletko suomenkielisiä radiolähetyksiä? Kyllä / Ei

7. Kuinka usein?

8. Puhuvatko lapsesi suomea? Kyllä / Ei

9. Miten he oppivat suomen kieltä?

10. Oletko samaa vai erimieltä seuraavien väitteiden kanssa?

1=vahvasti samaa mieltä, 2=samaa mieltä, 3=ei samaa eikä eri mieltä, 4=eri mieltä,

5=vahvasti eri mieltä

	S		E		
10.1. Suomen kieli on minulle tärkeä.	1	2	3	4	5
10.2. Suomi kuulostaa hyvältä.	1	2	3	4	5
10.3. Tykkään puhua suomea.	1	2	3	4	5
10.4. Joitain asioita ei voi ilmaista englanniksi.	1	2	3	4	5
10.5. Äidinkielen ylläpitäminen on minulle tärkeää.	1	2	3	4	5
10.6. Englannin kieli on minulle tärkeä.	1	2	3	4	5
10.7. Voin ilmaista ajatukseni kummalla kielellä vaan.	1	2	3	4	5
10.8. Haluan lasteni puhuvan suomea.	1	2	3	4	5
10.9. Suomen kielen ylläpitäminen voi vaikeuttaa englannin oppimista.	1	2	3	4	5
10.10. Suomen kielen ylläpitäminen voi vaikeuttaa menestymistä australialaisessa yhteiskunnassa .	1	2	3	4	5
10.11. Australiassa ihmiset hyväksyvät vieraiden kielten käytön.	1	2	3	4	5
10.12. Suomen kieleen saa sekoittaa englantia.	1	2	3	4	5
10.13. Kahden kielen hallitseminen on helppoa.	1	2	3	4	5
10.14. Kielen puhuminen ja ymmärtäminen on tärkeämpää kuin sen kirjoittaminen ja lukeminen.	1	2	3	4	5
10.15. Kaksikielisyydellä on haittansa.	1	2	3	4	5
10.16. Etnisen identiteetin säilyttäminen Australiassa on minulle yhdentekevää .	1	2	3	4	5
10.17. Jos unohtaisin suomen kielen en enää olisi suomalainen.	1	2	3	4	5
10.18. Suomen murteeni on minulle tärkeä.	1	2	3	4	5
10.19. Olen tyytyväinen suomenkielisiin radio-ohjelmiin Australiassa.	1	2	3	4	5
10.20. Suomenkieliset radio-ohjelmat voivat auttaa kielen oppimisessa.	1	2	3	4	5

11. Listassa on neljä syytä ylläpitää suomen kieli. Laita ne mieleiseesi tärkeysjärjestykseen. (1 tärkein – 4 vähiten tärkeä)

- Säilyttää identiteettinsä
- Osallistua synnyinmaansa kulttuuriin.
- Kommunikoida ystävien ja sukulaisten kanssa.
- Säilyttää kontakti synnyinmaahan

12. Mitkä ovat mielestäsi tehokkaimmat tavat ylläpitää suomen kieli Australiassa? Voit valita useampia.

- Suomi-koulu
- Radio
- Televisio
- Videot
- Kirjat, sanomalehdet
- Kerhot, urheiluseurat
- Matkat ulkomaille (Suomeen)
- Kotona puhutaan suomea
- Isovanhemmat ovat osa perhettä
- Muu, mikä?

III Taustatietoja

1. Nimi

2. Mies / Nainen

3. Synnyinmaa

4. Viimeinen asuinpaikkakunta Suomessa

5. Australiaan saapumispäivä

6. Ikä saapuessa

7. Kenen kanssa muutit Australiaan?

8. Korkein suoritettu koulutus?

9. Olitko aikaisemmassa asuinmaassasi

- Töissä
- Työtön
- Työvoiman ulkopuolella

10. Mikä ammattisi oli?

11. Oletko tällä hetkellä

- Töissä
- Työtön
- Työvoiman ulkopuolella

12. Oletko aikaisemmin ollut Australiassa töissä?

13. Oletko Australian kansalainen?

I Questions on language use

1. Did you learn any English before coming to Australia? Yes / No

2. Where and for how many months/ years did you study?

3. Which language do you use speaking to these people?

	Always Finnish	More Finnish than English	Finnish and English equally	More English than Finnish	Always English
Children					
Spouse					
Mother					
Father					
Grandchildren					
Siblings					
Extended family					
Friends					
Boss					
Work mates					

4. Do you ever use the services of an interpreter, friend or professional?

5. Which language do you use for the following?

	Always Finnish	More Finnish than English	Finnish and English equally	More English than Finnish	Always English
Listening to music					
Watching TV					
Watching Videos /					

Movies					
Reading newspapers and magazines					
Reading books					
Listening to the radio					
Religious activities					
Writing personal letters					
Counting					
Writing a shopping list					
Writing a note to yourself					
Praying					
Swearing					

6. What language do you usually speak when you socialize with people outside home and work?

7. Do you participate in the activities of any clubs, organizations or church where Finnish is spoken? Yes/No

8. Which ones do you participate in?

9. Is English or any other language also spoken at the club or organization?

10. Do you ever go to a shop where the shopkeeper speaks Finnish? Yes/No

11. How often do you go to a shop like this?

12. Do you ever consult a professional (lawyer, doctor, dentist etc.) who can speak Finnish? Yes/No

13. What language do you speak with him/her?

14. How much, on an average day, do you use Finnish?

	All the time	Most of the time	Sometimes	Occasionally	Never
Speak Finnish					
Read in Finnish					
Listen to Finnish					
Write in Finnish					

15. How well, in your opinion, do you do the following.

	Very well	Well	Moderately	Poorly	Not at all
Speak English					
Understand spoken English					
Understand written English					
Write English					

16. How well, in your opinion, do you do the following.

	Very well	Well	Moderately	Poorly	Not at all
Speak Finnish					
Understand spoken Finnish					
Understand written					

Finnish					
Write Finnish					

17. Do you know of situations when you would have spoken Finnish to a non- Finnish speaking person? What was the situation?

18. Do you have friends or relatives in Finland?

19. Do you write to them?

20. In what language do you write to them?

21. Do you talk to them on the phone?

22. In what language do you talk to them?

23. When was the last time you were in Finland? How many months/weeks were you there for?

24. Do you think that you speak Finnish dialect or standard spoken Finnish?

25. Does this vary according to situation or to whom you are talking to?

II On attitudes

10. Do you have Finnish speaking friends?

very many – many – only a few – none

11. Have you ever made deliberate attempts to improve or maintain your Finnish?

12. If so, what?

13. Do you read the Australian Finnish newspapers? Yes / No

14. Are you a subscriber?

15. Do you listen to the Finnish radio?

16. How often?

17. Do your children speak Finnish?

18. How did they learn Finnish?

10. Do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

1= strongly agree, 2= agree, 3=neither,nor, 4=disagree, 5=strongly disagree

	A		D		
10.1. Finnish is important for me.	1	2	3	4	5
10.2. Finnish sounds good.	1	2	3	4	5
10.3. I like speaking Finnish.	1	2	3	4	5
10.4. Some things can not be expressed in English.	1	2	3	4	5
10.5. Maintaining my mother tongue is important for me.	1	2	3	4	5
10.6. English is important for me.	1	2	3	4	5
10.7. I can express myself equally well in either language.	1	2	3	4	5
10.8. I want my children to speak Finnish.	1	2	3	4	5
10.9. Maintaining Finnish can hinder learning English.	1	2	3	4	5
10.10. Maintaining Finnish can hinder succeeding in the Australian society.	1	2	3	4	5
10.11. In Australia people accept the use of LOTE's.	1	2	3	4	5
10.12. It is acceptable to mix English with Finnish.	1	2	3	4	5
10.13. Mastering two languages is easy.	1	2	3	4	5
10.14. Oral skills are more important than written skills.	1	2	3	4	5
10.15. Bilingualism has disadvantages.	1	2	3	4	5
10.16. It is not important to maintain my ethnic identity in Australia.	1	2	3	4	5
10.17. If I lost my Finnish I'd no longer be a Finn.	1	2	3	4	5
10.18 My Finnish dialect is important to me	1	2	3	4	5
10.19. I am happy with the Finnish radio programs in Australia.	1	2	3	4	5
10.20 The Finnish radio programs can help people to learn Finnish.	1	2	3	4	5

11. Here are four reasons for maintaining Finnish. Rank them from the most important (1) to the least important (4)

- To maintain one's identity
- To participate in the culture of the country of origin
- To communicate with friends and relatives
- To maintain contact with the country of origin

12. What do you think are the most effective ways of maintaining Finnish in Australia? Select the relevant, one or more.

- Ethnic schools
- Radio
- Television
- Videos
- Books, newspapers
- Clubs, sporting groups
- Travel overseas
- Living in a home where Finnish is spoken
- Having grandparents in the house
- Other

III Background

1. Name

2. Male / Female

3. Country of birth

4. Last place of residence in Finland

5. Date of arrival in Australia

6. Age on arrival

7. Who did you migrate with?

8. What is your highest educational qualification?

9. In your country of origin, where you

- Employed
- Unemployed
- Not in the workforce?

10. What was your occupation?

11. Are you currently

- Employed
- Unemployed
- Not in the workforce?

12. Have you been employed in Australia before?

13. Are you an Australian citizen?

Appendix 5. Used codes sorted by frequency.

	Code category	Code	Frequency	Range
1.	L	\NAME_PHON_FIN_GR_CASE+	730	31
2.	L	\WORD_PHON_FIN_GR_CASE+	507	31
3.	L	\JEE ¹	412	25
4.	L	\NAME_PHON_ENG_GR_CASE+	345	27
5.	L	\WORD_PHON_ENG_GR_CASE+	330	26
6.	L	\WORD_PHON_ENG	172	27
7.	L	\CS ²	169	20
8.	L	\NAME_PHON_ENG	96	21
9.	L	\WORD_LX=	87	22
10.	L	\COMPOUND_PHON_ENG_GR_CASE+	71	13
11.	A	\ATT_AUSADJUSTING	69	24
12.	A	\ATT_MIGR	68	25
13.	A	\ATT_FINCOM	59	21
14.	A	\ATT_NATURE_AUS	46	19
15.	L	\PHRASE_CALQUE	44	13
16.	L	\SE	41	13
17.	A	\ATT_LM	41	15
18.	A	\ATT_WORK	38	13
19.	L	\WORD_GR_CASE=	38	13
20.	L	\OK	36	13
21.	L	\WORD_PHON_FIN_GR_VFORM+	36	14
22.	A	\ATT_LSTYLE_HOUSE	35	14
23.	S	\ENG_SKILL	33	18
24.	A	\ATT_CULTDIFF	33	12
25.	L	\WORD_PHON_MILDENG_GR_CASE+	33	11
26.	L	\COMPOUND_PHON_FIN_GR_CASE+	30	13
27.	L	\WORD_CALQUE	29	14
28.	B	\MIGR_PERIOD	28	20
29.	B	\WORK_OTHERJOBS	28	14
30.	L	\TRANSL_REP	27	12
31.	L	\NAME_PHON_MILDENG_GR_CASE+	26	9
32.	L	\INTONATION_ENG	25	9
33.	A	\ATT_SOCPARTIES	25	6
34.	B	\MIGR_REASON	21	16
35.	S	\ENG_ONARRIVAL_NONE	21	15
36.	A	\ATT_LANG_AWARE	20	13
37.	L	\PAIKKA	19	10
38.	L	\CS_QUOTE	19	9
39.	A	\ATT_NATURE_FIN	19	12
40.	A	\ATT_ENG_LEARNING	19	12
41.	A	\ATT_FINVISIT_FIRST	18	14
42.	A	\ATT_FINLAND	18	12
43.	L	\COMPOUND_PHON_MILDENG_GR_CASE+	18	9
44.	L	\WORD_PHON_ENG_GR_CASE=	17	6
45.	L	\WORD_PHON_ENG_GR_VFORM+	17	9
46.	A	\ATT_FINCONTACT_RELSHERE	17	12
47.	A	\ATT_FINVISIT_KIDS	16	12
48.	A	\ATT_CHURCH	16	6
49.	B	\WORK_FIRSTJOB	15	14
50.	L	\NO	15	8
51.	A	\ATT_LLEARNING	15	9
52.	L	\SPELL_ENG	15	9
53.	L	\KIELINEN	14	8

¹\JEE “Yeah” phonetically assimilated to Finnish

²\CS code-switching

54.	A	\ATT_FINVISIT_LAST	14	12
55.	L	\VERIFY	13	8
56.	L	\NAME_PHON_ENG_GR_CASE=	13	7
57.	A	\ATT_WORK_PAY	12	8
58.	A	\ATT_CM_TRAD	12	4
59.	L	\YES	11	7
60.	A	\ATT_FINVISIT	11	9
61.	U	\ENG_LEARN_OTHER	10	8
62.	A	\ATT_WORK_CONDITIONS	10	7
63.	A	\ATT_FINLAND_CHANGE	10	3
64.	A	\ATT_LM_HOMELANG	10	9
65.	S	\FIN_KIDS_MISTAKES	9	7
66.	L	\CORR_FIN	9	8
67.	A	\ATT_CULTURE_AUS	9	3
68.	A	\ATT_CM_SAUNA_OWN	9	8
69.	A	\ATT_CM_FOOD	9	5
70.	A	\ATT_CM	9	4
71.	S	\FIN_KIDS_WELL	8	7
72.	S	\FIN_GRKIDS_UND	8	5
73.	S	\FIN_GRKIDS_SPEAK	8	5
74.	A	\ATT_MIGR_RELS	8	7
75.	A	\ATT_LSTYLE_FREETIME_TRAVEL_AUS	8	8
76.	A	\ATT_FINVISIT_NUMBER	8	7
77.	A	\ATT_ENG	8	3
78.	A	\ATT_CULTURE_FIN	8	5
79.	A	\ATT_AUS_MIGR	8	4
80.	L	\WORDORDER=	8	6
81.	B	\MIGR_AGE_KID	8	7
82.	S	\FIN_KIDS_SPEAK	7	6
83.	S	\FIN_KIDS_BAD	7	6
84.	A	\ATT_DIY	7	4
85.	U	\ENG_STUDY_FIN	7	6
86.	B	\MIGR_AGE	6	6
87.	A	\ATT_KID_FINSPOUSE	6	5
88.	A	\ATT_INTEGR	6	4
89.	A	\ATT_FINSTAY	6	5
90.	A	\ATT_CM_CRAFT_OTHER	6	4
91.	A	\ATT_AUSFIN_OWN	6	4
92.	B	\MIGR_TRIP_BOAT_PAID	6	6
93.	B	\MIGR_PROCEDURE-SHORTAPPL	6	6
94.	L	\SYNTAX	5	1
95.	S	\FIN_SKILL	5	3
96.	S	\FIN_GRKIDS_NONE	5	3
97.	A	\ATT_FFINNISH_CHANGED	5	4
98.	A	\ATT_AUS_EDUC	5	4
99.	A	\ATT_CM_FOOD_BAKE	5	2
100.	L	\PHRASE_PHON_FIN_GR_CASE+	5	5
101.	B	\WORK_FINN	5	4
102.	B	\MIGR_INAUS_FAMILY	5	3
103.	A	\ATT_AUSADMIN	4	2
104.	A	\ATT_AUS_FIN	4	1
105.	A	\ATT_AUS_LOTE	4	2
106.	A	\ATT_AUSPOL	4	4
107.	A	\ATT_CM_CRAFT_MAKE	4	3
108.	A	\ATT_FINCOM_CONTACT	4	3
109.	A	\ATT_FINCONTACT_OTHER	4	4
110.	A	\ATT_IDM	4	3
111.	A	\ATT_LM_EFFORT_OTHER	4	3
112.	A	\ATT_LM_MUM	4	3
113.	A	\ATT_LSTYLE_FREETIME_BUSH	4	3

114.	A	\ATT_WORK_ETHIC	4	1
115.	B	\CIT_AUS	4	3
116.	L	\COMPOUND_PHON_ENG_GR_CASE=	4	3
117.	L	\CREATIVE	4	2
118.	U	\ENG_STUDY_AUS_GOV	4	4
119.	U	\FIN_DOCTOR	4	3
120.	A	\IRONY	4	1
121.	B	\MIGR_INAUS_FRIENDS	4	3
122.	L	\NE	4	3
123.	L	\SEARCH_FINWORD	4	3
124.	L	\WELL	4	2
125.	L	\WORD_PHON_MILDENG	4	1
126.	B	\WORK_FIRSTJOB_LENGTH	4	4
127.	A	\ATT_FINCULT_IN_AUS	4	4
128.	A	\ATT_ENG_FEEDBACK+	3	1
129.	A	\ATT_FINCONTACT	3	2
130.	A	\ATT_FINDIAL	3	2
131.	A	\ATT_FINVISIT_NONE	3	2
132.	A	\ATT_LM Effort_SP	3	3
133.	U	\FIN_WITH_KIDS	3	2
134.	S	\KID_KID_ENG	3	3
135.	B	\MIGR_REASON_NONE	3	3
136.	B	\MIGR_TRIP_PLANE_PAID	3	3
137.	B	\MIGR_INAUS_RELS	3	3
138.	L	\NAME_PHON_SW	3	1
139.	L	\WORD_MILDENG	3	1
140.	B	\SCH_SUCC_OTHER_GOOD	3	2
141.	L	\WORD_GR_VFORM=	3	3
142.	L	\WORD_PHON_FIN	3	2
143.	L	\WORD_PHON_MILDENG_GR_VFORM+	3	3
144.	A	\ATT_FFINNISH	3	2
145.	A	\ATT_LSTYLE FREETIME_TRAVEL_ABR	3	3
146.	B	\MIGR_TRIP_BOAT_PAY	3	2
147.	L	\WORD_GR_NO=	3	3
148.	A	\ATT_FFINNISH_FORGOT	3	2
149.	A	\ATT_AUSFIN_ENG	2	2
150.	A	\ATT_AUS_CIT	2	2
151.	A	\ATT_CIT_AUS_NO	2	2
152.	A	\ATT_LM FINNSCHOOL	2	2
153.	A	\ATT_LM HOMELANG_KIDS	2	1
154.	A	\ATT_LM INLAW	2	2
155.	A	\ATT_LM KIDSFIN	2	2
156.	A	\ATT_MIGR_KIDS	2	1
157.	A	\ATT_SCH_ENG_TEACH	2	2
158.	S	\ENG_LC_WELL	2	2
159.	S	\ENG_RC_VWELL	2	2
160.	S	\ENG_SKILL_KID	2	1
161.	S	\ENG_SKILL_MOD	2	2
162.	U	\ENG_STUDY_AUS_PRIV	2	2
163.	U	\ENG_STUDY_TRIP	2	2
164.	U	\ENG_WITH_GRKIDS	2	2
165.	S	\ENG_GRKIDS_WELL	2	1
166.	S	\FIN_KIDS_MOD	2	2
167.	S	\FIN_KIDS_UND	2	2
168.	S	\FIN_KID_WELL	2	1
169.	U	\FIN_WITH_FRIENDS	2	1
170.	U	\FIN_WITH_PETS	2	1
171.	U	\FIN_WITH_RELS	2	1
172.	U	\FIN_WITH_SIBLINGS	2	2
173.	U	\FIN_WITH_SPOUSE	2	2

174.	S	\GRKID_MULTILINGUAL	2	1
175.	U	\INTERPR_NO	2	2
176.	U	\INTERPR_USE	2	2
177.	B	\MIGR_REASON_FAMILY	2	2
178.	B	\MIGR_REASON_WORK	2	2
179.	B	\MIGR_THINGS_LUGGAGE	2	2
180.	B	\MIGR_TRIP_PLANE	2	2
181.	L	\WORD_PHON_FIN_GR_VFORM=	2	2
182.	B	\WORK_FIRSTJOB_FIND	2	2
183.	A	\ATT_FIN_GRKIDS_REASON_FINVISIT	2	2
184.	U	\FIN_WITH_GRKIDS	2	2
185.	B	\MIGR_TRIP_PAY	2	2
186.	A	\ATT_ASSIM	1	1
187.	A	\ATT_AUSFIN_EXPL_NOWORD	1	1
188.	A	\ATT_AUSFIN_GEN	1	1
189.	A	\ATT_AUSFIN_KID	1	1
190.	A	\ATT_AUSTRALIA	1	1
191.	A	\ATT_AUS_MULTIC	1	1
192.	A	\ATT_CM_INLAW	1	1
193.	A	\ATT_CM_SAUNA	1	1
194.	A	\ATT_CS	1	1
195.	A	\ATT_ENG_FEEDBACK=	1	1
196.	A	\ATT_FCUSTOMS_CHANGED	1	1
197.	A	\ATT_FFINNISH_FORGOT_KID	1	1
198.	A	\ATT_FINCONTACT_LPAPER	1	1
199.	A	\ATT_FINCONTACT_NOELSHERE	1	1
200.	A	\ATT_FINNVISIT_NUMBER	1	1
201.	A	\ATT_FINVISIT_GRKIDS	1	1
202.	A	\ATT_FIN_GRKIDS_REASON_GRPARENTS	1	1
203.	A	\ATT_FIN_KIDS_REASON_PARENTS	1	1
204.	A	\ATT_LM_EFFORT_RD	1	1
205.	A	\ATT_LOYALTY	1	1
206.	A	\ATT_LOYALTY_AUS	1	1
207.	A	\ATT_LSTYLE_FREETIME	1	1
208.	A	\ATT_MUMMU	1	1
209.	A	\ATT_SCH_KIDS_ENG	1	1
210.	A	\ATT_SCLASS	1	1
211.	A	\ATT_STIGMA	1	1
212.	L	\COMPOUND_LX=	1	1
213.	L	\COMPOUND_PHON_ENG_GR_VFORM+	1	1
214.	L	\COMPOUND_PHON_MILDENG_GR_VFORM+	1	1
215.	L	\CREATIVE_QUOTE	1	1
216.	U	\ENG_FIN_SHOPPINGLIST	1	1
217.	S	\ENG_LC_BAD	1	1
218.	S	\ENG_LC_NONE	1	1
219.	U	\ENG_MOVIES_NO	1	1
220.	U	\ENG_MUSIC_YES	1	1
221.	S	\ENG_ONARRIVAL_NONE_KID	1	1
222.	U	\ENG_PAPERS_YES	1	1
223.	U	\ENG_RADIO_NO	1	1
224.	S	\ENG_RC	1	1
225.	S	\ENG_RC_MOD	1	1
226.	S	\ENG_RC_NONE	1	1
227.	S	\ENG_RC_WELL	1	1
228.	U	\ENG_RELIGION_YES	1	1
229.	S	\ENG_SKILL_BAD	1	1
230.	S	\ENG_SKILL_NONE	1	1
231.	S	\ENG_SP_BAD	1	1
232.	U	\ENG_STUDY_AUS	1	1
233.	U	\ENG_STUDY_NO	1	1

234.	U	\ENG_TV_YES	1	1
235.	U	\ENG_WITH_BOSS	1	1
236.	U	\ENG_WITH_BOSS/BROTHER	1	1
237.	U	\ENG_WITH_CUSTOMERS	1	1
238.	U	\ENG_WITH_FRIENDS	1	1
239.	U	\ENG_WITH_INLAWS	1	1
240.	U	\ENG_WITH_RELS	1	1
241.	U	\ENG_WITH_WORKMATES	1	1
242.	S	\ENG_WR	1	1
243.	S	\ENG_WR_BAD	1	1
244.	S	\ENG_WR_MOD	1	1
245.	S	\ENG_WR_NONE	1	1
246.	S	\FIN_GRKIDS_SPEAK	1	1
247.	S	\FIN_GRKIDS_UND	1	1
248.	S	\FIN_GRKIDS_BAD	1	1
249.	S	\FIN_GRKIDS_SPEAK	1	1
250.	S	\FIN_KIDS_BAD_WR	1	1
251.	S	\FIN_KIDS_NONE_WR	1	1
252.	S	\FIN_KIDS_NONE_WR_RC	1	1
253.	S	\FIN_KIDS_VWELL	1	1
254.	S	\FIN_KID_MOD	1	1
255.	S	\FIN_LC_VWELL	1	1
256.	U	\FIN_LETTERS_YES	1	1
257.	U	\FIN_MUSIC_YES	1	1
258.	U	\FIN_NOTE_YES	1	1
259.	U	\FIN_PAPERS_YES	1	1
260.	U	\FIN_RADIO_YES	1	1
261.	S	\FIN_RC_VWELL	1	1
262.	U	\FIN_SHOPPINLIST_YES	1	1
263.	S	\FIN_SP_VWELL	1	1
264.	U	\FIN_VIDEO_YES	1	1
265.	U	\FIN_WITH_SISTER	1	1
266.	U	\FIN_WITH_MUM	1	1
267.	U	\INTERPR_USE_SELDOM	1	1
268.	S	\KID_KID_ENGFIN	1	1
269.	S	\KID_KID_FIN	1	1
270.	S	\KID_MULTILINGUAL	1	1
271.	B	\MIGR_INAUS_FRIENDS_NO	1	1
272.	B	\MIGR_PROCEDURE	1	1
273.	B	\MIGR_PROCEDURE_RECRUIT	1	1
274.	B	\MIGR_TRIP_BOAT	1	1
275.	B	\MIGR_TRIP_SAILBOAT	1	1
276.	B	\MIGR_VIA_SWE	1	1
277.	B	\MIGR_VIA_UK	1	1
278.	L	\NAME_GR_CASE=	1	1
279.	L	\NAME_PHON_FIN_GR_CASE=	1	1
280.	L	\NAME_PHON_SP	1	1
281.	L	\PHRASE_MILDENG	1	1
282.	L	\PHRASE_PHON_MILDENG_GR_CASE+	1	1
283.	L	\PHRASE_PHON_MILDENG_QUOTE	1	1
284.	B	\SCH_ENG_TEACH	1	1
285.	B	\SCH_ENG_TEACH_NONE	1	1
286.	L	\SEARCH_WORD_ENG	1	1
287.	S	\SIGNL_OTHERP	1	1
288.	L	\SPELL_FIN	1	1
289.	L	\SYNTAX_ENG	1	1
290.	B	\TRIP_PLANE_PAY	1	1
291.	L	\WORD_CALQUE_QUOTE	1	1
292.	L	\WORD_PHON_ENG_GR_NO=	1	1
293.	L	\WORD_VFORM=	1	1

294.	B	\WORK_FINN_NO	1	1
295.	B	\WORK_FIRSTJOB_START	1	1