

**English in the Linguistic Landscape of Tampere: Studying  
the Visible Process of Macroacquisition**

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Miksi englantia näkee niin paljon Tampereen kaduilla? Mitä englanti oikeastaan tekee Suomessa, kun se ei kuitenkaan ole maan virallinen kieli? Tämä sosiolingvistinen tutkielma esittelee syitä englannin käyttöön ja läsnäoloon sekä etsii vastauksia omiin tutkimuskysymyksiinsä kartoittamalla Tampereen kielimaisemaa melko uuden tieteellisen lähestymistavan, *linguistic landscapen*, metodein. Tarkastelun kohteina ovat englanninkieliset tekstit kauppojen, liikeyritysten tai instituutioiden kylteissä, ikkunoissa, valomainoksissa jne. Tutkielman keskeisimmät kysymykset ovat: kuka englantia käyttää ja mihin tarkoitukseen kaupungin liikekaduilla?

Englannin kieli alkoi levitä kiihtyvällä vauhdilla ympäri maailmaa heti toisen maailmansodan päättymisen jälkeen, ja nykyään sen valta-asema on kiistaton globaalissa viestinnässä. Englanti onkin maailman laajimmalle levinnyt kieli, jonka hallitseminen on välttämätöntä useissa nykyammateissa. Myös Suomessa se on suosituin vieras kieli, jota lähes kaikki ovat opiskelleet koulussa pakollisena aineena erityisesti 1970-luvun koulu-uudistuksen jälkeen. Vaikka englannilla ei ole Suomessa virallista asemaa, se näkyy Tampereen keskustan katukuvassa yleisemmin kuin maan toinen virallinen kieli, ruotsi.

Englannin laajaa suosiota selitetään usein globalisaatiolla ja siihen liittyvillä ilmiöillä. Globalisaatio ja uusi teknologia ovatkin muokanneet maapallosta valtavan kylien ja kaupunkien verkoston, jossa ihmiset eivät enää elä eristyksissä toisistaan vaan kommunikoivat englanniksi.

Mutta onko globalisaatio ainoa iso toimija englannin laajamittaisen käytön takana? Sosiolingvisti Janina Brutt-Griffler on pitkään tutkinut vieraiden kielten omaksumista puheyhteisöjen näkökulmasta. Brutt-Grifflerin *macroacquisition* -teorian mukaan uusi kieli voidaan omaksua myös yhteisön tasolla eikä vain yksilön tasolla kuten on perinteisesti totuttu ajattelemaan. *Macroacquisition* -prosessissa jokin tietty puheyhteisö ottaa uuden kielen omakseen, ja näin yhteisön kieliympäristö alkaa vähitellen muuttua yksikielisestä kaksikielisempään suuntaan. Merkittävää on myös se, että prosessin myöhemmässä vaiheessa uusi kieli voi muuttua puheyhteisön kielen ja kulttuurin vaikutuksesta. Brutt-Griffler väittääkin, että tällaisilla puheyhteisöillä on keskeinen rooli englannin kielen tulevaisuutta ennustettaessa. Englannin sosiaalista todellisuutta valottavien tutkimuskysymystensä lisäksi tämä tutkielma pyrkii myös löytämään merkkejä *macroacquisition* -prosessista Tampereen kieliyhteisössä.

Avainsanat: Linguistic landscape, macroacquisition, globalization, World English

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

English has long ago exceeded the international stature that Latin once held. According to Dewey (2007, 333) there are three aspects why the case of English is different from Latin: the degree of the dispersion of English geographically, the different areas and domains in which English is used, and the extensive variety of speakers from different cultures who use English.

Today, it is generally acknowledged that English has spread all over Finland to the extent that it has become by far the most popular foreign language in the country. In Tampere, which is the largest inland city of the country, Swedish, despite its official status, is much less prominent than English. Through movies and television we all have grown familiar with neon signs blinking ‘open’ or ‘welcome’ in a window of the traditional American bar. At present it seems that these multi-coloured signs are rapidly conquering the city centre of Tampere where the McDonald’s hamburger chain already landed in 1984. Globalization has brought us not only international corporations and franchise businesses, but also a language which can be a useful tool for different social activities at the local level.

In the daytime the city centre of Tampere is a buzzing market area. The streets are filled with dozens of people who visit the shops, stores, bars, restaurants and other businesses that are responsible for creating the multilingual atmosphere of the city with their signs and advertisements. It is evident that globalization and global market are affecting the sociolinguistic environment of Tampere and increasing the role of English in the cityscape. Pahta and Taavitsainen (2004, 172) state that “American impact on the growth of the consumer society and on the practices of advertising in general undoubtedly contributes to a tendency to use English.” Paakkinen (2008, 299) points out that the same advertisements

spread to various countries because of international businesses and global advertising formats, which affect the language choices in the advertisements.

According to David Crystal (2003, 94) the presence of English in shop signs, posters and neon displays is one of the most noticeable manifestations of its spread all over the world. As globalization advances, it seems that English, as the Latin of today, is still increasing its influence in countries like Finland, and the language itself is changing, too, as a result of its globalization and spread. But where is it really heading after being recognized as the world's leading language in international communication? What is the role of English in the Tampere speech community? By contemplating these types of questions sociolinguist Janina Brutt-Griffler explains language spread and change with the theory of *macroacquisition*. Brutt-Griffler (2002, xi) stresses the idea of "second language acquisition by communities" and examines the spread and change of English on a social rather than on an individual basis, which traditionally been the focus of second language studies.

Gorter (2006, 83) states that the modern city scenery is a "multilingual cityscape" which was born as a consequence of globalization. It seems that nowadays the multilingual environment is often taken for granted and we seem to be either too close to it, or too accustomed to give it any serious thought. Anyhow, all of us who are living in Finnish cities or towns encounter English outdoors on a daily basis when we are strolling through the jungles of signs and symbols on our high streets. This is the phenomenon that Blommaert (2010, 1) urges us to examine when he describes the sociolinguistic environment that makes us a part of the web of global cities and towns that use English as their lingua franca of communication. This is the modern sociolinguistic reality that the present study sets out to examine in the city of Tampere.

The study of *linguistic landscape* (LL) was considered as a suitable methodological approach for examining the presence of English in Tampere, because LL provides a rich

sociolinguistic research target. According to Cenoz and Gorter (2006, 67-68) the study of linguistic landscape is especially interesting and suitable in multilingual contexts where it can provide information about the sociolinguistic context of a community by focusing on the written language that is visible on signs in a specific area. Gorter (2006, 81) points out that “the process of globalization is made visible through the presence of English in the linguistic landscape.” Backhaus (2007, 1) adds that “the city is a place of language contact where rich empirical data on the use of language on signs” can be obtained; this makes any city or town an ideal and accessible target for LL research.

Indeed, if you really put your mind to it, a lot of questions surround the presence of English in Tampere. In general, you might ask, what is English doing here or why is it here? And, more specifically, you might want to find out what the English language is used for, who uses it and where.

This study aims to chart the role of English in the city centre of Tampere by searching for answers to four key questions, while simultaneously looking for signs of the process of macroacquisition within the local community. The core research questions are outlined as follows:

1. Which content is English used for?
2. Who uses English? Who are the actors?
3. Which content do different actors prefer?
4. Which market sectors utilize English?

The analysis makes use of Brutt-Griffler’s (2002) notion of macroacquisition and the methodological approach of the linguistic landscape study. The motivation for this study

came from my personal interest in the sociolinguistic reality of the community of Tampere. It seems that now is the time to take a closer look at the occurrence of written English which is strikingly salient in the centre of Tampere and, moreover, easily accessible to anyone.

## **2. ENGLISH IN THE WORLD**

The spread of English to its current position has been widely reviewed from different perspectives in the last few decades (see Strevens 1980; Kachru 1986; Phillipson 1992; Jenkins 2003). Numerous attempts to estimate the amount of English speakers have given varying and immensely inconsistent results. Mainly this has been caused by the high number of different speaker divisions by various scholars (cf. Crystal 2003; Brutt-Griffler 2002; Jenkins 2003; Nevalainen 2004; Graddol 2006).

Now when we are thinking of the current position of English, the key word is “global”. In *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* (2000) “global” is defined as “covering or affecting the whole world”. In the modern era English has been functioning as the unique global language or the world language (see e.g. Seidlhofer 2004). Chew (1999, 43) states that English is the principal language of global communication. Furthermore, it has become the global language of the media, academic journals, books, sports and entertainment. Crystal (2003, 3) defines a global language as a language which has developed several significant roles in various countries. Although Chinese might have the greatest number of native speakers in the world, it has not been enough to become a global language. According to Crystal (2003, 4) this development can take place in mainly two different manners: either the language is made the official language of the country (used, for example, in the media,



education and government), or the language is given a priority in language teaching, even if the language had no official status in the country.

The speakers of Chinese might outnumber the speakers of English but globally thinking, English is the most widely spread language. Its position in Europe is firm, too, as according to the Eurobarometer of the European Community (2006) in 19 out of 29 countries included in the poll, it is English, which is the most widely known language after the respective mother tongues.

*Globalization* is one of the biggest forces behind the current rapid spread of English. Its unforeseeable needs for international communication have created new colossal ways of communication such as the Internet. According to Chew (1999, 45) communication technologies have made the world a small global village in which people are no longer isolated from the rest of the world. Blommaert (2010, 1), on the other hand, points out that “the world has not become a village, but rather a tremendously complex web of villages, towns, neighbourhoods, settlements connected by material and symbolic ties in often unpredictable ways.”

The word “globalization” is illustrated in *Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary* (2000) with the example of “the globalization of world trade”. This is very felicitous when we complete the idea with the utility of English as a tool of communication for the international business. Phillipson (2003, 187) uses the term “McDonaldisation” when he is describing the process of globalization and economical structures. Phillipson and Skutnabb-Kangas (1999, 23) believe that a higher level of globalization has been reached in the area of communication than in “politics, economics or military affairs.” In general, it is believed that today globalization and the growing use of English are the cause and effect of each other (see e.g. Graddol 2006).

### **3. ENGLISH IN FINLAND**

The position of English in Finland today is that of a lingua franca of international communication as English is the major language of research and business in Finland. Although it has no official status, English is also the most popular foreign language in Finland and it seems that the global development of English to the present lingua franca status is having significant effect on the linguistic situation of Finland, too. Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003) mention various domains where one can come across English in Finland, e.g. the mass media, youth culture, science and education, Finnish company names and job advertisements.

English did not arrive in Finland by chance. Before the Second World War, German was practically the only foreign language taught in Finland. Leppänen and Nikula (2008, 12) point out that the arrival of English is not an isolated event but it has come as a part of the global spread of English. The popularity of English started to rise in Finland after the end of Second World War particularly when we compare it to the popularity of German (Leppänen and Nikula 2008, 17). Eventually, the comprehensive school reform in the 1970s gave English the final boost as it was made a compulsory school subject and although a student could still choose German, French or Russian as the first foreign language, he or she became compelled to learn English as well.

#### **3.1 Language situation of Finland**

Finland is officially a bilingual country with Finnish and Swedish guaranteed an equal status in language legislation of 1922. However, Kalliokoski (2009, 9) adds that Finland has always been a multilingual country where the immigration of the 1990s has heightened linguistic

diversity. According to Latomaa and Nuolijärvi (2005, 125) the immigration has brought with it several established linguistic minorities to the country. Presently there are over a hundred foreign languages that are spoken as mother tongues in Finland, including e.g. Somali, Turkish, and Vietnamese. However, these languages constitute only 2.9 per cent of the population (Taavitsainen and Pahta 2008, 28).

Although Finns are accustomed to multilingualism in the environment of two official languages and various linguistic minorities, it has to be remembered that the majority of the population speaks Finnish as their mother tongue, and the occurrence of Swedish on the Finnish mainland as a majority language is mainly restricted to coastal areas. According to Statistics Finland (2010) the overwhelming majority of 90.37 per cent of the population speaks Finnish as their mother tongue. The proportion of Swedish speakers in the same year was 5.42 per cent, which was slightly less than it had been a year earlier. Sámi (0.03 per cent) and Romany have the status of minority languages.

Thus, the vast majority of the people who use English in Finland are native speakers of the Finnish language which belongs to the Finno-Ugric language family. Finnish is linguistically, similarly to its two major relative languages, Hungarian and Estonian, very different from English. According to Taavitsainen and Pahta (2008, 28) the incorporation of English words and phrases into Finnish discourse is potentially more complicated than into other Scandinavian languages.

The amount of native speakers of English in Finland was 11 344 in 2009 (Statistics Finland 2010) which is less than 0.2 per cent of the population of 5.3 million. According to Taavitsainen and Pahta (2008, 28) such low native speaker numbers confirm that the presence and popularity of English in Finland has no correspondence with the number of native speakers living in the country.

### 3.2. Knowledge of English

Leppänen and Nikula (2008,10) describe the development of the popularity of English by stating that from the 1960s to 1980s English was a foreign language that Finns studied for communication with foreigners. However, by the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century the role of English had started to change in Finland. The change can be explained with the joint effect of the same numerous factors as elsewhere in the world. These factors are listed by Leppänen and Nikula (2008, 16-17) as follows: the structural change of society, modernization, urbanization, internationalization, global changes in trade and business, effective language education, new communication channels and forums etc. According to Latomaa and Nuolijärvi (2005, 125) “internationalisation and globalisation have become a part of Finnish society, and the role of English in business, education, media and science has become more accentuated than ever before.”

The present position of English as the lingua franca of international communication is well-attested in Finland e.g. at service counters and tourist venues (Taavitsainen and Pahta 2003, 5). Similarly, the mass media and education have been promoting the importance of English in Finland (Taavitsainen and Pahta 2003, 5-6) so that English is now by far the most taught foreign language in Finnish schools. According to Maiworm and Wächter (2002, 30) Finland has the greatest number of higher education degrees taught in English among the non-English speaking European countries in proportion to the population. Phillipson (1992, 25) suggests even that Finland, like the other Nordic countries, is shifting from English as a foreign language towards second language use of English. Interestingly, Sajavaara remarks (1993, 45) that, instead of Swedish or the so-called “Scandinavian”, English is used as a lingua franca between the Nordic countries now. McArthur (2003, 58) mentions that Finns

are a part of the group of nations that use English regularly and “even routinely” inside the EU.

Indeed, the knowledge of English is today widely spread in Finland. According to the adult education survey of Statistics Finland (2006) it was recorded that 78 per cent of the male population and 86 per cent of the female population knew English. These figures rise well above the European average, as according to the Eurobarometer of the European Community (2006), almost 40 per cent of Europeans speak English as a second or foreign language, and over 50 per cent claim that they are able to speak and understand it.

### **3.3 Attitudes towards English**

The overall attitudes towards English are quite positive as is shown in the national survey by Leppänen et al. (2009). The presence of Anglo-American entertainment industry in Finland is very salient and it is available to almost all members of Finnish society. According to Leppänen and Nikula (2008, 20-21) the television programs and movies with subtitles, instead of dubbing, make English an essential part of the leisure time activities of Finns. Taavitsainen and Pahta (2008, 28) state that English is daily encountered in Finland through various forms of popular culture and entertainment. Hiidenmaa (2003, 75) describes how there are both intellectual and practical reasons for the preference of English: Finnish researchers do not publish research papers in Finnish anymore in order to save time and trouble. But most importantly, as Pahta (2004, 36) points out, with globalization English has become a compulsory tool in many fields of the working life.

However, not all the attitudes towards the extensive use of English are so positive. According to Leppänen and Nikula (2008, 10) it is not unusual to criticize English as a tool of the economic and power interests of the United States and especially at the European level

English may be seen as a threat. Phillipson (2003, 82) states that “English inhibits the maintenance and equality of other European languages”. House (2008, 64) describes how the opposition to the use of English as the only working language in the EU is “too strong and widespread for any simple one-language solution”. Despite this, it seems that many major languages of the past have fallen behind English in the European pecking order. House (2008, 64) sums this up by saying that “while French occupied a prestigious position in the past, it is now without doubt the English language which holds a special position in the European linguistic landscape.”

In some parts of the world the rapid spread has earned English the reputation of a killer language. Especially when English has penetrated into speech communities that were depending solely on the spoken tradition, it has managed to suffocate them and cause the extinction of several indigenous languages (Pahta 2004, 39). However, this is not the case in Finland, where according to Leppänen et al. (2009, 155) people consider the knowledge of English to be an essential resource and not a threat to the Finnish culture and language. The national survey (Leppänen et al. 2009, 127) found out that more than half of the respondents had positive attitudes to language mixing and third of them were against it. The results of the survey (Leppänen et al. 2009) show that young people had the most positive attitude to English.

Furthermore, Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003, 5) point out interestingly that the use of English affects the manner of people’s speech in Finland. Code-switching is a common feature in the speech of juveniles and nowadays there are many code-switched words in everyday spoken language in Finland (ibid.). The national survey of Finns’ attitudes to and use of English (Leppänen et al. 2009) also found that Finnish-English code-switching is considered as a quite positive phenomenon. The results showed that the youth utilized code-

switched words clearly more in their speech than older people, and that the attitudes of the young were also most positive to such language use (ibid.119).

The fact that English is widely regarded as a positive phenomenon and not a threat in Finland has been further enhancing the possibility of macroacquisition. In the present linguistic climate one could argue that it was hardly a surprise when the national survey found the overall attitudes towards English to be quite positive (Leppänen et al. 2009). The survey also states that the significance of English was becoming more substantial in many social domains (Leppänen et al. 2009, 155), which can be regarded as an important finding from the viewpoint of macroacquisition.

#### **4. TAMPERE AS A LANGUAGE COMMUNITY**

Tampere is one of the three most rapidly developing regions in Finland. According to the official web page of the City of Tampere (2010), Tampere came first in an image survey comparing the largest cities in Finland in 2010. It was also the most attractive city among Finns who plan on moving. As the hub of Pirkanmaa region, Tampere represents the centre of commerce, not only for Pirkanmaa municipalities but to a large number of municipalities from neighboring regions as well.

Tampere was founded in 1779 by Sweden's young monarch, Gustavus III and it has since evolved as the largest inland centre in the Nordic countries. Presently it is the third largest city in Finland. It is located at about 170 kilometres northwest of Finland's capital, Helsinki. Currently, there are over 210 000 inhabitants in the city of Tampere, and close to half a million inhabitants in the region, which comprises Tampere and 21 other municipalities. According to the web page of Tampere Chamber of Commerce (2011) the total population in the Tampere Region is 476 631 persons.

The general landscape of the city centre of Tampere is still dominated by red-brick factory buildings and chimneys due to the fact that historically Tampere has been an industrial city that used to concentrate mainly on textile industries. In the 19th century Tampere was known as a major market and industrial town. However, in the latter part of the 20th century the social and industrial structure Tampere started to change dramatically. The 1960s saw, for instance, the arrivals of University of Tampere and Tampere University of Technology. Today, information technology businesses led by Nokia have become the city's most important employers. Tampere is now a centre of modern technology, business, research, education, culture, sports and business.

According to the official Internet page of Tampere Chamber of Commerce (2011) the present business success of Tampere is based on the concentration of expertise in fields such as health and biotechnology, machine construction, automation, electrical engineering and electronics. The EU office of the region states that Tampere has had a great number “firsts” during its more than 230 years of existence. Of these, the firsts in new technologies are particularly interesting. They include the world’s first NMT phone call in 1974 and the world’s first GSM call in 1991 (Tampere Region EU Office 2011).

One could argue that linguistically Tampere is a typical Finnish inland city. There are many speakers of a number of different languages but the numbers of speakers of other languages than Finnish are relatively small. Almost all residents are speakers of Finnish and more than 90 per cent of the city’s population speaks Finnish as their mother tongue (Statistics Finland 2010).

The historical language situation of the city is well-illustrated by Lönnroth (2009b, 237) who stresses the fact that from the first days of Finland’s independence the population of Tampere has, almost totally, been speakers of Finnish. Swedish, the other official language,



was spoken only by 1062 persons in Tampere in 2007 (ibid. 123). There are other languages that have been involved in the developing of Tampere but the numbers of speakers have always remained very low. However, despite their modest numbers Lönnroth (2009a, 10) thinks that they bear some significance. It is worth mentioning that the statistics from 1910 show that there were 76 Russian, 68 German and 15 English speakers living in the city at the time (ibid. 236).

In the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries the needs of the local industry brought new languages and cultures to Tampere (Lönnroth 2009a, 8). The English language was originally made famous in Tampere by the Scottish industrialist James Finlayson (1771-1852). More than 150 years after Finlayson and the first cotton factories, in 2008, there were still only 899 native speakers of English living in the city (Statistics Finland 2010). Today, the textile industry is long gone but the famous nickname of Tampere, “Manse”, still survives. Once, the cotton industry had earned Tampere its famous nickname, which is a nativized Finnish abbreviation of the epithet: “Manchester of Finland” (Lönnroth 2009a, 8).

Some diversification to the linguistic map of Tampere was brought by the sudden immigration from certain remote countries in 1980s and 1990s. For instance, during the years of 1989 and 1990 Tampere received 113 refugees from Vietnam and later in the 1990s more refugees arrived from Somalia, Afghanistan, Kurdish areas and from the former Soviet and Yugoslav republics (Nylund-Oja 1995). But the total number of speakers of languages other than Finnish or Swedish still remained very low as it was 9550 in 2008 (Statistics Finland 2010).

## 5. MACROACQUISITION

This study looks at the social role of English in the linguistic landscape of Tampere through the lens of Brutt-Griffler's sociolinguistic theory of *macroacquisition* (2002).

In brief, the theory of macroacquisition describes the spread of language to new speech communities via a process of second language acquisition and stresses the idea of second language acquisition by communities at the global level (Brutt-Griffler 2002, 136, xi). This section introduces briefly the theory and the concepts that are relevant for this study.

### 5.1 World English

Brutt-Griffler (2002, 1) names the language of the global communication as *World English*, which is "the means and results of the spread of English from its historical boundaries to its current position as the preeminent global means of communication." In other words, World English exists because its users have changed the language as they have spread it. She understands the spread of English not only as territorial but as social second language acquisition which she calls macroacquisition (Brutt-Griffler 2002, ix).

As a starting point for any world language Brutt-Griffler (2002, 110) defines the following characteristic features:

- (1) The language has both an economic and a cultural role in the world community.
- (2) It is not only a language of the elite.
- (3) It establishes itself alongside other languages in multilingual contexts.
- (4) It does not spread by speaker migration but by macroacquisition in countries where it is spoken as a foreign or second language.

All these criteria are met by English. Brutt-Griffler (2002, 4) points out that English is changing and developing as it spreads internationally as part of its own development. Her views of English functioning independently from a degree of the norms established by its native users are shared by many others (see e. g. Jenkins 2003, Seidhofer 2004). The recognition of this phenomenon is regarded as very important by many scholars who think that the resulting “new” Englishes, like ELF or World English, could play vital roles in shaping the future of English.

## **5.2 Spread of English**

Brutt-Griffler (1998, 387) emphasizes that the non-native users “provide the strongest momentum” for the development of the English language in its global uses as “agents of language change”. She (ibid. ix) sums up the paradoxical future of English by stating: “World English is not simply made through the speakers of other languages but by them.”

There have been various theories aiming to explain the spread and rise of English. One of the most cited is Phillipson’s theory of linguistic imperialism. According to Phillipson (1992, 1) English gained its current position through its promotion “as an instrument of the foreign policy of the major English-speaking states.” But according to Brutt-Griffler, Phillipson’s (2002, 10), the theory of linguistic imperialism is not sufficient to explain the global spread and change of English. Pennycook (1994, 57) criticizes it, too, by stating that : “it leaves little space for consideration of how English is used in diverse contexts or how it is appropriated and used in opposition to those that promote its spread.”

According to Brutt-Griffler (2002, 65) the appropriation of English in the colonized countries of Asia and Africa was a tool for liberation and a means of empowerment against the objectives of the British Empire. As a response to Phillipson's theory Brutt-Griffler has introduced with the idea of second language acquisition as social phenomenon and the theory of macroacquisition.

### **5. 3 Types of macroacquisition**

Macroacquisition can take two types of forms. In the first type (Type A) English functions as a resource when speakers of different mother tongues participate "in the acquisition of a common second language" in a relatively stable new linguistic economy as a new speech community is formed (Brutt-Griffler 2002, 138). Type A macroacquisition has typically occurred in the bilingual settings of Asia and Africa. Brutt-Griffler (2002, 149) states that "in the case of Type A macroacquisition a new language variety develops while such a process does not apparently take place in the case of Type B."

In the second type (Type B), macroacquisition transforms a monolingual speech community into a bilingual community with more shared resources of culture and meaning. In this type, code-switching between two languages will be found to occur more readily than the development of a "new" English or a new speech community (Brutt-Griffler 2002, 138-139). Japan, Mexico and Jordania are mentioned as examples of countries where the process of Type B macroacquisition is starting to develop (ibid. 139).

| <b>Type A macroacquisition</b> |   | <b>Type B macroacquisition</b> |   |
|--------------------------------|---|--------------------------------|---|
| Multilingual setting           | + | Multilingual setting           | - |
| Monolingual setting            | - | Monolingual setting            | + |
| New speech community           | + | New speech community           | - |
| Existing speech community      | - | Existing speech community      | + |

Table1. Differentiating features of two types of macroacquisition in a speech community.

As can be seen from the Table 1 (above), the differentiating features of macroacquisition are based on the division of two kinds of speech communities. On one hand, there are the communities that share a common mother tongue and, on the other hand, there are those that do not share it. According to Brutt-Griffler (2002, 139) this is where the most significant difference between her theory and the other theories of English spread lies. She (ibid. 138) points out that it is sociohistorical rather than linguistic processes which decide if a community shares a common mother language. The sociohistorical conditions of language spread are reflected in the function of languages “as an intranational lingua franca, or as a means of international communication” (Brutt-Griffler 2002, 139).

#### **5.4 Code-switching**

Brutt-Griffler (2002, 138-139) states that the development of the so-called new Englishes are more likely to take place in Type A situations as has occurred in regions like South Asia or

South Africa. However, she remarks that “bilingual speech communities of Type B process have available a versatile and flexible mechanism for the communication of culture bound knowledge or meaning in the form of code-switching” (ibid. xi). As a whole, one of the basic linguistic features of the process of macroacquisition is the occurrence of language mixing or *code-switching*. Cook (1999, 193) remarks that:

Code-switching is the most obvious achievement of the multicompetent user that monolingual native speakers cannot duplicate, as they have language to switch into. It shows the intricate links between the two language systems in multicompetence.

Milroy and Muysken (1995, 7) describe code-switching as “the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation”. Another well-known definition of code-switching is created by Gumperz (1982, 59); he defines code-switching as “the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems.”

However, as the point of view in the present thesis is the one of a community, the focus is on how two languages may be alternated in the written context.

## **6. STUDYING LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE**

Although linguistic signs have been studied before, for example, in semiotics, most of the study of *linguistic landscape* (LL) is relatively recent. The first comprehensive introduction to the method, Gorter’s *Linguistic landscape: new approach to multilingualism* was published in 2006. Today, digital cameras have made possible a smooth and inexpensive collection and investigation of vast, nearly immeasurable, textual material from the linguistic landscape of a certain area. The title of Gorter’s work suggests that the study of linguistic landscape is particularly topical now as multilingualism and multiculturalism are increasing

in many parts of the world. In fact, the number of LL projects has multiplied over the last few years as they can provide essential and interesting information on bilingual and multilingual language uses (see e.g. Gorter and Shohamy 2009; Cenoz and Gorter 2006). The importance of English in this field is evident because when we are thinking of its role in the multilingual context it can be stated that “the effect of globalisation is reflected in the increasing space of the English language.” (Gorter 2006, 4)

The term *linguistic landscape* was first introduced in sociolinguistic circles for a little over a decade ago following Landry and Bourhis’ (1997) ethnolinguistic study on the languages of the Canadian province of Québec. Their project is still considered as one of the most notable studies of the field. This is how they defined the term:

The study of linguistic landscape is the study of the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings combines to form the linguistic landscape of a given territory, region, or urban agglomeration.

(Landry and Bourhis, 1997, 25)

As Gorter remarks (2006, 1), the concept of LL has been used in several ways. Usually it is used in a rather general sense for the description and analysis of the language situation in a certain country or for the presence and use of many languages in a larger geographic area. Gorter (2006, 1) defines that the study of LL is interested in the surrounding language that stands out everywhere in written form as it is displayed on e.g. shop windows, commercial signs, posters, official notices or traffic signs. Coulmas (2009, 13) claims that linguistic landscaping is as old writing which started simultaneously with urbanization. Franco-Rodríguez (2009, 1) regards LL as a prolific source of written language in society. Ben-Rafael et al. (2006, 8) explain that the linguistic landscape “constitutes the very scene; made

of streets, corners, circuses, parks, buildings-where society's public life takes place. As such, this carries crucial sociosymbolic importance as it actually identifies-and thus serves as the emblem of societies, communities, and regions." Gorter and Shohamy (2009, 2) state that "in this domain it is assumed that language in the environment is not arbitrary and random", which is a useful starting point considering a study of linguistic landscape that contains written texts anywhere in public space. Franco-Rodríguez specifies that LL studies on multilingual environments function as a productive source of sociolinguistic information:

Language and society merge in this written modality like in no other, not only because of its public function, but also by the way and the circumstances in which it is generated, since social conventions are prioritized over academic regulations. (Franco-Rodríguez 2009, 1)

According to Gorter and Shohamy (2009, 3), language can deliver many kinds of messages about society, people, the economy, policy, class, identity, multilingualism, multimodalities, forms of representation and additional phenomena. According Gorter (2007, 4), LL could even affect language use.

## **6.1 Methodological issues**

As a result of the grown interest to LL from various disciplines, there is not only a greater number of published works but also a further development of theories and methodologies which aim to organize the field of LL research. For instance, Ben-Rafael's (2006) famous LL study on multiculturalism in Jerusalem, comparing Jewish and Arab language facts as social facts, is a classic example of a sociological approach that applies existing theories to the study of LL.



However, according to Gorter (2006, 2), the methodology of LL needs further developing. It is relatively easy to take a large number of pictures and put them on a computer database, but the question remains where to take these pictures so that their representativity would be trustworthy and valid. Or how should one categorize them? And above all, what constitutes the object of analysis? Gorter (2006, 3) points out that there have been different solutions to these questions in different studies but still the fundamental question remains: “which objects belong to a linguistic landscape?”

Franco-Rodríguez (2009) proposes a revision of the methodological approach for interpreting and producing consistent quantitative data of the sociolinguistic traits of a bilingual context. His methodological approach is designed for unregulated linguistic landscapes where there are no linguistic policies behind the language use. Franco-Rodríguez (2009, 1) confirms that now is the moment of LL studies, and he notes that each multifaceted LL research works “as a semiotic tile in the mosaic that interprets our social realities.” His methodological revision aims to provide answers to the key questions of LL studies, such as the characterization of the analysis object and the parameters for systematic data analysis and categorization. The present thesis shares some core research elements that are especially offered by Franco-Rodríguez’s approach. These research elements will be further discussed in Chapter Seven.

## **6.2 Earlier LL studies**

Most of the earlier LL studies are quantitative, focusing on language presence in the public sphere and distinguishing between official and non-official signs. These studies include research on multi-million cities like Tokyo and Bangkok, but also smaller cities such as

Ljouwert or San Sebastian have been investigated. Gorter (2006, 4) remarks that the cultural, socioeconomic and political circumstances in many LL research cities have been divergent.

The study of the Roman and Hebrew script use on the official and non-official signs of a single street in Jerusalem in 1977 by Rosenbaum marks the beginning of the study of linguistic landscape (Gorter 2007, 6). Since then numerous important studies, like the project of Landry and Bourhis (1997) in Québec, have appeared offering new perspectives on LL research. All studies have witnessed the growth of cultural and linguistic diversity in the world and the findings of many recent LL studies confirm the development towards increasing multilingualism, at least in urban areas (see e.g. Ben-Rafael et al. 2006; Edelman 2006; Huebner 2006). More recently, Cenoz and Gorter (2008) have examined the use of Basque and Spanish of two streets and compared the results with those of the Jerusalem research of 1977 by Rosenbaum. Cenoz and Gorter (2008) came to the conclusion that more official equality between the two languages is aimed for in the Basque country than in Israel.

One of the most significant LL studies is Peter Backhaus's comparative study of urban multilingualism in Tokyo (2007), based on empirical research conducted in 2003. In this project Backhaus focuses on urban language contact by investigating the languages of Tokyo's signs. The aim of his study is to provide a first general introduction to the study of language on signs and to show what insights about multilingualism and language contact can be gained from this type of research. Backhaus recorded almost 12,000 signs of which 19.6 per cent were classified as multilingual. He, too, divided the signs into non-official and official signs just like many researchers before him and concluded that there are two different types of multilingual signs in Tokyo. Their characteristics were explained by using the notions of power and solidarity.

Another notable project is Gorter's study on the multilingualism of Rome in 2007. His goal was to find out which languages are used in four neighbourhoods of Rome and to what

extent. Once again the signs were divided into official and non-official categories in order to clarify the differences between their use of languages. Gorter's (2007, 21) conclusion is that the linguistic landscape of Rome is rather homogenous although 20 per cent of the signs had two or more languages on them. Whilst Braille and graffiti were excluded, he found, in total, 18 different languages on the signs. Regionwise he found that some areas were linguistically more diverse or heterogenous than other areas. Concerning the use of English, Gorter (2007, 22) notes that it is clear that the use of English is aimed at tourists from all over the world as his results show that the city centre and the area around Termini station differ in this respect from the other two neighbourhoods. Gorter (2007, 22) concluded that judging from its distribution, the use of English as a language of wider communication or lingua franca in Rome is geographically limited. His quantitative study uses descriptive approach as an additional tool to measure the languages in sociolinguistic context.

The linguistic landscape of Bangkok was investigated by Huebner in 2006. He introduced his theoretical framework for the analysis of different types of code-switching. Firstly, the importance of English as a global language is well highlighted in Bangkok where the government pursues to encourage the use of local Thai by giving out a tax incentive for including it on commercial signs. Huebner (2006) found out that not everyone utilizes this, or when they do, Thai is usually printed in small in a corner of a sign, which confirms further the importance and popularity English.

When a part of Kalverstraat, the main shopping street of Amsterdam, was studied by Edelmann (2006), it was found out that Dutch was the only language on only 35 per cent of all the signs. English was present on 49 per cent of all signs, either on its own or with one or more other languages. Later Edelman's findings were used to conclude that Dutch was used less in Amsterdam than German in Vienna or Slovenian in Ljubljana.

In Sweden LL has been used to chart the social reality of English as a part of a language policy project “Mål i mun” that aimed to protect Swedish from excessive influence of English. The study highlighted the complexity of English in Swedish linguistic culture and found out that the Swedish language policy proposal did not take into account all the complexities revealed in the study (Hult 2003, 52). According to Gorter (2007, 6) the quantitative results of the linguistic inventory of two market streets indicated that English was used less in Malmö and Lund than in Amsterdam.

There are no known published LL studies conducted in Finland. However, Moore and Varantola (2005) did some data-gathering that fits partly the methodology of the LL approach. As part of the data collection for analysing “streetwise English” they drove along Hämeenkatu, the main street of Tampere, in order to record all the English and quasi-English words observed along the way. In addition to the actual ride, they studied phone directories, job advertisements and personal adverts to determine the range and frequency of English use. According to Moore and Varantola (2005, 13) not all Finns “are caught in the web of globalization” as many of the traditional professions seem to refrain from the use of “trendy English”. It could be argued that Moore and Varantola (2005, 133) were also detecting the process of macroacquisition when they were “looking at the transformation of English within Finland.”

Franco-Rodríguez has studied the occurrence of Spanish in the United States in the 2000s. The present study takes most theoretical influences from Franco-Rodríguez’s large project on the linguistic landscape of Los Angeles County and Miami-Dade County (2008). His study, “El paisaje lingüístico del Condado de Los Ángeles y del Condado de Miami-Dade”, presents a new revised methodological approach for a systematic analysis of a linguistic landscape combining data from his two earlier projects (“El español en el condado de Los Ángeles desde la señalética comercial y urbana” 2005, and “El español en el

Condado de Miami-Dade desde su paisaje lingüístico” 2007). For one, the approach of Franco-Rodríguez builds on many of the former studies mentioned above. The aim of Franco-Rodríguez’s last project is to obtain “quantifiable data in order to measure language vitality through its public utility” (ibid. 2008, 4). In his concluding remarks Franco-Rodríguez (2008, 39) points out that the most striking feature of the studied linguistic landscapes is their capacity to reflect the linguistic reality of the communities where they are encountered.

Many of the LL researchers see their studies as sources for future reference. They wish that their projects would be the beginning of a series of studies which chart multilingual contexts of a city, region or country. At the moment, many researchers agree that the future of LL is unforeseeable, but according to Gorter (2006, 86) it is relevant for an improved understanding of the linguistic landscape that there will be new multidisciplinary approaches from different linguistic, sociological and sociolinguistic angles.

## **7. METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK**

By utilizing the theory of macroacquisition and the study of linguistic landscape, this study constructs a framework to examine the social reality of English in Tampere.

The present thesis makes use of both qualitative and quantitative approaches. According to Tuomi and Sarajärvi (2002, 7), qualitative research as a term can be seen as an umbrella under which there are a number of different kinds of qualitative research. This study will provide both quantitative and qualitative information about the social reality of English in Tampere. In this thesis answers are sought by producing both quantitative and qualitative results which are analyzed by utilizing content analysis. According to Weber (1990) content

analysis is especially useful in studies where similarities are looked for by browsing through a great number of texts.

## **7.1 Community as a research target**

It is important to note that this study investigates a community. The target community is made up by the people who live and work in Tampere. Brutt-Griffler (2002, 19) states that one of the shortcomings of the method employed in linguistic inquiry is the assumption that all linguistic phenomena can be explained by taking the individual speaker as the unit of analysis. Community as the target of a study is hard to define but the following definition is suggested by Gomez:

Community is used here to convey the concept of a collection individuals and families who share a common and identifiable network of sociocultural communications (for example, kinship, dietary patterns, labor conventions, artistic expressions, language) that have their origin in either a particular geographic area and period of time or a unique system of beliefs and rationalization.

(Gomez 1998, 6)

## **7.2 Data**

The data for this study consists of 303 sample pictures collected in Tampere in October 2010 with the help of digital photography. Only textual samples that contain English or linguistic elements of English were included in the data collected from the field. The 303 photographs include a variety of signs and messages that are composed and displayed by e.g. private

persons, businesses, institutions, corporations and franchises. In addition to taking photos, the field work included making notes and field observations that might be useful in the analysis.

The area of collection covers roughly the actual city centre and the busiest market streets of certain key urban areas such as Kyttälä and Tammela. The area chosen for the collection of the field data is not random because it is selected so that it would represent a wide range of market sectors. The selected area also boasts the most diverse service structure and is closely linked to the phenomena that epitomize globalization in the city.

In the heart of the data collection area is Keskustori, an old 16<sup>th</sup> century marketplace that occupies a pivotal position the main market street, Hämeenkatu. Today businesses and services have spread out from Keskustori to all directions so that Hämeenkatu, which is protracted by Itsenäisyydenkatu in the East, cuts through the city as the main vessel of business. The three-kilometer-long line comprised by Hämeenkatu and Itsenäisyydenkatu is also the artery of the data since it is there where the density of LL texts is highest. The total length of the streets examined amounts to approximately 15 kilometres.

The texts included in the study had to be visible and legible from a minimum distance of three meters, all smaller print was omitted from the data, since according to Franco-Rodríguez (2009, 8) too small print defies the principle of communicability in public spaces. Also graffiti and traffic signs were excluded, as were all mobile objects such as moving texts (on cars and other vehicles or on people's clothes).

## **8. TERMINOLOGY AND CATEGORIZATION**

This study aims to achieve its objectives by utilizing an adaptation of the three-point characterization of LL texts by Franco-Rodríguez (2009). According to him (ibid. 2) the three

intrinsic distinguishing components of an LL text are *support, content and actor*. In this study the LL texts of the research data are first categorized into content and actor groups and eventually divided into market sector classes.

## 8.1 LL text

Traditionally, the study of linguistic landscape has often been seen as a study of *signs* in public sphere. For instance, when Backhaus (2006) analyzed multilingual signs in Tokyo, a sign was any piece of written text within a spatially definable frame. Indeed, a ‘sign’ provides a good starting point when we are thinking of the physical nature of the analysis objects of the field data. *Oxford Dictionary of English* (2003) contains one definition of the word ‘sign’ that is of importance to the present study: “sign is a notice on public display that gives information or instruction in a written or symbolic form.” The definition might help us to outline the physical nature of an analysis object, however, according to Franco-Rodríguez (2008, 7) a *sign* is not a suitable term for an analysis object because of its complex nature. This due to the fact that in reality a sign may consist of many different texts that are not linked. For this reason this study follows the example of Franco-Rodríguez and chooses as the term *LL text* which is at times abbreviated as *text* in this study.

The LL text has a key role in the thesis as it is functioning as the only unit of analysis. The definition of Franco-Rodríguez (2008, 7) for a LL text is as follows: “any piece(s) of writing composed by the same actor with a focal content related to that actor and displayed on a circumscribed support in the public space.” All LL texts in the data are separated by < > brackets from other textual material in the study.



## 8.2 Support

According to Franco-Rodríguez (2009, 2) a *support* refers to “an unrestricted variety of physical spaces” in which the LL texts are displayed. Supports are an essential part of public sphere, which is usually limited to outdoor space (with the exception of tunnels and large indoor shopping areas) in this type of study. The term support is used only descriptively in this study and it is not included in the actual categorization.

The data consists of 281 LL texts which are displayed on different types of *supports*. The most typical support can be described as a sign (e.g. neon sign). The data also includes a high number of texts from other kinds of *supports*, such as posters, banners, billboards or stickers.

## 8.3 Content groups

Roughly speaking, the LL texts were obtained by taking pictures of supports, such as, signs, shop windows, billboards, advertisements, stickers, posters or banners on which they function as a name, slogan, motto, advertisement or information. That is to say that the function of an LL text is revealed by its message content.

In this study the term *content* refers to the nature of message which is conveyed by the text. Franco-Rodríguez (2009, 2) states that “content is the message transmitted.” The LL texts are divided into four groups according to their content. The following categorization was formulated after content analysis of the data for answering the first main research question: which content is English used for? The four content groups of the study are as follows:

1. business names
2. advertising
3. slogans
4. non-commercial information

This content group division was formulated after the initial content analysis of the field data.

The following subsections provide brief descriptions of each content group.

### **8.3.1 Business names**

The LL texts assigned to the content group of *business names* refer to a name of shop, store, restaurant, bar, enterprise, business, service, etc. They can be displayed on a variety of supports. Typically, business names are LL texts that are displayed on neon signs or store windows. Here are some examples of business names from the data: <Jimm's PC Store>, <Fall's Café & Terrace>, <Trimmausliike Lucky Star>, <The Celtic House> and <Hair Garage>.

### **8.3.2 Advertising**

An *advertising* text refers to a text which is used for advertising products or events in this study and which usually consist of more than one word. A typical support for an advertising text is a large commercial billboard, banner or poster. This content group is regarded essential because after the local language, English is today the most popular advertising language in countries where English is a foreign language (Paakkinen 2008, 300).

Jenkins-Murphy (1981, 61) states that advertising texts can appear on large street billboards and are often aimed at people who are in moving vehicles, as advertising in public space can reach commuters and travelers. In the city centre of Tampere there are some advertising columns in the city streets, illuminated at night. Some examples of advertising texts from the data are as follows: <Never mind the weather>, <Give Am3 Wings to Soar> and <Big Torstai, Indie Rock & Club Music>.

### 8.3.3 Slogans

The content group of *slogans* is related to the group of advertising and, in some cases, the texts of this group might seem to be rather similar to the group of advertising texts. During the preliminary analysis especially this group caused occasional difficulties in distinguishing the texts, but was despite this deemed relevant for the study.

As distinct from advertising texts, the content group of slogans characteristically contains texts which are physically located below a business name or right next to it. In general, advertising texts seem to use larger supports than slogans. A slogan text can also appear on the same support as a business name and, like advertising texts, it typically consists of more than one word.

A slogan could also be described as being the motto of an enterprise. Often it is closely linked to a business brand. Jenkins-Murphy (1981, 61) describes its nature and function by stating that “a slogan is repeated again and again until it we become fully aware of it.” Some examples of slogans from the data are: <Adecco – Better work, better life>, <Hair is your crown> and <Bläki-Just cut it!>.

### 8.3.4 Non-commercial information

All the other texts that have no direct commercial content are categorized as *non-commercial information* in the study. The abbreviated form *non-commercial* is sometimes used in the study. These texts are often smaller in size than texts of the other groups and for this reason the group suffers more from the three-metre limitation than the LLtexts of the other groups (see p. 29). Here are some examples of non-commercial information texts from the data: <Ulos – exit>, <Open>, <Kitchen opening hours> and <OC’s entrance through main door on Otavalankatu>.

### 8.4 Actor groups

The actor categories are adopted from Franco-Rodríguez (2009), who is the first to introduce the term *actor* of an LL text. Instead of using *actor* some earlier studies use *author*. However, Franco-Rodríguez’s choice is deemed suitable for this thesis as he makes a more-detailed distinction between different *actors* than other researchers. He (ibid. 3) states that an *actor* is the entity that chooses and puts together the linguistic forms which convey the message. Franco-Rodríguez (ibid. 3) explains that the actors of an LL text “act as entities that compose and display them”. In other words, depending on the circumstances an actor can be a business, institution or any individual who chooses and puts an LL text on display. In this study the LL texts of the data are categorized into three groups according to their actor following the categorization in Franco-Rodríguez (2009, 3):

1. *Private texts*: individuals and local businesses
2. *Public texts*: governmental authorities, public and private institutions, and public services
3. *Corporate texts*: corporations and franchises beyond local level

This actor group division is deemed especially important for investigating the process of macroacquisition.

### **8.5 Market sector classes**

Finally, the LL texts are classified in the study according to their *market sectors*, which could also be described as being a business or service branch, or even in some cases a *social realm*, a term used by Franco-Rodríguez (2009, 9). It is believed that through this classification it will be possible to obtain information on the social activities conveyed in English. Franco-Rodríguez (2009, 9) states that the more sectors found, the higher the social utility of a language is. The classification in this study is only a slightly adjusted version of the classification used by Franco-Rodríguez (2009). Some adjustments were needed to make it correspond with the local circumstances. For instance, driving schools were added to vehicle sector:

- Catering: bars, cafeterias, pubs, clubs, restaurants
- Communication: information technology businesses in general
- Clothing and accessories: clothing stores, shoe shops, shoemaker's, jewelry
- Entertainment: hobbies and leisure time-related business branches

- Financial, legal and other professional services (FLS) : banks, post, insurance companies, accounting services
- Food: food stores, bakeries
- Home: furniture, appliance, real estate, housing
- Personal care: hairdressing, beauty parlors, health care
- Religion: churches, funeral parlors
- Travel: hotels, railway station, tourist information
- Vehicle: car rental, car dealer, driving schools, bikes , motorbikes

7

This adjusted categorization covers all services and social activities that appear in the LL texts of the data.

## **9. RESULTS**

This chapter presents the results of the analyses. A subsection is devoted to each research question, including the presentation of both quantitative and qualitative results. After the quantitative results are presented, the qualitative nature of the LL texts is illustrated with examples and pictures. The examples are chosen to characterize the most common features of texts in a certain group and to introduce exceptions and alternative uses of English in the data.

The total number of words in the data is 711. As the number of texts is 303, there is on average 2.53 words per one LL text. The exact distribution of the words by word classes is as follows (Table 2):

| <b>Word class: no. of occurrences</b> |
|---------------------------------------|
| Nouns: 450 words                      |
| Adjectives: 72 words                  |
| Verbs: 52                             |
| Prepositions: 34                      |
| Articles: 31                          |
| Adverbs: 30                           |
| Conjunctions: 22                      |
| Pronouns: 20                          |

Table 2. Words of LL texts by word classes.

As Table 2 (above) shows, there are words from eight words classes in the data, which can be seen as a sign of grammatical and lexical wealth of the texts.

## 9.1 Content distribution

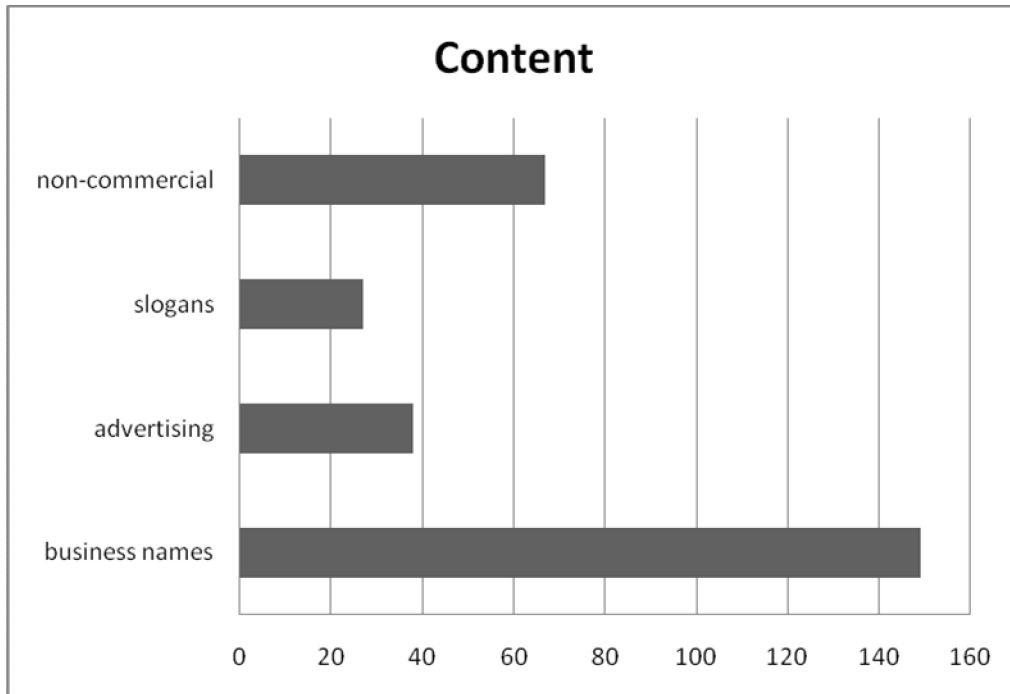


Figure 1. Content group distribution of LL texts.

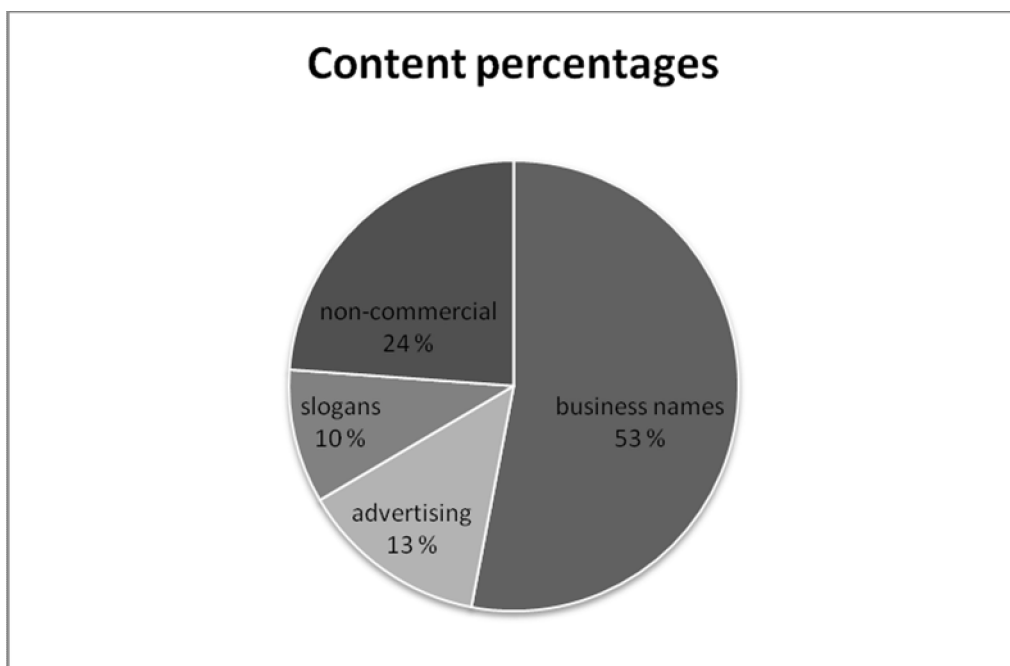


Figure 2. Proportions by content groups.



Four content groups were formulated to find answers to the first research question: which content is English used for? As can be seen in Figures 1 and 2 (above), the quantitative results indicate that the largest content group in the data is the group of business names with 149 LL texts (53.0 %). The group of non-commercial information is the second largest with 67 texts (23.8 %). Advertising has 38 texts (13.5 %) in the data, and the number of the group of slogans is 27 texts (9.7 %).

### 9.1.1 Examples of content

The texts in the group of business names contain often nouns like *center*, *city*, *bar* or *shop* as in <Automaatio-Center>, <Autokoulu Citytraffic>, <Wrong Noodle Bar> (see Figure 3 below), or <Rajala Pro Shop> (see Figure 4 below).



Figure 3. Example of a restaurant name: *Wrong Noodle Bar*.



Figure 4. Example of a shop name: *Rajala Pro Shop*.

Also less frequent words appear in this content group, e.g. *unicorn* as in <Golden Unicorn> (the name of a Chinese restaurant), and *swamp* as in <Swamp Music> (see Figure 5 below). These two words represent words that occur only once in the data. The local music store, *Swamp Music*, has also an affiliate shop near the main store which has put on display the LL text <Swamp music second hand> as it is selling used records.



Figure 5. Example of a store name: **Swamp Music**.

The non-commercial texts in the data are predominantly short and informative, e.g. <open>, <opening hours>, <cash only> or <ulos exit>. However, the LL text <Nordea's new, quick service cashier's office has been opened in Hämeenkatu7. The cashier's office is open Mon-Fri 8.30 a.m. – 5.30 p.m.> in the window of a bank in Itsenäisyydenkatu is very long and informative as can be seen from Figure 6 (below). It exceeds substantially the average length of the LL texts in the data.





Figure 6. Example of a non-commercial information text by *Nordea*.

On average, advertising texts are the longest texts in the data, often exceeding the average length of 2.53 words. The longest examples of advertising texts utilize grammatically complete sentences such as <We can also arrange meetings> (an advert in a window of a restaurant), <Outer wear campaign continues in store> or less complete sentence structures like <Bad boy rebel wearing a bomber jacket> (see Figure 7 below).

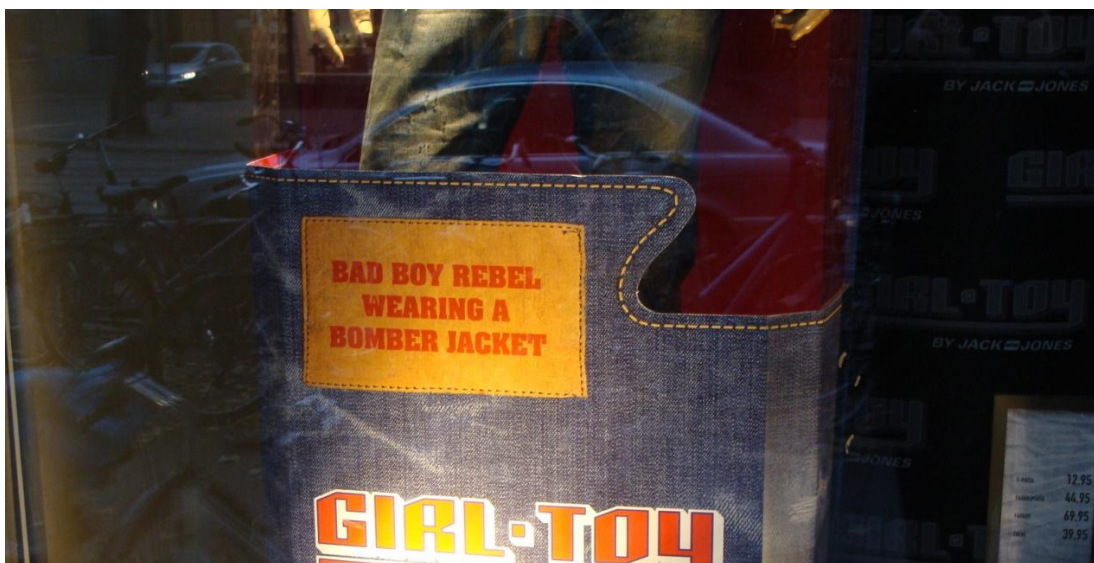


Figure 7. Example of an advertising text: *Bad boy rebel wearing a bomber jacket*.

The LL texts of slogans often resemble advertising texts in length and grammatical structure. However, they could be described slightly less formal. They intend more to create images and utilize more colourful expressions than advertising texts, as is well illustrated by such examples as <The most vintage delicious vintage inspired couture> or <Wings 'n' things since 1997> (see Figure 8 below).



Figure 8. Example of a slogan text: *Wings 'n' things*.

### 9.1.2 Discussion on content

Although the focus of this study is distinct from many of the earlier LL studies that have mostly concentrated on multilingualism in various locations, a number of earlier studies have revealed that the use of English in shop and business names has long been a common practice all over the world (see e.g. Huebner 2009, Backhaus 2005, Hult 2009). When Moore and Varantola (2005) were collecting their textual material from the streets of Tampere it could be detected from their report that the majority of their samples consisted of shop and business

names. Pahta and Taavitsainen (2004) report dozens of English business names in the Helsinki telephone directories over half a century. Viitamäki (quoted in Paakkinen 2008, 318) states that factual information is seldom presented in English in advertisements because it would be too difficult and time-consuming to read, but it is acceptable to use English in names.

Hence it came as no surprise that English is mostly used for business names in the linguistic landscape of Tampere but the high total of 149 business names in the area examined was a revelation. However, the fact that more than half of the LL texts were business names seems to be in accordance with Pahta and Taavitsainen (2004, 167), who state that because of internationalisation, “English has become an essential part of the professional life [...] in various fields” in Finland. As we will later learn in this study, there is a wide diversity of market sectors that utilise English in Tampere. This is highlighted by the versatile nature of naming processes in the business world which uses English today “extensively in both communicative and non-communicative, purely symbolic, functions” (Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004, 168).

Presently, it seems that the use of English for this content is also rather innovative and creative since many LL texts of the data require more advanced levels of language competence. Pahta and Taavitsainen (2004, 182) conclude that bilingual puns and word plays in the samples of their project are a consequence of Finns’ improved fluency in English, which has increased the impact of English on commercial language practices in Finland on the whole.

When we think of the language competence of Finns it is important to point out, as can be seen in Table 2, that English words from all major word classes can be found from the LL texts. It is especially interesting to find out that all these word classes are represented in the business name texts, too. For instance, in the data there is an adverb <Yesterday> which

is surely an appropriate but exceptional name for a second hand clothes shop, or a surprising possessive noun <Yours> as a name of a hairdresser's (see Figure 9 below) that pursues to gain more personal contact with customers by having chosen unexpectedly a possessive pronoun that seems to fit in the context and not least by its compactness.



Figure 9. Name of a hairdresser's: *Yours*.

Another interesting example is the text <Surprise me> (a name of a gift shop) which is made of words from two different word classes and which grammatically forms an imperative phrase. This example, too, seems to function only when the customers have at least some degree of knowledge of English and can comment the name of the shop with the social context where its merchandise are used.

Franco-Rodríguez (2008, 33) points out that the diversified use of different word classes could be interpreted as a sign of a language competence more than merely symbolic

and enumerating. In other words, the use of both semantic and grammatical words certainly indicates that the use of English in Tampere is not only symbolic.

Naturally not all the businesses and enterprises are versatile in their use of English. As Pahta and Taavitsainen (2004, 168) point out, business world is one of the sectors that exploits the intranational potential of English, which is often the case when familiar words like *city* or *service* are chosen because they are deemed intelligible to almost everyone. As mentioned earlier many LL texts in the group of business names contain very familiar nouns like *center*, *city*, *bar* or *shop* (as in <Automaatio-Center>, <Autokoulu Citytraffic>, <Wrong Noodle Bar>, or <Rajala Pro Shop>). Many words in these LL texts could almost be regarded as Finnish loans from English because they have been in the Finnish language use for so long. Pahta and Taavitsainen (2004) list names of companies like *AutoGlass Service* or *Pajaservice* as examples of this kind of use in their study. The use is enhanced by the fact that some of the words with the same meaning appear in Swedish, too. Many of the business names could also be described grammatically simplistic as can be seen from texts like <Shoepark> which is a combination of two nouns. Still, surely some of these names bear contradictory connotative values, too, that vary depending on the interpreter. This might be the case when we think of names like the aforementioned <Wrong Noodle Bar>.

The naming choices of the record store *Swamp Music* are very interesting from a number of angles. First of all, there are probably at least two things in favour of an English name for this enterprise. Firstly, most of the records and the artists the shop sells, utilize English, too, in the same way that is best described by Paakkinen (2008, 316) who states that: “English is a great tool when you want to catch people’s imagination”. Secondly, by using English, *Swamp Music* is attempting to reach the often desired “up-to-date, fashionable and youthful image” (Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004, 183) as a significant number of its customers are members of the youth. In addition to these reasons, the name of the record shop also has



a strong connotative value, which is directly linked to the origin of blues and rock'n'roll music.

Also, it was mentioned in the examples that 'Swamp Music' has used on one of its displays the expression 'second hand' to provide additional information in the name of its affiliate shop, located around the corner, a few hundred metres away from the main store. Of course, here the expression is chosen to differentiate the two nearby shops. Interestingly, the expression 'second hand' appears five times in the data and in all the other cases it denotes a shop selling old clothes and other old domestic items. However, mostly the use of this expression seems to be associated with used clothes as it appears in the names of such businesses like <UFF second hand> (see Figure 10 below) ,< Mrs. Robinson second hand shop> or <Madeleine Secondhand Shop> (see Figure 11 below). Somehow, it seems that here English is used to polish something old and abandoned. Altogether, small shops like the ones selling old clothing are often very innovative in their use of English. For instance, a shop that sells used brand clothes is named <Trendy People> or there is a vintage clothes shop named <Forget Me Not> in the data.



Figure 10. Example of the use of *second hand*: **UFF second hand**



Figure 11. Example of the use of *second hand*: **Madelaine Secondhand Shop**.

According to Paakkinen (2008, 299) one factor that has an effect on the occurrence of English in business names are international businesses like ‘McDonald’s’ or ‘Subway’. Nonetheless, in terms of numbers, their occurrence is not very significant in this study as there were only 20 corporate businesses versus 129 private businesses in the data. However, admittedly, some of the private businesses have names that are almost exact imitations of their international counterparts. This type of copying is probably caused by the fact that English is here regarded as a symbol for a number of separate phenomena, such as a national identity, globalism, development, youth, and being modern, but it may also indicate being American (Kelly-Holmes, quoted in Paakkinen 2008, 300). Pahta and Taavitsainen (2004, 172) illustrate this by stating that “American impact on the growth of the consumer society and on the practices of advertising in general undoubtedly contributes to a tendency to use English.”

The number of non-commercial information texts was relatively high as well and is yet another proof of an extensive use of English. The 67 texts in this category include not only texts where English is used partly to convey the message but a great number of texts where English is the only language chosen to carry information.

It needs to be taken into account that traditionally Finnish people are accustomed to seeing bilingual informative signs due to two official languages in the country. There are bilingual LL texts like <tervetuloa-welcome> and <viereinen ovi kiitos – next door please> (see Figure 12 below) or even the trilingual <vartioitu-bevakad-guarded> (see Figure 13 below), in the data. English in such cases must be aimed at foreign visitors who do not have the command of the local first language. However, the data also includes monolingual, English-only texts, some of which are almost surprising. Examples are provided by non-commercial information texts like <Pull> or <Cash only> where English is used to convey information intranationally or at least both intranationally and internationally.



Figure 12. Example of a bilingual non-commercial information text: *viereinen ovi kiitos – next door please*.





Figure 13. Example of a trilingual non-commercial information text: *Vartioitu Bevakad Guarded*.



Figure 14. Example of a monolingual non-commercial information text: *Open*.

Nowadays, of course, the fluorescent <open> (see Figure 14 above) texts on neon signs are the most striking example of the monolingual English texts in the content group of non-commercial information. Inevitably, it makes one wonder if it is the shortness of some of the

most common English words or what that makes them so popular and useful. Indeed, there is often a practical reason why English is chosen. Pahta and Taavitsainen (2004, 173) point out that “in comparison with Finnish, short English words are catchy and cost-effective, they take less physical space in signs and advertisements”.

As we have already seen, there can be multiple reasons why English is chosen. The complex use of English is sometimes characterised by a combination of different factors. This can be clearly seen, for example, from internationally well-known texts like <Coffee to go> (see Figure 15 below) or <Take away>, which are simple to use and which are certainly linked to the habits that globalization has brought to Finland. Such sample texts utilize concise English words and expressions that are globally well-known and are shifting from global use to “glocal” use.



Figure 15. Example text of “glocal” use: *Coffee to go*.

Although longer and more factual information as such is rarely presented in English (Viitamäki, quoted in Paakkinen 2008, 318), a few more complicated LL texts can be found

among the 38 texts which are categorized into the content group of advertising. The LL texts like <Enjoy the full menu>, <Authorized Shore dealer>, <Steak like the Argentine tango> or <Hairway to Heaven> require a fairly good command of English and often, in addition to core language skills, some factual and cultural knowledge is needed, too.

This study might not be the best illustration of advertising texts as it needs to be remembered that the reason for the low occurrence of these texts might also be practical. This group, on the whole, probably suffers more than the others groups from the distance limit of three meters. It is suspected there are more texts of this group in the city but very often they are printed in such a small font that they are not accessible via the study of linguistic landscape.

The results for the content group of slogans are, to say the least, interesting. Although they are such a restricted group by their functional and practical nature, a respectable occurrence of 27 LL texts was recorded for this group. No earlier LL study recognises this content group, yet it is felt that in this study it is a relevant one for revealing the social reality of English. As already mentioned these LL texts appear frequently on the same support as a business name or are regularly located right next to it. As a matter of fact, quite often they seem to work best when a business name acts as an introductory or “leading” expression with a complementing slogan. This is well illustrated by two LL text combinations, <Café Weston – more than a café> and <Bläki – just cut it!>. It has to be said that it is the slogan texts in particular that highlight the efficacy of English. Typically they seem to utilize short words that are easy to remember.

Again, in many cases it was not easy to categorize LL texts into definite content groups as the groups are not clear-cut. However, it is believed that the present content group classification mediates the key content characteristics that stood out when the field data was initially examined. Particularly challenging borderline cases were common among

advertising texts and slogans. For instance, the text <fresh and tasty everyday> (see Figure 16 below) was assigned to the group of slogans but in many ways it seems very similar to an advertising text.



Figure 16. Example text of borderline cases: **fresh and tasty everyday**.

## 9.2 ACTOR DISTRIBUTION

Three actor groups were adopted from Franco-Rodríguez's (2009) model to find answers to the second research question: who uses English? The question could also be rephrased as "who are the actors of the LL texts?"

As can be seen from Figures 17 and 18 (below), private texts are overwhelmingly the largest actor group in the data. The total of 281 LL texts includes 227 texts which are categorized as private texts by their actor group. There are 45 texts that are categorized as corporate texts and only 9 texts are categorized as public texts. The percentage of private texts is 80.78. Corporate texts make 16.01 per cent and public texts 3.20 per cent of the data.

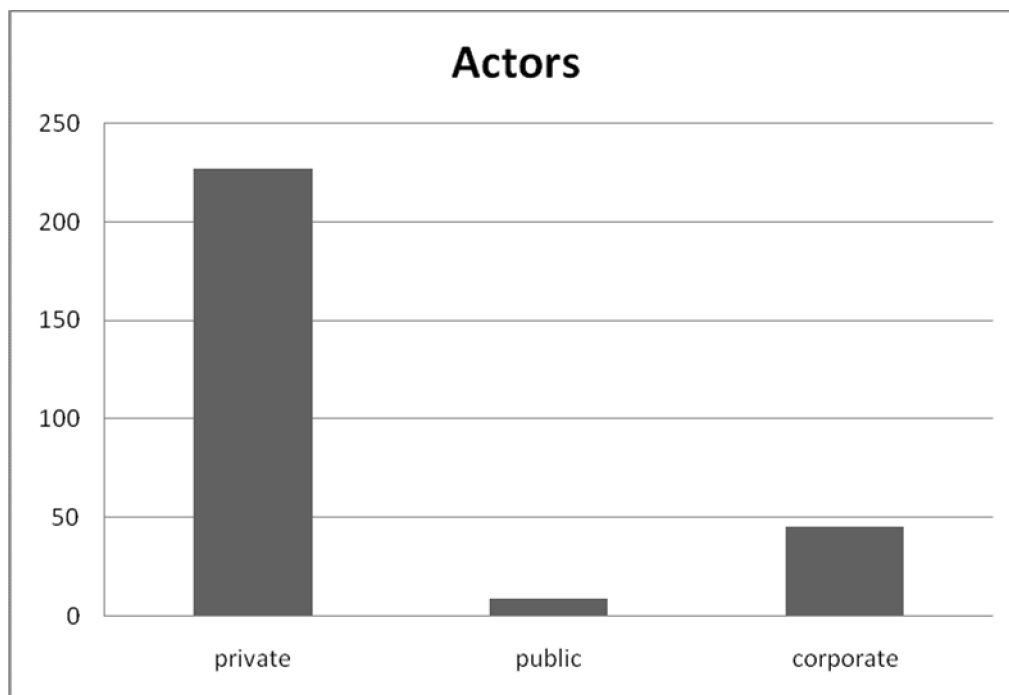


Figure 17. Actor group distribution of LL texts.



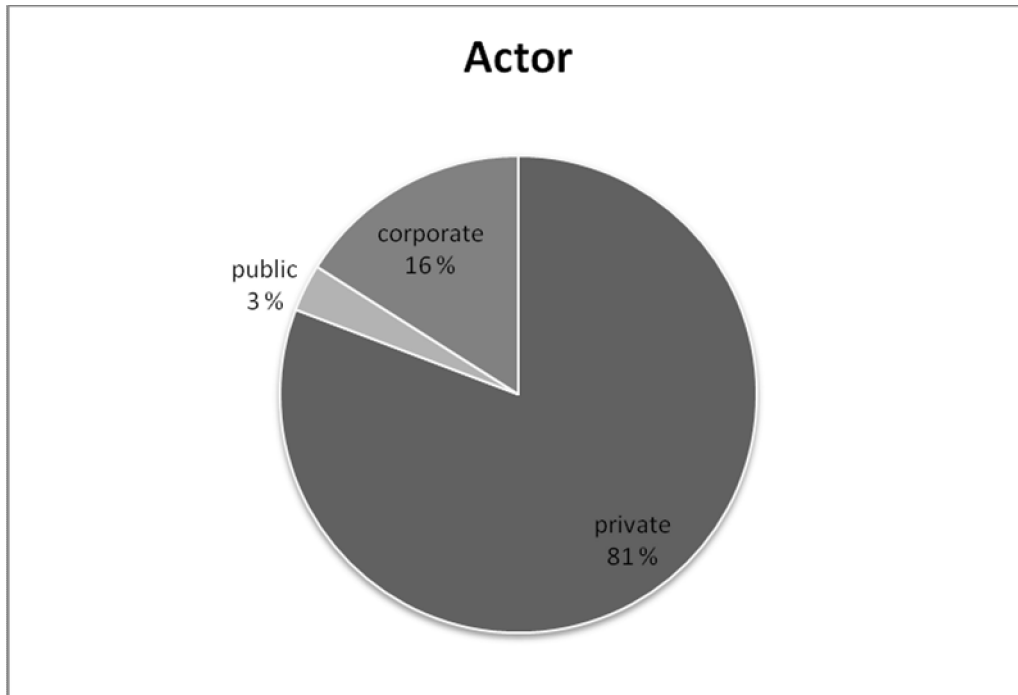


Figure 18. Proportions of LL texts by actor groups.

### 9.2.1 Examples of actor

The range of different actor texts is wide and diversified, and this is particularly true in the group of private texts. Some of the texts seem to follow strictly the globally known patterns as can be seen in examples like <Bar Bulldog>, <Café Cactus>, <Lotus Garden>, <The Cloth House>, <O’Connell’s Irish Bar>, <Studio Royal 13>, or <Japanese Ramen Restaurant>.

However, there is more to these texts than simplistic and familiar choices. A significant number of the private texts utilize semantically multidimensional forms such as <Surprise Me> (a name of a gift shop), <Big Formen> (a male clothes shop; see Figure 19 below), <Poplandia Music – Sound of Finland>, <Igor’s Tattoo & Piercing> and <Sisustusliike Inroom>.



Figure 19. Example of a private text: *Big Formen*.

Some of the corporate texts are exactly the same as they are anywhere in the world. These LL texts are usually displayed by famous international corporations such as <Subway> or <McDonald's>. Other corporate texts include texts like <Aberdeen Property Investors>, <The Body Shop>, <Taco House> and <Easydriver> (see Figure 20 below).



Figure 20. Example of a corporate text: *Easydriver*.

The low number of public texts includes mostly informative texts such as <Kela – opening hours> or tourism oriented texts like <Go Tampere> and <Tampere City Bike>.

### 9.2.2 Discussion on actor

The results of the second main research question clearly indicate that English has been appropriated by the local businesses. The fact that more than 80 per cent of the texts are displayed by private actors proves that English has acquired an important role in the social reality of Tampere. Furthermore, it suggests that the local community uses to the full advantage its second language skills without being disturbed by the official language policies that do not acknowledge the use of English in Finland.

It is the very lack of an official policy for English that explains probably best the low occurrence of public texts. However, it is noteworthy that English has an official and significant role in education, and, for example, according to Statistics Finland (2008) in the grades 7-9 of the secondary school (total of 191 684 students) almost everyone studied English, the percentage being over 99 %. Based on the fact that young people's knowledge of English is better than that of the elderly generations (Leppänen et al. 2009), one might assume that English is used in the future even more by private actors that provide their services for a youth-oriented audience with trendy ambitions.

The fact that private actors often combine texts from two content groups to form a meaningful LL text entity could be seen as a sign of notable language competence by the local community. These types of texts can consist of e.g. a business name and a slogan as in the text <Café Weston - more than a café>.

But as the results show, not all the LL texts are composed and displayed by private actors. The data includes many LL texts which are business names of famous international corporations such as <Subway> or <McDonald's>. Curiously, these, too, have their domestic and even local counterparts in the data as can be seen from the examples like <Hesburger>, <Arnold's> and < Tammelantorin Burger> (see Figure 21 below). It seems that here the multinational globalized models are further assisting the process of macroacquisition.



Figure 21. Example of a private business name: *Tammelantorin Burger*.

Accordingly, it seems to be justified to describe the corporate texts in the data slightly less adventurous and perhaps even more conservative than the private texts. However, in addition to the globally well-known business names like <Subway>, <The Body Shop> or <Taco House>, the corporate texts also include a few more innovative texts like Coca-Cola's interrogative advertising text <Thirsty?> or more complex idiomatic texts like <Never mind the weather> (a clothes advertisement by Gore-Tex).

But still the range of private texts is wider than that of corporate texts and this cannot solely be explained by their greater number. Maybe, the two-edged sword of "Finglish" is behind the versatile and sometimes confusing use of English words by Finns. As Finnish is further away from English than, for instance, the languages of other Nordic countries, it is more difficult to add English elements into Finnish expressions than into the Scandinavian languages that are closer to English. In other words, the two-edged sword of "Finglish" can

function in two ways as it provides “more chances for creativity, but also for confusion” (Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004, 169). However, no evidence of confusion was found in the data of the present thesis.

### 9.3 Content preference by actor groups

The following results are presented for answering the first continued research question: which content is preferred by different actor groups? Figure 21 (below) combines and specifies some of the earlier results to create an overview at the content distribution. This helps to outline the content preferences of different actor groups. The rest of the graphic figures in this chapter describe separately the content preference of each actor group. A few examples are given with the results to further introduce the characteristics of the LL texts.

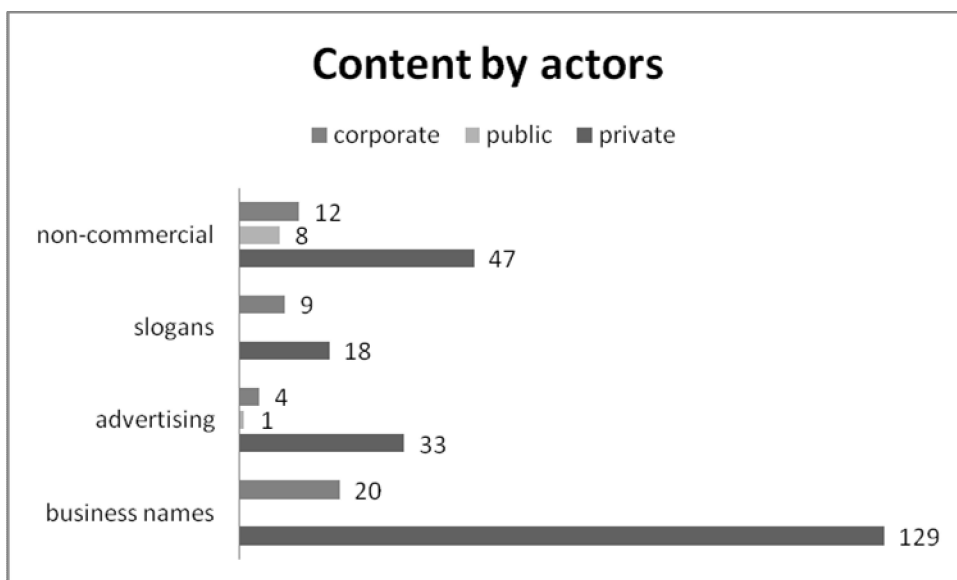


Figure 22. Overview: Content preference by actors.

Figure 22 (above) indicates that private business names are the largest combined text group in the data. The second largest is the group of private non-commercial texts and private advertising texts come third. The highest position by any other actor groups is the fourth which is reached by the group of corporate business names.

### 9.3.1 Content of private texts

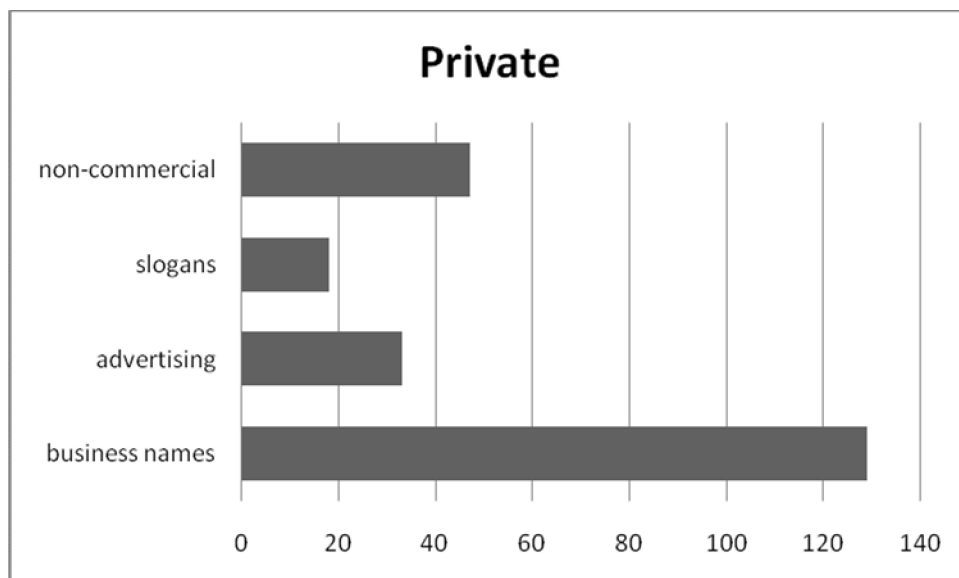


Figure 23. Content groups of private texts.

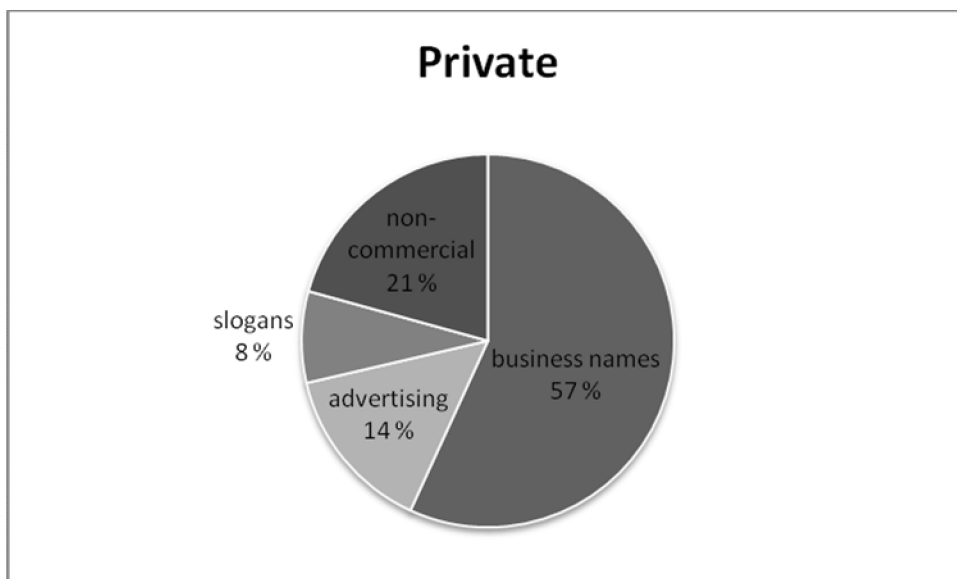


Figure 24. Proportions of private texts.

As can be seen from Figures 23 and 24 (above), the most common content for private texts is business names with 129 texts (86.57 per cent) in the data. From Figure 21 (above) we have already learnt the private business names form the largest combined text group in the data. The three remaining content groups make together less than half of all the private texts. The most notable of them is the group of non-commercial information with a share of 21 per cent and the smallest is the group of slogans with 8 per cent. Advertising texts make 14 per cent of the content of private texts.

Once again, business names like <Restaurant Hook> and <DD's Diner> come up from the data and serving here as examples of typical business names in the actor group of private texts but also examples of not so typical sounding names like <Changling> (see Figure 25 below) or <Black Arts Tattoo> can be found. The first example is the name of a beauty parlour and the latter is the name of a tattooing studio.





Figure 25. Example of content in private texts: **Changling**.

Private texts include a relatively high number of texts from the groups of non-commercial information (47) and advertising (33), too. The non-commercial texts can be described being often very precise and informative as in texts like <Watch your step – varo porrasta> or <Cash only>. It is noteworthy that the private advertising texts vary from short texts like <Sale> or <Outlet> to significantly longer ones like <Good and fast service, welcome!>.

The smallest content group here is slogans with 18 texts. These include many simplistic texts like e.g. <Dance school for you> but also a few more complex texts like <The most delicious vintage inspired couture> or <Nasty clothes for wicked people> (see Figure 26 below).



Figure 26. Example of content in slogans: *Nasty clothes for Wicked People*.

### 9.3.2 Content of public texts

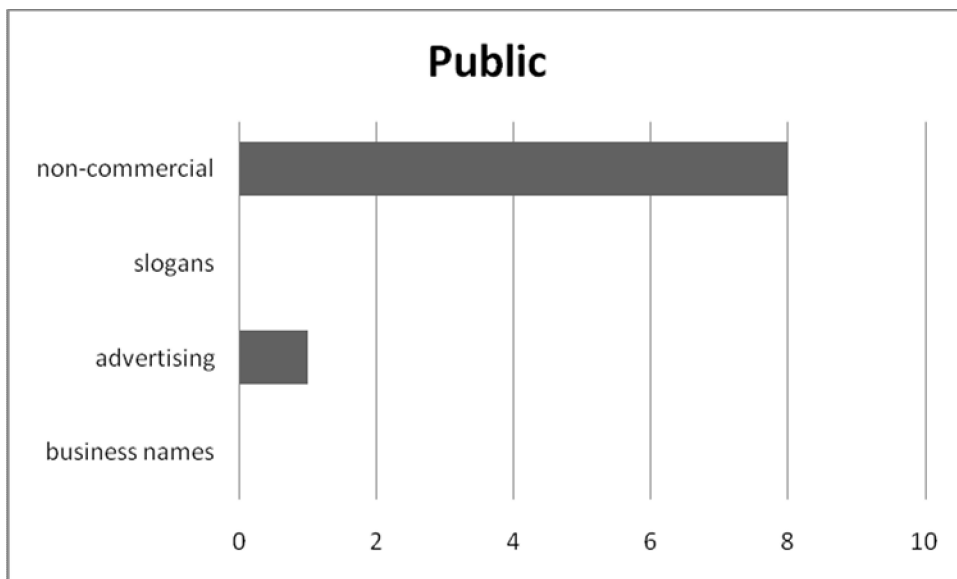


Figure 27. Content groups of public texts.

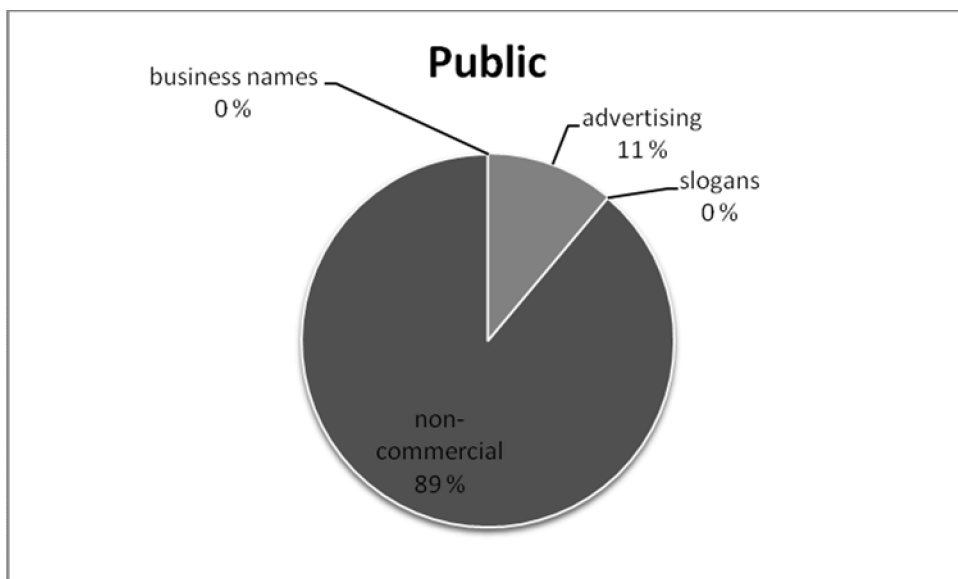


Figure 28. Proportions of public texts.

The total number of public texts in the data is 9, which is very low. Of these texts 8 are categorized as non-commercial information texts and one as an advertising LL text. In the content group of non-commercial texts there are public LL texts like <Immigrant Advice Centre> (see Figure 29 below) or <Drive in> (a text by Posti referring to a drive-in mailbox.) The only advertising text in this actor group is <Happy End.TOAS>. (TOAS is the Tampere Student Housing Foundation that provides residence for local students.)



Figure 29. Example of a public text: *Immigrant Advice Centre*.

### 9.3.3 Content of corporate texts

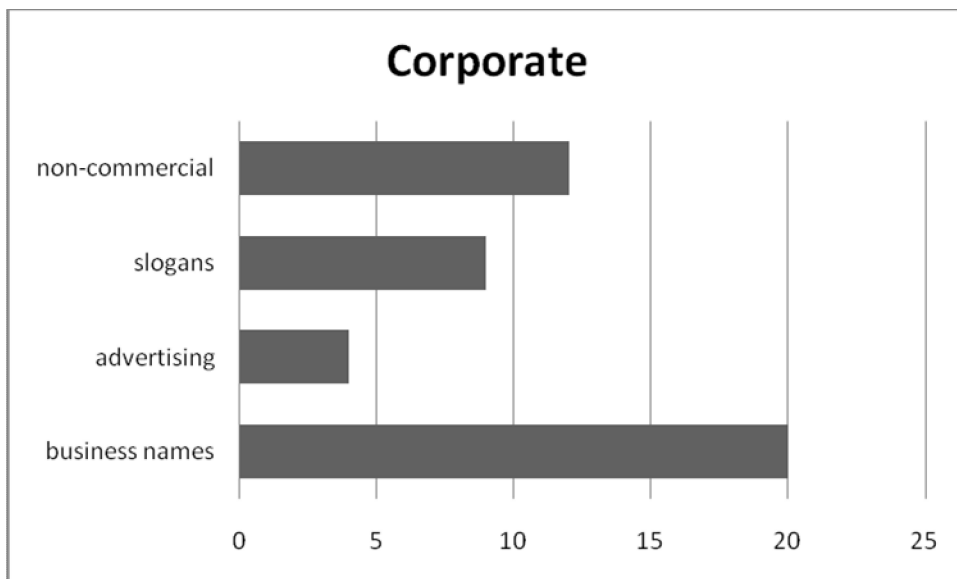


Figure 30. Content groups of corporate texts.

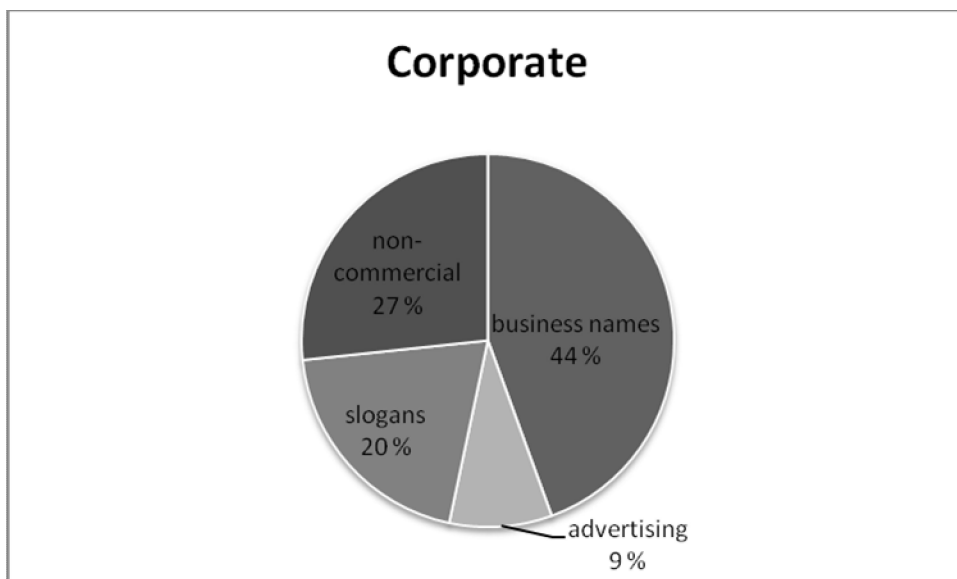


Figure 31. Proportions of corporate texts.

The total number of corporate texts of the data is 45. These LL texts include 20 texts of business names, 12 texts of non-commercial information, 9 slogans and 4 LL texts which are categorized as advertising. Again, the most familiar example of a corporate business name

text must be <McDonald's>. It is more unexpected to find in the linguistic landscape of Tampere corporate business names like <Aberdeen Property Investors> (see Figure 31 below) or <Broker House Oy>.



Figure 32. Example of a corporate text: *Aberdeen Property Investors*.

The content group of non-commercial information includes corporate texts like the instructive <Please drive close and wait> on Hotel Scandic's garage door and, of course, the multi-colored and fluorescent <Open>.

The corporate texts include also many slogans. For example, Honkarakenne Oy displays on the window of its Tampere store the same motto that it uses worldwide: <Honka. Today's homes. Naturally.>. Also Subway has brought its globally known slogan to Tampere: <eat fresh.> (see Figure 33 below).





Figure 33. Example of a corporate slogan: *eat fresh.*

Corporate advertising texts include typically longer texts like <Let's barbeque> and <The chosen ones. Wines from Argentina> that are displayed on the billboards of the Cumulus hotels.

### 9. 3.4 Discussion on content preferences

An overview (see Figure 22 presented earlier ) of the content preferences of different actor groups reveals the dominance of private texts in the data. This, for one, must prove that there are mainly positive attitudes towards the use of English at the local level. As the results are partly a combination of the quantitative results presented earlier, they did not bring forth anything revolutionary which the earlier results would not have shown but their greatest merit is that they confirm the reliability of the earlier results. They have also given a slightly more

specified angle to look at the data. This perspective seems to reveal the content likeness of private texts and corporate texts. One only has to take a look at Figures 23 and 30 to realize how similar they are. Once again, this result points at globalization as being one of the major forces behind the spread of English. The content diversity of private texts is clearly in agreement with Leppänen and Nikula (2007, 368), whose results show that “the spread of English is not to be seen as one-directional process of English taking over Finnish society, but rather as a process in which English is taken up and made use of by Finns in a variety of ways, in order to serve their own purposes.”

#### 9.4 Market sector distribution

The following results are presented to find out which market sectors use English.

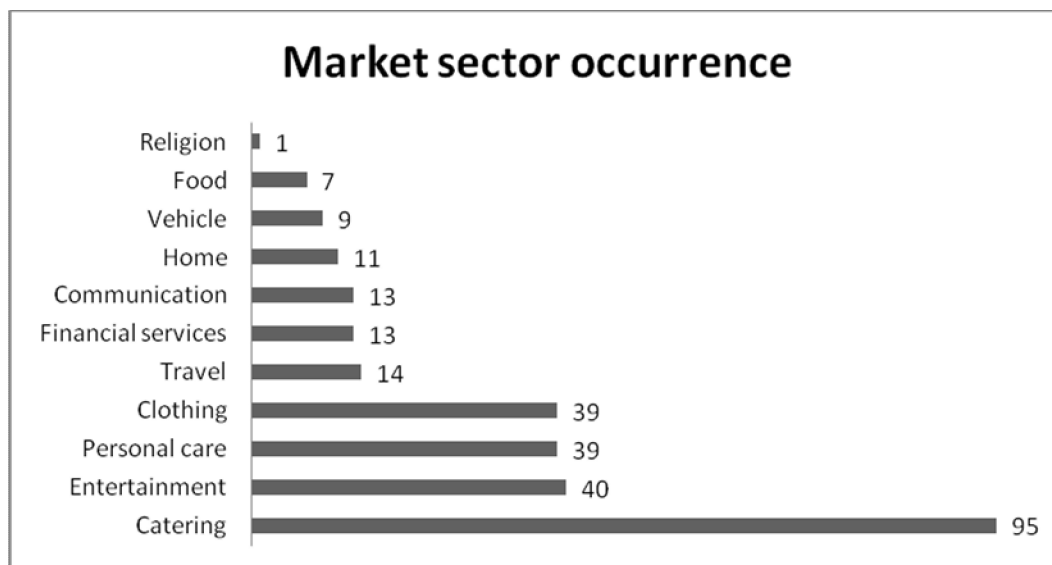


Figure 34. Occurrence of LL texts by market sector.

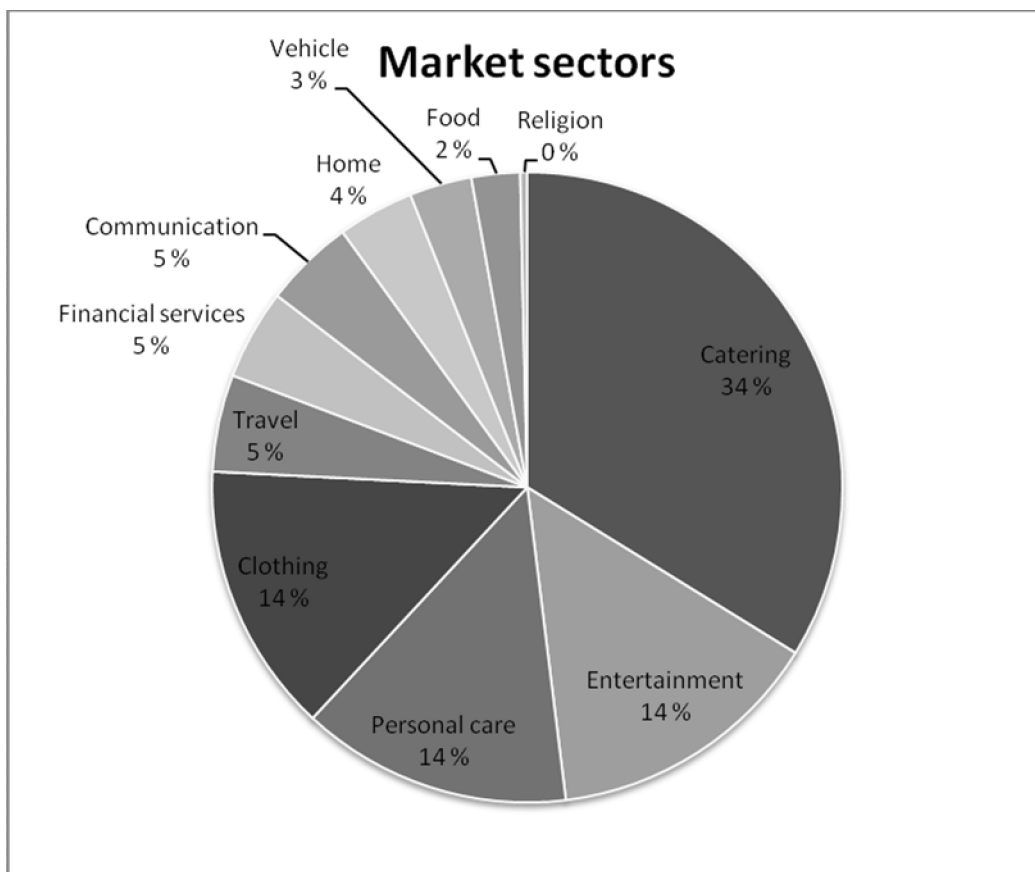


Figure 35. Occurrence proportions of market sectors.

These results indicate that by far the most frequent occurrence of English is seen in the catering sector since this market sector class has 95 texts in the data, which is more than double the amount of texts of the second highest occurrence, for the market sector class of entertainment has 40 LL texts (14 %) in the data. The 95 texts of the catering class make up 33.8 per cent of the total of 281 LL texts. After entertainment, the next two classes are even. The market sector class of personal care and the market sector class of clothing have only one text less than entertainment and share the third position with 39 texts.

The figures for the seven remaining market sectors are relatively low. The travel sector has the occurrence of 14 LL texts. Both FLS and communication sectors are represented by 13 LL texts whilst home sector has 11 LL texts, vehicle sector 9 LL texts and food sector 7 LL texts in the data. Only one text is found to belong to the class of religion. It



is a public non-commercial information text <The church is open during the divine services> which is displayed on a billboard near the Tampere orthodox church.

#### 9.4.1 Examples of market sector

Characteristically, a great number of the LL texts used by the catering sector contain words like *bar*, *restaurant*, *café*, *club* and *pub* and they occur mainly in business names. For example, texts such as <Restaurant Hook>, <Japanese Ramen restaurant>, <Buffet & Café Linkosuo>and <Gobi Desert Canoe Club> (see Figure 36 below) are included in the data.



Figure 36. Example of a catering text: **Gobi Desert Canoe Club**.

There are also some “new” words in catering texts like <DD’s Diner> (see Figure 37 below). Interestingly, the word ‘house’ is used to describe both a pub and an eatery as can be seen from texts <Celtic House> and <Taco House> respectively. In addition to all-English names such as <Shanghai Chinese restaurant>, the combination of a Finnish attribute and an English name also occurs as in e.g. <Ravintola Frankly>.



Figure 37. Example of a catering text: *DD's Diner*.

The variety of the texts of the entertainment sector is as large as the whole sector, which in this study covers all the leisure time-related activities. For instance, there are texts on supports like large posters or banners that advertise events, e.g. <Big Torstai - Indie Rock & Club music> and <100. Motorshow>. On the other hand, there are the prominent names of sex shops and clubs such as <Red Lights>, <Eros Sex> and <Pussycat Erotic Club>. Moore and Varantola (2005, 135) state that the names of sex shops are often predictable and that they use English attract customers.

The entertainment sector also includes tattooing businesses that seem to be especially fond of using English as can be seen from texts like <Tattoo Studio Paronen Art>, <Black Arts Tattoo Studio> or <Precious Tattoo> (see Figure 38 below).



Figure 38. Example of an entertainment text: *Precious Tattoo*.

Most of the texts in the personal care sector are names of hairdresser's and barber's shops. This category includes e.g. <The Gift of Style> (a hair and beauty studio), <Hair Art>, <M Room>, <Hair Garage>, <Nina's Lifestyles> and <Chaplin's>. Also a few advertising texts and slogans of hairdresser's shops are found in the texts of personal care sector, as can be seen from examples like <Hair is your crown>, <Hairway to Heaven> or <Bläki – just cut it!>. The personal care sector also includes names of beauty parlours such as <Beauty Drop> and <Day&Spa Studio Feel It>.

In extreme cases it seems that it is particularly the hairdresser's shops that are the most adventurous in composing and displaying English texts. One of the most striking examples of this inventiveness is the use of apostrophe with the Finnish possessive form as in <Hanna'n> (a name of a hairdresser's; see figure 39 below). Here English is used as a stylistic device by intergrating a linguistic feature of English into a Finnish word. Pahta and Taavitsainen (2004, 179) comment that the curious use of the apostrophe "seems to have spread from English into non-functional use in names."



Figure 39. Example of a personal care text: *Hanna'n*.

Clothing sector is another focal market sector that utilizes English. Again, there is a great number of business names that are completely in English as the following versatile name texts of clothes shops indicate: <Forget Me Not>, <Vaudeville Boutique>, <Bronx – Street & Clubwear store>, <Jane's Clothes>, <Wonder Jeans>and <The Cloth House>. The advertising texts of the clothing sector also seem keen on the versatile use of English as can be seen from texts like <Fashion sale> or <Gore-tex –guaranteed to keep you dry>, <Jacket 139,95> (see Figure 40 below) and <Outerwear campaign continues in store>.



Figure 40. Example of an advertising text by clothing sector: *Jacket 139,95*.



The remaining seven market sector classes have a combined share of 24 per cent, which is roughly a quarter of the whole data.

Next, some descriptive examples of the rest of the market sectors are given (with the exception of the market sector of religion which was dealt earlier). Travel sector has many non-commercial texts around Tampere city centre. The most salient of these is probably the text <Go Tampere> in the sign of the local tourist information centre at the railway station. The texts of communication sector are typically related to new technologies. Business names such as <Firefox Communications Oy> or <Teleperformance> are a common feature in this sector. The home sector uses typically business names like <Vintage Garden> (a name of an interior decoration store) or <Open Market> (a name of a real estate business; see Figure 41 below), but also some combined texts can be found e.g. <Forenom – for easy housing> or the earlier-mentioned <Honka – Today’s homes.Naturally> (see Figure 42 below).



Figure 41. Example of a home sector text: **Open Market**.



Figure 42. Example of a home sector text: **Honka – Today's homes.Naturally.**

In the vehicle sector, driving schools seem to be fond of using English. There are texts like <Autokoulu Citytraffic> (a name of a local driving school) or <Easy Driver> (a name of a corporate driving school). Combinations of two text contents are used, too, as both a business name and a slogan is found in the LL text <Avis - we try harder>, which is displayed by an international car rental corporation.

During the last few decades food stores have become scarce in the city centre and the few remaining ones are often connected with foreign immigrants. Their use of English is characterised by texts like <East Asia Market> (see Figure 43 below), <Shan Food Market> and <Al Medina Oriental Market>.



Figure 43. Example of a food sector text: *East Asia Market*.

#### 9.4.2 Discussion on market sectors

The results above indicate that English is richly utilized by a great number of market sectors in Tampere. Therefore, it can be argued that the use of English affects a variety of social domains in the local community. These domains include not only professional activities but also a number of activities that form an essential part of people's leisure time and domestic life.

In general, it seems that the results are in agreement with Taavitsainen and Pahta (2003, 8) who state that in Helsinki region, it is common to see a hairdresser's, barber's shops and restaurants with English names. Taavitsainen and Pahta (2008, 34) also point out that English can nowadays appear in the names of various kinds of local businesses, which is also true in Tampere according to the findings of this thesis.

Interestingly, Leppänen and Nikula (2007, 366) state that "in addition to being a valued professional asset, English is also often a tool for demonstrating skilled social

accomplishment among people involved in monolingual, or primarily monolingual, English situations”. Indeed, the results show that the texts of certain market sectors include very keen users of English that seem to strive for professional credibility and social acceptance by utilizing the English language. For instance, tattooing businesses of the entertainment sector and computer-related technology of the communications sectors can be mentioned as examples of this kind use of English. Leppänen and Nikula (2007, 366) illustrate this further by arguing that the “use of English is often connected to some kind of identity work: speakers either index their expertise through their choice of English or indicate their membership of particular social groups, or both” (ibid. 368). The close relation of English and new technologies is obvious as English is important in “constructing new forms of expertise and social relations.” (ibid. 367)

However, not all the market sectors are keen to utilize English. According to Moore and Varantola (2005, 135) undertakers, funeral parlours, bakers and shoemakers “refrain from the use of trendy English.” The findings of this study seem to be in agreement with their conclusion as the texts from the same market sectors are absent in the data. Moore and Varantola (2005, 135) explain the phenomenon by stating that there are still some market sectors that are yet not so much affected by globalization and English.

Could it be that some traditional business branches, like pharmacies and lawyer’s offices, avoid using English because it has certain connotative values? According to Piller (2001, 2003) English brings the sensation of modernity, success, sophistication and diversion. Or do they want to avoid creating “an up-to-date, fashionable and youthful image” (Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004, 183)? At least, they might want to ensure that elderly people understand and are able to utter the names of businesses in question. This must be partly caused by the fact that even though 60 per cent of all Finns speak English, the percentage is considerably higher among the younger generations (Pahta and Taavitsainen 2004, 176; Leppänen et al.



2009). Therefore, it seems that market sectors that are more closely linked to younger generations are keener on using English than the market sectors that have businesses which are aimed at the elderly.

## **10. DISCUSSION ON MACROACQUISITION**

The theory of macroacquisition describes the spread of a language to new speech communities via a process of second language acquisition. In Type B process, the theory stresses the idea of second language acquisition by communities where code-switching occurs more freely than in Type A environment (Brutt-Griffler 2002, xi, 136, 139). This study aimed to detect signs of the process of macroacquisition in Tampere, and the findings confirm that Type B process can be seen in the Tampere speech community.

The code-switching of Finnish and English in the cityscape is an obvious macro-level phenomenon that provides ample evidence of the process of macroacquisition in the region. Type B macroacquisition manifests itself through code-switching which can occur freely between English and Finnish in Finland since most of LL texts are not restricted by any official regulations. However, code-switching alone is not sufficient to attest macroacquisition in the community but e.g. the diversified use of English in various social contexts is considered as a solid proof of the process of macroacquisition.

Although the linguistic landscape of Tampere as a whole is a significant sign of Type B process, it is on micro-level where the shared resources of culture and meaning of the Tampere community are utilized to their full potential. In the data the most striking examples are the hybrid LL texts that combine elements from both English and Finnish. Pahta and Taavitsainen (2004, 173) point out that the “use of English in combination with the two

domestic languages provides additional material for creativity and innovation that is important for catching the customers' attention". The private business name of an art studio <Arteljee> (see Figure 44 below) is an example of this kind of use in the data.



Figure 44. Example of a hybrid text: *arteljee*.

But what if these kinds of LL texts are only isolated cases on individual level? At the very least, based on the popularity of English, one could expect to find ample English textual samples in Tampere. When we have grown familiar with the English language it is logical for us to expect to find abundant English appearing on all types of supports.

The bilingual environment was already revealed by the extensive Helsinki phone directory investigation of Pahta and Taavitsainen (2004), who examined advertisements on the yellow pages from the 1950s to the present. They discovered that there is a steady growth and constant change in the use of English along the decades. They also acknowledged the social change in Finland over the fifty years under scrutiny and concluded that “cultural imperialism of the use of English gains new dimensions as it becomes coloured by local and national features” (ibid. 183). With all this background information and the findings of the study, one can hardly deem the LL texts to be isolated cases.

The high occurrence of English business names in e.g. shop signs cannot merely be interpreted as a sign of the process of macroacquisition. However, it can be argued that as English is utilized in a versatile and innovative manner by all kinds of private entities such as local businesses, shops and services, the English language is now being appropriated by the local community which has traditionally been defined as being monolingual. This could even mean that we are about to reach the turning point to which Brutt-Griffler (1998, 387) refers when she states that the speakers of other languages than English will act as the agents of its future change.

The results for actor groups suggest, too, that the local community has appropriated English to some extent. It seems that the use of English is reaching the stage where, as Brutt-Griffler (2002, 22) states, “language acquisition does not occur separately but collectively with the locals influencing one another“. This type of social language acquisition clearly confirms the process of macroacquisition in the Tampere speech community and even suggests that the degree of the use of English is increasing and might even one day bear some significance in the shaping of English.

## 11. CONCLUSION

This study has aimed at charting and describing the social reality of English in Tampere by applying the methodology of the study of linguistic landscape. Generally, the findings seem to be in agreement with many previous studies of linguistic landscape as the study shows that English is mostly used in Tampere for business names but also for advertising, slogans and non-commercial information to a significant extent. Very interestingly, the language is mainly used by private actors as over 80 per cent of the LL texts were composed and displayed by them. The content preference results reiterate the idea of the popularity of English business names. Both private and corporate actors use English mostly for naming purposes whereas public actors seem to favour the use of English for non-commercial information. It is noteworthy that it was in corporate texts where the content distribution of the four groups was the most even. The study also shows that a variety of market sectors utilize English Tampere. The catering sector was the keenest user of English in the 11 market sectors of the study.

The results coincide with many features of the global spread of English that are explained in various theories. Globalization is often clearly linked to the LL texts, which suggests that it still acts as one of the major forces behind the use and spread of English in Finland. However, this study also confirmed the process of macroacquisition in the Tampere speech community which means that globalization is not acting alone anymore.

The study revealed a number of signs of macroacquisition. Initially, the mere extent of English texts in the linguistic landscape of Tampere suggested a high probability of macroacquisition in Tampere but the process of macroacquisition is really confirmed by the fact that 81 per cent of the texts are displayed and composed by private actors, who use them

for all the four different content purposes included in the study, i.e. business names, advertising, slogans and non-commercial information.

Even the smallest content group of slogans has a share of 8 per cent in the data; this can be regarded as a surprisingly high figure when we take into account the narrow scope of this content group. The high number of private LL texts as such is seen as a clear sign of the macroacquisition process which is further verified by the occurrence of creative texts, e.g. texts containing hybrid words.

The answers to the four research questions posed in this study illustrate well the social reality of English in Tampere and confirm that the use of English is not merely symbolic. Accordingly, it is concluded that at present English is mostly used by private entities, e.g. local shops, restaurants and other services and not solely by international corporations that might have originally brought the language with globalization to the city centre of Tampere.

As a starting point, the study introduced Brutt-Griffler's (2002) theory of macroacquisition, which stresses that local communities in several countries can play central roles in the future of English. According to this theory it is decisive whether or not the local population adopts English as its own language. Several findings of the present study, including the immense and versatile use of English by private actors, suggest that English is appropriated by the local population in Tampere. It cannot be denied that English is still often used only as a symbolic tool but it cannot be ignored either that the ways of using English are often so creative and diversified that they demand a good command of the language by the majority of the members of the community. The results clearly indicate that the role of English is more than a mere symbolic tool for individuals. If anything, it seems that English is becoming a functional and practical tool of the whole community.

The study also reveals the extensive and diversified use of English for different contents and social activities. This is seen as another definite step towards an increasing Type

B process of macroacquisition where English is not only used for business names, for instance, as could have been expected, but for advertising, slogans and non-commercial information as well. Moreover, the study shows that the language is used for a variety of market sectors, which means that it is affecting a significant number of different social activities.

Durk Gorter urges the fairly new study field of linguistic landscape to be developed further. In the present thesis the methods of some earlier linguistic landscape studies were combined with new adaptations, and the approach has yielded successful results to the key research questions posed in the study. However, Gorter's view on the need of developing the linguistic landscape methodology further is shared by the present writer if more extensive results are aimed at.

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