

PEDAGOGICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND LINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF THE FINNISH LANGUAGE IN THE SWEDISH DIASPORA

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Pedagogical questions were a central issue in dealing with the situation of the old minorities in Sweden, the Saami and the Torne-dal (Torne Valley) Finns in northern Sweden, at the end of the last and during the first decades of this century. With the vast immigration to the country since World War II, the educational policy of the Swedish authorities has moved in a more pluralistic direction, compared to the Swedizing policy that was dominant until the beginning of the 70's. Attempts have been made to meet the demands of immigrants with concrete measures that take into consideration their cultural and linguistic background. The most important of these measures is probably the "home language reform" of 1976 (Widgren 1960), according to which children with a non-Swedish linguistic and cultural background have the right to receive instruction in their mother tongue. Since 1985 the term home language is defined as that language, other than Swedish, which is used in daily intercourse in the home, implying that at least one of the parents or guardians normally uses this language with the child (Prop. 1984/85, 100, Bilaga 10, Statskontoret 1986: 22). This is a limitation of the original provision.

Swedish is considered the most important language for all inhabitants of Sweden, including immigrants, in order that all people living in Sweden may pursue careers in the labor market on equal terms. The importance of good knowledge of Swedish by all immigrants has been emphasized by educators, linguists, the Swedish authorities, immigrants' organizations and - as can be seen from many of the investigations referred to in this paper - also by the immigrants themselves. One consequence of this has been that much of the linguistic research in Sweden has been directed to these fields, the study of immigrant Swedish and the teaching of Swedish

as a second language. Bilingualism has largely been treated as a pedagogical problem with an emphasis on second language learning. This approach may be partly explained by Sweden's urgent need to find practical solutions to the problems of the education of immigrant children. Relatively little attention has been devoted to research on the linguistic development of the immigrant languages in the Swedish environment, or these as a mother tongue of people living in this country. Stölting (1987) identified this as a typical feature of research in this field in Western Europe, and also referred to critique by Michel Clyne. In Sweden this tendency was pointed out by the initiators of the JUBA-project in Lund, and also within the so-called FUSKIS-project at the Department of Finno-Ugric Languages in Uppsala (FUSKIS is the Swedish abbreviation for Finno-Ugric Language Contact in Sweden).²

One of the most heated issues in the pedagogical debate about the education of immigrants in Sweden is the theory of semilingualism. In the beginning of this decade there were very polarized standpoints among the researchers of the field, and by now it has nearly faded out.³

The amount of Finnish immigrant children in Sweden

The Finnish immigrants in Sweden are the overwhelmingly largest immigrant group in the country. In the beginning of this decade they still comprised more than 50% of the immigrants to Sweden. In the recent years, however, there has been a sizable remigration to Finland, and at present (1987) they make up about 40% of the new migrants. Since 1960 the number of remigrants from Sweden to Finland has been somewhat higher than those migrating in the other direction.

There are no certain figures on the amount of Finnish-speaking people in Sweden, neither the immigrants nor the Finnish-speakers of the Tornedal; the only figures which exist are on the amount of Finnish *citizens* living in Sweden. These figures comprise also the Swedish-speaking Finns (Finland-Swedes), which form a relatively large portion, about 25%, of the immigrants from Finland. The Finnish-speaking people in Sweden, including those who are Swedish citizens, are estimated to be about 300 000, a figure which equals the amount of Swedish-speaking Finns in Finland. This comparison

has been increasingly made in recent years, although it is regarded by many as inadequate, at least from the historical point of view.

We know more about the amount of Finnish-speaking children in the school, although the *total* number is not quite certain either. In this context the term home language is crucial: the home language is defined as the language that the child actively uses at home with at least one of the parents. Every year the children who have a home language other than Swedish are registered by the school authorities. The methods for collecting this data are, however, not fully reliable. The information about the home language of the children is collected by the teachers, who have no possibilities to examine the language situation and the language use in the childrens' homes in close detail. The figures derived from this data, thus, cannot be regarded as more than estimations (when it comes to the *total* amount of this category of children). All immigrant children do not take part in home language instruction at school. On the other hand, the amount of those who do participate is known (see below).

According to statistics published in the summer of 1967, home language instruction is given in 78 different languages in the Swedish comprehensive and upper secondary schools. About 83.300 pupils, i. e. 9%, of all pupils in the comprehensive school, had a home language other than Swedish. Of the 1391 Chinese-speaking pupils 81% attended home language instruction, a maximum for the program. The year before the maximum was achieved by the Tigrinian-speaking children: 90% of the 232 Tigrinian-speaking children attended this instruction. The minimum was found among the Norwegian pupils; only 16%. out of 1198 attended. Among the Finnish-speaking pupils, the largest group, the attendance figures were 68X out of 28.058 whereas the average for all immigrant and minority pupils was 66%, slightly less in both cases than the year before. Traditional home language instruction, according to the reform of 1976, means from 1-5 (on the average two) lessons per week in the child's mother tongue. Since 1985 there are also so-called home language classes and composite classes⁴, where a considerable portion of the instruction is given in the childrens' mother tongue. A fourth (6.095) of the Finnish children in the compulsory school received their éducation in such classes. Of all the 524 home language classes 75% (= 399) were Finnish. The number of composite classes was 272, 151 of which were Finnish.

At the secondary level, in the Swedish gymnasium (high school), 30% (4.792) of the 15.781 students with a mother tongue other than Swedish were Finnish-speakers. About 43X (2.076) of these participated in home language instruction, whereas the average for all immigrant children was 43%. Finnish-speaking students in theoretically oriented courses took part to a greater extent than students in practically oriented ones (55% vs. 36%), and girls more often than boys, 55% vs. 45% for all categories of courses in high school (Statistiska meddelanden 1987, U72, SH 8701).

Difficulties similar to those accounted for above occur when one tries to find reliable figures concerning the *total* amount of pre-schoolers with a home language other than Swedish. In the autumn of 1984 the registered amount of pre-school children in this category was 19.928, i. e. about 8% of the total amount of children within the municipal childcare (251.122). About 27.5% of these (5.322) had Finnish as their mother tongue, and 81% of the Finnish children got instruction in their mother tongue in pre-school. This was the highest rate for all immigrant groups. The average was about 60% (Utbildningsstatistisk årsbok 1986).

Patterns of language use

A tendency within the Finnish group is that the amount of preschool aged children is decreasing, because the bulk of Finnish immigrants is now approaching the ages when nativity diminishes. On the other hand Finnish pre-school aged children are living in a more Finnish-speaking environment than those who are in school age. Another tendency is an increasing number of marriages with one of the parts being Swedish or of a nationality other than Finnish or Swedish. In these cases the language situation of the children is more complicated. Although some of these parents use Finnish in communication with their children, in accordance with the often recommended one parent/one language-principle, many of them, especially the women⁵, change their main language to Swedish. According to an investigation carried out in Stockholm, it is reasonable to believe that 40-50% of the Finnish-speaking mothers speak Finnish to their children, an estimation where those who live in linguistically mixed marriages are taken into account. For the situation in Stockholm in 1985, when 491 of the mothers were born in Finland, 210 of these had Finnish as their main language. Sur-

veys concerning the language these mothers intended to use with their children showed that somewhat more than 200 children were going to be brought up with Finnish as the only or one of two languages used at home. This equals 3%, of the whole age group born in Stockholm that year. Outside of Stockholm the amount is considered to be, on the average, somewhat higher (Natchev a Siren, in press).

The linguistic environment of Finnish pre-schoolers

A study by Huss (1984) deals with families where both parents are Finnish-speaking (there are, so far, no detailed investigations about language use in the families where only one of the parents is Finnish-speaking). It was carried out in some towns in Central Sweden (the Hilar Lake region), namely Västerås, Eskilstuna and Hallstahammar, all with considerable Finnish-speaking populations which amount to about 4-7% of all inhabitants in these towns

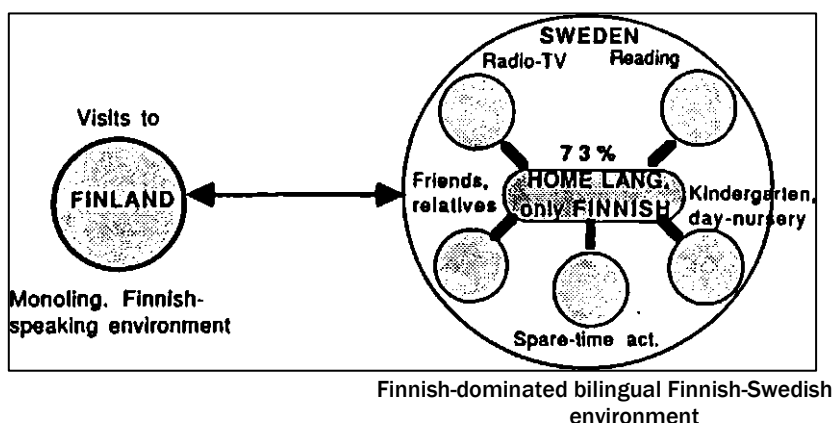


Figure 1. The main components of the sociolinguistic environment for Finnish pre-schoolers in towns in central Sweden (adapted from Huss 1984).

(cf. SOU 1987, 67). The aim of the study was two-fold: to try to discover how great a role Finnish played in the lives of the children and to map out any Swedish interference in their Finnish. The data on the

social issues were gathered by means of a questionnaire and the linguistic data by means of tape recordings, the average length of which was 20 minutes: 109 children between 2 and 7 years were studied in the survey, 84 of these were tape-recorded. Using the results of the questionnaire as a base the linguistic environment of the children could, roughly, be illustrated as in figure 1.

As can be seen from the figure Finnish was used as the only language at home in 73% of the families. Other studies on language use within homogeneous Finnish-speaking families show even higher rates. Of the adult Finnish immigrants interviewed in Eskilstuna within the FIDUS-project, 76% reported Finnish as the only language used in communicating with the children (Lainio 1984). In a Stockholm study dealing with pupils participating in Finnish home language instruction at school, 84% of the families concerned used only Finnish at home (Ericsson ft Sandström 1986).

The main components of the Finnish-speaking environment for the children in Huss' investigation were those indicated in figure 1: Finnish books were read aloud every, or almost every, day in about 90% of the families, and Finnish radio and TV-programs were listened to regularly. Of course, Finnish dominated in the day-nursery and kindergarten, so also when the children played at home with playmates, although Swedish was somewhat more in evidence in this situation in the home milieu. For at least a third of the children the spare-time activities implied a Finnish milieu.

It is important to note that the families participating in this investigation all live in places where they have been able to choose between Finnish and Swedish day-nursery or kindergarten for their children. This possibility does not exist everywhere. Nor do all parents choose a Finnish-speaking kindergarten for their children, even where this is possible. The figure, thus, can be seen as a picture of the linguistic situation or linguistic environment in Finnish families in Sweden that seem to be very conscious of their Finnish linguistic and cultural background and want to maintain it.

In regard to the parental attitudes, the results show that an overwhelming majority of the parents wanted their children to grow up bilingual. This aim was considered, by the parents, to be achieved most effectively by giving the child a good base in its mother tongue, an argument that has often been put forward in the Scandi-

navian debate by some linguists, although others consider this argument very controversial.

The answers to the questionnaire point to a conscious effort on the part of the parents to foster their childrens' knowledge of Finnish. Not less than 76% of the parents wanted instruction during primary education to take place in Finnish only, 11% wanted education in both languages. When asked about language of instruction for the child during secondary education the attitudes of these parents of pre-schoolers were different: 39% wanted the education to take place in Finnish only, 32% in both languages. These figures may be a reflection of the aforementioned opinion that Swedish is of great importance to these families, but they may also reflect a realistic attitude to the present state of available education and service as well as jobs where Finnish is needed on the labor market in Sweden today.

The investigation by Huss referred to above concerned preschool aged children and their families. Knookala (1982) made an investigation of a similar kind with school-aged children in Uppsala but in addition to questionnaires and interviews also used recordings of communication within a few of the families (a total of 16 hours of recording). The data were collected with the aim of eliciting information about language use in the families and the informants' own views about their proficiency in Finnish and Swedish. The recordings were used for an analysis of code-switching.

This study supports the above-mentioned findings and the anecdotal evidence we have from immigrant surroundings and also from the Tornedal, about the various, existing types of patterns of language use within families. Knookala's results also tend to support my assumption concerning these types of communication situations, namely, that listening comprehension of the Finnish parents in Swedish and of the children in Finnish are fairly good, at least for part of the population. All parents who had lived for more than 11 years in Sweden regarded their understanding of Swedish as rather good or very good, whereas they reported their Swedish to be poor in all other respects, that is in regard to reading comprehension as well as oral and written production. The children reported their Swedish to be better with regard to all these aspects and that their ability to speak Finnish was restricted to the home domain.

More than 70% of the children estimated their abilities to understand Finnish as rather good or very good and the ability to speak Finnish got even higher scores. It is not quite evident how these reported data should be interpreted. Self-reports about linguistic abilities are by many scholars regarded as very uncertain. Anyhow they are not incompatible with current linguistic theory on the separation of language skills. However, the data may indicate perceived difficulties of the children with Finnish at school, which is one of the few domains outside the home where they come in touch with Finnish. Very few of the children in this sample took part in spare time activities in Finnish.

Language use and language choice among teenagers

The studies mentioned above can be characterized as pilot studies. Huss' investigation is now being followed up by a large scale study over a three year period. The most comprehensive study, this far, within this field was conducted by a Gothenburg linguist, Sally Boyd, on multilingualism among second generation immigrant youths in Sweden (Boyd 1985). Boyd's results derive from a vast questionnaire survey of 700 immigrant pupils in the 8th and 9th grades in the elementary schools in two municipalities in central Sweden, Nacka, close to Stockholm, and Bores, an industrial town in western part of central Sweden. The questionnaire was followed up with deep interviews with 40 of the pupils as well as their parents. As the bulk of the informants were Finnish youths the study has a special interest in this context - the 40 pupils and the parents interviewed were all Finnish. Both methods used rely heavily on self-report. As a point of departure Boyd used the concept active bilingualism, a key concept in the formulation of the goals of Swedish educational policy for immigrants. Boyd considered it most appropriate to view language competence as a skill, and in accordance with this, bilingualism was defined in terms of the active use of two languages.⁶

The larger scope of the study is defined by Boyd as aiming at an investigation of the current situation and the future prospects of the immigrant minority languages in Sweden. Referring to earlier sociolinguistic research, mainly that of Labov and Gal on linguistic change and linguistic variation, and that of Ferguson and Fish-man on diglossia, two main methodological approaches were developed

to investigate the possibility of predicting the future extent of bilingualism in the immigrant community in Sweden. Thus, the two patterns of language use studied were age-grading and functional separation or overlap.

The strongest predictor of active bilingualism in the group as a whole was found to be the family background. The most important results of the investigation reported by Boyd are the following:

1. Use of a minority language is almost completely limited to children in families where both parents come from the same country.
2. Young people who are bilingual use the minority language mainly with their parents and with others in the older generation.
3. There is no clear functional separation between the two languages.

There are striking similarities between these results concerning language use and some of the results reported in the study of pre-schoolers and their parents (Huss 1984, Knookala 1982) as well as the results reported from investigations among the Finnish-speaking indigenous minority children in the Tornedal in northern Sweden (cf. Rönmark A Wikström 1980, Wände 1984). But there is also a difference between the language use of pre-school aged children and the older children. In the families with pre-school children Finnish was to a greater extent the language used by the family members in communication with each other, and Swedish used solely with playmates or friends and visitors, who did not know Finnish. When the children grew older, their social network widened, and the school became an important factor, the patterns of language use changed. Swedish also began to play a greater role in the home environment the older the children got. A sign of this was that the siblings in a family often used Swedish with each other, although they spoke Finnish to their parents. In some families the patterns might be that the older children spoke Finnish with the parents and sometimes also to each other, whereas there were families, in which the communication between children and parents was bilingual, the children speaking Swedish and the parents Finnish. Many linguists, hearing about this for the first time, are very surprised, and wonder how such a type of conversation is possible. This attitude indicates an underestimation of the role of the receptive language

skills of those involved in communicating in this way (cf. above and Knookala 1982, 16). That is one aspect of the situation: this mode of communicating exists and is, consequently, possible. Another question, which can be put forth, is how natural this mode of communicating is socially, and how it affects the mutual understanding in a deeper sense, as well as the emotional contact between parents and children, questions that are often asked in the debate, most often rhetorically. Very pessimistic views about this type of family situation are often heard, and it is easy to imagine how it may generate lack of understanding and defective relations. Yet socially, it seems as if there are many families who manage to handle the situation in this way. It would be an intricate research task, though, to make narrow, observational studies of these types of communication, especially of their emotional and psychosemantic aspects. Some aspects are certainly possible to study by means of interviews, but one may doubt whether the usual, even fairly deep interviews are sufficient to reveal how everyday intercourse in a family takes place and what the significance of different modes of communication is. The methods of investigation pose difficult questions for sociolinguistic methodology, not least, the ethical aspects.

A limitation with Boyd's study - in relation to the formulated aim - is that it does comprise only teenagers, i. e. young people in a very sensitive age, in which they might be more prone than in other ages to orient themselves towards their Swedish peers and away from their own home background. Linguistically this would imply an orientation towards increased use of Swedish.⁷

Summing up, use of Finnish by Finnish immigrants in Sweden of different ages (the second generation included), in families where both parents are Finnish-speakers, could roughly be illustrated as in figure 2.

In the future another pattern of language use may develop among teenagers. The status of Finnish in Sweden is not as high as that of Swedish, neither formally nor informally, but the measures taken in favor of Finnish (and other immigrant languages), e. g. the home language reform, have given the language a higher status than it used to have. Recent studies among Finnish immigrant youths who go to home language classes, indicate that Finnish is not regarded as a stigmatized language among them. They use Finnish more at school

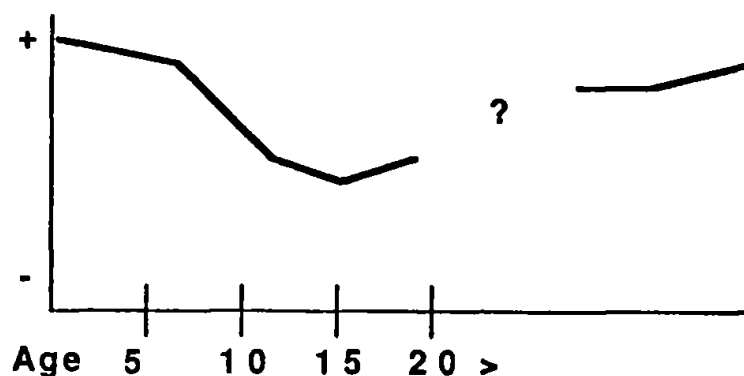


Figure 2. Use of Finnish by Finnish immigrants of different ages in families where both parents are Finnish-speakers.

than is common among those who attend Swedish classes,[®] and they also acquire a good proficiency in Swedish. This, in turn, implies that they acquire a fairly good bilingual competence (Skut-nabb-Kangas 1987, Wände, in press).

Sociopsychological aspects - a study on self-esteem

There are so far no Swedish studies on the relation between language and identity in Finnish immigrant children in Sweden of the type carried out by Kjell Magnusson with regard to Yugoslav youths in this country (Magnusson 1987). On the whole, studies of language and identity are performed on a very general level. There is, however, a study on the self-perception or self-esteem of Finnish and Yugoslav immigrant youths in comparison with Swedish youths by Ouvinen-Birgerstam (1984, 1987) and a study on self-esteem among Finnish-speaking youths in the Tornedal in northern Sweden (Cullblom, in press).

In the debate on the situation of immigrants in Sweden, it has been very common to regard immigrants and immigrant children from different countries as a homogeneous group, all differing in a similar way from Swedes. The Lund study by Ouvinen-Birgerstam shows, as some studies in other fields have done, that immigrant

children do not differ homogeneously from Swedish children, but that there are differences between the immigrant groups. In this study Yugoslavian boys turned out to have the most positive attitudes towards themselves, and the Swedish boys expressed higher self-esteem than did the Finnish boys. Among the girls the tendencies were reversed, with the Yugoslavian girls showing more dissatisfaction with themselves than Finnish and Swedish girls. As the self-esteem of Finnish children in Finland was considerably lower than that of Finnish children in Sweden, Ouveinen-Birgerstam drew the conclusion that the differences reflect different, culturally determined attitudes and behavioral patterns towards children in the respective ethnic group and should not be seen as a consequence of the children's immigrant status. The findings of Ouveinen-Birgerstam seem to be in accordance with results obtained in a study of the differences between Swedes, on one hand, and Finnish immigrants, on the other, in the ways of raising children and in attitudes towards different methods of upbringing (Turunen 1977). Finnish immigrants also often express their dissatisfaction with the "too lenient" upbringing that Swedes give their children, something which emerges also in interviews performed within the FIDUS-project in Uppsala. These results are partly supported by other studies in this area, e. g. one completed by a psychologist in Turku, Finland, on the identity of Finnish immigrant children. According to the Turku study there were no essential differences in the attitudes to the self of Finnish immigrant children in Sweden and the control groups in Finland (Rönholm 1982).

Linguistic aspects

There are two characteristic features of the Finnish used by Finnish immigrant children and youths in school, which are immediately observed by home language teachers and by many others, primarily in the written production of the Finnish immigrant children, namely the Swedish impact on orthography and syntax. A few examples of phenomena within these linguistic categories are given below.

I. Orthography. There have been no systematic investigations of the relationship of the Swedish phonological system to the Finnish spelling of these children, but it is quite evident that many of those who take part in home language teaching under the

prerequisites that are valid for this type of instruction spell their Finnish in a very Swedish manner. A few examples of orthographic *déviances* follow:

1. fiSw *äidi* pro fiSt *Miti*. - This example illustrates a qualitative deviance. The Finnish *t* is a dental, as are the Swedish *t*- and */*-sounds. The Finnish *d* is an alveolar (it equals the English */*-sound) and may be perceived as being very distant from the forementioned dental sounds of Finnish and Swedish. A pronunciation with a voiceless [D] is common.'

2. fiSw *kronon* pro fiSt *kruunun* (the genitive of *kruunu* 'crown', the corresponding Swedish word is *krona*). This exemplifies both a qualitative (twice) and a quantitative deviance from Standard Finnish spelling. The Standard Finnish [u] is spelled with the grapheme <u>, the corresponding Swedish sound, however, with the grapheme <o>. Finnish spelling is phonematic, and consequently long sounds are spelled with two characters, short sounds with one character. In Swedish a long vowel is never indicated in that way in spelling (except in some loanwords). In the first syllable of two-syllable words in Swedish the short vowel is, instead, indicated in spelling by a double consonant: in a pair of words like Swedish *talar* - *tallar* ('speaks' resp. 'fur trees') the short consonant, */*, in the first word indicates that the first syllable vowel, *a*, is pronounced long, the long consonant in the second word that the first syllable vowel is short. A sufficient reason for a Finnish immigrant child for not spelling the exemplified Finnish word with a double vowel in the first syllable is, however, most probably this strong spelling convention in Swedish, which influences the spelling of the Finnish immigrant children even in writing Finnish. In this special case, with the word *kruunu* - *krono*, the spelling with <o>, as well as the non-indication of the long quantity of the first syllable vowel, may also be directly supported by the pupils' knowledge of the Swedish word *krona*. There are, however, numerous examples of the same type (cf. Nesser 1982), and there is also systematicity in the pupils' "confusing" Finnish pronunciation with Swedish orthography. As regards the vowels [u] and [o], where the confusion is most frequent, the differences between the Finnish and the Swedish sounds and corresponding graphemes are illustrated in figure 3:

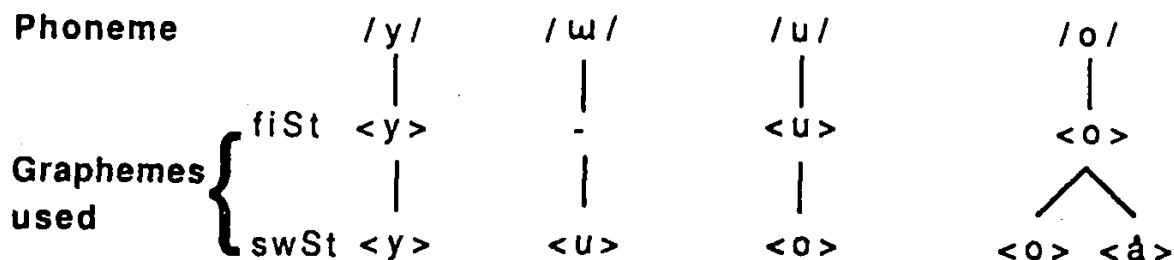


Figure 3. The spelling of the Finnish and Swedish high vowels.¹⁰

What may cause some further confusion is the special Swedish /u/-sound, that is spelled with <u> but pronounced different from /y/ and /ɯ/. It slightly resembles the Finnish /y/, which, in turn, resembles the French /y/ in a word like *mur* 'wall' or the German U as in *Bühne* 'stage'. The Swedish /u/ is a bilabial, rounded mid-vowel, more rounded ("inrounded") than the above-mentioned sounds. In Swedish phonetics the /y/-sound is characterized as a "out-rounded", closed, front vowel, and the rounding of that vowel is more accentuated than it is in the corresponding Finnish (and French and German) sound, the position of which in the vowel diagram is between the Swedish /y/ and the Swedish /ɯ/. It is quite obvious that the Finnish spelling habits of immigrant children are strongly influenced by the Swedish orthography.¹¹

Other cases of quantitative *déviances*, which are not only regarded as unesthetic and disturbing from the point of view of the normative standard but may also cause misunderstandings, are Finnish case endings spelled with only one vowel pro two in the standard variety (the pronunciation of the sounds is in most cases correct, i. e. long): e. g. the partitive of *I siva* 'ship' is in fiSt *laivaa*, but by the children is often spelled *leiva* like the nominative. The illative ("to") of a word like *sana* 'word' is sometimes spelled *sanan*, a form which coincides with the genitive of the same word (fiSt ILL *sanaan*, GEN *sanan*). Long Finnish consonants are often spelled short, which apparently corresponds in many cases to Swedish spelling habits, e. g. fiSw *ikunat* pro fiSt *ikkunat*.

This is a problem of instruction. The Swedish National Board of Education has taken a cautious line in this issue: their recommendations to the Finnish home language teachers has always been not to stress the pupils too much by correcting their spelling. As far as I can see, this is in accordance with the general recommendation for writing instruction in the Swedish school, that is, for the instruction of Swedish as a mother tongue for Swedish children. This recommendation is related to a frequently used method for reading instruction: the idea is that you should use the spontaneous spoken language of the child as a starting-point when teaching the children to read. When it comes to orthography, however, there is an essential difference between Finnish and Swedish orthography, namely that Finnish orthography is in principle very regular, it is an almost phonematic orthography, whereas the Swedish spelling is more irregular. Compared to English these two orthographies could be presented in the following way:

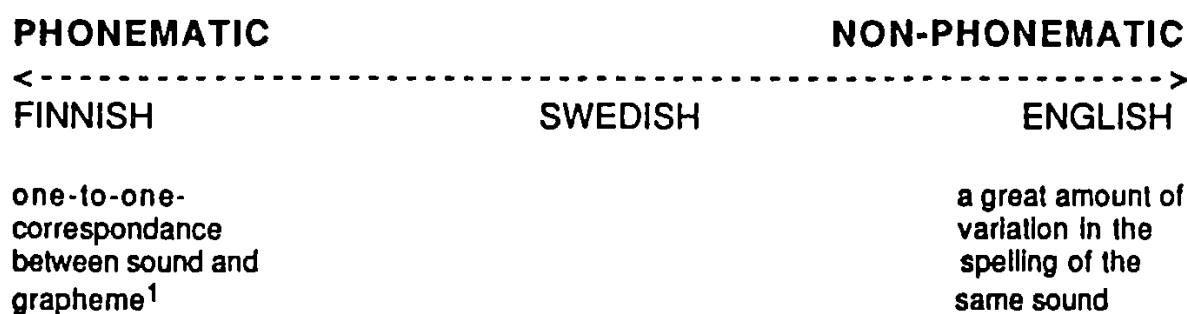


Figure 4. Principles of orthography: Finnish, Swedish and English.

Of course, this does not mean, as seems to be presupposed in many grammar books in Finnish written for Swedes, that Finnish spelling is very easy to learn for anyone. The principles are easy to learn, but the practice may be more difficult and vary with the own linguistic background of the students.

II. Syntax - spoken and written language. From a typological point of view Finnish and Swedish can be compared in regard to the degree of analyticity. Swedish is a mainly analytic language, Finnish is synthetic. English is regarded as a language, still more analytic than Swedish. Figure 5 illustrates the relations between the three languages in this respect.¹³

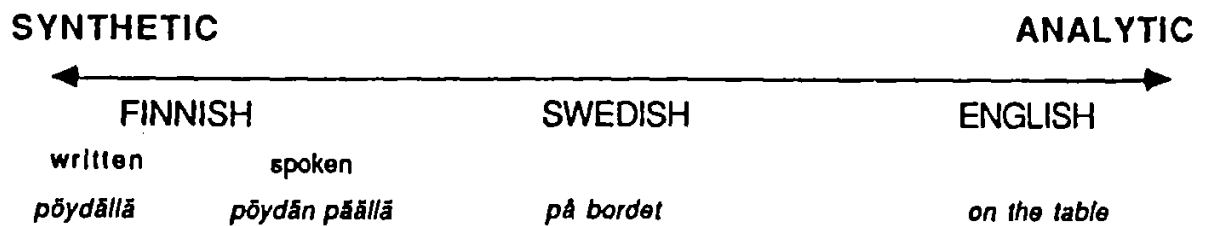


Figure 5. English, Finnish and Swedish compared with regard to analyticity.

From a general point of view, modern spoken Finnish is more analytic than the written language (Saukkonen 1972). As Swedish, in turn, is more analytic than Finnish, it is probable that the analytic tendency from Swedish may influence, in first place the spoken language of Finnish immigrants, and especially their children, in Sweden. This may have an impact, in the long run, on the Finnish written in Sweden, at least, the more informal varieties of this. According to an investigation by Anne Nesser (1986) the Finnish written by Finnish immigrant children is very much based on the spoken language, i. e. it is highly analytic. This is evident from a comparison with spoken and written varieties of Standard Finnish, as is seen in figure 6, which shows the use of local cases in these three varieties. The written Finnish of the Finnish children in Sweden much resembles the spoken variety, and these two varieties, in turn, both differ from written Standard Finnish in the way they use the local cases.¹⁴

In addition to a tendency to use postpositions and prepositions instead of case endings as indicated in figure 5, the analyticity means, among other things, a preference for using subordinate clauses in place of contracted syntactic constructions. One of the constructions within this domain of grammatical features is the participial construction corresponding to the nexusingitive-construction in Swedish and the progressive form in English. In all these languages, including Finnish, this can be substituted for a subordinate clause with Eng. *that*, Sw. *att* and Fi. *että*. In "traditional" grammar, as well as in generative grammar, the subordinate *että*-clause in Finnish is analyzed as the underly-

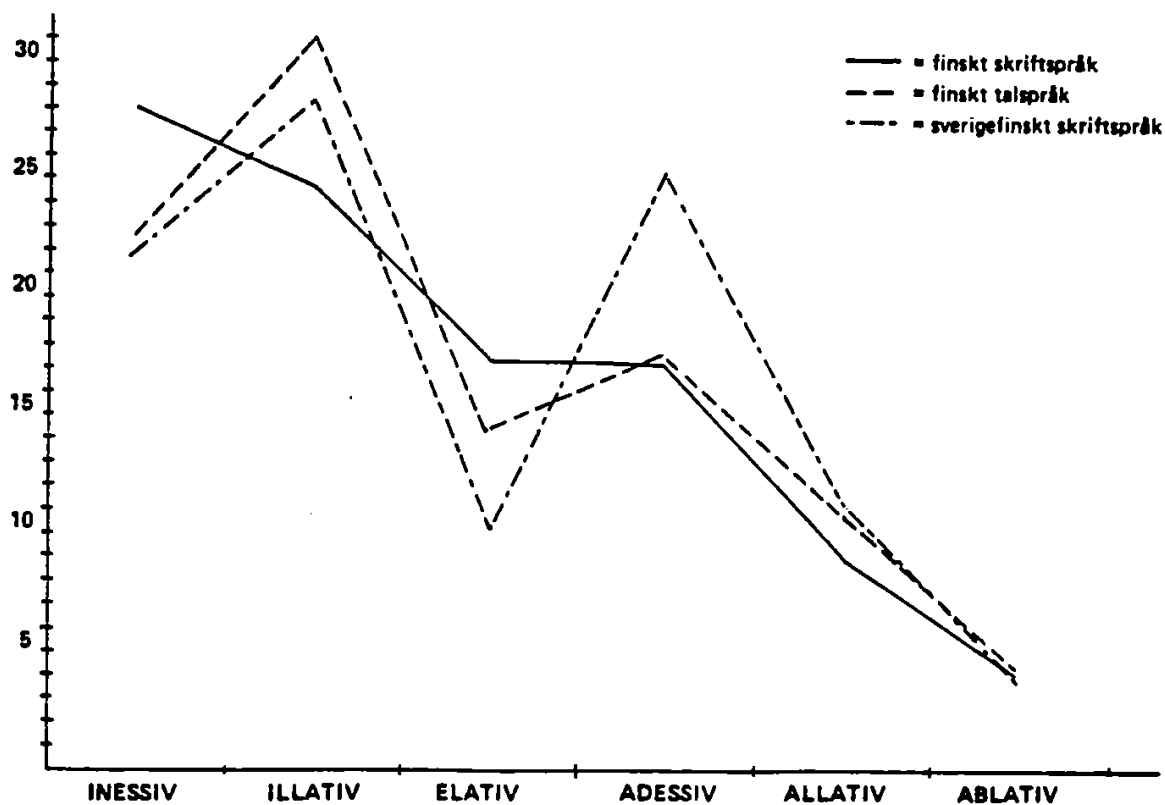


Figure 6. The frequency of local cases in three varieties of Finnish (Nesser 1986).

_____ = written Standard Finnish,
 - - - - - = spoken Standard Finnish,
 - . - . - . = Finnish written by Sweden Finnish school children.

ing structure of the participial construction. The following example illustrates this case:

Synthetic Fi. Hän näki junan tule+va+n (STEM+PRES. PART.+ACC.)
 | | | |
 '/s/he' 'saw' 'train' 'arriv+ing'
 Sw. Han/Hon såg tåget komma (INF.).

Analytic Fi. Hän näki että juna tuli.
 | | | | |
 '/s/he' 'saw' 'that' 'train' 'arrived'
 Sw. Han/Hon såg att tåget kom (PRET.)

The synthetic part of the construction in the Finnish clause is /*junan tulevan*/ (*juna* 'train' + *n* 'GENITIVE' + *tule* 'arrive' + *vA* »PRES.PART.' + *n* 'ACCUSATIVE'), corresponding to the Swedish NEXUSINFINITIVE-construction /*tåget komma*/ (*tig* 'train' + *et* 'DEF.' + *komma* 'arrive' 'INFINITIVE') and English /the train arriving/ in the corresponding Swedish and English sentences. The synthetic construction is more frequently used in Standard Finnish than in Swedish, but the analytic equivalent, the *etti*-clause, is more frequent in spoken Finnish and in informal style on the whole than in formal. It is very probable that this informal style-character of the written essays of Finnish children in Sweden is influenced by the spoken vernacular to a greater extent than for Finnish monolingual children in Finland, because this tendency is supported by the analytic tendency of Swedish. There exist, however, no systematic comparisons between Finnish bilingual children in Sweden and monolingual Finnish-speaking children in Finland on this point.

In an essay written by a Finnish pupil in Sweden two sentences related to the above-mentioned phenomenon occurred:

(i) *Ja hän kuuli jonkun tulla. Se oli haamu.*
 | | | | | | | | |
 'and' 's/he' 'heard' 'somebody' 'coming' 'it' 'was' 'a ghost'
 Sw. Och han/hon hörde någon komma. Det var ett spöke.

(ii) *Ja hän kuuli jonkun tulevan. Se oli haamu.*
 | | | | | | | | |
 'and' 's/he' 'heard' 'somebody' 'coming' 'it' 'was' 'a ghost'
 Sw. Och han/hon hörde någon komma. Det var ett spöke.

The phrase "heard somebody coming" is expressed in two different ways:

(i') *kuuli jonkun tulla*
 PRET GEN INF I

(ii') *kuuli jonkun tulevan*
 PRET GEN PRES PART of *tulla* 'to come'.

From a normative point of view (i') is wrong in formal as well as in informal styles; (ii') is correct. In informal styles you also have the alternative way with the *etta'* clause: *etta' joku tuli* 'that somebody came/was coming' (Sw. 'att någon kom'). (i') seems to be an exact copy of the Swedish construction with NEXUS-INFINITIVE: Sw. *sig ni gon komma* "saw somebody come" (*komma* «INF.), which functionally is an equivalent of the Finnish participial construction. Paradigmatically the Finnish INFINITIVE I is perceived by Finnish-Swedish bilinguals as well as by writers of grammars, as the equivalent of the Swedish infinitive (Fi. *tulla* Sw. /att/ *komma* '/to/ come'), a fact which probably has contributed to the construction used (and which could be interpreted as a case of Swedish interference in the Finnish of Finnish children in Sweden).

In principal, the use of the above-mentioned, functionally parallel constructions by the Finnish pupil can be analyzed in at least two different ways. The pupil in question may have acquired the participial construction during her/his acquisition of Finnish but, due to a long stay in a non-Standard Finnish environment, has begun to lose the sensitiveness to the construction and the feeling of the necessity of formally separating it from the Swedish functional equivalent, the nexusinfinitive (which has begun to feel as a fairly acceptable "Finnish" alternative). Alternatively, the participial construction has been fairly little used in the linguistic environment where /s/he has acquired the Finnish language (as a, mainly spoken, mother tongue in a bilingual Swedish-Finnish environment in Sweden, see above, figure 1) in comparison with the informal variant, the *etta'*-clause, so that the participial construction is learnt, mainly, through instruction at school, and internalized as an equivalent of the Swedish nexusinfinitive, which, in turn, has become a competing construction as a *caique* in the Finnish used by the pupil.

The following example may also be regarded as a case of Swedish interference but on a more abstract level, that of grammatical analysis. In Finnish, possession is expressed by means of the so-called Ллбеге-construction: the owner in the ADESSIVE case (-*II/I*), the verb *olla* 'to be' in the 3rd person singular and the owned thing etc. in the NOMINATIVE case. This corresponds to English constructions with *have* (= to own) and Swedish with the verb *ha*, with the same meaning as the English verb. In tra-

ditional grammatical analysis of Finnish the adessive expression is interpreted as a place adverbial and the owned as the subject of the sentence, while in the corresponding Swedish (and English) sentence the owner is the subject and the owned direct object.

Fi.	<i>Minulla</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>auto</i> (ADESS.+VERB.+NOM).
	'me'+ 'by'	'is'	'a car'
	PLACE ADV.		SUBJECT
Sw.	<i>Jag</i>	<i>har</i>	<i>en bil.</i>
	'I'	'have'	'a car'
	SUBJECT		DIR. OBJECT

By Finns in Sweden the role of the Finnish parts of sentence is sometimes analyzed in a different manner, a way that, from a Standard Finnish point of view, is a restructuring. The SUBJECT of the Finnish sentence, in the traditional analysis, is reinterpreted as DIRECT OBJECT, while the syntactic role of *minulla*, the place adverbial of the Finnish sentence, remains diffuse. The overt, syntactic structure does not reveal any change or direct influence from Swedish.¹⁵

fiSw.	<i>Minulla</i>	<i>on</i>	<i>auto</i> (ADESS.+VERB.+NOM.)
	'I'	'have'	'a car'
			DIR. OBJECT

From a historical point of view syntactic restructuring of the kind exemplified above is a well-known phenomenon, and so too in the history of Finnish.¹⁶ Synchronic studies of language contact phenomena, as these mentioned above, may, incidentally, contribute to the explanation of diachronic phenomena.

These special linguistic examples may be used to illustrate the difference in the acquisition and use of Finnish grammatical constructions between a Finnish immigrant child in Sweden, growing up in a bilingual environment, and a Finnish child, growing up in a monolingual Finnish-speaking environment in Finland. For expressing the proposition "heard someone coming" the monolingual Finnish-speaking child has two alternatives, the *etta*-clause: *kuuli, etta' joku tuli* ('heard that somebody came/was coming') and the

participial construction, *kuul i jonkun tulevan* ('heard somebody coming'). Which of the alternatives the monolingual child chooses, depends on whether /s/he has acquired the difference between formal and Informal style and whether the essay is perceived as demanding a formal style or not. Despite of these syntactic-stylistic and pragmatic alternatives the Finnish immigrant child in Sweden apparently has a third one, the construction resembling the Swedish nexusinfinitive, *kuuli jonkun tuula* ("heard somebody come"). This is counter both to formal and informal Finnish norms, and, consequently, from a pedagogical point of view, the goal of school instruction should be also to teach the Finnish immigrant child in Sweden that this alternative is wrong according to the prevailing norm in Standard Finnish.

Concluding remarks

The traditional home language instruction in Swedish schools, with an average of two lessons per week in the home language, has been criticized as ineffective, especially as language teaching. Some critics, however, have been prone to admit its social and cultural significance. As is indicated by the few linguistic examples demonstrated above, Swedish probably has an impact on Finnish in Sweden on various levels, a phenomenon not unknown in any bilingual or multilingual milieu.¹⁸ Regarding competence in Finnish, it is probable that those Finnish children in Sweden, who have the opportunity to get their education in home language classes, will acquire a higher competence in Finnish as well as in Swedish, in comparison with those who attend the traditional two-hour home language teaching in Swedish classes.¹⁹ In the long run this means that Sweden will gain a considerable amount of people who are highly competent bilinguals in these two languages. The fact that Finnish has gained ground in Sweden in many fields of societal life in recent years, not least at school, has given it a higher status than it used to have.¹⁹ This, in turn, may contribute to the development of a more pronounced and conscious Finnish identity in Sweden - it is already discernible - differing, in some respects, from Swedish identity as well as from Finnish identity in Finland.²⁰

NOTES

1. The term "home language" has been criticized by immigrants as having negative connotations, and "mother tongue" is proposed for use, instead. The Swedish authorities have pointed at its usefulness as an administrative term, especially for school affairs, and have decided to continue its use (Wände 1967a, 1967b).
2. About the JUBA-project, see, for example, *Slavica Lundensia* 9 (1983), and about the FIDUS-project, Wände 1980.
3. For comments on the debate, see e. g. Skutnabb-Kangas 1984, Martin-Jones & Romaine 1987 and Wände 1987b. - Space limit does not allow comments on this very complicated issue in this paper.
4. In the home language classes all the children have the same mother tongue, in the composite classes half of the pupils are Swedish.
5. There are more Finnish women than men among the Finnish immigrants in Sweden, a circumstance that has the consequence that more Finnish women than men have a non-Finnish spouse.
6. Concerning the concept of language competence, cf. Wilfried Stölting's comment: using language proficiency as a point of departure for the definition of language competence in its totality often results in a circular definition of competence (Stölting 1987).
7. In a monolingual environment this may manifest itself in an increased use of slang and foul language (Boyd 1985, Paunonen 1962).
8. Cf. Wände 1964 about related experience from the Tornedal.
9. These phenomena are also common in Tornedal Finnish.
10. To indicate the different language varieties referred to in the paper the following abbreviations are used: fiSt>Standard Finnish, swStsStandard Swedish, fi\$w=Finnish spoken in Sweden, FisFinnish, Sw=Swedish, Eng=English.
11. Similarly in the Tornedal, where Swedish has been the language taught at school and Finnish a seldom written vernacular.
12. There is one exception to this principle in Finnish, the /i)/-sound.

13. The sememes relevant for this example are *pöytä* Fi. 'table'; *-lla* Fi. 'on' (THE ADESSIVE CASE); *päällä* Fi. 'on' (POSTPOSITION); *pi* Sw. 'on' (PREPOSITION); *bord* Sw. 'table', *-et* Sw. 'DEFINITE ARTICLE'; *on*; *the*; *table*.

14. All the oases are, however, used in many different and about equally diversified functions in all three varieties.

15. I have met with this analysis as a teacher of Finnish. - An alternative way of interpreting the case would be to say that the traditional Finnish analysis is psychologically unnatural, does not correspond to the intuitions of the average speaker of Finnish but is a "logical" construct, introduced by linguists and passed on by the school. This way of looking at the case would consequently imply that there would exist an inherent tendency in Finnish which would support the Sweden Finnish analysis. As a matter of fact, the accusative case is used of personal pronouns in this very construction (for exemplification see Hakulinen & Karlsson 1979).

16. For examples from Finnish, see Ikola 1959. Related tendencies occur in Tornedal Finnish (cf. Wände 1978).

17. E. g., Finnish in Finland has, *mutatis mutandis*, a similar impact on the Swedish spoken in Finland.

18. Albeit problems in the initial phases of this education many children and parents perceive it as very positive (Kallström & Halinen 1986). The same is the case with the students who have attended the experimental Finnish gymnasium (high school) in Stockholm (Eriksson & Fägerlind 1987).

19. Cf. Wände 1987b and Wände, in press,

20. Cf. Skutnabb-Kangas 1987.

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