

**Maintaining Children's Finnish Language Skills  
in an English Language Setting**

**A Study of Scottish-Finnish Families Living in Scotland**

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Tutkielmassa käsitellään kaksikielistä lastenkasvatusta ja siinä käytettäviä kasvatustavoitustietoja, erityisesti ns. *OPOL*-strategiaa, eli yksi henkilö – yksi kieli -strategiaa (*one person – one language*). Tarkoituksena oli selvittää, millä tavoin kaksikielisen perheen vanhemmat voivat tukea vähemmistökielen oppimista sellaisessa ympäristössä, jossa kielen oppimista ei tueta kodin ulkopuolella.

Tutkielman alussa määrittelen keskeiset termit. Useita aiheeseen liittyviä termejä määritellään yleiskielessä eri tavoin jo termistä *kaksikielisyys* lähtien, joten termien rajaaminen tämän työn tarkoituksen mukaan oli tarpeen. Määrittelen myös tekstissä esiintyvät kaksikielisuuden eri tyypit ja taustat, kuten myös eri strategiat, joita kaksikielisessä kasvatuksessa voidaan käyttää. Tämän jälkeen esittelen aikaisempia kaksikielisyystutkimuksia sekä käsittelen *OPOL*-strategiaan liittyviä käytännön ongelmia, sekä näiden ongelmien mahdollisia ratkaisuja. Lopuksi käsittelen tutkimuksen empiiristä osiota, joka koostui sähköisestä kyselylomakkeesta sekä haastatteluista.

Tutkimuksen kohderyhmä koostui Skotlannissa asuvista skotlantilais-suomalaisista perheistä, jotka pyrkivät kasvattamaan lapsistaan kaksikielisiä. Tutkimus tehtiin kahdessa osassa: ensimmäisen osan kyselylomakkeeseen vastasi 17 eri puolilla Skotlantia asuvaa suomenkielistä vanhempaa, ja toisessa osassa haastateltiin 10:tä Edinburghin ja Glasgow'n alueilla asuvaa kaksikielistä (suomi-englanti) perhettä. Molemmissa osioissa keskityttiin siihen, millä tavoin perheet tukevat lasten suomen kielen taitoa ja miten suomenkielistä syötettä yritetään lisätä.

Tutkimuksen tuloksista käy ilmi, että Skotlannissa asuvat suomenkieliset vanhemmat ovat hyvin motivoituneita tukemaan lastensa kielellistä kehitystä eri tavoin, mm. lukemalla kirjoja, katsomalla elokuvia ja käymällä Suomi-koulussa. Suurin osa perheistä myös käy Suomessa säännöllisesti, mikä näyttäisikin olevan yksi keskeisimmistä kaksikielisyttä tukevista tekijöistä. Eri perheiden lapset olivat saavuttaneet eri tasoja suomen kielessä, mikä viittaa siihen, ettei lapsen kielitaito ole seurausta ainoastaan *OPOL*-strategian tarkasta seuraamisesta, vaan siihen vaikuttavat myös monet muut tekijät.

Asiasanat: kaksikielisyys, kielen omaksuminen, kielikasvatus, ulkosuomalaiset

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## **1. Introduction**

Finland, with its population of 5.4 million, is by no means a large country. In addition, however, there are over a million Finns – as viewed by nationality, language, or cultural background – currently living outside the Finnish borders. Like all nationalities, expatriate Finns participate in their new culture in different ways: some choose to live by Finnish traditions, socialise with other Finns in their area, and speak Finnish to their children; others prefer to assimilate as much as possible into their new country; and some find a solution in between the two cultures.

For the Finns choosing to speak their native language to their children, there are many challenges ahead. The most common situation is that of one Finnish parent, often the mother, living in her partner's home country, and being the only continuous source of Finnish for her children. These kinds of parents will need to put a great deal thought and effort into the linguistic upbringing of their children if they wish them to achieve some level of bilingualism and fluency in the minority language, as their children receive fewer of the types of linguistic input than children living in Finland. Which tools are available to minority language parents of bilingual children if they wish to increase linguistic input and facilitate the process of language acquisition that their children go through? What are the challenges specific to minority language parents in a setting where there is no support for the minority language from the living environment and surrounding society?

The purpose of this thesis is to attempt to find some answers to the question of how parents support the acquisition of a minority language in a majority language environment with little or no external support. This will be achieved by a two-part study, consisting of a questionnaire and a set of interviews. The focus group chosen for this study was that of Finnish migrants living in Scotland, i.e. families where one parent is Finnish and the other one is British, and who have at least one child. A further requirement was that the children should be old enough to be able to produce at least some speech, and an important criterion was that the children should have

spent the majority of their lives in Scotland, even though no formal limit for time spent in Finland or other countries was determined.

Many researchers have debated the various advantages and possible disadvantages of raising children bilingually, including how being introduced to two languages at a very early age affects intelligence, but the findings of previous research have been inconclusive in this matter. This aspect of bilingualism will not be discussed here, however, as it falls beyond the scope of the present work.

The first part of the thesis focuses on explaining the concept of bilingualism, and setting out the definitions for the terms that are central to the present work. This will be followed by an overview of some of the central research that has been carried out in the field of bilingual child rearing. Some of the most important researchers in the field will be presented, and their findings will be examined. Next, we will examine some previous research with a focus on the *one parent – one language* strategy, as this approach is central to the topic at hand. Some criticism and issues related to this strategy will be discussed, and some solutions will also be suggested. In chapter five the study itself will be presented. First, the method will be examined, and the various stages of preparing the questionnaire and the interview will be presented. Next, the results of the questionnaire and then the interviews will be analysed and discussed. Finally, the findings of this study will be examined in the light of previous research into the field.

As neither the chosen focus group nor the sample is a large one, this study is not intended to provide an exhaustive analysis of the linguistic situation of Scottish-Finnish families. Instead, the findings should be taken as a general overview of methods used by families experiencing problems when attempting to raise children bilingually, and of the various possibilities that are available to them. It is to be hoped that this study could also provide some support for other families attempting to raise bilingual children, no matter where they live, as many of the issues that are discussed here are relevant to any bilingual family trying to support the acquisition of a minority language in a majority language setting with little external support.

## 2. Central concepts and terms

Before proceeding further, it is important to define some of the concepts and terms that are central to the field of bilingualism. In this chapter, we will look at some of the terms used in this thesis, and how they are defined for the purposes of the present work. Bilingualism and its subtypes will be discussed first, followed by common language strategies. Finally, a few other terms relevant to this thesis are introduced.

### 2.1 Bilingualism and its subtypes

The term ‘bilingualism’ has been defined in different ways by different scholars. In its broadest sense, bilingualism can be seen as including everyone with knowledge of a second language, whether they are fluent in it or not. Saunders supports this view by offering the following definition:

Bilinguals can be ranged along a continuum from the rare equilingual who is indistinguishable from a native speaker in both languages at one end to the person who has just begun to acquire a second language at the other end. They are all bilinguals, but possessing different *degrees* of bilingualism. (1988: 8)

Others, however, are not as inclusive in their definitions. Bloomfield (1933, cited in Saunders, 1988: 7) acknowledges only those who have “native-like control of two languages” as being bilingual, while Thiéry “calls a ‘true’ bilingual someone who would at all times be taken for a native by all native speakers of both languages concerned” (1976, cited in Saunders, 1988: 7). In this thesis, the focus of the definition of the term ‘bilingualism’ lies less on the level of the languages, and more on the circumstances in which these languages were acquired. Therefore, when the term is used in the present work, it will refer to anyone who is or was raised in a bilingual environment, and achieved either *simultaneous bilingualism* during infancy or *successive bilingualism* during early childhood. As the focus lies on the time of acquisition and not the level, the term ‘bilingual’ can therefore cover *passive* bilinguals as well as *active* and *absolute* bilinguals.

In his study, Saunders (1988: 13) cites Haugen (1956: 72), who refers to “*infant, child, adolescent* and *adult* bilingualism.” Of these, the first two are useful for the

present study. Infant bilingualism, or simultaneous bilingualism, occurs when a child is exposed to two languages from birth (Arnberg, 1981b: 9). Infant bilingualism has also been called “first language bilingualism” and “native acquisition of two languages” (Saunders, 1988: 34). McLaughlin (1978: 99, cited in Saunders, 1988: 34) suggests the age of three years as the “cut-off point” between infant and child bilingualism. Child bilingualism, or successive bilingualism, may occur either within the family, when a second language is introduced after the age of three, or outside it, when the home language of the family is different from that which is spoken in the surrounding community and the child is exposed to the second language, for example, in nursery school. This type of bilingualism may also occur in a completely monolingual environment if the parents choose to have their child enter a foreign-language nursery school. In the cases of both infant and childhood bilingualism there is the potential for a high level of bilingualism to be reached by the child – other factors may then determine which level will actually be achieved. Nevertheless, one can be fairly certain that a child acquiring two languages either from birth or in early childhood will reach a native, or at least native-like, level of pronunciation, whereas those who learn languages later, that is, adolescent or adult bilinguals, often maintain a non-native accent that is difficult to change (Saunders, 1988: 13).

The level of bilingualism can be seen as a scale, going from *passive*, through *active*, and finally to *absolute* bilingualism (Arnberg 1981a: 23–31). In her study, Arnberg suggests that parents should consider the linguistic circumstances in which they will be raising their child, and which levels of bilingualism it is possible and desirable to achieve. Passive bilingualism is defined by Arnberg as a level where “[t]he child comprehends the second language although he may not be able to speak it.” Active bilingualism has been achieved when “[t]he child, in addition to comprehending the second language, is also expected to be somewhat proficient in its production,” whereas absolute bilinguals – called *equilinguals* by Saunders (1988: 7) – should possess “native-like, or near native-like, proficiency in both languages.”

Although frequently used when discussing different levels of bilingualism, the term “balanced bilingualism” has two conflicting definitions. Saunders (1988: 9) states that “[w]hilst some writers ... use it as a synonym for equilingual, most researchers



use ‘balanced bilingualism’ in a different sense which does not imply perfect mastery of both languages.” Kornakov agrees, stating that “it is unrealistic to suggest that all bilingual speakers achieve complete, 100% mastery or fluency of two languages” (2001: 7).

## ***2.2 Language strategies***

When hoping to raise bilingual children, parents can employ a number of different linguistic strategies. These strategies are divided according to the linguistic setting of the family, and can also be adapted to the specific situation of the family – it can be assumed that the families who follow any one strategy to the letter are few. The two main strategies that are discussed in literature on bilingual child rearing are the *one person – one language* (OPOL) strategy and the *one environment – one language* strategy.

OPOL, which will be the main focus of this thesis, is a method that is widely used by mixed-language families in their child rearing. It consists of each parent speaking their own language, and that language alone, to their children. Mixing is strongly discouraged, although, as will be discussed in a later chapter, strict compliance to this rule may be difficult, for example when the parents speak to each other, when the family moves beyond the setting of the home, or when monolinguals are present. For this reason, the OPOL approach has been seen as being the most useful in the child’s early years; later on, if needed, some mixing of the languages can be introduced, preferably combined with an explanation to the child for why the parent has to switch languages temporarily in a particular situation.

The *one environment – one language* approach is similar to OPOL in that it has a clear separation of the languages, in this case between the language of the home and the language of the surrounding environment. This approach is often used either when both parents speak the same language, which is different from the majority language of the area they live in, or if a mixed-language couple makes the decision to only use the minority language in the home, in order to provide more input and support. This approach leads to consecutive bilingualism, as the children will only

become bilingual once they come into contact with the community outside the home, for instance when they start nursery school.

### **2.3 Other terms**

In this thesis, the terms *majority language* and *minority language* will mainly be used to describe the status that each language has in the society where the family lives. In a mixed-language family, one of the parents usually speaks the majority language, that is, the one commonly spoken in the community, whereas the other parent often is an immigrant, and therefore his or her language has a minority status in that society. Therefore the terms are usually in no relation to the status of each language within the family; the dominant family language may well be the minority language in the society where they live, depending on the background and linguistic choices of the parents.

As the Finnish Schools of Edinburgh and Glasgow were central in organising the study that was carried out for this thesis, it is also worth explaining what this kind of school is. Finnish Schools have existed all over the world for several decades; the first ones were founded in Canada in the 1960s (Suomi-koulujen tuki ry). The aim of these schools, which generally meet for two hours a week, two to four times a month, is to support parents of bilingual families in their attempts to teach their children Finnish, or Finnish families living abroad to maintain their children's level of Finnish. The schools receive funding from the Finnish state; this was established by the Ministry of Education in 1976. Finnish Schools currently exist in 36 different countries, with a total of approximately 3600 children studying in them. Some of the schools also have groups for toddlers and adult learners of Finnish. The description that can be found on the website of Glasgow Finnish School states the following:

There are 17 Finnish Schools across Britain at present. Glasgow Finnish School was established in 2005. The school aims to enhance and support the development of Finnish language skills and Finnish identity of children and young people from British-Finnish families, as well as increase their knowledge of Finnish culture and history. In many areas, like in Glasgow, the Finnish schools are the heart of the local Finnish network. All Finns, their families and friends are welcome to the school, to meet up with friends, to have a cup of coffee and to borrow books from our library. We have also a small kiosk that sells Finnish sweets and sometimes other products.  
(Glasgow Finnish School, 2012)

### 3. Earlier research

This chapter will introduce some of the most prominent research into bilingualism and the use of the OPOL approach. Some of the earliest research into this field was carried out in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century by French linguist Maurice Grammont (1902), whose work was then continued in case studies published by Jules Ronjat (1913) and Werner Leopold (1939–49). We will first look at these three early studies, and then move on to examine later research that was carried out during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century and the early 21<sup>st</sup> century, mostly in the form of case studies.

#### *3.1 Studies from the early 20<sup>th</sup> century*

As mentioned above, the first researchers to write about the use of OPOL as a strategy for raising bilingual children were Grammont, Ronjat and Leopold. Of these three, it was Grammont (1902, as cited in Barron-Hauwaert, 2004: 1) who originally introduced the approach of one person – one language:

Grammont theorised that by strictly separating the two languages from the beginning the child would subsequently learn both languages easily without too much confusion or mixing of languages. By associating each language with a specific person the chances of mixing languages are significantly reduced. (*ibid.*)

Grammont then introduced the concept of OPOL to his colleague Ronjat, a French linguist, when the latter asked the former for advice on bilingual child rearing, to be used in the upbringing of his own son – Ronjat’s wife was German, and the family lived in Paris. Ronjat then proceeded to study the linguistic progress of his son Louis, and published the results of a case study in 1913. In his study, Ronjat claimed that “the continual use at home of two languages from birth [was] a major factor in achieving bilingualism” (1913, cited in Barron-Hauwaert, 2004: 2). While speaking French, i.e. his first language, to his son, Ronjat also decided to speak German to his wife in order to give the minority language further support, thus following the principle, later recommended by other researchers such as Arnberg, that the parents, if possible, should use the minority language when speaking to each other. This would provide the child with an additional channel of input for that language. “Ronjat (1913: 106) was convinced that this one-person–one-language method not

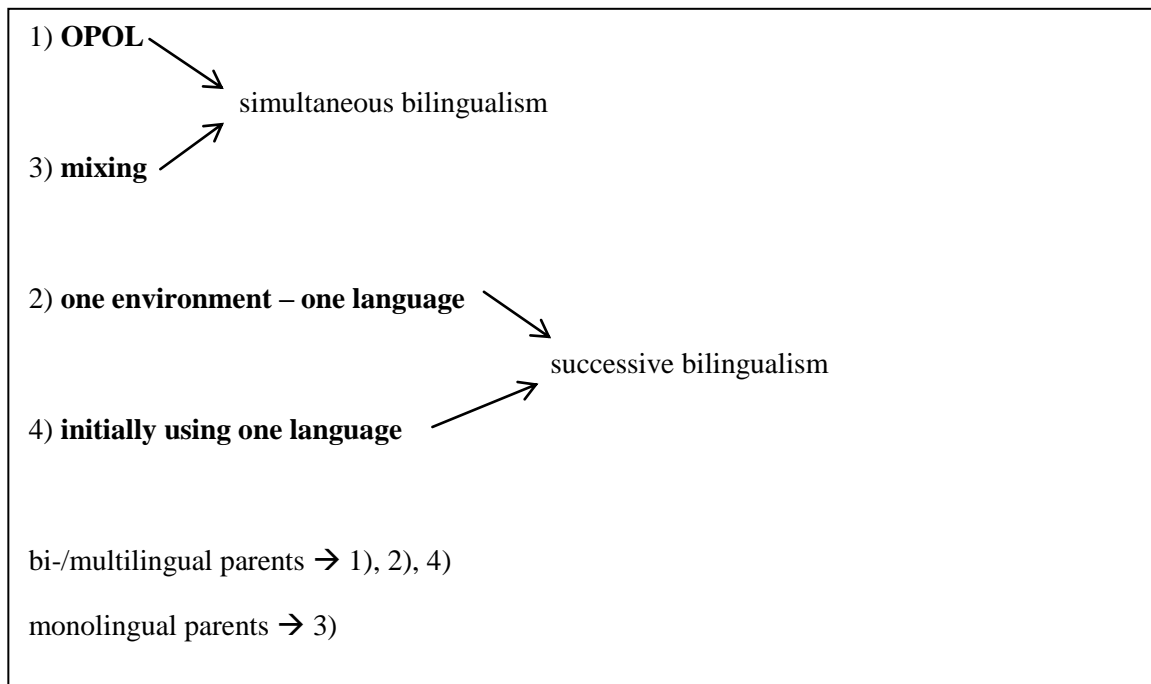
only offered the surest guarantee of success but also required the least mental exertion on the part of the child” (Saunders, 1988: 43). The study, which tracks the linguistic development of Ronjat’s son until the age of five, showed “impressive” progress on the part of the child, which led to the boy being “able to express himself fluently and appropriately in either language” (*ibid.*).

Another linguist who closely studied the linguistic development of his own children was Werner Leopold, a German-born linguist living in the United States, who also used the OPOL approach. Between 1939 and 1949 he published his four-volume study based on the research that he had carried out on his two English-German bilingual daughters Hildegard and Karla. The findings of Leopold showed great variation in the levels of the two languages of his daughters at different times. Hildegard had quite a high level of fluency in German as a child, even though English was her dominant language. However, during a period of several months that the family spent in Germany, her level of English declined noticeably, to the extent of her having trouble communicating in that language. When the family returned to the United States, her English was quickly restored to its previous level. The situation of Leopold’s younger daughter Karla, however, was quite different from that of her sister. As a child, she would speak mostly English, adding some German words when addressing her father, her German being “restricted to such fragments, words and brief sentences” (Leopold, 1949, as cited in Saunders, 1988: 45). Later, however, this passive bilingualism developed into active bilingualism, as Karla, at the age of 19, visited Germany along with her parents, and “spoke German fluently and with surprising correctness” (*ibid.*). Leopold’s experiences with his two daughters show that even though OPOL is used, it does not always guarantee the desired result, and that siblings do not always achieve the same level of fluency in the two languages. Nevertheless, his study also shows that a passive bilingual, under the right circumstances, may well develop into an active bilingual later on, even though he or she might not have spoken the language to a great extent as a child.

### ***3.2 Studies from the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> century***

In this context, the most notable of the studies published in the late 20<sup>th</sup> and early 21<sup>st</sup> century is the research carried out by Lenore Arnberg on Swedish-English bilingual children, and that of George Saunders, who wrote about the “artificial bilingualism” that was the setting in his own family. In addition, the work of Susanne Döpke, Suzanne Romaine, Elizabeth Lanza and Colin Baker will be discussed.

American linguist Lenore Arnberg has carried out several case studies on Swedish-English bilingual children living in Sweden, focusing particularly on the strategies used by their parents. In her 1987 study, Arnberg lists four strategies as being the most commonly used in families hoping to raise bilingual children: 1) OPOL, 2) one environment – one language, 3) mixing languages, and 4) initially using one language. The use of OPOL (1) and a strategy of mixing the languages (3) result in simultaneous bilingualism, whereas the one environment – one language approach (2) and the method of initially using one language (4) are two very similar strategies which both result in successive bilingualism; the difference lies in the linguistic setup of the family. In the case of one the environment – one language approach, both parents speak the same language, which is different to that spoken in their community, while families using only one initial language with the child are multilingual, but the parents choose to introduce the second language only once the first language is strong enough. The relationships between the various strategies and the outcome they provide are shown in Figure 1.



**Figure 1.** Common strategies for bilingual child rearing

When discussing OPOL, Arnberg raises the question of which language should be used between the parents. It is her view that, if possible, the parents should use the minority language when speaking to each other, as this strategy would be the most beneficial to the linguistic development of the child. “In this way the child’s exposure to the minority language is increased... In addition, the status of the language is raised to that of ‘family language’, and this may increase the child’s motivation to use it” (1987: 87). This approach was previously seen to be successfully employed by Ronjat.

Yet another case study that was carried out in the researcher’s own family was done by Australian linguist George Saunders. What distinguishes the research of Saunders from the studies discussed above is that the bilingual situation in his family can be seen as “artificial”. Both Saunders and his wife grew up in monolingual English-speaking families in Australia, and they both studied German at high school and university. They achieved a high level of fluency in German, both through their studies of the language and through spending several months in Germany while Saunders wrote his doctoral dissertation in German linguistics, but neither of them are native speakers of German. As can be seen in Saunders’s study (1988), the

couple's decision to speak a language to their children that was native to neither of the parents met with some criticism, especially from native speakers of German. It was felt that someone who had learnt the language through university studies, no matter how fluent they were, could not provide adequate input for enabling their children to reach the linguistic level of native German children of the same age. Saunders counters these arguments by comparing his family's situation to the many Jewish families who began speaking Hebrew to their children in order to develop it from a language only used in a religious context to a native language, even though the parents themselves had a different mother tongue. This led to a revival of Hebrew, and since then the language has gained several million native speakers (1988: 40). Saunders, as many others, also followed the OPOL approach with good results, despite the unusual linguistic situation of his family, and the fact that they lived in an entirely English-speaking environment with very little support for the minority language outside the home. Despite these difficulties, the attempts of the parents were successful, as all the Saunders children reached fluency in both their languages (1988: 41).

Another study on English-German bilingual families in Australia was carried out by Susanne Döpke (1992). The families featured in her study had one parent who spoke German to the children while the other spoke English, but otherwise their linguistic situations differed; some of the German speaking parents were native Germans, others were second-generation German immigrants, and one father was a non-native speaker of German. According to Döpke, the two key factors in achieving bilingualism in children is the strict adherence to OPOL in the language usage of the parents, and the insistence that the children do the same. Her studies also showed the importance of parental involvement, such as acquiring materials that can support the language acquisition of their child, for example minority language books and films, or organising visits to the minority-language country.

An opposing view was presented by Suzanne Romaine in her 1989 study, where she states that although some success has been reported by previous researchers such as Ronjat, most children brought up using the OPOL strategy will become passive bilinguals. In her view, the success attributed to the consistent use of OPOL may be

more closely related to the fact that many of the parents in these studies were educated linguists, and that the same results might not necessarily be achieved in a different family setting. Romaine is not alone in this view, as will be seen in the next chapter, which will examine some of the criticism against the OPOL approach, among other issues.

A different approach to bilingual child rearing was taken by Elizabeth Lanza, who carried out studies on English-Norwegian bilingual children living in Norway, focusing on code-switching, or language mixing. Although code-switching is a common strategy used by bilinguals when communicating with other bilinguals, many parents do not want their children to mix their languages, since they feel this may lead to them not being able to differentiate between their two languages. In her study (1997, cited in Barron-Hauwaert, 2004: 14), Lanza listed five different strategies that parents can use when faced with code-switching by their children. These strategies are: 1) Minimal Grasp, 2) Expressed Guess, 3) Adult Repetition, 4) Move-on Strategy, and 5) Code-Switching, and they can be seen as a continuum from complete lack of understanding – real or pretended – (1) to helping the child in finding the right expression (2 and 3), continuing the conversation without paying attention to the switch (4), and joining the child in the switch (5). Parents can adjust their response to their child's code-switching as the child grows up, depending on what her/his language development requires at the time. These strategies are useful in solving another type of problem, often encountered by parents of bilingual children, which will be discussed in a later chapter, namely, that of a child refusing to speak the minority language.

The final work discussed here is that of Colin Baker, who has published several studies on bilingualism, particularly on the linguistic situation in Wales, where he lives with his family. He has also published a comprehensive guide (Baker, 2000) for those attempting to raise bilingual children, in which he answers some common questions posed by parents of mixed-language families. Among other topics, Baker discusses some of the strategies that are available to parents in various situations. He particularly recommends the OPOL strategy (2000: 44–47), explaining that “clear language boundaries” and “consistent language separation” help the children



organise the different languages in their minds, thus understanding when to speak which language and to whom.

#### **4. The *one person – one language* approach**

This chapter examines the use of OPOL in practice. First, we consider some of the criticism that has been raised against the OPOL approach and then discuss some of the linguistic strategies that can provide support to OPOL in the families where it is used. A number of problems that may be encountered by the parents using OPOL will also be discussed, and some possible solutions for these problems will be suggested.

##### **4.1 *Criticism toward OPOL***

Although most researchers seem to favour OPOL as a strategy for achieving bilingualism, there are also those who are critical towards the “exclusive recommendation of this strategy” or who consider that this approach has no particular benefits compared to other strategies. Arnberg (1981a: 16) cites some researchers who do not consider mixing languages to have any negative effect on vocabulary development, and others who claim that the success of OPOL can mainly be attributed to the socio-economic background of the families featured in such studies.

As Schmidt-Mackey (1971) states, anyone who has ever observed bilingual families knows that a strategy of alternation ... does not always lead to disaster. Doyle, Champagne, and Segalowitz ... also found an association between a one person: one language strategy and higher maternal education in their study. Thus, the success attributed to this strategy in past studies may, in part, be due to the educational background of the parents. (*ibid.*)

Barron-Hauwaert also discusses some of the criticism against OPOL; for example, she cites Romaine, who “criticised [OPOL] for being elitist” and claimed that it is only suited for “higher socio-economic class families speaking prestigious languages” (Barron-Hauwaert, 2004: 120) such as English, German and French.

Barron-Hauwaert agrees that such families certainly could afford to invest more resources into the linguistic development of their children in the form of au pairs, teaching materials and visits to the minority language country.

#### ***4.2 Supporting linguistic strategies***

As has been shown above, a separation of the languages and a strict adherence to OPOL is seen to help children develop awareness of the two languages, and understand to whom they should speak each language. The separation of the languages can indeed be very helpful in the linguistic development of the child, but in order to achieve active bilingualism, it is not enough to simply rely on the language input achieved from everyday conversation. In order to provide a strong enough basis for the child's linguistic development and to achieve a functional level of language, in which the child can express herself in situations beyond that of familiar conversation, she has to receive language input of different varieties and from several different sources. The kind of input that the parents need to provide depends largely on the situation; a mixed-language family in a bilingual environment may receive all the support they need for their bilingual strategy from the community, whereas a family with a minority language, who receive little or no support from the community in which they live, will have to employ a completely different set of strategies to ensure a sufficient amount and quality of linguistic input for each language. This subject was already touched upon above in the description of the research of Döpke, who suggested that different types of minority language books and films be used in the attempt to provide sufficiently varied input, as well as visiting the minority language country whenever possible. However, no matter how much linguistic support or input the parents are able to provide, no strategy can guarantee that no problems arise in the bilingual upbringing of the child. Some of the most common problems will be discussed in the following section.

### ***4.3 Problems and suggested solutions***

Arnberg (1987: 87–89) lists some problems that may arise in families using the OPOL approach, and possible solutions for overcoming them. According to Arnberg, three of the most common problems that parents following OPOL may encounter are: 1) issues arising from using the OPOL approach in cases where only one of the parents is bilingual; 2) the difficulty in strictly separating the languages at all times; and 3) situations where the child refuses to speak the minority language, answering the minority language parent in the “wrong” language. In what follows, we consider these three types of problems and discuss some possible solutions to them as proposed by Arnberg and others.

One decision to be made in bilingual families concerns the language spoken between the parents. This may become a problem when the parents have only one language in common, as opposed to couples who both speak each other’s language in addition to their own. This is common in families where one parent speaks only the majority language, and the other parent is bilingual in the minority and majority language. In this case, one parent may feel excluded, since he or she is unable to understand the conversations between the child and the other parent. On the other hand, discomfort may be felt by the bilingual parent, who prefers to speak the majority language when the other parent is present, thus making sure that everyone can understand what is being said. This may reduce the child’s input of the minority language to situations where he or she is alone with the minority language parent, which is likely to impair the child’s linguistic development.

Another reason why parents should carefully consider which language they speak to each other is presented by Skutnabb-Kangas (1981: 27–28). She cites the Finnish census of 1975, which showed that in bilingual families where the father was the Swedish-speaker, i.e. the one who spoke the minority language, 66 per cent of children had a higher level of Finnish than Swedish, while the corresponding percentage for families with Swedish-speaking mothers was 51. While these statistics are old, they are interesting as they show a rise of six per cent for families with Swedish-speaking fathers and a fall of six per cent for families with Swedish-speaking mothers since the previous census. Skutnabb-Kangas speculates that since

the mother usually spends more time with the children than the father does, the Swedish spoken by the mother has a stronger impact on the linguistic development of the children than if it were spoken by the father. Skutnabb-Kangas also points out that it is statistically more common for Swedish-speaking men to marry Finnish-speaking women than the other way around, and as the majority language Finnish is often the common language of the parents, there is a great risk that the children will not receive sufficient input in the minority language to achieve any level of fluency in Swedish.

One possible solution offered by Arnberg (1987: 87–88) would be for the majority language parent to learn the minority language “at least to the extent that he/she is able to understand this language”. If this is not possible, however, the majority language parent can also support the minority language with their attitude towards that language and its use: “if the majority language parent maintains an interested and supportive attitude towards his/her partner speaking the minority language to the child, this may be a highly important factor in raising the child bilingually” (*ibid.*).

The second problem mentioned by Arnberg is typical of most bilingual families, namely the difficulty in adhering to the rule of each parent speaking only their own language to their children. OPOL may be easy to follow when only the family is present since they have agreed to comply with it, but at the arrival of extended family members, friends of the children, and other monolingual visitors, the distinction between the languages may become less clear. Parents may easily slip into using the language of the monolingual visitors with their children to ease communication between all parties, or to avoid embarrassing their children in front of their friends.

In situations where monolinguals are present, Saunders (1988: 107) recommends maintaining the consistent use of each parent’s own language. In his own family, he would always speak German to his children even when monolingual English speakers were present, sometimes requesting his children to provide the monolinguals with an explanation in English or adding one himself, so as to make sure everyone present was included in the conversation. “The only other solution,” he explains, “would be for the children and I to speak English to each other on such

occasions... However this would mean a fairly drastic reduction in the children's contact with German..." Others are not as opposed to switching languages to facilitate communication with monolinguals. Ramjoue suggests that it is not "absolutely necessary to be consistent at all times ... provided that the child can identify the reason for the parent having switched to the other language" (1980, cited in Arnberg, 1987: 88–89).

The third problem discussed by Arnberg, that of a child refusing to speak the minority language, is also common, and one that often causes parents to abandon their attempts at raising their child bilingually since there seems to be little or no progress despite their efforts. According to Arnberg, this problem often occurs when the minority-language parent has not remained consistent in their use of the OPOL strategy – the child's realisation that the parent can speak the majority language as well as the minority one may reduce the motivation to speak that language. Even in cases where a strict OPOL strategy has been followed the child may realise that the parent understands when he or she is being spoken to in the majority language. Arnberg gives an example:

[A] young child may say something like "thirsty" in the majority language, to which the parent naturally responds by getting the child something to drink. This may, however, have the same effect, in the child's eyes, as if the parent had actually used the majority language. (1987: 89)

When the child speaks only or mainly in the majority language to the minority language parent, the same strategies can be used as the ones recommended by Lanza for parents faced with code-switching, as seen above. Both Arnberg (*ibid.*) and Saunders (1988: 123–125) mention that the strategy of pretending not to understand the "wrong" language is widely used in such situations. Both admit that this strategy is seen by some parents as cruel, but Saunders emphasises that when not used excessively or insensitively, this strategy can prove to be very efficient in maintaining a balance in the child's language use.

When children for some reason show reluctance to speak the language of their parent(s) ... it would seem that the problem can be successfully overcome provided the parents are persistent, yet show understanding and good humour... It is important that the language does not assume any negative connotations for the children... Instead, the children should be given every encouragement to speak the language... (Saunders, 1988: 126)

As for this strategy being cruel, Saunders points out that most parents regulate their children's language usage to some extent, for example "a parent may well pretend not to understand a child who says 'Give me a drink!', responding with 'I beg your pardon?', indicating that a request such as 'Could I have a drink, please?' would be preferred" (1988: 125). It should also be remembered that whether or not this strategy is successful in changing the linguistic patterns of the child, the parents should not abandon their attempts at raising their child bilingually. As was seen above in the case of Karla Leopold, it is entirely possible that a child who grew up a passive bilingual may later activate the minority language and be able to speak it quite fluently. Therefore, the efforts made by the parents are rarely in vain.

It should also be noted that problems concerning the refusal to speak the minority language are not simply related to the fact that the child has realised that her minority-language parent can understand the majority language. The child will inevitably realise this at some stage, as it is usually impossible for a minority-language parent to function solely in his or her own language in a majority language environment. Whether or not the child will refuse to use the minority language after realising this depends on various factors, but generally it can be assumed that families who have managed to provide a powerful motivator for the child to speak the minority language will have fewer problems in this regard than those who have not.

## **5. Bilingual child-rearing in Scottish-Finnish bilingual families living in Scotland**

In this chapter, the study that was carried out in Scottish-Finnish families living in Scotland will be presented. The purpose of the study was to determine how the parents of mixed-language families are able to support the acquisition of the minority language, i.e. Finnish, in an English-language setting.

The focus group chosen for this study comprises Scottish-Finnish families living in Scotland who have at least one child. Further requirements were that the children should be old enough to be able to produce at least some speech, and that they should have spent the majority of their lives in Scotland, even though no formal limit for time spent in Finland or other countries was determined. The focus on the region around Edinburgh and Glasgow was chosen because of existing contacts to these areas, and because there is a Finnish School in the two cities.

Since the possible informants, i.e. Scottish-Finnish families who meet the requirements of the study, are not very numerous in Scotland, it was felt that it would be beneficial to try to reach as many of them as possible. As resources were limited, however, a decision was made to carry out the study in two separate parts, using two different methods: a questionnaire, addressed to a larger sample of families, and interviews with a smaller number of participants. As both methods have their advantages and disadvantages, it was felt that a combination of both would provide most information. The questionnaire would provide a larger sample of a more general nature, while the interviews would allow the researcher to obtain a more in-depth view of the situation in a smaller number of families, which would make it easier to highlight certain tendencies and common issues. Thus a larger sample could be included than if only one of the two methods had been chosen, and the results would, in fact, support one another. The research was, therefore, carried out in two parts, where an online questionnaire was followed by semi-structured interviews. Ten interviewees were chosen from among those who had filled in the questionnaire and who had expressed an interest in participating in the interviews.

A questionnaire was chosen as the first method because of its wide scope, i.e. its potential to reach a theoretically unlimited number of respondents. Thus, it could be assumed that the replies would provide a good overview of the linguistic circumstances of Scottish-Finnish families living in Scotland. However, the number of people that received the invitation to fill in the questionnaire is not known, and cannot easily be estimated, as the invitation was circulated through a number of different channels. Some of the disadvantages connected to this method of research had to do with the fact that the researcher was not in direct contact with the respondents, and could therefore not assist them in cases where assistance might have been needed. The two types of questions – open and closed ones – also caused their own difficulties; closed questions, while easier to analyse, may lead to less accuracy as the respondents must choose from the alternatives provided. The respondents may also be led unconsciously to reply in a certain way by the manner in which the alternatives are presented. Open questions, on the other hand, give more room for the voice of the respondent, but the answers are more difficult to analyse than those to closed questions, which can easily be converted into numerical form. Open questions also leave more room for misunderstanding and varying interpretations. These are, however, easier to detect than the possible misunderstandings relating to closed questions.

While the interviews provide a smaller sample and while the interviewees had to be chosen on a strictly geographical basis, more in-depth information was obtained through them than through the questionnaire. Misunderstandings are rare in interviews, as questions can be re-phrased by the interviewer if necessary, but at the same time, a face-to-face setting involves a greater risk of leading questions. The fact that most of the interviews were carried out in the participants' homes in the presence of their children may also have had an impact on the results, because there were interruptions by the children and other distractors present. However, the interviews offered the possibility to contact the participants afterwards for clarifications or checking of facts.

When examining the questionnaires and the interviews, one has to keep in mind that they only reflect the opinions and views of the participating parents. In studies like



this, there is always the risk that the responses reflect either what the parents would hope the situation to be, or what they believe the researcher wants to hear, rather than the actual situation.

### **5.1. Questionnaire on bilingualism**

The first part of the study was carried out in the form of an online questionnaire, which was aimed at the Finnish parent of Scottish- Finnish families living anywhere in Scotland. Due to the nature of the questionnaire no geographical limitations on participation were imposed at this point.

The preparation stage of this part of the study involved formulating the research question and the aims of the study. The 23 questions included in the questionnaire were organised into four categories, each with a specific theme, i.e. *Background*, *Family languages*, *Linguistic level of the children*, and *Bilingual child rearing*. The wording of the questions was considered carefully, and four test participants were asked to reply to them to find out potential problems, such as difficulties in understanding the questions or ambiguous wordings, as well as to provide an estimate for the length of time needed for filling in the questionnaire. The test group's comments were very valuable, as they clearly highlighted which sections of the questionnaire might be problematic for the participants, and these problems could therefore be resolved before the questionnaire was published. As the intended informants were the Finnish parents in the participating families, and since the main focus of the study was on the Finnish language, the questionnaire was drafted in Finnish. The questionnaire and an English translation of it is provided in Appendix I.

The internet link to the questionnaire was distributed via four principal channels: the mailing list of the Finnish School of Edinburgh, the mailing list of the Finnish School of Glasgow, and two Facebook groups called "Finns in Scotland" and "Finnish-Scottish Families". It was assumed that these channels of distribution would reach most Finns with children living in Scotland, since a large number of them have joined these Facebook groups in order to stay in touch with other expatriate Finns in Scotland. The mailing lists of the two Finnish Schools were also felt to be important

channels of communication; they would perhaps reach a smaller number of people than the Facebook groups, but the support shown by the Finnish Schools was expected to be beneficial and increase people's willingness to participate in the study. The final method of spreading information about the survey was word of mouth, as the message accompanying the link contained a request that the recipients forward the information to anyone they knew who might be a suitable participant, but who may not have been reached via the channels of distribution that were used. However, the effect that word of mouth may have had on the number of participants is impossible to determine. During the three weeks that the questionnaire was available it was filled in by 20 parents. Out of these 20, three did not meet the criteria for participation in that the language combination of the family was not English-Finnish, and therefore these three families will not be included in the analysis of the responses.

At the end of the survey, the participants who live in Edinburgh, Glasgow and the surrounding areas were asked to fill in their contact details if they wished to participate in the second phase of the study, i.e. the interviews. The questionnaire provided a good basis for interviews, as it supplied quite a broad overview of the English-Finnish bilingual families living in Scotland. It also gave some indication of how the participants experience bilingualism within their family. The findings, which will be discussed in detail below, provided some general guidelines for the second part of the study. For instance, it became clear that all the families participating in the study use the *one person – one language* approach, at least to some extent, and this could then be taken into account when drafting the interview questions. Some of the most common methods for increasing the amount of Finnish input also appeared clearly from the questionnaires.

Despite the use of a test group, one question in particular proved to be misunderstood by many participants, that is, question number 9, "Has the linguistic situation of the family changed notably since the children were born?" The question related to whether the strategy that had been chosen at the birth of the first child had changed since, if the status of either language had changed from majority to minority language within the family, or if other similar changes had occurred, but the wording

proved to be too ambiguous, as most parents replied that the family now spoke Finnish as well as English, whereas before they did not.

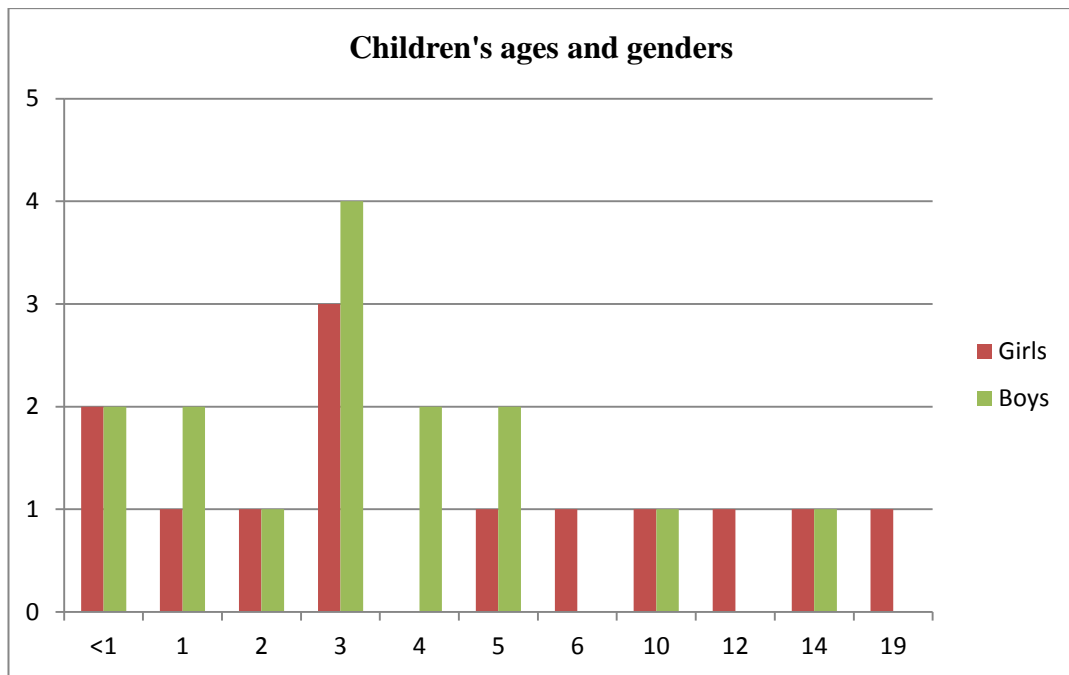
## **5.2. Questionnaire findings**

In order to facilitate the presentation of the questionnaire findings, which will be discussed in this section, the questions will be examined in the same order and grouping as in the questionnaire. For most questions, the number of responses is given according to the number of participants, and not according to the number of children, as the responses do not always reveal whether the parent was referring to all children, or only some. Only the main heading of each question is presented here; the full version of the questionnaire, including additional explanations and choices available for multiple choice questions, is found in Appendix I.

### **5.2.1. Background**

Questions 1–4 dealt with general information about the participants and their children. Question 1 concerned the gender of the participating parent, question 2 the ages and genders of the children, and question 3 the current place of residence of the family. In question 4, the parents were requested to indicate how long each child had lived in Scotland, and how long they had lived in Finland.

Out of the 17 participants, 16 were Finnish mothers; only one Finnish father participated (Question 1). A total of 28 children featured in the survey; 13 girls and 15 boys, aged between 2 months and 19 years, most of them falling into the age group of 3 to 5 years (Question 2). The age distribution of the children is shown in Figure 2.



**Figure 2.** Ages of the children by gender

14 of the families currently live in Scotland, 1 lives in Finland and 2 live elsewhere<sup>1</sup> (Question 3). The children of 15 participants (26 children) had lived only in Scotland, while 2 children from 2 different families had spent some years in Finland as well (Question 4).

### 5.2.2. Family languages

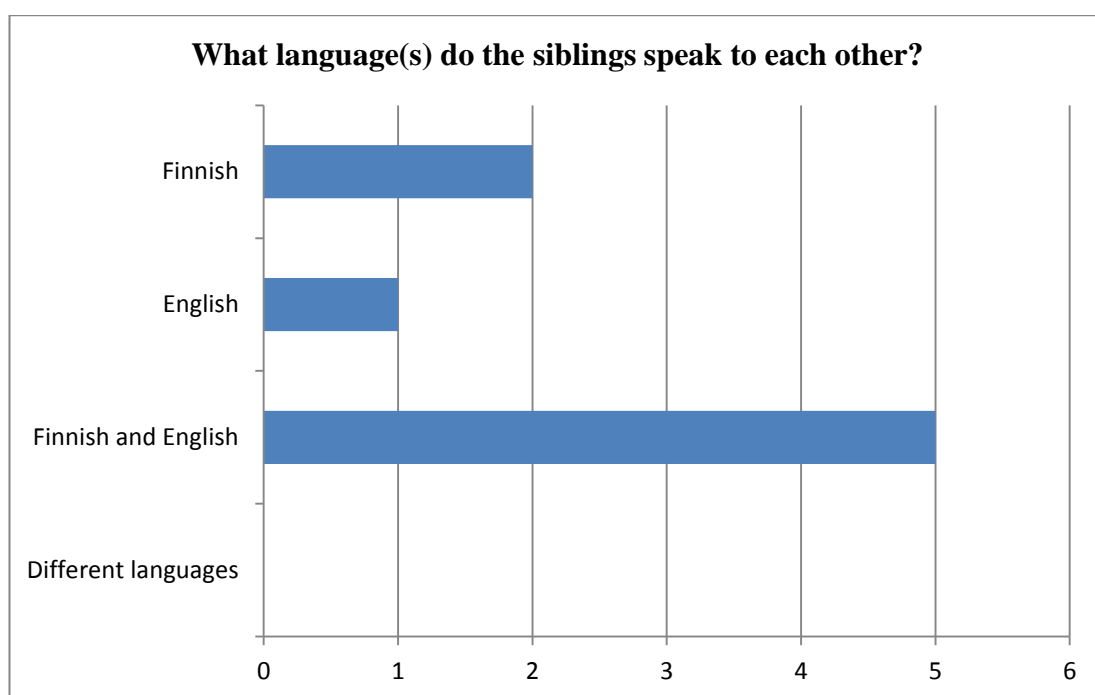
In questions 5–10, the participants were asked to describe the linguistic situation of the family. For questions 5–8 the parents were asked to choose the language or languages spoken by each parent, used between the parents, used when the whole family is together, and used between the siblings, respectively. Question 9 related to any changes that may have occurred in the linguistic situation of the family since the children were born, and for question 10 the participants could supply additional information that had not been discussed in the previous answers.

The participants were asked to indicate the linguistic situation of the family by choosing the alternative that best described them. For question 5, Finnish and/or

<sup>1</sup> The families living elsewhere had either moved away from Scotland so recently, or were otherwise so similar to the intended research group, that they could be included in the results of the study.

English could be chosen for each parent, and for questions 6–8 the options included Finnish, English, both languages or a different language used by each speaker. As could be expected when considering the answers to question 1, the results indicated that all 17 mothers speak English, and 16 of them speak Finnish. All 17 fathers were also shown to speak English, whereas Finnish is spoken by 4 of them (Question 5). All couples communicate with each other in English (Question 6), and when the entire family is included in the conversation, 7 families use only English, while 10 families use both English and Finnish (Question 7).

The language used between siblings is shown in Figure 3, which includes a sample of only 8 families, as 7 of the families had only one child, and in 2 of the families at least one of the siblings does not yet speak (Question 8).



**Figure 3.** Language spoken between siblings

In 10 families the linguistic situation of the family had changed to some extent since the children were born (Question 9)<sup>2</sup>. In 8 families, the English-speaking partner's level of Finnish had improved, often resulting in an increase in the use of Finnish words, greetings, etc. One mother reported that, as the father of her child did not

<sup>2</sup> See previous chapter for issues concerning question 9.

support her attempts to raise their son bilingually, and because he did not want Finnish to be spoken while he was present, the amount of Finnish used between her and her child gradually decreased, as she found it too demanding to always communicate simultaneously in both languages. She also believes that the lack of Finnish-speaking friends in Scotland was another factor that led to the use of English taking over in her family. Another family experienced a great shift in language use when the mother and daughter moved from Finland to Scotland when the daughter was two years old. This inevitably led to a great reduction in the amount of Finnish input that the child was receiving.

When the participants were asked for further comments on the topic (Question 10), it became clear that in at least two families, the children reply in English when their Finnish parent speaks to them in Finnish. One parent commented that the siblings always speak Finnish to each other during holidays in Finland, and sometimes continue doing so for a while after their return to Scotland, but that they then go back to alternating between the two languages. When they were younger, however, the children always spoke English to each other, so the family has experienced an increase in the amount of Finnish used.

One mother also commented on the great support she feels her husband's ability to speak Finnish has provided in raising the children bilingually, as this has enabled her to speak Finnish to the children without feeling the need to interpret for her husband. She feels this has reduced the burden that so many families seem to struggle with when trying to maintain two languages in the home.

### **5.2.3. Children's level of Finnish**

For questions 11–14, the participants were asked to describe the level that their children have reached in understanding, speaking, reading and writing Finnish, respectively. According to the replies, the children in 16 families understand Finnish, although the levels vary a great deal. One family had an infant whose level of understanding they could not assess yet (Question 11). One mother remarked that her 3-year-old twins seem to have reached quite different levels of Finnish in all areas.

The daughter had reached approximately the same level as her Finnish cousins of similar age, while the son neither speaks nor understands Finnish as well as his sister.

Furthermore, 7 parents replied that their children speak Finnish well, 5 said that their children can speak it to some extent, while the children in 2 families speak no Finnish (Question 12). In 3 families, the children were of an age where speech is not yet developed enough for its level to be assessed. Several parents commented on the effect that visits to Finland have on their children's speech, with a clearly noticeable improvement often occurring during these visits. One mother mentioned that an equally noticeable decline in the level is apparent when no trips have been made for some time. One parent mentioned that while his children do not speak Finnish, certain items are always referred to by the Finnish word, e.g. *keksi* ('biscuit').

All in all, 5 parents said that at least one of their children can read Finnish, although the level varies, and one parent said that they cannot (Question 13). The children of 11 participants are not yet able to read in either language. One mother said that her 19-year-old daughter is able to read some Finnish, e.g. magazines, but that her 14-year-old son does not read in Finnish at all. Another mother explained that the main problem in the case of her daughter was not the difficulty of learning to read in Finnish, but rather the cultural context, as some of the jokes and references that appear in Finnish youth literature are not always obvious to someone who has grown up in Scotland.

Not surprisingly, the responses to the question on writing matched those to the question on reading, i.e. that the children of 5 participants can write in Finnish, the children of one cannot, and the children of 11 participants have not yet learned to write (Question 14). Similarly to reading, the mother of the 19-year-old girl and the 14-year-old boy says that her daughter can write some Finnish, albeit "not very perfectly", while her son cannot write in Finnish at all. Another mother comments that most of the difficulties her daughter faces when writing Finnish are related to double consonants and the letters *Ä* and *Ö*.

#### 5.2.4. Bilingual child rearing

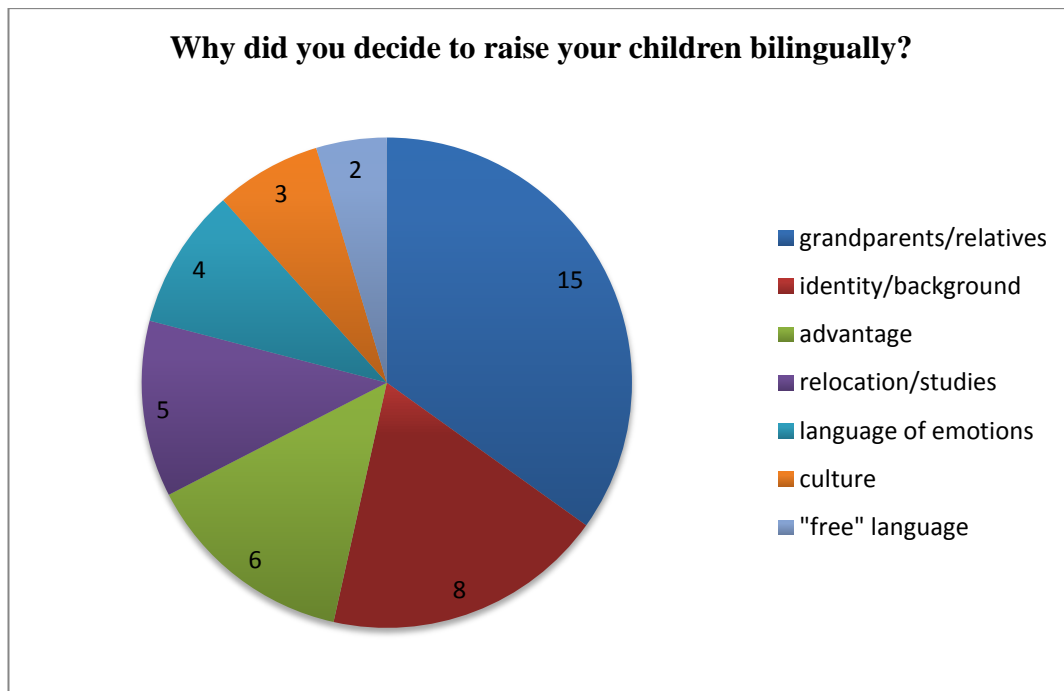
Questions 15–22 related to various aspects of bilingual child rearing. In question 15 parents were asked about their motivations for raising their children bilingually; in question 16 if they are familiar with research on bilingualism; and in question 17 if the family used a specific child rearing strategy (e.g. OPOL) and if that strategy had changed at any point. Questions 18 and 19 related to how the families follow their chosen strategy in practice, and whether they have come across any situations in which following the strategy had been difficult. In questions 20 and 21 it was asked how the families had attempted to maintain the children’s level of Finnish, and in question 22 it was asked what the parents felt had been particularly beneficial in maintaining the children’s linguistic level.

When asked why they had decided to raise their children bilingually, most participants stated the wish that their children were able to communicate with grandparents and relatives in Finland who do not speak English (Question 15). Many also felt that knowing the language would create a stronger connection to their Finnish background and a sense of Finnish identity. Other reasons were that bilingualism was considered to be an advantage, or that it would make it easier for the children to move to Finland or to study there, should they ever wish to do so. A few stated that Finnish is their *tunnekieli*, ‘language of emotions’<sup>3</sup>, and they would therefore never consider speaking any other language to their children. Some mentioned that language is an essential part of culture, and a few wanted to give their children the possibility to learn a language “for free”. The distribution of these responses is shown in Figure 4.

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<sup>3</sup> *Tunnekieli* is the term commonly used in Finnish for the language a person feels the most comfortable using, and which they use to speak of their emotions, usually the person’s mother tongue. It is commonly felt that this ‘language of emotions’ is what parents should use when speaking to their children in cases where other languages could also be used (Ladberg, 1996: 70–71).





**Figure 4.** Reasons for bilingual child rearing

Out of the 17 participating families, 7 were not familiar with research on bilingualism (Question 16). 3 families had read books and 6 had read articles on the topic, while 5 had used discussion forums and other internet resources to find information. 4 families said that they had received information on bilingual child rearing by discussing the matter with other bilingual families, and 5 families had been informed by other means, such as lectures and speaking to linguists. One mother said that she was familiar with research, but mainly followed “common sense”, whereas another mother explained that she had begun to search for information later, when her child was a little older. She felt she had now learned where she had “gone wrong”, and would use a different strategy if she ever had more children.

In 15 families, the OPOL strategy was followed to some extent, while 2 families said that they do not use any specific strategy (Question 17), although the other responses of one of these families imply some adherence to OPOL. One parent pointed out how important the partner’s support is for the use of the OPOL approach, as it is not likely to succeed if the English-speaking partner is not comfortable with having a language spoken around them that they cannot understand. Another parent felt that the OPOL

approach does not work when the entire family is present, which was also mirrored in the responses of other families. No one claimed to be able to follow the OPOL strategy fully, and adjustments sometimes had to be made when monolingual English-speakers were present. One parent also admitted to occasionally “slipping up” in the use of the strategy, and feeling very guilty whenever this happened.

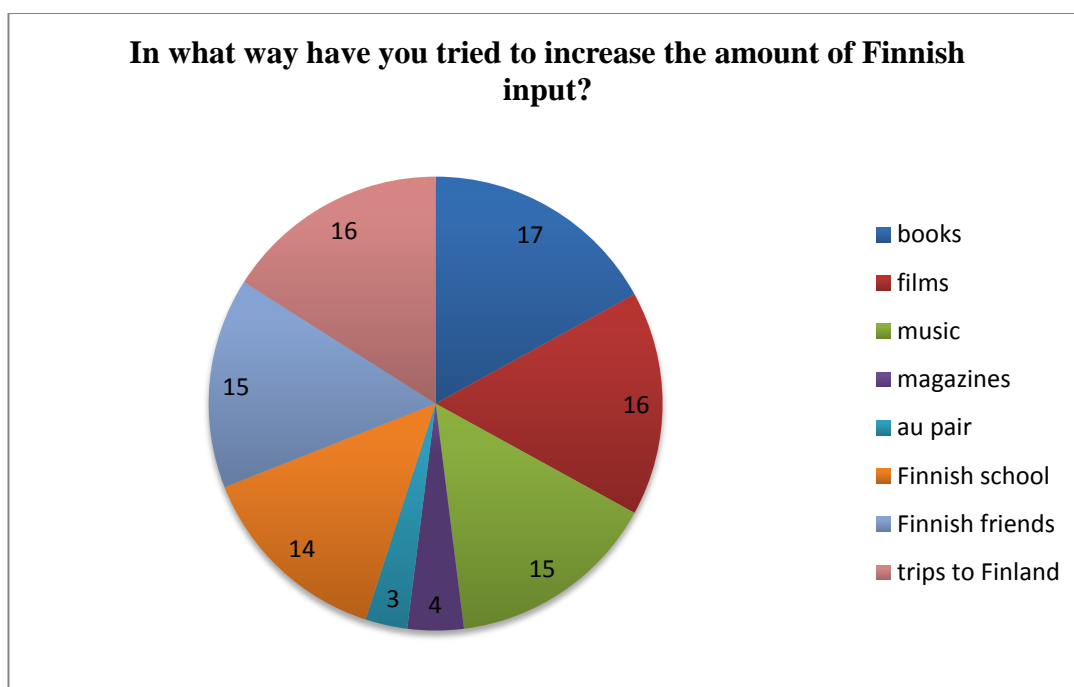
As for changes in the strategy, a few families explained that they had followed the OPOL strategy quite strictly when the children were young, but that more mixing had begun to take place when the children were older. One mother, whose family had moved back to Finland when her daughter was 9 years old, said that after they had relocated to Finland she had changed the language in which she spoke to her daughter from Finnish to English in order to support the latter language since her daughter’s level of English was affected by the move.

Out of the 14 respondents who answered the question on strictness, 2 said that they follow the OPOL strategy very strictly (Question 18). However, the answers to other questions showed that all of these 14 families modify the strategy in some situations, particularly when others are present – many participants mentioned that social pressure often made them feel rude when speaking Finnish in the company of monolingual English-speakers. Most respondents seemed to switch over to using English in these situations, while 2 participants usually would use both languages in order to maintain the level of Finnish input. One parent explained that it can be difficult to speak Finnish in an English-speaking environment, but she still “tries her best” to continue speaking only Finnish with her children. Another parent, who insisted on always speaking Finnish to her children when they were little, no matter who they were with, stated that it was “socially difficult” at times, but that she often explained to others how important it was for her to always address her children in Finnish.

When asked about situations in which the participants had felt uncomfortable or awkward with following their chosen strategy, 7 participants mentioned situations where non-Finnish-speaking adults were present, and 5 mentioned situations where their children’s English-speaking friends were visiting (Question 19). One person

pointed out that speaking Finnish in public sometimes made her feel “like a foreigner”, even though she has come to see herself as a local after many years spent in Scotland, and another person said that speaking Finnish made her feel “like an outsider”. Similarly, one participant mentioned that it was difficult to follow the strategy in the company of British relatives, and another one said that such situations arose with the father of her child. What seemed to have been commonly felt as a difficult time to speak Finnish to the children was when they were babies, and did not yet reply.

When asked what they used to increase the amount of Finnish input, the participants were given eight options, and were asked to choose all those that applied to them (Question 20). They were also given the option of indicating ways of increasing Finnish input that were not on the list (Question 21). The distribution of choices can be seen in Figure 5. Other methods that were suggested were Skype, which was mentioned by 3 participants, and games, mentioned by 2. One participant also mentioned that her having stayed at home with her children until they started school had been a major factor in increasing Finnish input.



**Figure 5.** Supporting the children’s Finnish skills (questionnaire)

When asked what, in their opinion, had increased their children's level of Finnish the most, 10 parents mentioned trips to Finland (Question 22). Other common responses were books, mentioned by 4 participants, and children's TV shows or DVDs, mentioned by 3 participants. Other methods that were considered particularly beneficial were Finnish-speaking playmates, visits from Finland, songs, the Finnish School, au pairs, and Skype. Several participants also pointed out the importance of speaking the language as much as possible, and of the Finnish-speaking parent staying at home with the children for the first years. One parent wrote: "Paras on kun vain jaksaa aina puhua suomea, vaikka usein olisi helpompi puhua englantia." ["The best thing to do is just to keep speaking Finnish, even though it would often be easier to speak English."]

### **5.3. Interviews**

Ten Scottish-Finnish families featured in the interviews; out of these ten, five live in Edinburgh, one lives in Glasgow, and four live in small towns close to these cities. All families were interviewed in their homes, except two, who were interviewed at the Finnish School of Glasgow. In most families, the Finnish parent was interviewed, but in a few families the children were also present, and in one – the only family where the Finnish parent was the father – the mother also participated. The families will be introduced below in the order in which they were interviewed. Please note that the word "partner" is used to refer to all spouses, as the marital status of some of the interviewees was not known.

Although the families chosen for the interviews were homogenous in a number of important respects, there was some variation between them. The major difference that separated one particular family from the rest was that the father was Finnish, as opposed to all the other families, who had Finnish mothers. Other differences were found in the ages of the children, the number of children in the families, and the level of outside support in the form of Finnish-speaking contacts. Nevertheless, the families were deemed so similar that they would provide information that can be regarded as applying to most families in the same situation, at least to some extent.

The interviews covered four major areas of interest: *Background, Strategies, Attitudes* and *Linguistic input*. Finally, the interviewees were also encouraged to add anything they thought was essential, but that had not yet been discussed during the interview. As the interview was semi-structured, the interviewer had listed relevant topics, and the actual questions were then formulated in a manner that suited each interview. In a few cases, some of the questions were adapted to suit the specific situation of the interviewee, and other questions were left out when they turned out to be irrelevant, or they had already been answered at an earlier stage of the interview. In order to make the interview more informal, the interviewer chose not to take any notes, but to rely on the recordings alone. All but one interview were conducted in Finnish. The outlines for questions, as well as an English translation of them, are provided in Appendix II.

The interviews were transcribed in such a way that the semantic content of the speech was retained, but elements such as hesitation phenomena and expletives were not included (Gillham, 2005: 121–125). The excerpts used to illustrate certain findings were translated by the interviewer, so that both the original quote and the English translation can be seen side by side.

All participants also signed a consent form in which the purpose of the study was explained. When signing the form, the interviewee agreed to being interviewed, to the interview being recorded, and to relevant information that surfaced during the interview to be cited in the thesis. The participants were also asked to indicate whether or not they agreed to their first name together with the first initial of their last name, and the first names of their children to be used in the thesis. All parents agreed to the use of both their own and their children's first names.

### **5.3.1. Choice of interview questions**

A semi-structured interview was chosen as a method to collect data as it suited the purpose of the study well. It was conducted with the help of a selection of pre-prepared topics and outlines for questions, while giving the respondents an

opportunity to discuss the aspects they consider important, with minimal interference from the interviewer:

It could be argued that the semi-structured interview is the most important way of conducting a research interview because of its flexibility balanced by structure, and the quality of the data so obtained. The costs are high largely due to the amount of preparation involved and the level of analysis, interpretation and presentation of the interview material required.

(Gillham, 2005: 70)

As the interviews were based on information collected by means of the questionnaire, there was already a certain awareness of the situation of the families and of certain recurring issues when formulating the interview questions. As mentioned above, four general topics were outlined, and a number of questions were listed under each heading, but the order of questions was not decided in advance. Possible questions were outlined on the basis of findings from the questionnaire, e.g. which issues seemed to be common to several families and which questions had generated either very similar or very different answers. The possibility to include additional questions if the need arose was also taken into account, as new information might emerge during the interviews.

While it is recommended that interviews be preceded by trial and pilot interviews (Gillham, 2005: 73–74), there was no possibility to perform trial interviews for this study, as suitable test-participants were not readily available. Therefore, the original outline had to be slightly modified after the first interview, as it became clear that some of the questions were superfluous or did not serve their purpose.

### **5.3.2. Families**

This section describes the participating families and the responses that each participant gave in the *Background*-part of the interview.

Pirjo V. lives in Edinburgh with her partner Martin and her son Miska (2). She has lived in Scotland for 20 years. Pirjo speaks Finnish to her son, while Martin speaks English, and in situations where all three are present, Pirjo uses both languages.

Heli lives in Edinburgh with her partner Peter and their two daughters Julia (6) and Emma (4). The family also has a Finnish au pair. Heli has lived in Scotland for nine years. She usually speaks Finnish to the children, and never spoke English to them while they were younger, but now she sometimes switches over to English when others are present. Peter only speaks English to the girls, the au pair only speaks Finnish, and the girls also speak Finnish to each other.

Emmi and her partner Jonathan live in Edinburgh with their twin boys Okko and Valo (4), and Emmi has lived there for seven years. Emmi speaks Finnish to her sons, and Jonathan speaks English. Emmi has noticed that when they spend time in Finland, the boys speak Finnish to each other, but once they return to Scotland, they revert to using English.

Pasi and his partner Wendy live in Musselburgh, outside Edinburgh, with their three sons Sami (5), Matti (3) and Alex (6 months). Pasi has lived in Scotland for nine years. Pasi speaks Finnish to the children and Wendy speaks English, but the boys only speak English, except for a few words of Finnish.

Aino lives in Edinburgh with her partner Jamie and their two daughters Suvi (5) and Elsa (4). Aino's stay in Scotland is divided into two periods; first she spent six years in Aberdeen, then she and Jamie spent four years living in Finland, and they have now lived in Edinburgh for six years. Aino generally speaks Finnish to the children, but at times she may speak English if the whole family is involved in the conversation. Jamie speaks English to the children. Aino explained that while the girls usually speak Finnish to each other, they sometimes play in English – but even then, comments such as “I'm going to the bathroom” that are not part of the game are always made in Finnish.

Pirjo C. and her partner John live in Dunlop, close to Glasgow, with their two children, Stephanie (19) and William (14). Pirjo has lived in Scotland for 16 years. Stephanie was born in Finland and lived there for the first three years of her life, while William was born in Scotland. When the children were younger, Pirjo would speak Finnish to them and John would speak English, but once the children started

school Pirjo began to use more English with the children, and now she generally speaks English to them, even when John is not present. There appears to be two clear exceptions to this rule, however: when Pirjo and the children discuss something to do with Finland, e.g. the children's Finnish grandmother, they unconsciously switch to speaking Finnish, and the children pointed out that whenever Pirjo lost her temper with them, she would always switch to Finnish as well.

Katja lives in Glasgow with her partner Chris and their son Joseph (3). She has lived in Scotland for 14 years. Katja speaks Finnish to her son, and tries to do so even when others are present, but she said that whenever everyone has to understand the conversation she switches to English out of necessity. Chris speaks only English to their son.

Jonna and her son Jonathan (10) live in Strathblane, outside Glasgow, with Jonna's partner Derek F, who is Jonathan's stepfather. Jonna and her son's father were divorced four years ago. She has lived in Scotland for 15 years. Until Jonathan was three years old, Jonna spoke Finnish to him, but was later forced to switch to using English by compelling circumstances.

Päivi, Derek D. and their daughter Natasha (12) live in North Berwick, close to Edinburgh. Päivi's twins Jenna and Janne (27) are also part of the family, but they are not included in the study as they lived in several different countries while growing up, so their linguistic circumstances have differed greatly from those of their little sister. Päivi has lived in Scotland for 15 years. She generally speaks Finnish to Natasha, while Derek speaks English; together the three of them use English, and with her siblings, Natasha switches between Finnish and English.

Pia and her partner David live in Edinburgh with their twins Aava and Toivo (3). During the first few years of their relationship, Pia spent approximately half her time in Scotland, and half in Finland, but has now lived in Scotland for 10 years. Pia speaks Finnish to the twins, and David speaks English. When speaking to each other, the children mostly use English, or a mixture of the two languages, although visits to Finland often cause them to switch to using Finnish together for a while. The



children also tend to mix Finnish and English when speaking to their mother, but never do this when speaking to their father.

### 5.3.3. Analysis of the interviews

The second section of the interview was concerned with strategies. Questions in this section related to the choice of, changes in and adherence to the strategy, as well as difficulties in adhering to the chosen strategy. The parents' hopes concerning the linguistic levels of the children were also discussed in this section.

Out of the 10 families, only one had considered various options for the linguistic setting of the home; all the other families said that it had been clear from the start that the Finnish parent would speak Finnish to the children, and that using only English in the home had never been an option. Most parents seemed to feel that, as Wendy put it, "it's the natural thing to do". Few families mentioned any significant changes in their use of the OPOL strategy, although some noted that they clearly use more English around their children than they would have before, generally in cases where English-speaking friends of the children are present. Heli explained:

#### Excerpt 1

Nyt on vähän vaihtunut... Mutta jos mä sanon englanniksi, niin kyllä mä sanon sen sitten yleensäkin myös suomeksi. Mutta Julian kanssa olen huomannut, että ... kun käydään mun miehen sukulaisissa, niin sitten tulee puhuttua enemmän englantia. Ennen mä olisin vain ra'asti puhunut suomea.

[It's changed a bit now... But if I say something in English, I will usually say it in Finnish as well. But with Julia I've noticed that ... when we visit my husband's family, then I'll speak more English. Before, I would have been more strict and spoken only Finnish.]

The only parent who was forced to abandon the OPOL strategy completely was Jonna, who at one point realised that her son did not understand any Finnish. Pirjo C. said that the strategy in her family had changed as the children grew up, and that they mainly speak English at home now, but that this has not been caused by or affected the children's level of Finnish.

All the nine families following the OPOL strategy reported that they were fairly flexible in their use of the strategy. Some described their use of the strategy as strict,

but admitted to switching over to English in some situations if needed, and others explained that while they had used a stricter approach when their children were young, they had relaxed their adherence to the strategy once the children started school. All families spoke of situations in which they found it difficult to speak Finnish to their children. For most families, these situations were one, or both, of the following; either when the children were babies, and did not yet speak themselves, or when non-Finnish speakers were present. Emmi commented:

### **Excerpt 2**

Silloin ihan alkuun, kun pojat oli vauvoja, ja mä en päivittäin täällä todellakaan käyttänyt suomea, niin se oli ihan todella typerää puhua itsekseen, kun kukaan ei vastaa sulle.

[At first, when the boys were babies, and I hadn't been speaking any Finnish here on a daily basis, it felt really stupid to be talking to myself, when no one would reply.]

This view could also be expressed by someone else than the Finnish speaking parent, as Pirjo V. explains:

### **Excerpt 3**

Miskan mummo on erittäin tämmöinen *traditionalist* brittiläinen... Varsinkin kun Miska oli vauva vielä, ja me käytiin mummon luona kyläilemässä, ja mä silloinkin puhuin Miskalle suomeksi, niin mummo ei ymmärtänyt sitä, että "Se on vauva, ei se ymmärrä".

[Miska's [paternal] grandmother is quite a traditionalist... Especially when Miska was still a baby, and we would visit his grandmother, I would always speak Finnish to him, and she didn't understand why, and said "He's just a baby, he doesn't understand you".]

In such situations, the Finnish-speaking parent may have to justify their use of Finnish to people in their surroundings, as others may not realise the importance of speaking a language to a baby, as they cannot yet see any results. Aino also discussed the issue of speaking Finnish to a baby in an environment where most people do not understand it, and pointed out: "Mä luulen, että se voi olla semmoinen hetki, missä joillakin saattaa lipsahtaa vieraan kielen puolelle." ["I think this is probably the moment where some people might slip into using the other language."] It seemed to be commonly agreed that this was one of the crucial points of bilingual child rearing, as the risk of giving up on speaking only Finnish to the child was at its greatest.

Some parents said that they felt uneasy speaking Finnish when English-speaking adults were present, as it felt rude to be speaking a language that everyone could not understand, while others found it more difficult when English-speaking friends of the children were visiting. Heli said:

**Excerpt 4**

Kun lapset olivat pienempiä, kyllä sen huomasi, että tavallaan se varmaan hankaloitti tutustumista joihinkin ihmisiin ... Siinä saa olla aika vahva itse, että sen tekee. Kyllä jotkut ihmiset ottaa sen ehkä vähän loukkaavanakin täällä, jos sä puhut vain sitä omaa kieltä lapsille.

[When the children were little, you could tell that in some ways it probably made it harder to get to know some people ... You have to be quite strong yourself to go through with it. Some people here may be a bit offended if you speak only your own language to the children.]

What Päivi found difficult in using Finnish with her daughter was the reaction of others: “Jos me ollaan jossain, missä on brittiperheitä, ja mä haluaisin puhua Natashalle suomea, niin sitten kaikki pysähtyy ja hiljenee, ja kääntyy katsomaan.” [“When we are with other British families, and I want to speak Finnish to Natasha, then everybody stops talking and turns to look at us.”] She also felt that the fact that Natasha sometimes replied to her in English made people wonder if Natasha actually understood Finnish at all. It seems that the opinions and reactions of others play quite an important part in how comfortable the Finnish-speaking parents are about using their own language with their children. Therefore, peer-pressure can be seen as having some influence on adherence to the OPOL strategy.

As for the parents’ reactions to such situations, the responses were quite varied, and fell into three groups: first, parents chose to speak English to their children when English-speakers were present; second, parents chose to either say everything in both languages or provide a general explanation in English of what had been said in Finnish: and third, parents continued speaking Finnish even though some people were not able to understand them. In the third group, some would explain themselves to the others to let them know that this was done to help the child learn Finnish, and not to be rude, while others assumed that the people around them would understand the situation without any explanations.

When the parents were asked what level of Finnish they were hoping their children to achieve, 7 of them said that they would like their children to be able to speak Finnish fluently, and to read and write it. While some of the parents were only aiming at a basic level of literacy in Finnish, 4 parents were hoping that their children would achieve the same level of Finnish as children growing up in Finland, or as close to it as possible. Pasi said that, while his sons do not yet speak Finnish, he hopes that they will eventually be able to communicate with their Finnish grandparents on a basic level. Pirjo C. said that when her children were young, she only hoped that they would learn to speak and understand Finnish, and had never given reading and writing any thought.

When teaching the children to read in Finnish was discussed, Heli said that she had originally planned to teach Julia to read in Finnish before she started school, but that it had not gone according to plan:

#### **Excerpt 5**

Täällä mennään niin pienenä kouluun... Mä olin ajatellut, että Julia olisi oppinut lukemaan suomeksi ennen kuin se meni täällä kouluun, mutta ei se sitten ollut siihen valmis. Vähän me koitimme pelata jotakin Ekapeliä ja muuta, mutta ei se toiminut. Mutta nyt sitten kun se on oppinut lukemaan englanniksi, niin esimerkiksi viime viikonloppuna luettiin kaksi kirjaa suomeksi.

[Children are so much younger when they start school here... I had planned that Julia would learn to read in Finnish before she started school here, but she wasn't ready. We tried to play *Ekapeli*<sup>4</sup> and that sort of thing a bit, but it didn't work. But now that she has learnt to read in English, then last weekend, for example, we read two books in Finnish.]

Katja said that she had heard from other Scottish-Finnish families that it would be better for the child to learn to read in English first, as it is more difficult to learn. "Olen kuullut, että ... jos oppii lukemaan englanniksi, niin sitten on aika helppoa oikeastaan vain aloittaa lukemaan suomeksi." ["I've heard that ... if they learn to read in English first, then it's quite easy just to start reading in Finnish."] While this seems to have been the case in Heli's family, for example, it is not always true. Pirjo C's children have a very high level of spoken Finnish, but nevertheless they have not found learning to read as simple as suggested: Stephanie can read some

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<sup>4</sup> Ekapeli is an online game aimed at children who are learning to read and write Finnish. The game includes several versions adapted to different levels of literacy, and there is also a version aimed at immigrants.

Finnish, such as short texts and magazines, while William cannot read or write in Finnish. It would therefore seem that even though the child has learned to read in one language, he or she will have to be taught to read in the other language as well, as the skill does not always seem to be directly transferable, at least not in the case of English and Finnish.

Concerning both the current and the desired level of Finnish, Wendy made the following comment:

**Excerpt 6**

We've noticed a huge difference with our friends who've got Finnish mums, so the kids are all speaking Finnish as their first language, really fluently, whereas ours are very different, I think. Pasi does spend a lot of time with them, but mums always spend more. So [our children] are definitely way behind the children with Finnish mums.

Wendy's observation on the difference between children with a minority language father and children with a minority language mother seems plausible, but as the sample only contains one family where the minority language speaker is the father, no further conclusions about this can be drawn here.

The third topic that was discussed in the interviews was that of attitudes towards bilingualism. The participants were asked about the attitudes of their partners, of their British friends and relatives, and of the children themselves. They were also asked about interaction with other bilinguals.

Out of the ten participants, only one had a partner who had not been supportive of them raising their child bilingually. Most parents said that their partners had always been positive towards their children's bilingualism, that they had always been supportive, and that some English-speaking partners had, themselves, had a very strong wish to raise their children bilingually. Only Jonna had problems in this respect:

### **Excerpt 7**

Hän ei osannut yhtään suomea, ja hän ei ollut halukas oppimaan suomea... Mun ex oli aina sitä mieltä, että hän jää ulos, ja hänelle tuli ulkopuolinen olo, eikä silloin tukenut sitä. Mun piti sitten sanoa kaikki kahdella kielellä.

[My ex-husband] didn't know any Finnish, and he wasn't willing to learn... [He] always felt left out, like an outsider, so he was never supportive. So I always had to say everything in two languages.

The problems faced by Jonna bring to light another important issue: the role of support from the English-speaking partner. She explained that she could see a great difference in spousal support now, with her current husband; while her ex-husband had never been willing to learn any Finnish nor have Finnish spoken in the home, her current husband Derek is very supporting, shows interest in the language and culture, likes to use Finnish greetings etc. Jonna said: “Jos se mun ex-mies olisi ollut tukevampi, niin se olisi auttanut tilannetta ihan hirveästi.” [“If my ex-husband had been more supportive, that would have made the situation a great deal better.”] She believes that, had she had more support, she could have continued to speak Finnish to her son Jonathan – as it now stands, her son does not speak Finnish.

Other parents commented on this same issue of spousal support, as some of them have friends who do not receive much support from their partners in raising their children bilingually. They all felt that this was something that was very likely to diminish the chances of the children learning the minority language. Emmi said:

### **Excerpt 8**

Puolison tuki on tärkeää silloin, kun tuntuu, että omat panokset ovat loppuneet. Positiivinen asenne... ja kannustaminen auttoivat ainakin minua silloin, kun itse olin epäilevällä päällä ”hankkeen” onnistumisesta.

[Support from the partner is also very important when you feel like you're running out of strength. His positive attitude ... and support helped me when I sometimes doubted if this 'project' would work.]

However, the positive attitude of the English-speaking parent does not mean that the use of two languages in the home is unproblematic. Aino points out that, although her partner is positive towards bilingualism and feels it is important that their daughters learn both languages, it has recently begun to bother him that there are some communication problems within the family, e.g. in situations where he

criticises the girls for something that their mother has already given them permission to do. This, however, is something that appears to be common in most families, and not just in bilingual ones.

Most families only reported positive reactions from relatives and friends. Some, like Pirjo V. and Pia, explained that while their British relatives did not comment much on the situation, or even if they said that they thought it was a good idea, they still seemed uneasy when Finnish was spoken in their presence. Heli's mother-in-law had initially been "horrified" when she found out that her grandchildren would be brought up bilingually – an attitude explained by her own background as an Austrian immigrant in the 1950s, when bilingualism was considered to impede children's language learning, and was therefore strongly discouraged. These cases were, however, a minority, as most families seemed to receive support from the people around them. For example Jonna, who had had some problems in this respect with the father of her son, said: "Jonathanin isoäiti oli aina silleen, että 'Voi, mun lapsenlapsi osaa puhua kahta kieltä!' ja se oli aina ylpeä" ["Jonathan's grandmother always said: 'Oh, my grandchild can speak two languages!', and she was always proud."] Aino believes that the reason why most British people are positive towards bilingual child rearing lies in the general lack of foreign language skills in the United Kingdom:

#### **Excerpt 9**

Yleisesti ottaen ihmiset kannustavat. Mä luulen, että se osittain johtuu siitä, että britit ajattelevat, että he eivät osaa mitään kieliä, niin heille se on mahtavaa jos joku saa synnyinlahjaksi kaksi kieltä.

[Generally speaking people are supportive. I think it's partly because Brits think that they don't know any languages, so for them it's amazing for someone to get two languages at birth.]

None of the participating families had come across any problems or negative attitudes towards bilingualism in their children's schools or nurseries, and most parents said that the schools had always been very supporting. Some schools were even giving the children homework in Finnish, or asking them to bring in Finnish books. Most parents also said that there were many other children from bilingual or foreign families in the schools, so the teachers were used to children speaking other languages. This also means that the children can see that they are not the only ones

with another language. Wendy explained: “I think that they notice that they're not the only people who speak a different language, it's made them aware that there are different languages.” It would, in fact, seem that the contact with other bilinguals on a daily basis, even if they have a different language combination, contributes to shaping the children’s awareness of themselves as bilinguals. Seeing that there are others like them, who do not speak the majority language with one or both of their parents, seems to make the children more positive toward their own bilingualism, and less likely to reject their minority language in the future.

The responses concerning the children’s attitudes towards bilingualism and the Finnish language were varied; while some children had never displayed any signs suggesting that they would prefer their Finnish parent not to speak Finnish to them, others had not always been positive toward the minority language. Several of the parents with younger children also pointed out that, although no problems had arisen in this area to date, this may change once the children grow older.

While all children seemed happy with the use of two languages in the home when they were young and spent most of their time at home, differences often began to appear once the child went to nursery or school. Heli says that she has recently begun to notice some reluctance in her eldest daughter Julia to display her bilingualism in school:

**Excerpt 10**

Jos [Julia] luki vaikka suomalaisen kirjan, kun niillä on koulussa sellainen lukuvihko, mihin piti kirjata, että mitä on lukenut, niin se ei halunnut sitä suomalaisen kirjan nimeä sinne kirjoittaa, että kun tämä oli koulussa niin pitää englanniksi kirjoittaa.

[If [Julia] for example read a Finnish book, because they have a notebook in school where they write down what they have read, then she didn’t want to write the name of the Finnish book there, because it was for school, so it should be written in English.]

Emmi had also noticed a change in the attitude of her sons, and said that they seemed to have gained a new awareness of their languages. At one point, one of the twins had declared that he no longer wanted to speak Finnish, but she had told him that she would continue speaking Finnish to him, and also tried to explain why she did this. However, during a recent, month-long holiday in Finland the boys had, instead, told



her that they would no longer speak English. She believes that their increased proficiency in Finnish, acquired during their stay, made it more agreeable for them to speak that language. After their return, they boys used Finnish to a much greater extent than before their trip to Finland.

Both Jonna and Päivi have been in situations where their children categorically refused to use Finnish. Jonna said:

#### **Excerpt 11**

Kun Jonathan rupesi oikein kunnolla puhumaan, ja se meni päiväkotiin, niin sitten se rupesi itse sanomaan, että "*Don't speak Finnish to me, mummy*". Mä muistan yhden kerran, kun mä vein äitiä lentokentälle, ja mä sanoin [Jonathanille] jotakin suomeksi autossa, niin se sanoi, että "Nyt sun ei tarvitse puhua mulle enää suomea, koska isoäiti on mennyt pois"... Ja siitä se pikku hiljaa rupesi lipsumaan. Ja sitten se tuli semmoiselle tasolle, että mä huomasin, että jos mä nyt puhun sille [suomea], niin se ei ymmärrä mua yhtään.

[When Jonathan started speaking properly, and went to nursery school, he started telling me: "Don't speak Finnish to me, mummy". I remember one time, when I was taking my mother to the airport, and I said something [to Jonathan] in the car, he told me: "Now you don't have to speak Finnish to me anymore, because granny's left"... And after that, I started slipping up. After a while it got to the point where I realised that if I speak [Finnish] to him now, he won't understand me at all.]

Päivi had experienced something similar with her daughter: when Natasha was little, she did not want her mother to speak Finnish to her in public, as she felt it was something unusual that other mothers and other children did not do. The outcomes of these two situations were different, however, as Natasha later came to accept the minority language, while Jonna had to start speaking to her son only in English.

Some families have not yet experienced situations such as the ones described above. Aino believes that the fact that so many of her eldest daughter Suvi's friends come from multicultural backgrounds has led her daughter to accept her own bilingualism without questioning it.

#### **Excerpt 12**

Mä luulen, että se vaikuttaa, että on muitakin... Tosi monet lapset puhuu kahta kieltä... Mutta ei meidän lapset ole oikeastaan millään lailla kommentoineet, se on tuntunut niiden mielestä ihan normaalilta. Se saattaa tulla sitten vähän myöhemmin, mä luulen, se, että se on outoa.

[I think that it makes a difference that there are others... A lot of children speak two languages... But our children haven't really commented on it in any way, it feels normal to them. It might come later, the feeling of it being strange.]

Although most parents seem to expect their children to rebel against the use of Finnish at some stage, there are also cases where the children readily accept their bilingualism, and no problems occur. Both of Pirjo C's children have always been happy to speak Finnish, and have never indicated in any way that they do not wish to do so. The children have never protested against spending all their holidays in Finland, either:

### **Excerpt 13**

Stephanie: Joskus kaverit voi sanoa, että "Eikö ole tylsää kun menette kesällä aina samaan paikkaan?", mutta minä en haluaisi mennä minnekään muualle kuin Suomeen...

Pirjo C: Niin, ei ole koskaan ollut sellaista, että nämä ei haluaisikaan, nimenomaan nämä on aina halunneet sinne.

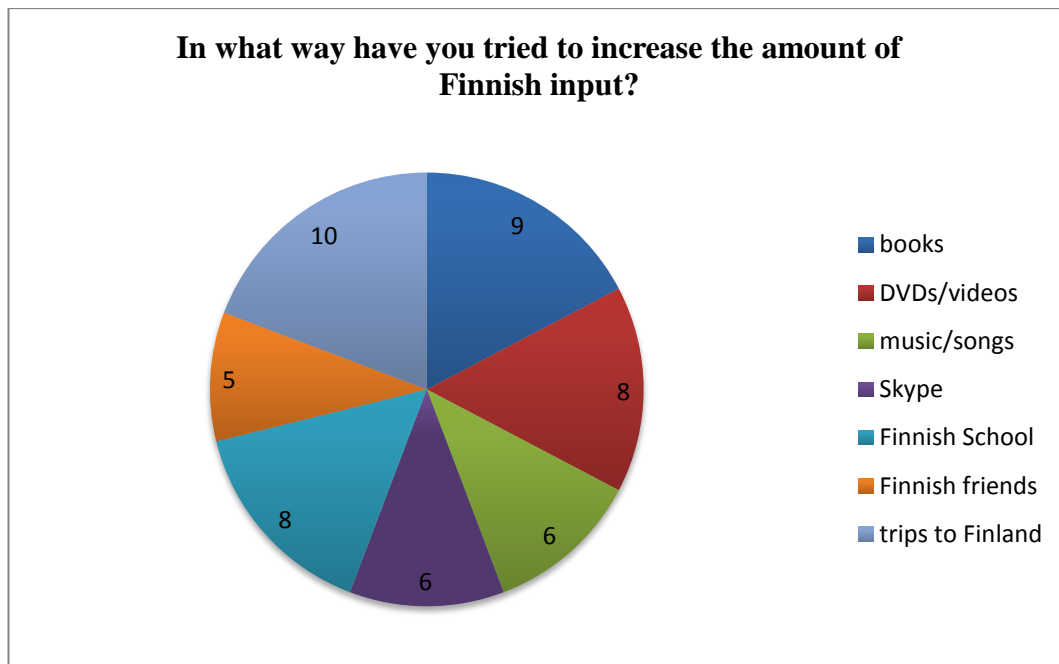
[Stephanie: Sometimes my friends ask: "Isn't it boring to always spend the summer in the same place?" but I wouldn't want to go anywhere else than Finland...

Pirjo C: Yes, they have never complained about it, they've always specifically wanted to go there.]

These strong ties to Finland and the Finnish culture are probably the reason why Stephanie feels more Finnish than Scottish, even though she has spent most of her life living in Scotland. Pirjo C's son William, who has lived in Scotland since birth, identifies himself as both Scottish and Finnish.

The fourth topic of the interviews was that of linguistic input. In this section, the questions related to the amount and types of Finnish input that the children receive, what methods the participants had used to increase the amount of Finnish input, and which factors had proved particularly beneficial for the children's level of Finnish.

When asked what methods they used to increase the amount of Finnish language input that their children receive, the most common methods were books, DVDs, the Finnish School and trips to Finland. Other common answers, as well as the number of respondents that mentioned each method, are shown in Figure 6.



**Figure 6.** Supporting the children’s Finnish skills (interviews)

Other methods that were mentioned were *Ekapeli*, magazines, audiobooks, board games such as *Muumipeli* (The Moomin Game), and au pairs. Most parents agreed on the importance of reading to the children, and several families follow the OPOL strategy when reading books. Katja explained:

**Excerpt 14**

Yleensä mä luen kotona vain suomenkielisiä kirjoja Josephille ja mun mies saa lukea ne englanninkieliset. Mä olen päättänyt ihan raa'asti näin, että mä en koske niihin englanninkielisiin kirjoihin, ihan vain sen takia, että Joseph kuulisi enemmän suomea.

[Usually at home I only read Finnish books to Joseph, and my husband can read the English ones. I simply decided that I wouldn't touch the English books, just so that Joseph would hear more Finnish.]

Pirjo V. explained that she would on occasion read English books to Miska if he happened to choose an English one, but that she then would explain the story in Finnish instead of reading it out in English.

Skype was seen by most respondents as a very useful tool, as it gave the children the opportunity to see their relatives more often, which especially for younger children resulted in them being less shy when speaking to or meeting with relatives in

Finland. Compared to phone calls, Skype was considered more personal, and it is also free, which were both factors that led to many families speaking to their closest relatives in Finland as often as once a week, which would not have been as common before Skype became popular.

Heli spoke of the importance of the children having Finnish-speaking friends of their own, but also pointed out how difficult it sometimes is to make sure that the children actually speak Finnish when they meet:

**Excerpt 15**

Aikaisemmin varsinkin mä koitin kyllä järjestää leikkitreffit, että tulisi suomenkielisiä kavereita, mutta sitten siinä on se, että niiden kavereiden täytyy olla semmoisia ketkä puhuu kunnolla suomea, koska lapset leikkii englanniksi jos ne huomaa, että englantia on vahvempi. Että se vähän valikoi sitä, kenen kanssa siitä on tavallaan kielen kannalta hyötyä leikkiä.

[I used to try to organise play dates with Finnish friends, but then they have to be able to speak Finnish properly, because the children will play in English if they notice that English is the stronger language. So that restricts who it is beneficial to play with in the sense of improving the language.]

Some other parents also reported similar experiences, where their children would speak Finnish to other children if the other child was fluent in that language, but that they would switch to speaking English if the other child struggled with Finnish.

Emmi spoke of experiencing the opposite: while her sons sometimes struggle a little with Finnish, the fact that their best friend speaks it fluently also motivates them to speak it, so that they make more of an effort when they are playing with her.

Concerning trips to Finland, most families seem to visit twice a year: 7 families said that they visit twice a year, one visits 1–2 times a year, one visits 2–3 times a year, and one visits 3–4 times a year. The children in 6 of the families spend at least a month in Finland every summer. All families also spoke of how important these visits are to the linguistic level of the children.

What was widely viewed as the most beneficial factor for the children's language learning was time spent in Finland, as 7 parents specifically pointed out how clearly these visits had affected their children's level of Finnish. In some families, the children would begin speaking Finnish even to their siblings after some time in

Finland, but in most cases they reverted back to English soon after their return to Scotland. The acquired level, however, did not seem to be lost in most families, and in some cases the trip seemed to boost the language learning beyond the visit. Katja explained:

**Excerpt 16**

Minusta oli mielenkiintoista, että [Josephin] suomen kielen taito on jatkanut sitä parantumista tämän Suomen-reissun jälkeen. Mä oletin oikeastaan, että siinä kävisi niin, että hän puhuisi parempaa suomea tämän reissun jälkeen, mutta sitten se taso alkaisi taas laskea. Mutta itse asiassa on käynyt toisinpäin, että hän puhuu aina vain enemmän ja parempaa suomea.

[I find it interesting that [Joseph's] level of Finnish has continued to improve after our latest trip to Finland. I actually assumed that he would speak Finnish better after the trip, but that his level would then decline again. But it's actually been the other way around; he speaks more and more Finnish, and his skills keep improving.]

Some other factors that had clearly been beneficial were also mentioned, such as the peer support provided by the other bilingual children in the Finnish Schools. Heli's family has employed Finnish au pairs with almost no interruptions since Heli went back to work after the birth of their first child, and she believes that has been a major factor in ensuring that her daughters achieve a high level of Finnish:

**Excerpt 17**

Kyllä mä luulen, että se on ollut se iso tekijä, että sitten suomea kuullaan niin paljon, ja se on tavallaan luonnollista käyttää sitä.

[I think that's been the main factor, because they hear a lot of Finnish, and it's natural to speak it.]

Aino pointed out the importance of the Finnish speaking mother staying at home with the children for as long as possible:

**Excerpt 18**

Mä luulen, että suurin syy siihen, että niillä on hyvä [suomen kieli] on se, että mä olen ollut niiden kanssa kotona... Kun katselee muita perheitä, niin yleisesti ottaen se on se merkittävin tekijä, musta tuntuu.

[I think that the main reason for why [their Finnish] is so good is that I've stayed at home with them... When you look at other families, I think that this generally seems to be the most important factor.]

Finally, the participants were asked whether they had any other comments on the subject. Some parents chose to give advice to other parents on what was important in bilingual child rearing. Jonna explained that since training as a teacher for the Finnish School<sup>5</sup> she had gained a new perspective on bilingual child rearing. During the training she had been told how difficult it can be to raise children bilingually, and that the process of learning language is far from automatic. Jonna said that she was very pleased to hear this, as she had struggled with the bilingual upbringing of her own son, and that she would be better prepared if she ever has more children.

Aino and Päivi also offered advice to other parents facing the same situation. Aino pointed out how important it is that the children find it meaningful to speak Finnish, e.g. by having friends who speak only that language, and she felt that this may prove to be an important factor in the future, if her children ever feel less inclined to use their minority language at home. Päivi wanted to encourage other parents:

**Excerpt 19**

Tietysti haluan kannustaa kaikkia suomalaisia perheitä, jotka asuvat ulkomailla, pitämään yllä suomen kieltä. Se ei ole aina helppoa, mutta pitää vain yrittää mahdollisimman paljon puhua suomea vaikka lapsi ei aluksi puhuisikaan sitä kieltä. Kun hän oppii kuuntelemaan ja ymmärtämään, niin se puhekin tulee.

[Of course I'd like to encourage all the Finnish families living abroad to keep using Finnish. It's not always easy, but you should just try to speak Finnish as much as possible, even if the child doesn't speak it at first. When he or she learns to listen and to understand, then the speech will come as well.]

#### **5.4. Discussion**

If we compare the theories discussed at the beginning of this thesis with the findings of the questionnaire and the interviews, several points can be made. Firstly, we can consider the original claim of Grammont that a strict separation of the languages would lead to the child learning “both languages easily without too much confusion or mixing of languages” (1902, as cited in Barron-Hauwaert, 2004: 1). This does indeed seem to be the case in some of families that participated in the current study, but by no means in all of them. It is clear that many different factors contribute to shaping the linguistic competences of a child, and that a strict adherence to OPOL or

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<sup>5</sup> Training for the teachers of the Finnish Schools in the United Kingdom is organised at the Finnish church of London, and it is funded by the Finnish state.

any other strategy for bilingual child rearing is only one of them. The above findings are also linked with other factors, although further research is needed to verify their role in the language acquisition process. However, as all families who participated in the study have opted for some level of adherence to the OPOL strategy, the study lends support to the view that this strategy is “the surest guarantee of success” in bilingual child rearing (Ronjat, 1913: 106, as cited in Saunders, 1988: 43).

Although none of the participants were able to follow Arnberg’s recommendation (1987: 87–88) of using the minority language when speaking to their partner in order to support that language, it became very clear from both the questionnaires and the interviews (Excerpt 7 and Excerpt 8, p.42) how important the attitude of the majority language parent is when attempting to raise bilingual children. This finding is in line with the view expressed by Arnberg: “if the majority language parent maintains an interested and supportive attitude towards his/her partner speaking the minority language to the child, this may be a highly important factor in raising the child bilingually”.

While fluency in the minority language is not achieved or even aimed at in all families, because there is not enough support for the minority language, it is possible to overcome these obstacles and both achieve and maintain high levels of fluency in the minority language despite the lack of support, as shown by Saunders (1988: 41). This finding also emerged from this study. The children of Pirjo C. grew up with next to no support for the minority language outside the home, but still managed to achieve a very high level of bilingualism. In the case of this family, a great part was played by frequent and long visits to Finland (Excerpt 13, p.46).

Another interesting finding from the present study concerns the importance of parental involvement in providing varying sources of input for the children that was discussed by Döpke (1992). Several participants felt that in the families where the minority language mother was able to stay at home with the children for as long as possible, the children usually appeared to have reached a very high level of the minority language (Excerpt 18, p.49). Most families also provided other sources of

input recommended by Döpke, such as Finnish books and films, and in many cases the parents employed a broad range of methods for supporting the minority language.

Regarding the criticism on the recommended use of OPOL, Romaine's view that it is an elitist child rearing strategy only suited for "higher socio-economic class families speaking prestigious languages" (1989, as cited in Barron-Hauwaert, 2004: 120) is partly undermined by the findings of the current study. While all the participating families represent the middle class, none of them were trained linguists, and while Finnish cannot be regarded as a stigmatised language in Scotland, it can neither be called a "prestigious language" in the same fashion as English, German and French. However, the social class of the families has no doubt enabled them to provide their children with various means of improving their level of Finnish (e.g. books, films and visits to Finland). It should also be noted that because participation in this study was voluntary, there may have been families who felt that they had failed in raising their children bilingually, and therefore did not participate. It is possible that the participation of such families could have provided a broader range of socio-economic backgrounds.

Some of the participating families had experienced problems related to their children's refusal to speak Finnish. However, this was not necessarily caused by the realisation on the part of the child that the minority language parent could understand the majority language, but rather by a sense of being different from others. This was particularly clear in the case of Päivi and her daughter Natasha, who had little contact with other bilinguals, and whose bilingualism therefore made them stand out in their monolingual surroundings. Emmi also mentioned occasions when one of her sons had shown reluctance towards speaking Finnish. Her solution in this case had been to continue speaking Finnish, and explaining her motives for this to her child, instead of following the advice given by Arnberg (1987: 87–88) and Saunders (1988: 123–125) to pretend not to understand the "wrong" language when the child uses it.

Situations where monolingual friends and relatives were present seemed to be a common issue in most families. As we have seen, Saunders (1988: 107) recommends using the minority language even when people who do not speak it are present, as



changing into the majority language would reduce the amount of minority language input dramatically. Some of the participants explained that they use the strategy, also recommended by Saunders, of explaining what has been said in Finnish to those who do not understand that language, in an effort to maintain the amount of Finnish input (Excerpt 1, p.37). Many parents, however, feel that social pressure and practicality often lead them to using only English in such situations. In the cases presented above, this did not seem to have any negative effects on the children's linguistic level. This finding is in line with the view of Ramjoue, who feels that switching over to the majority language in certain specific situations should not reduce the effects of OPOL (1980, cited in Arnberg, 1987: 88–89). Some parents had mixed feelings over the matter, as they felt that they should refrain from speaking English in front of their children, even when the situation made it difficult to do so. However, the results gained in e.g. Pirjo C's family show that the children can reach a very high level of fluency in both languages even when they hear the minority language parent using the majority language whenever monolingual English-speakers are present.

Furthermore, some remarks concerning differences between families with Finnish-speaking mothers and families with Finnish-speaking fathers were made above (Excerpt 6, p.41). The clear difference in levels of Finnish in Pasi's children as compared to the other children who all have Finnish-speaking mothers, while not conclusive because there was only one Finnish-speaking father among the participants in the study, supports the point made by Skutnabb-Kangas (1981: 27–28) that families with minority language fathers are often less successful in raising bilingual children than families where the mother speaks the minority language. This is not always the case, however, as was seen in the study carried out by Saunders (1988), as all his children became fluent in German while growing up in a fully English-speaking environment, and spending considerably more time with their mother and other English-speakers than with their father.

Another aspect of bilingual child rearing that emerged from the study was the difference between siblings. It was found that siblings often have different levels of fluency, and that this may be the case even with twins, as the situation in Pia's family shows. This relates to the findings of Leopold (1949, as cited in Saunders, 1988: 45)

whose eldest daughter reached some fluency in German as a child, while the younger one did not. It often seems to be the case that the first child reaches a higher level of bilingualism, which may be partly explained by changing linguistic practices within the family. One example of this was Heli, who explained that she uses more English with her younger daughter than she did when her older daughter was of the same age.

## 6. Conclusion

This thesis has provided an overview of bilingual child rearing in situations where the amount of minority language input is markedly lower than the majority language input. We have discussed earlier research on both bilingual child rearing in general and the *one person – one language* strategy in particular, and addressed some of the issues that are common to bilingual families.

The first chapters of the thesis provided an introduction into bilingualism, while particularly focusing on the aspect of OPOL and the use of this strategy in bilingual child rearing. It became evident that most researchers since the early 20<sup>th</sup> century seem to be in favour of the OPOL approach, although there are also some differing opinions. Ever since this strategy was first recommended by Grammont in 1902, it has been used both by mixed-language families and by linguists themselves, which has given rise to several case studies. It appears that the level of adherence to this strategy and the strictness employed by the parents varies a great deal, which may partly explain why the same level of bilingualism is not reached in every family, or even by every child in the same family. Nevertheless, OPOL seems to be commonly regarded as the most reliable method for bilingual child rearing.

One important point made was that it is not only absolute bilinguals who are considered bilingual, and that reaching absolute bilingualism need not always be the aim, nor is it always possible. The findings of this study show that it is important for parents to analyse their linguistic situation, the level of support they and their surroundings are able to provide for the child, and the level of bilingualism that is

realistically achievable. Another important point is that parents who are using OPOL but whose children seem to make little progress in learning the minority language should not abandon their strategy, as their efforts may well lead to active bilingualism later in the child's life.

Based on earlier research into the field, a case study was carried out on Scottish-Finnish bilingual families living in Scotland. The findings from both the larger sample provided by a questionnaire and the smaller sample provided by interviews offer an overview that I hope to be of use when discussing the options that minority language parents have in increasing the amount of input in their language, when it naturally receives much less input than the majority language in a monolingual, majority language setting.

Both the questionnaires and the interviews provided interesting insight into the issues and difficulties faced by the families that are trying to raise their children to become English-Finnish bilinguals. The findings show that many parents are highly motivated to provide their children with additional sources of Finnish input, such as books, films, Finnish School etc. Most families also visit Finland regularly, and this appears to be one of the more crucial factors in bilingual child rearing. As different families had managed to achieve different levels of fluency, it became apparent that it is not only the adherence to the OPOL strategy that contributes to the language acquisition of a child, but that many other factors are also involved, such as the amount of time the minority language parent spends at home when the children are young, the extensiveness of the local minority language network, the amount and regularity of contact with other bilinguals, and, perhaps most importantly, the attitude of the majority language parent.

Because of the small sample, the findings of this study cannot be regarded as conclusive evidence. However, they provide information of methods used by and problems faced by Scottish-Finnish families involved in bilingual child rearing, and of the various possibilities that are available to them. While the focus of this study was on Scottish-Finnish families, the findings are in no way limited to only these two nationalities, as many of the issues discussed here are relevant to any family

struggling with bilingual child rearing in areas where the amount of external support for the minority language is small. It is to be hoped that the results of this study will be of practical use to families in similar linguistic settings.

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## Suomenkielinen lyhennelmä

Tämän tutkielman tarkoituksena on perehtyä kaksikieliseen kasvatukseen ja erityisesti siihen, miten kaksikielinen perhe pystyy tukemaan vähemmistökieltä sellaisessa ympäristössä, jossa sen käyttöä ei muutoin tueta millään lailla. Kasvavan liikkuvuuden myötä tässä tilanteessa olevia – myös puoliksi suomenkielisiä – perheitä on yhä enemmän. Tämän vuoksi tutkielmassa käsitellään aikaisempien kaksikielisyystutkimusten lisäksi myös ulkomailla asuvien suomalaisten käyttämiä kaksikielisen kasvatuksen metodeja. Tutkimuksen kohteena ovat Skotlannissa asuvat brittiläis-suomalaiset perheet, jotka pyrkivät kasvattaa lapsistaan kaksikielisiä. Tarkoituksena on selvittää, millä tavoin suomen kieltä tuetaan englanninkielisessä ympäristössä, millä tavoin suomenkielistä syötettä yritetään lisätä sekä minkälaisia asenteita kaksikielinen perhe kohtaa. Tutkimus toteutettiin kahdessa osassa: ensimmäinen osa sähköisenä kyselynä ja toinen haastatteluina.

### *Keskeisiä käsitteitä ja termejä*

Kaksikielisyyttä käsittelevässä kirjallisuudessa termiä *kaksikielisyys* saatetaan käyttää hyvin eri tavoin, eikä sen merkityksestä ole yksimielisyyttä. Kaksikielisyys voidaan määritellä eri tavoin sen mukaan, minkälainen kielitaito puhujalla on, minkä ikäisenä hän on omaksunut kielet tai missä järjestyksessä kielet on omaksuttu. Tässä tutkielmassa kaksikielisyys määritellään omaksumisiän perusteella, eikä kielitaidon tasoa oteta huomioon, joten kaikki sellaiset, jotka ovat kasvaneet kaksikielisessä ympäristössä ja omaksuneet kaksi kieltä joko syntymästään lähtien tai lapsuudessaan, lasketaan kaksikielisiksi. Tässä yhteydessä käytetään termejä *samanaikainen kaksikielisyys* ja *peräkkäinen kaksikielisyys*, joilla viitataan kielten omaksumisajankohtaan. Syntymästä lähtien omaksuttu kaksikielisyys on samanaikaista, sillä tuolloin lapselle on alusta lähtien puhuttu kahta kieltä, kun taas peräkkäinen kaksikielisyys syntyy tilanteissa, jolloin lapselle puhutaan ensin vain yhtä kieltä, mutta jo muutaman vuoden iässä hänelle aletaan puhua myös toista kieltä.



Arnbergin mukaan (1981a: 23–31) kaksikieliset voidaan jakaa kolmeen eri ryhmään kielitaitonsa perusteella. Henkilö voi olla *passiivinen*, *aktiivinen* tai *täydellinen kaksikielinen*. Passiivinen kaksikielisyys viittaa tilanteeseen, jossa lapsi ymmärtää toista kieltä, muttei osaa puhua sitä; aktiivinen kaksikielisyys tarkoittaa sitä, että lapsi ymmärtää toista kieltä ja osaa myös tuottaa sitä, ja täydellinen kaksikielisyys on saavutettu, kun lapsi osaa molempia kieliään äidinkielenomaisesti tai lähes äidinkielenomaisesti. Joissain yhteyksissä käytetään myös termiä *tasapainoinen kaksikielisyys*, mutta sillä on kaksi eri merkitystä: Saunders (1988: 9) toteaa, että joidenkin kirjailijoiden mukaan tasapainoinen kaksikielisyys tarkoittaa täydellistä kaksikielisyyttä, kun taas tavallisempi tulkinta on se, että tasapainoisuudella tarkoitetaan molempien kielen samantasoisesta osaamisesta, riippumatta siitä, miten hyvin kieliä osataan.

Koska tässä tutkielmassa tarkastellaan kaksikielisessä kasvatuksessa käytettyjä menetelmiä, on *OPOL-strategia* eli yksi henkilö – yksi kieli (*one person – one language*) hyvin keskeisessä osassa. Tätä strategiaa soveltavissa perheissä kumpikin vanhempi puhuu lapselleen ainoastaan omaa kieltään, joten eri kielet on erotettu toisistaan puhujan mukaan. Strategiaa käytetään laajalti kaksikielisten perheiden keskuudessa, mutta sen täydellinen seuraaminen on osoittautunut vaikeaksi varsinkin perheeseen kuulumattomien henkilöiden kanssa kommunikoidessa. Tämän vuoksi OPOL-strategiaa on pidetty kaikkein hyödyllisimpänä lapsen ensimmäisinä vuosina.

Tutkielman kannalta keskeisiä termejä ovat myös *enemmistö-* ja *vähemmistökieli*, joilla viitataan kielen asemaan yhteiskunnassa. Näin ollen kieli, jota käytetään eniten perheen sisällä, saattaa hyvinkin olla vähemmistökieli, jos sitä ei puhuta muualla kuin kotona. Termit eivät siis viittaa kielen perheensisäiseen asemaan.

### ***Aikaisempi kaksikielisyystutkimus***

Ensimmäinen OPOL-strategiasta kirjoittanut ja sitä suositellut kielitieteilijä oli ranskalainen Maurice Grammont (1902). Grammontin teorian mukaan kielten erottaminen aikaisessa vaiheessa johtaisi siihen, että lapsi oppisi molemmat kielet vaivatta (teoksesta Barron-Hauwaert, 2004: 1), ja hän myös suositteli tätä strategiaa

kollegalleen Jules Ronjat’lle, joka käytti strategiaa ranskalais-saksalaisen poikansa kasvatuksessa. Ronjat myös seurasi poikansa kielellistä kehitystä tarkkaan ja oli vahvasti sitä mieltä, että OPOL-strategian käyttö lapsen syntymästä lähtien oli johtanut siihen, että hänen poikansa puhui molempia kieliään sujuvasti (1913, teoksessa Barron-Hauwaert, 2004: 2).

Myös saksalaissyntyinen, Yhdysvaltoihin muuttanut kielitieteilijä Werner Leopold tutki omien lastensa kielellistä kehitystä ja julkaisi tuloksensa neljässä osassa vuosina 1939–1949. Leopoldin tutkimuksessa huomattavaa oli muun muassa se, miten eri tasolla hänen kahden tyttärensä saksankielentaito oli; vanhempi tytär Hildegard puhui saksaa sujuvasti, kun taas pikkusisko Karla puhui vain muutamia sanoja saksaa. Tutkimuksessa kävi kuitenkin myös ilmi, miten passiivinen kielitaito voi myöhemmin muuttua aktiiviseksi, sillä Karla matkusti 19-vuotiaana vanhempiensa kanssa Saksaan, jolloin hän osasikin yhtäkkiä puhua lähes virheetöntä saksaa (Leopold, 1949, teoksessa Saunders, 1988: 45).

1900-luvun loppupuolella OPOL-strategiaan keskittyneitä kaksikielisyystutkijoita ovat muun muassa Arnberg, Saunders ja Romaine. Amerikkalainen kielitieteilijä Lenore Arnberg tutki Ruotsissa asuvia kaksikielisiä (ruotsi-englanti) lapsia keskittyen etenkin vanhempien käyttämiin kaksikielisyysstrategioihin.

Australialainen George Saunders tutki omia kaksikielisiä lapsiaan, joiden kielinä olivat englanti ja saksa. Suzanne Romaine käsitteli myös tutkimuksessaan OPOL-strategiaa, mutta hän ei suositellut sitä yhtä vahvasti kuin monet muut tukijat, vaan kritisoi OPOL:ille annettua vahvaa tukea kaksikielisyiden saralla.

Arnberg käsittelee tutkimuksessaan (1987: 87–89) mm. yleisiä ongelmia, joita kaksikieliset perheet kohtaavat. Hänen mukaansa kolme yleisintä ongelmaa ovat OPOL:in käyttö perheissä, joissa vain toinen vanhempi on kaksikielinen, kahden kielen täydellisen erottelamisen vaikeus sekä tilanteet, joissa lapsi kieltäytyy puhumasta vähemmistökieltä. Arnberg myös ehdottaa ratkaisuja edellä mainittuihin ongelmiin. Hänen mukaansa (1987: 87–88) enemmistökielisen vanhemman olisi hyvä opetella vähemmistökielessä vähintään passiivinen kielitaito – tai jollei tämä ole mahdollista, tukea vähemmistökieltä suhtautumalla kieleen positiivisesti. Kahden

kielen erottelemisen vaikeus ilmenee varsinkin tilanteissa, joissa perheen ulkopuolisia henkilöitä on läsnä. Arnberg kirjoittaa, että kielen vaihtaminen enemmistökieleksi ei tällaisissa tilanteissa ole haitallista, jos lapselle tehdään selväksi kielen vaihtamisen syy. Saunders (1988: 107) kuitenkin esittää eroavan mielipiteen: hän puhui itse lapsilleen aina vähemmistökieltä, mutta pyysi muiden ollessa paikalla lapsiaan tulkkaamaan saksankielisen puheen englanniksi, tai saattoi joskus tehdä sen itse. Tilanteissa, joissa lapsi ei suostu puhumaan vähemmistökieltä, sekä Arnberg (1987: 89) että Saunders (1988: 123–125) ehdottavat ratkaisuksi, että vähemmistökielinen vanhempi teeskentelee, ettei ymmärrä enemmistökieltä. Muita mahdollisia ratkaisuja on esim. se, että vanhempi vain jatkaa vähemmistökielen puhumista, vaikka lapsi vastaa toisella kielellä, tai että vanhempi kääntää lapsen puheen vähemmistökielelle.

Romaine kritisoi OPOL-strategiaa (1989) ja esitti, että suurimmasta osasta tällä tavalla kasvatetuista lapsista kasvaa passiivisia kaksikielisiä (teoksessa Barron-Hauwaert, 2004: 120). Romainen mukaan OPOL-strategian onnistunut käyttö, eli tapaukset, joissa lapsi on oppinut molemmat kielet täydellisesti, liittyy perheen sosiaaliseen ja taloudelliseen taustaan. Strategia soveltuisi siis vain keskiluokkaisten, arvostettujen kielten (kuten englanti, saksa ja ranska) puhuvien perheiden käyttöön, sillä näillä perheillä on yleensä hyvät mahdollisuudet tukea vähemmistökieltä muun muassa hankkimalla vähemmistökielisiä kirjoja ja elokuvia, palkkaamalla au-paireja ja käymällä usein vähemmistökielisen vanhemman kotimaassa.

### ***Tutkimuksen tulokset***

Skotlannissa asuvat kaksikieliset (suomi-englanti) perheet saavat harvoin kovinkaan paljon suomen kielen tukea kodin ulkopuolelta, jolloin kielen tukeminen eri tavoin jää suurilta osin suomenkielisen vanhemman tehtäväksi. Tutkielmassani selvitän, millaisia strategioita nämä perheet käyttävät suomen kielen tukemiseen. Tutkimus koostui kahdesta osasta: ensin lähetin sähköisen kyselylomakkeen, johon vastasi eri puolilla Skotlantia asuvia perheitä, minkä jälkeen haastattelin niitä Edinburghin ja Glasgow'n alueilla asuvia perheitä, jotka olivat kyselyssä ilmaisseet halukkuutensa osallistua haastatteluihin. Tutkimukseen osallistumisen edellytyksenä oli, että

perheen toinen vanhempi on englanninkielinen ja toinen suomenkielinen ja että perheessä on vähintään yksi lapsi. Toivottiin myös, että lapsi olisi viettänyt suurimman osan elämästään Skotlannissa, vaikka mitään tarkkoja vaatimuksia maassa asumiselle ei asetettu. Haastattelun osanottajat rajattiin Edinburghin ja Glasgow'n alueiden perheisiin käytännön järjestelyjen vuoksi. Alkuperäisiin yhteydenottoihin käytettiin Edinburghin ja Glasgow'n Suomi-koulujen sähköpostilistoja sekä ”Skotlannin suomalaiset” ja ”Suomi-skotti-perheet” -nimisiä Facebook-ryhmiä. Viestin vastaanottajia pyydettiin myös kertomaan tutkimuksesta muille tuntemilleen skotlantilais-suomalaisille perheille.

### **Kyselytutkimus**

Kyselytutkimukseen osallistui 20 perhettä, joista 17 täytti osallistumiselle asetetut vaatimukset. Kysymykset oli jaettu neljään eri osa-alueeseen: *taustatiedot, perheen kielet, lasten kielitaito ja kaksikielinen kasvatus*. Vastauksista kävi ilmi, että 16 perheessä oli suomenkielinen äiti, ja vain yhdessä isä oli suomenkielinen. Lapsia vastaajilla oli yhteensä 28: 13 tyttöä ja 15 poikaa, joiden ikäjakauma oli 2 kuukautta – 19 vuotta. Suurin osa lapsista oli iältään 3–5 vuotta.

Perheen kieliä koskevasta osiosta ilmeni, että kaikissa perheissä vanhemmat puhuvat keskenään englantia. Niissä 8 perheessä, jossa on useampi lapsi ja jossa vähintään kaksi lapsista osaa jo puhua, 2 perheessä lapset puhuvat keskenään suomea, yhdessä perheessä englantia, ja 5 perheessä sekä englantia että suomea. 10 perheessä kielellinen tilanne oli muuttunut jollain tavalla lasten syntymän jälkeen: 8 perheessä englanninkielisen vanhemman suomen kielen taito oli parantunut, ja 2 perheessä suomenkielinen äiti oli alkanut puhua lapselleen englantia – toinen siksi, ettei lapsen isä tukenut kaksikielistä kasvatusta, ja toinen siksi, että perhe oli muuttanut Suomeen ja äiti halusi tukea vähemmistökieleksi siirtynyttä englantia. Yksi äiti myös kommentoi sitä, miten paljon tukea hän saa miehensä suomen kielen taidosta, sillä äiti voi puhua suomea lapsilleen tuntematta, että hänen pitäisi tulkata puhe englanniksi miestään varten.

Lasten kielitaitoa käsittelevästä osiosta kävi ilmi, että 16 perheen lapset ymmärtävät suomea, mutta taso vaihtelee paljon. Yhden perheen lapsi on niin nuori, ettei hänen kielitaitoaan voi vielä arvioida. 7 perheen lapset puhuvat suomea hyvin, 5 perheen lapset puhuvat sitä jonkin verran ja 2 perheen lapset eivät puhu ollenkaan suomea. 3 perheen lapset ovat niin nuoria, etteivät vielä osaa puhua. Niistä 6 vastaajasta, joilla on lukutaitoisia lapsia, 5 vastasi, että ainakin yksi heidän lapsistaan osaa lukea ja kirjoittaa suomeksi, mutta taso on vaihteleva.

Kyselyn neljännessä osiossa osallistujia pyydettiin kertomaan kaksikielisen kasvatuksen taustoista ja käytännöistä. Suurin osa vastaajista kertoi kasvattavansa lapsensa kaksikielisiksi, jotta he voisivat kommunikoida suomenkielisten sukulaistensa kanssa. Suomen kielen katsottiin myös luovan vahvemman yhteyden Suomeen ja suomalaiseen identiteettiin. Muita syitä olivat muun muassa kielitaidon tuomat edut, Suomeen muuton mahdollistaminen sekä se, että suomi on vastaajalle tunnekieli. 15 vastaajaa kertoi käyttävänsä OPOL-strategiaa, ja muista vastauksista päätellen myös kaksi muuta perhettä seuraa strategiaa jossain määrin. Yksi vanhempi mainitsi englanninkielisen puolison tuen tärkeyden kaksikielisyyden saavuttamisessa eikä uskonut kaksikielisyyden olevan mahdollista ilman tätä tukea. Kukaan perheistä ei seuraa OPOL:ia täysin, sillä kaikki kertoivat joutuvansa muokkaamaan strategiaa etenkin sellaisissa tilanteissa, joissa paikalla on henkilöitä, jotka puhuvat vain englantia. Jotkut perheet kertoivat seuranneensa strategiaa hyvin tiukasti lasten ollessa pieniä, mutta käyttävänsä englantia enemmän nyt lasten ollessa hieman vanhempia. Englanninkielisessä seurassa suurin osa vastaajista sanoi vaihtavansa kielen englanniksi, mutta kaksi vastaajaa kertoi käyttävänsä tuolloin molempia kieliä. Moni vastaaja kertoi suomen puhumisen täysin englanninkielisessä seurassa usein olevan ”sosiaalisesti vaikeaa”.

Suomenkielisen syötteen lisäämiseksi kaikki perheet lukevat suomenkielisiä kirjoja ja 16 perheessä katsotaan suomenkielisiä elokuvia ja matkustetaan usein Suomeen. Myös suomenkielistä musiikkia kuunnellaan monessa perheessä, ja moni perhe tapaa suomenkielisiä ystäviään tai käy Suomi-koulussa. Muita tapoja lisätä suomen kuulemistä ja käyttöä olivat lehdet, au pair, Skype ja erilaiset pelit. Kaikkein

hyödyllisimpänä pidettiin matkoja Suomeen, suomenkielisiä kirjoja ja elokuvia sekä suomenkielisiä ystäviä tai vieraita Suomesta.

## **Haastattelut**

Haastatteluihin osallistui kymmenen perhettä. Heistä viisi asuu Edinburghissa, yksi asuu Glasgow'ssa ja neljä näiden kaupunkien läheisissä pikkukaupungeissa. Yhdeksässä perheessä äiti on suomenkielinen, yhdessä isä. Haastattelut tehtiin pääosin perheiden kotona, mutta kaksi pidettiin Glasgow'n Suomi-koulun tiloissa. Yhdessä haastattelussa paikalla olivat molemmat vanhemmat, jolloin haastattelu tehtiin englanniksi, mutta kaikki muut haastattelut tehtiin perheen äidin kanssa, jolloin keskustelu käytiin suomeksi. Joissain perheissä myös lapset olivat paikalla. Haastattelu oli kyselyn tapaan jaettu neljään eri osa-alueeseen: *taustatiedot, kasvatustrategiat, asenteet ja kielellinen syöte*. Puolistrukturoidussa haastattelussa käsiteltävät aihealueet oli päätetty etukäteen, ja ne perustuivat kyselytutkimuksesta saatuihin tietoihin, mutta lopulliset kysymykset muotoiltiin haastattelujen aikana tilanteeseen sopiviksi. Jotta haastattelutilanne olisi tuntunut haastateltavista mahdollisimman epämuodolliselta, käytettiin muistiinpanojen sijaan pelkästään nauhuria materiaalin keräämiseen. Kaikki osallistujat allekirjoittivat myös suostumuslomakkeen, jossa annettiin lupa haastattelujen tekemiseen, äänittämiseen ja käyttämiseen osana tutkielmaa. Vanhemmilta pyydettiin myös lupa käyttää heidän sekä heidän lastensa etunimiä tutkielmassa, mihin kaikki haastateltavat suostuivat.

Kaikki haastatteluihin osallistuneet vanhemmat yhtä lukuun ottamatta sanoivat pitäneensä kaksikielistä kasvatusta alusta lähtien itsestään selvänä valintana, eivätkä he olleet edes miettineet muita vaihtoehtoja. Kaikki perheet kertoivat seuranneensa aluksi OPOL-strategiaa, ja vain kahdessa perheessä strategiasta oli kokonaan luovuttu: Jonnan perheessä siksi, ettei hänen poikansa ymmärtänyt suomea, ja Pirjo C:n perheessä lasten mentyä kouluun, kun strategiaa ei enää pidetty tarpeellisena. OPOL:ia edelleen seuraavat perheet vaikuttavat kuitenkin olevan melko joustavia strategian seuraamisessa ja vaihtavan kieltä tilanteen sitä vaatiessa. Vaikeimpana suomen puhumista pidettiin lasten ollessa vielä vauvoja, kuten Emmi antamassa esimerkissä todetaan: ”Silloin ihan alkuun, kun pojat oli vauvoja, ja mä en päivittäin

täällä todellakaan käyttänyt suomea, niin se oli ihan todella typerää puhua itsekseen, kun kukaan ei vastaa sulle.” Aino oli samaa mieltä, ja lisäsi: ”Mä luulen, että se voi olla semmoinen hetki, missä joillakin saattaa lipsahtaa vieraan kielen puolelle.” Joistakin vanhemmista myös tuntui vaikealta puhua lapsilleen suomea, kun paikalla oli muita englanninkielisiä aikuisia tai lasten englanninkielisiä ystäviä. Heli sanoi kokeneensa, että jotkin ihmiset saattoivat pitää loukkaavana, että hän puhui lapsilleen suomea. Tällaisissa tilanteissa vanhemmat toimivat kolmella eri tavalla: he joko vaihtoivat puhekieleksi englannin, jatkoivat suomen puhumista lapsilleen, mutta tulkkasivat puheensa muille paikallaolijoille, tai jatkoivat vain suomen puhumista lapsilleen. Viimeiseen ratkaisuun päätyvät saattoivat selittää muille paikalla olijoille tekevänsä näin lastensa kielitaidon säilyttämisen takia, tai sitten he vain olettivat muiden ymmärtävän tilanteen.

Haastateltavista kolme toivoi lastensa oppivan puhumaan suomea sujuvasti ja myös oppivan lukemaan ja kirjoittamaan sitä ainakin jonkin verran, kun taas neljällä vanhemmalla oli tavoitteena, että heidän lapsensa saavuttaisivat täysin suomessa kasvaneiden lasten kielitaitoa vastaavan tason. Pasi, jonka lapset eivät tällä hetkellä puhu suomea, sanoi toivovansa, että he oppisivat tarpeeksi suomea voidakseen kommunikoida suomenkielisten isovanhempiensa kanssa. Pasin vaimo Wendy oli pannut merkille, että heidän tuntemiensa suomenkielisten äitien lapset puhuivat suomea sujuvasti, kun taas heidän omat lapsensa eivät vielä puhu suomea. Wendy uskoi tämän liittyvän siihen, että äidit viettävät enemmän aikaa lastensa kanssa, mutta koska tutkimukseen ei osallistunut muita suomenkielisiä isiä, tätä havaintoa ei voi yleistää.

Asenteista keskusteltaessa kävi ilmi, miten tärkeää enemmistökielisen puolison tuki on kaksikielisessä kasvatuksessa. Jonna kertoi joutuneensa vaihtamaan suomen puhumisen englantiin poikansa Jonathanin kanssa, sillä pojan isä ei halunnut, että Jonna puhuisi pojalle kieltä, jota isä ei ymmärtänyt. Jonna oli aluksi käyttänyt molempia kieliä, mutta huomattuaan, ettei hänen poikansa ymmärtänyt suomea enää ollenkaan, Jonna oli alkanut puhua Jonathanille vain englantia. Jonna sanoi näkevänsä selkeän eron suhtautumisessa nykyisen miehensä kanssa, sillä tämä suhtautuu hyvin positiivisesti suomen kieleen ja sen käyttöön, toisin kuin Jonnan

entinen mies. Myös Emmi puhui puolison tuen tärkeydestä: ”Puolison tuki on tärkeää silloin, kun tuntuu että omat panokset ovat loppuneet. Positiivinen asenne [...] ja kannustaminen auttoivat ainakin minua silloin, kun itse olin epäilevällä päällä ’hankkeen’ onnistumisesta.” Haastateltavat olivat kuitenkin kohdanneet pääasiassa positiivista suhtautumista lastensa kaksikielisyyteen niin sukulaisten kuin ystävien ja koulunkin taholta. Lasten omat asenteet olivat vaihtelevia. Yleensä sellaiset lapset, joilla oli paljon kaksikielisiä ystäviä, suhtautuivat positiivisesti kahden kielen käyttöön, kun taas Päivin tytär Natasha ainoana kaksikielisenä lapsena heidän ystäväpiirissään ei nuorempana halunnut, että Päivi puhuisi hänelle suomea kodin ulkopuolella. Kaksikielisten ystävien puute ei kuitenkaan aina tunnu vaikuttavan negatiivisesti lasten omiin asenteisiin, sillä Pirjo C:n lapset eivät koskaan kyseenalaistaneet suomen kielen käyttöä äitinsä kanssa, vaikka heidän lähipiirissään ei ollutkaan muita kaksikielisiä perheitä.

Suomenkielisen syötteen lisäämiseksi tärkeimpinä apuvälineinä pidettiin kirjoja, elokuvia ja Suomi-koulua. Monet perheet käyttävät myös Skypeä, kuuntelevat suomenkielistä musiikkia sekä tapaavat suomenkielisiä ystäviä. Kaikki haastateltavat pitivät matkoja Suomeen kaikkein parhaana tapana ylläpitää kielitaitoa, ja yhdeksän kymmenestä perheestä käykin Suomessa vähintään kaksi kertaa vuodessa. Lisäksi kuuden perheen lapset viettävät kesäisin vähintään kuukauden Suomessa.

### *Lopuksi*

Tutkimuksen tuloksista käy ilmi, että Grammontin esittämä menetelmä, jossa kielten selkeällä erottamisella lapsi oppii molemmat kielet vaivatta, ei aina vastaa todellisuutta. Tutkimukseen osallistuneissa perheissä näkyi esimerkkejä siitä, miten kielten erottelusta huolimatta lapsi ei oppinutkaan vähemmistökieltä, mutta toisaalta myös sellaisista tilanteista, joissa OPOL-strategiaa hyvin joustavasti seuranneiden perheiden lapset puhuivat suomea sujuvasti. On siis selvää, että kielten omaksumiseen vaikuttaa moni muukin asia kuin pelkkä OPOL-strategian tiukka seuraaminen.



Arnbergin suositus siitä, että enemmistökieltä puhuvan vanhemman olisi tärkeä suhtautua positiivisesti vähemmistökieleen, sai tukea tutkimuksen tuloksista. Varsinkin Jonnan kokemukset osoittivat, miten tärkeää puolison tuki on kaksikielisessä kasvatuksessa. Vähemmistökielen puhumiseen englanninkielisessä seurassa liittyvät ongelmat, joista sekä Arnberg että Saunders puhuvat, tulivat selvästi esille myös tässä tutkimuksessa. Vanhempien ratkaisut esiintyneisiin ongelmiin seurailivat sekä Arnbergin että Saundersin suosituksia: jotkut vaihtoivat kielen väliaikaisesti englanniksi, kun taas toiset jatkoivat suomen puhumista lapsilleen, joskus muille tulkaten.

Romainen esittämä kritiikki OPOL-strategiaa kohtaan ei saa tukea tästä tutkimuksesta, sillä vaikka tutkimukseen osallistuneet perheet kuuluvat keskiluokkaan ja heillä kaikilla on mahdollisuus tarjota lapsilleen kielitaitoa tukevia apuvälineitä, suomen kieltä ei kuitenkaan voi pitää arvostukseltaan englannin, ranskan tai saksan valtakielen veroisena. On kuitenkin mahdollista, että tutkimusryhmän sosioekonominen homogeenisyys vaikuttaa tutkimuksen tuloksiin.

Kyselylomake ja haastattelut tarjosivat laajan näkökulman Skotlannissa asuvien skotlantilais-suomalaisten perheiden kaksikielisten kasvatustrategioiden käyttöön ja siihen, millä tavoin suomen kieltä tuetaan englanninkielisessä ympäristössä. Tuloksista ilmenee, että vanhemmat ovat hyvin motivoituneita tarjoamaan lapsilleen mahdollisimman paljon eri apuvälineitä suomen kielitaidon ylläpitämiseen. Osanottajien pienen määrän vuoksi mitään yleistyksiä ei tämän tutkimuksen perusteella voi esittää, mutta havainnot antavat kuitenkin kiinnostavan yleiskuvan kaksikielisen kasvatuksen ongelmista ja ratkaisuista. Vaikka tässä tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan skotlantilais-suomalaisia perheitä, eivät tulokset kuitenkaan liity pelkästään näihin kansallisuuksiin tai kieliin. Tutkielmassa esitellyistä tiedoista voi olla hyötyä myös muunkielisille perheille, jotka haluavat kasvattaa lapsensa kaksikielisiksi tilanteessa, jossa ympäristö tarjoaa hyvin vähän tukea vähemmistökielen ylläpitämiseen.

## Appendix I – Questionnaire on bilingualism and its translation into English

\*Tähdellä merkityt kysymykset ovat pakollisia

\*Compulsory questions are indicated by an asterisk

### TAUSTAT

### BACKGROUND

1. Vastajaajan sukupuoli\*

1. Gender of participating parent\*

- nainen

- female

- mies

- male

2. Lasten sukupuolet ja iät\*

2. Children's ages and genders\*

3. Missä perheesi asuu tällä hetkellä?\*

3. Where is your family currently living?\*

4. Miten kauan lapsesi ovat asuneet Skotlannissa? Miten kauan Suomessa?\*

4. For how long have your children lived in Scotland? For how long have they lived in Finland?\*

### PERHEEN KIELET

### FAMILY LANGUAGES

5. Mitä kieliä vanhemmat osaavat?\*

5. Which language(s) do the parents speak?\*

- äiti: suomea / englantia

- mother: Finnish / English

- isä: suomea / englantia

- father: Finnish / English

6. Mitä kieltä/kieliä vanhemmat puhuvat keskenään?\*

6. What language(s) do the parents use when speaking to each other?\*

- suomea

- Finnish

- englantia

- English

- sekä suomea että englantia

- Finnish and English

- kumpikin puhuu omaa kieltään

- each speaks their own language

7. Kun koko perhe keskustelee, mikä on silloin yhteinen kieli/mitkä ovat yhteiset kielet?\*

- suomi
- englanti
- sekä suomi että englanti

7. What language(s) is used when all family members are included in a conversation?\*

- Finnish
- English
- both Finnish and English

8. Mitä kieltä/kieliä sisarukset puhuvat keskenään?

- suomea
- englantia
- sekä suomea että englantia
- sisarukset puhuvat toisilleen eri kieliä

8. What language(s) do the siblings speak to each other?

- Finnish
- English
- Finnish and English
- each of the siblings speaks a different language to the other

9. Onko perheen kielellinen tilanne muuttunut merkittävästi lasten syntymän jälkeisenä aikana?

9. Has the linguistic situation of the family changed notably since the children were born?

10. Muuta asiaan liittyvää?

10. Any other comments relating to this subject?

#### LASTEN KIELITAIDON ARVIO

11. Puheen ymmärtäminen\*  
Miten hyvin lapset ymmärtävät puhuttua kieltä (suomenkielisen vanhemman puhe, Suomessa asuvien aikuisten ja lasten puhe, TV...)?

#### CHILDREN'S LEVEL OF FINNISH

11. Understanding speech\*  
How well do your children understand spoken Finnish (from the Finnish parent, adults and children living in Finland, TV...)?

12. Puheen tuottaminen\*  
Miten hyvin lapset puhuvat suomea?  
Pystyvätkö he kommunikoimaan  
muiden suomalaisten (lasten ja  
aikuisten) kanssa?

13. Lukeminen  
Osaavatko lapset lukea suomea?  
Minkä tyyppisiä tekstejä?

14. Kirjoittaminen  
Osaavatko lapset kirjoittaa suomea?  
Minkälaisia tekstejä?

#### KAKSIKIELINEN KASVATUS

15. Miksi päätitte kasvattaa lapset  
kaksikielisiksi? Mitä hyötyä lapsille  
mielestäsi on suomen kielen taidosta?\*

16. Onko perheessäsi perehdytty  
kaksikieliseen kasvatukseen esim.  
kirjojen, artikkeleiden tai  
keskustelupalstojen kautta? Jos on,  
miten?

17. Käytetäänkö perheessäsi jotain  
erityistä kasvatustrategiaa ( yksi  
henkilö - yksi kieli, yksi ympäristö -  
yksi kieli, tms.)? Jos kyllä, mitä? Onko  
strategia muuttunut jossain  
vaiheessa?\*

12. Producing speech\*  
How well do your children speak  
Finnish? Are they able to  
communicate with other Finns  
(children and adults)?

13. Reading  
Are your children able to read  
Finnish? What kinds of texts?

14. Writing  
Are your children able to write  
Finnish? What kinds of texts?

#### BILINGUAL CHILD REARING

15. Why did you decide to raise your  
children bilingually? How do you  
think your children will benefit from  
knowing Finnish?\*

16. Are you familiar with research on  
bilingualism, e.g. books, articles or  
discussion forums? If yes, what?

17. Is any specific child rearing  
strategy used in your family (one  
person – one language, one  
environment – one language, etc.)? If  
yes, what? Has the strategy changed at  
any point?\*

18. Millä tavoin strategian seuraaminen näkyy käytännössä? Seurataanko strategiaa tiukasti vai joustavasti? Muuttuuko strategia tilanteen mukaan, esim. kodin ulkopuolella?

18. How do you follow the strategy in practice? Do you follow it strictly or flexibly? Does the strategy change in certain situations, e.g. outside the home?

19. Oletko koskaan kokenut strategian seuraamisen ongelmalliseksi? Millaisissa tilanteissa?

19. Have you ever found it difficult to follow the strategy? In which situations?

20. Mitä seuraavista perheessäsi on käytetty lasten suomen kielen taidon ylläpitämiseen?\*

20. Which of the following have been used in your family to maintain the children's level of Finnish?\*

- kirjat
- elokuvat
- musiikki
- lehdet
- au pair
- Suomi-koulu
- suomenkieliset tuttavat
- matkat Suomeen

- books
- films
- music
- magazines
- au pair
- Finnish School
- Finnish friends
- trips to Finland

21. Muuta, mitä?

21. If something else, what?

22. Mistä on mielestäsi ollut erityisen paljon hyötyä?\*

22. What has been particularly beneficial, in your opinion?\*

## YHTEYSTIEDOT

### Haastattelu

Jos asut Edinburghin tai Glasgow'n lähistöllä, ja perheelläsi on mahdollisuus osallistua haastatteluun lokakuussa (1-10.10. välisenä aikana) voit lisätä yhteystietosi, ja otan sinuun yhteyttä pikimmiten. Lomakkeessa annettuja vastauksia ei yhdistetä yhteystietoihin.

### 23. Yhteystiedot

- Etunimi
- Sukunimi
- Sähköposti
- Asuinpaikka

## CONTACT DETAILS

### Interview

If you live close to Edinburgh or Glasgow and if your family would be able to participate in an interview in October (1–10.10) please provide your contact details, and I will contact you as soon as possible. The answers provided in the questionnaire will not be connected with the contact details.

### 23. Contact details

- First name
- Last name
- E-mail
- Town/city

## Appendix II – Interview questions and their translations into English

### 1. TAUSTAT

- 1.1. Ketä perheeseesi kuuluu?
- 1.2. Miten kauan olet asunut Skotlannissa?
- 1.3. Missä lapset ovat asuneet ja miten kauan?
- 1.4. Osaako puolisisi suomea?
- 1.5. Mikä on perheesi kielellinen tilanne? (*kuka puhuu mitä kieltä kenen kanssa ja missä tilanteissa, pysyykö samana vai vaihtelee*)

### 2. STRATEGIAT

- 2.1. Valittiinko perheesi kielistrategia (OPOL) tietoisesti?
  - Mietittiinkö muita vaihtoehtoja?
- 2.2. Onko strategia muuttunut jossain vaiheessa?
- 2.3. Miten tiukasti OPOL-strategiaa seurataan?

### 1. BACKGROUND

- 1.1. Who are the members of your family?
- 1.2. How long have you lived in Scotland?
- 1.3. Where have your children lived, and for how long?
- 1.4. Does your partner speak Finnish?
- 1.5. What is the linguistic situation in your family? (*who speaks which language to whom and in what situations, does it always stay the same or does it vary*)

### 2. STRATEGIES

- 2.1. Was your family's linguistic strategy (OPOL) a deliberate choice?
  - Did you consider other options?
- 2.2. Has the strategy changed at any point?
- 2.3. How strictly do you follow the OPOL strategy?

- 2.4. Oletko joskus kokenut strategian seuraamisen vaikeaksi?
- Millaisissa tilanteissa?
  - Miten olet ratkaissut siitä syntyneet ongelmat?

- 2.5. Minkälaisen suomen kielen tason toivoisit lapsesi saavuttavan?

### 3. ASENTEET

- 3.1. Miten puolisoisi suhtautuu lapsenne kaksikielisyyteen?
- Onko suhtautuminen muuttunut?
- 3.2. Miten ympäristö (*brittisukulaiset, ystävät, opettajat...*) suhtautuvat lapsesi kaksikielisyyteen?
- Onko suhtautuminen muuttunut?
  - Onko ympäristössä muita kaksikielisiä perheitä? (*samoja malleja?*)
- 3.3. Miten lapsesi suhtautuu kaksikielisyyteensä?
- Onko suhtautuminen muuttunut?

- 2.4. Have you ever found it difficult to follow the strategy?
- In which situations?
  - How have you solved these problems?

- 2.5. What level of Finnish are you hoping your children will achieve?

### 3. ATTITUDES

- 3.1. How does your partner feel about raising your children bilingually?
- Has his/her attitude changed?
- 3.2. How do the people around you (*British relatives, friends, teachers...*) feel about you raising your children bilingually?
- Has their attitude changed?
  - Are you in contact with other bilingual families? (*similar models?*)
- 3.3. How do your children feel about being raised bilingually?
- Has their attitude changed?



#### 4. KIELELLINEN SYÖTE

- 4.1. Missä tilanteissa/kenen kanssa lapsesi kuulee/käyttää suomea...
- a) päivittäin?
  - b) harvemmin – miten usein? (*onko muita tuttuja suomalaisia, mitä kieltä kaksikieliset ystävät puhuvat keskenään?*)

- 4.2. Millä tavoin kielellisen syötteen määrää yritetään (*/on aikaisemmin yritetty*) lisätä? (*kirjat (lukeeko vanhempi vai lapsi itse?), elokuvat, Suomi-koulu, Skype, matkat, vieraat, au pair...*)

- 4.3. Onko jollain tekijöillä ollut selvä vaikutus lapsesi suomen kielen taitoon (*suuntaan tai toiseen*)?

#### 5. MUUTA LISÄTTÄVÄÄ?

#### 4. LINGUISTIC INPUT

- 4.1. In which situations/with whom do your children hear/use Finnish...
- c) daily?
  - d) less frequently – how often? (*do you see other Finnish people, what language do bilingual friends use with each other?*)

- 4.2. In what way have you tried to increase the amount of Finnish input? (*books (is it the parent or the child who reads?), films, Finnish School, Skype, trips to Finland, Finnish guests, au pairs...*)

- 4.3. Are there any specific factors that have influenced your children's level of Finnish in a notable way (*positively or negatively*)?

#### 5. OTHER COMMENTS?