Exploring Corporate Websites as a Setting for ELF Research: The Case of Ostrobothnian Export Companies

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Abstract. According to Jennifer Jenkins (2004: 63), the essential distinction between the use of English as a Foreign Language (EFL) and that as a lingua franca (ELF) lies in their interlocutors' native language. Speakers (themselves non-native speakers) of EFL use their English chiefly to communicate with native speakers (NSs) of English, often in NS settings, while speakers of ELF use English to communicate primarily with other NNSs of English. In what follows, I will explore how these criteria would be met by the use of English on Finnish corporate websites, and, consequently, their suitability as a setting for ELF research. As my material, I have used the websites of 16 Finnish Ostrobothnian export companies. If websites are seen as communication which incorporates mass and interpersonal communication via one medium and which provides the possibility of reciprocal information exchange with two sets of users, it may be possible to distinguish between EFL and ELF settings. Finally, I have also identified some features which I suggest could be submitted to further study as ELF features of English in Finnish corporate websites.

1. Introduction

The spread of English as a lingua franca since the 19th century has been unprecedented, fast and wide both east and west. According to Crystal (2003: 61, 69, 172-177), the proportion of the world's native speakers of English is estimated to decline from over 8% in 1950 to less than 5% in 2050. Moreover, the ratio of native speakers (NSs) to non-native speakers (NNSs) is at present around 1:3, while the population growth in areas where English is a second language is about 2.5 times that. In consequence, nobody has an exclusive right to set a standard for it any longer. New varieties will rise in the expanding circle of English speakers for whom it serves as the second language. Estimates of the

number of NNSs in this circle, which includes for example densely populated countries such as China, Japan and Russia, already vary between 500 and 1,000M.

Finland is also gradually becoming established as one of the countries in the expanding circle, and some scholars (e.g. Phillipson 1993: 25) already regard it as a country where English is no longer a foreign language. English has indeed become a visible part of the Finnish urban landscape (e.g. Moore and Varantola 2005) and the media, and it has gained a firm foothold in Finnish education. In Finnish schools as well as universities, English dominates in foreign-language learning³⁰. Some years ago, Director of The Finnish Business and Policy Forum Risto Penttilä³¹ triggered off a strong emotional response when he proposed in an interview that English should be accorded the same status in Finland as the Sami language. It should be made an auxiliary language, with documentation in areas such as public administration, services, and taxation available in English. This, according to him, would also improve Finnish competitiveness and attractiveness as a locale in a globalized world.

One the most important factors in the worldwide spread of English has been its position as the chief lingua franca of the Internet. Both the new information superhighways opened up by the Internet and an international language, English, have been important to international business corporations and, through them, to entire state economies. Since its full commercial connections became available in 1991, the Internet has made it possible, in particular for small and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs), to compete on a worldwide basis. The importance of exports for SMEs has been recognized for example in Finland where The Ministry of Trade and Industry has set as its goal to increase the number of export companies from 7000 to 10 000 by the year 2010, paying special attention to the increase in the share of SMEs of all export

³⁰ For schools, see http://www.kisu.fi/kielivalinnat.php?osio=vanhemmat Accessed 1.5.2006, and for foreign language programmes in Finnish universities, Lehto and Markkanen (2005).

³¹ The interview was conducted by Hannu Toivonen and published in the general interest magazine *Seura* in 2004.

companies from 14% to 20% during the same time (http://www.ktm.fi/index.phtml?l=en&s=1476). In their export effort, Finnish corporations have been active in taking advantage of the online access

A company with a foreign-language website is already an international company, giving prospective customers, investors, business partners and job applicants the opportunity of contacting them wherever they are and whenever they want. Even if the company has no plans for new export markets, a website may trigger unsolicited approaches by potential partners (Chrysostome and Rosson 2004: 4).

The information avalanche on the superhighways has given language as the medium of communication unprecedented pragmatic and symbolic significance. In setting up a corporate website for international use, the company needs to make an important choice as to which languages it will want to use and be seen as using. This choice is related to a number of factors, ranging from the needs of already existing markets and their clientele to an interest in a particular new market area. The Finnish company may also be part of an international concern or group whose official language may become one of the website languages. A website language may be the native language (NL) of users in a particular market segment, but it may also be a lingua franca (LF) that neither user group (senders and receivers) speaks as their NL.

In what follows, I will explore the suitability of English corporate websites as NNSs settings for ELF research. For this, websites need to be seen as communication between two sets of users, both NNSs of English, for whom there is the reciprocal data exchange possibility, and for whom English functions as a LF. To determine if this criterion can be met by the two user groups of English websites of non-English corporations, I have studied the websites of 16 Finnish Ostrobothnian export companies and their use of English to reach particular export markets and to communicate with their foreign partners. I will also present some preliminary observations of the features of English used on the websites.

2. English on Corporate Websites

For establishing a corporate website as a suitable setting for EL research, it is important to distinguish the use of English as a foreign language

(EFL) from its lingua franca (ELF) use. According to Jennifer Jenkins (2004: 63), this is done with reference to the native language of the parties in a communication event: speakers of EFL use their English mainly to communicate with native speakers of English, often in NS settings, while ELF is primarily used by NNSs with other NNSs of English (a small minority of NSs is possible), typically in NNS settings. The minimum requirement for speakers of EFL is that they are intelligible to NSs and understand them, but it may also be important to blend in with them. In language learning, the goal is to approximate as closely as possible the norms of a NS variety of English, generally Standard British or American English. The need to be intelligible and to understand are most important in ELF settings as well, whereas there is no need to blend in with NSs and approximate a NS variety of English. ELF settings gradually generate LF Englishes with their own features and standards which gradually become tolerated and, perhaps, ultimately accepted.

The distinction between EFL and ELF settings on corporate websites needs thus to be defined with reference to the native language of the users and the possibility of reciprocal information exchange. On Finnish corporate websites, the LF English is produced by Finnish, and/or Swedish speakers³² whose background has provided them with either or both of (Standard) British and American English. Of the two geopolitically closest NL Englishes, Finland has historically preferred British English, for example in education, while American English is currently much more visible (and audible) in the media. In the coastal area of Ostrobothnia, there is a strong Swedish language presence, and some of the companies in the research data (e.g. Oy Botnia Marin Ab, Oy Konte Ab, Oy Närko Ab) have their headquarters in the Swedish speaking municipalities and many have a Swedish management.

The reason for the emergence of an ELF setting with NNSs of English both as senders and receivers may be the lack of NS translators and language editors who would be responsible for non-Finnish websites. Traditionally, the English produced by NNSs in Finland has been

³² The possibility of NS translators' involvement will be referred to later.

checked and edited by NSs of English with the aim of producing language which blends in with native speaker language and approximates as closely as possible the norms of a NS variety of English. In all telephone interviews of the Ostrobothnian companies in the research data, the companies insisted that native speakers are/must be used to check the sites. This view was also echoed by media consultants responsible for some sites³³. A variety of features of the English on the websites suggest, however, that this has seldom been the case. There is so much demand for translation now that it is no longer possible, financially or otherwise, to find native speaker translators and editors to meet the increasing need.

When a Finnish company uses English to address their NS clientele in market areas such as the U.S. or the U.K., they are, according to the above distinction by Jenkins, using English as a Foreign Language (EFL). When a Finnish company is using English on their website to address a clientele of NNSs in NNS settings, they are using English as a lingua franca (ELF). In both cases, the desire to blend in with NSs and approximate a NS variety (British or American) may, however, characterise their English, but in both cases, the language needs to be intelligible to the users of the website.

Difficulties with intelligibility or miscommunications on the website are reduced by a shared context which limits the potential for misunderstanding. Although a corporate website can be used for a number of purposes³⁴, these are still constrained by the general business context and factors, such as the conventions in designing pull-down menus, keyword entry links and hyperlinks. On the other hand, a corporate website as mass communication is always targeted at (and it can also be visited by) anonymous users who may, at least in theory, not

³³ The question of who was responsible for the English on the website was put to all companies and also to some media consultants (e.g. Bonnie & Clyde Oy/Ritva Pajulahti 25 April, 2006).

³⁴ According to Hamill (1997: 303-310), in global sales promotion a corporate website can be a low cost tool for many purposes, ranging from advertising, corporate visibility, brand name recognition, public relations, press releases, corporate sponsorship, direct sales to customer support and technical assistance.

share this context. Also, a prospective client will need different information from a prospective employee, who will want different information from a prospective investor. In general, we can assume that pragmatic considerations take priority over more symbolic uses of language, and that ultimately, the most important consideration is that, for the purpose at hand, the kind of English that is employed works.

Intelligibility has also been one of the aspects addressed by researchers who have identified systematic differences between NS English and LF Englishes. As features, such as the dropping of the 3rd person present tense -s, confusing the relative pronouns who and which, omitting definite and indefinite articles when they are required in NS English or inserting them when they do not occur there, failing to use correct forms in tag questions, inserting redundant prepositions, overusing certain verbs (do, have, make, put, take), replacing infinitive constructions with that-clauses (I want that) and overdoing explicitness (how long time) have been identified as features of LF Englishes, these have, nevertheless, been found to be unproblematic and no obstacle to communication in ELF (Seidlhofer quoted in Jenkins 2004: 64). This is an important finding for users of corporate websites created for and used in NNSs settings.

3. Online Population Growth and the Rise of New ELF Englishes

The Internet has been from its very beginning an English language medium. It was first developed in the U.S.A. in the 1960s, and English-speaking countries still continue to hold a central position in it in terms of geopolitical territories, user numbers and web contents. Geopolitically³⁵, the English-speaking world of the inner circle³⁶ have the highest number of Internet users: in the U.S.A. 68% of the population has access to the Internet, in Australia 68.4%, in Canada 67%, and in the

³⁵ Information about online use from (http://www.internetworldstats.com/ top20.htm).

³⁶ For description of the spread of English with concentric circles, originally proposed by Braj Kachru, see e.g. Crystal (2003: 60-61).

UK 62.9%. In the rest of the world only developed high-technology Asian countries, such as Japan, South Korea and Taiwan and in Europe the Netherlands can compete with these percentages. English NS presence is prominent in the total online population also by language. In 2004, English NSs accounted for 35.8% of the total of 801.4M online population (http://www.global-reach.biz/globstats/index.php3). Also the web content is dominated by English language material. In 2004, 68.4% of the total of webpages were in English, while the share of other languages, such as Japanese, Chinese, Korean, Russian and the European German, French, Italian, Spanish and Portuguese, varied from just under 6% to just over 1% (http://global-reach.biz/globstats/refs.php3). English is, thus, both as a FL and LF, an important language for online communication.

The importance of English will grow as the Internet access becomes available in territories outside Europe. In future, although the importance of other languages than English may increase as the growth territories are outside Europe and the U.S.A., many of the above geopolitical and language territories are already in the expanding circle of English speakers with whom, for example, Finnish companies are likely to continue to communicate in English. Moreover, as deSwaan (2001: 187) has argued, the supercentral position of English at the hub of the world language system is self-expanding, and people who want to learn a foreign language expect that others will opt for English, and in consequence choose it, too. This, I believe, applies also to the choice of language for corporate communication. Business corporations choose English because they assume the others to choose it as well. The following tables³⁷ illustrate the growth rates both in terms of total population and total population by native language:

³⁷ Source: http://www.internetworldstats.com/stats7.html.

Table 1. Internet usage in proportion to population.

Geographical area	Growth rate
Middle East	454.2%
Africa	423.9%
Latin America Caribbean	342.5%
Asia	218.7%
Europe	177.5%
Oceania/ Australia	134.6%
North America	110.3%

Table 2. Internet usage by native language.

Population by Native Lg	Growth rate
Russian	664.5%
Portuguese	327.3%
Chinese	309.6%
French	235.9%
Spanish	229%
Italian	118%
German	106%
Japanese	83.3%
Korean	78%
English	128%

Finnish business corporations are well set for online access. In the spring 2005³⁸, some 73 per cent of all enterprises with at least five employees had broadband connection, whereas a year earlier the proportion was 63 per cent. Sixty-five per cent of all enterprises had a website. The size of the company was related to their likelihood of

 $^{^{38}} Source: http://www.stat.fi/til/icte/2005/icte_2005_2005-10-13_tie_001_en.html$

having a website. The larger the company, the more likely they were to have a website. Half of the small enterprises employing 5 to 9 persons, some 65 per cent of enterprises employing between 10 and 19 persons, over 80 per cent of those with 20 to 49 employees, and more than nine out of ten enterprises with more than 50 employees had a website. Even in the domestic market, online access has been important marketing tool. In 2004, sixteen per cent of all enterprises employing at least five persons and 24 per cent of enterprises with home pages had sales via the Internet.

4. Corporate Website as a Gateway to the Global Marketplace

The website is important for the company image, but also pragmatic considerations are important. A corporate website gives the company credibility and respectability to the extent that, according to Kelly-Holmes (2005: 80), to be a credible brand, company, service or organization is to have a website. Moreover, a website effectively removes the obstacles created by time and space as it makes instantaneous communication possible over large distances.

The selection of information, languages and cultural content³⁹ for a website should be done with great care, bearing in mind that the information overload on the Internet is already so massive that users expect both quick downloading and usability.

A well-designed corporate website may facilitate and speed up a successful foreign market entry, but its existence alone does not guarantee this. According to Ellsworth & Ellsworth (quoted in Hamill 1997: 310), once the site is created, it needs to be marketed in such a way that a large number of hits can be ensured. This can be done for example by registering it with all online search engines, establishing reciprocal cross-linkage to other sites, and providing all company material with the URL address. To encourage repeated visits, the website must be well-designed, information-rich and have regular updating and clear

³⁹ For customization of the cultural content, see e.g. Yli-Jokipii (2001).

navigation paths. Ideally, it should also be designed to allow the gathering of information about the users⁴⁰.

As shown above, the Internet offers the greatest potential for businesses in the triad of North America, Europe and developed Asia (Chrysostome and Rosson 2004: 7, 12), but in this triad, the use of English may not always be tied to the users' knowledge or competence. According to Kelly-Holmes (2005: 95, 104), for example in Central and Eastern European countries, English is often associated with qualities such as modernity, internationalism, cosmopolitanism, trendiness, success, Westernism, Americanism, democracy, or consumption. In Finland, English used in advertising may also carry such connotations, and this is also the case with slogans and banner texts on corporate websites. In some countries, English may also be seen by companies as an international language of compromise in multilingual market situations, such as those in South Africa and Hong Kong (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 83).

For individual companies, the choice of foreign languages for the website may also be, at least partly, a financial consideration, although the cost is likely to vary a great deal between countries. For example, the median cost in the U.S.A. in 1999 for website development was between US \$37,000 and US\$ 200,000, and adding a foreign language capability ranged in cost from US\$10,000 to US\$ 500,000 (Wilson and Abel quoted in Chryssostome and Rosson 2004: 8). For small and medium-sized companies, such sums are likely to narrow the range of language options. In Finland, the cost of translation is unlikely to limit the number of languages on the websites. The average cost of designing and constructing a website⁴¹ in one language can vary between 1000€ and 5000€, and when more languages are added to the site, the translation cost as well as the editing of the translations for the website naturally adds to this. Estimated translation cost for one page of text is, however,

⁴⁰ For example, Riitan Herkku Oy in the research data for the present study has included this in their website (Telephone interview with Ritva Pajulahti at Advertising Agency Bonnie & Clyde Oy. 25.4.2006)

⁴¹ The estimate was given on the telephone by Ritva Pajulahti at Vaasa-based Advertising Agency Bonnie & Clyde Oy. (Telephone call 25.4.2006).

relatively low, between 36€ and 100€⁴², while the editing adds another 1500€ for each language.

The company may ultimately need to gain competence in the local language also in markets which are initially approached with a lingua franca on the website. Relatively few markets can be penetrated using the Internet alone, which it cannot for example replace the personal contact required in many cultures. One of the companies in my research data, SK Tuote⁴³, pointed out that although their websites use both English and Russian as lingua francas, the material in individual locales is written in a local language.

5. Communication on the Internet

I have above replaced the terms *sender* and *receiver* with the general term *user* when referring to corporate websites as communication events. In this, I have followed the outline suggested by Janoschka (2004) for the analysis of Internet communication. Her view of online communication is important for determining the suitability of the corporate website as a setting for research into ELF. For website English to be regarded as LF rather than FL, it is important to show that the users are primarily NNSs of English and the setting a NNS setting.

⁴² An average website in my research data had some three pages of 1560 characters (without spaces) of 26 lines. A large Finnish translation agency, Nouveau (telephone call 24.4.2006) estimated the cost per page between 65€-100€, while according to the Finnish Translators Union statistics, the average price for a page in 2005 from 36€ to 84€. According to their membership survey, the language pair would affect the cost, so for example it would be more expensive to translate from Finnish into Spanish than into Russian. (Suomen kääntäjien ja tulkkien liitto/Helkky Halme 8.5.2006). A translation agency, A.M.TRANSlation Services advertising their services on the Internet, gave a fixed price of 53.30€ for a page for all languages (htttp://www.amtrans.org).

According to Janoschka⁴⁴ (2004: 10, 84-85) communication on the Internet is a hybrid which not only combines features of the traditionally used categories of mass and interpersonal communication but also establishes new forms of communication. This makes it interactive mass communication with its own characteristics. Online communication is the transfer of information on the Internet largely in written form. This information is transferred uni-directionally as a kind of monologue and bi-directionally as a kind of dialogue where user feedback, which can range from a single click on the page to individual customization by pulldown menus or free keyword entry, takes place through the same communication medium in the form of an action which exchanges explicit or implicit information. Corporate websites aim at a number of goals, to inform potential interest groups, to persuade them and to create a relationship between them and the corporation. These are intentions that originate from the sender to which receivers (users) react in some way. Communication on corporate websites is always intentional, but whether corporations succeed in reaching their goal is less predictable. Not all users will activate the website.

Online communication incorporates traditional mass and interpersonal communication via one medium with new forms, such as interaction and feedback, with interactivity added to it, as can be seen in the following diagram from Janoschka (2004: 98):

⁴⁴ Janoschka has specially focused on online advertising but also talked about online communication in general.

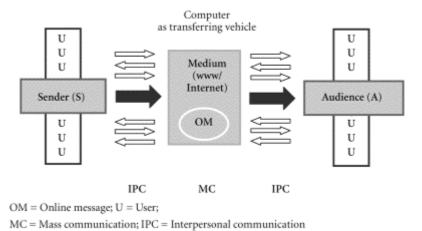


Figure 1. Interactive mass communication on the Internet.

The grey blocks refer to the elements of mass communication (MC) where the online message (OM) travels from the sender (S) to an audience (A) in a unidirectional transfer illustrated with the bold black arrows. The white blocks are elements of interpersonal communication (IPC). Both communication partners can be individuals or groups and in the model they are called users (U) to illustrate their individual communicative potential. The white reciprocally pointing arrows visualize the two-directional flow of the message transfer. A corporate website is the OM that travels from the business corporation (sender) to the targeted audience (receiver) of customers, partners, job applicants etc, who may activate it as users.

For my purpose of establishing the setting for ELF research, the incorporation of the two forms of communication and the possibility of interaction and interactivity is important. The users of the corporate websites need to be shown to be NNSs of English and the website English, consequently, lingua franca English.

In what follows, I will now proceed to do this. I first describe my research data, the Ostrobothnian companies in terms of size and exports and then move on to discuss the factors which may be used to characterise the websites as ELF settings. The companies are situated in

Ostrobothnia, the west coast of Finland, in and around the town of Vaasa in an area which is traditionally bilingual in Finnish and Swedish.

6. English Corporate Websites as ELF settings

The Ostrobothnian Chamber of Commerce⁴⁵ provided on my request a list of 21 export companies in Ostrobothnia, of which I chose 16 for the study of corporate websites as possible ELF settings. Five companies of the original 21 were excluded on the basis of the location of the company headquarters elsewhere. The local ABB is part of the global⁴⁶ Swiss-Swedish ABB Group (Asea Brown Boveri) which has it head office in Switzerland. Enics Group have their headquarters in Switzerland, Alteams Group their head office in Jyväskylä and Kemira and Wärtsilä theirs in Helsinki.

Nine of the 16 companies in the research data are medium-sized and seven are large, determined on the basis of the size of their workforce. The companies are very heterogeneous both in terms of the size, the headcount varies between well under a hundred and well over a thousand employees, and exports. In terms of the ownership, the medium-sized enterprises are all limited liability companies, while one of the large companies (Vacon Oyj) has gone public.

Although all companies were described as export companies, there are remarkable differences between the shares of exports of the total production. Some companies have already a strong presence in international markets, while others are only planning their foreign market entry. For example, while most of the sales in some companies are in

⁴⁵ Phone call 26.10.2005/Mia Brönbacka.

⁴⁶ According to John Allen (1995: 110-111), in order to qualify as a "global company", locations worldwide need to represent the whole range of a company's activities in each locations (full production presence, R & D facilities, a management presence and marketing and distribution facilities. A close candidate for a global company, according to Allen, is AAB with its centralized management and directors and executives drawn from a range of nationalities.

exports (T-Drill 96%, Botnia Marin 85%), for others exports are less significant. Exports represent some half of the sales of Oy Petsmo Products Ab, while in Laine-Tuotanto Oy, they account only for some 4-5% of the sales. Unituli Oy is only starting its export to Russia⁴⁷. A table describing the companies by size and exports is shown in Appendix 1.

All but one of the 16 companies have their website in at least two languages, while some offer a choice of several languages. One (BM) had their website only in English. As some are only starting the internationalization process, others have already customized their websites for their foreign markets. The choice of languages for the website may therefore have different motivations. In what follows, I will relate the language choices on the websites to the exports markets and partnerships in order to determine the native languages of the users. A table summarizing the language choices and foreign business partnerships of the 16 research companies is shown in Appendix 2.

The sixteen Ostrobothnian business corporations have hyperlinks on their website to sites in twelve different languages. One of the companies, BM, has only an English website, five companies (LT, SHS, TD, KO,VE) have links to sites in two languages, four (PP, CC, NO, NTM) use three languages and three companies (PF, SK, UT) offer links to sites in four languages. Multilingual websites are offered by three companies: two use nine languages (RH, KWH), and one eleven (VN).

Companies with bilingual websites use, as a rule, Finnish and English (VE, SHS, LT and TD). The only exception was KO, whose bilingual website was available in Finnish and Swedish only. When corporate websites were available in three language, the two national languages in Finland (Finnish and Swedish) were complemented with English. When four languages were used, Russian was added to Finnish, Swedish and English. One medium-sized company, RH had customized the websites in nine languages, and two large companies had also done this: KWH offered nine regional sites and VO twelve (two in varieties of

⁴⁷ The figures on the telephone from Robert Carpelan/ Botnia Marin Oy 10.4.2006, Orvo Tuominen/ Laine Tuotanto Oy 10.4.2006, Tommy Stenvall/ Oy Petsmo Products AB 10.4.2006, Pekka Ristimäki/ T-Drill 13.4.2006 and Anne Åberg/ Unituli Oy 10.4.2006.

German). The links of KWH and VO were identified with the keyword "regional sites", and RH used flags for links to the sites. Customization distinguished also between some English language and German sites. The website of TD distinguished between a general English language site and a customized US website, while VO had a German and Austrian site.

On the basis of the language options, some conclusions can be drawn as regarding the setting. With multilingual websites, such as RH, the English language option could be linked with the ENL of the clientele and the English of the website would thus be EFL. When there is only an English site (BM), the setting resembles more that defined by Jenkins as a setting for ELF.

Seven companies identified an English-speaking country, the UK or US, as one of their export areas. Of these, the three (RH, KWH, VO) with multilingual sites more clearly than the others targeted NSs with their English language website. For the others, the setting needs to be studied in more detail to distinguish between the FL and LF users. In the telephone interviews of the company representatives, the two most important reasons singled out for the use of English on the websites were the perceived status of English as an international language which could be used everywhere (BM⁴⁹, SKT⁵⁰, SHS⁵¹) and the choice of English as the official language of the group (UT⁵² SHS⁵³, PF⁵⁴). An examination of the export markets confirms the first claim. Indeed, the users of the English websites are in the majority of cases likely to be primarily NNSs of English. For example, BM, which has an English-language website only, has its main markets in the Nordic countries, in

⁴⁸ English as the international language was not always regarded as sufficient for future need, and some medium-sized companies were planning to expand the range of their foreign language options (SHS with German and French, SKT with German and PF with German, Danish and possibly Russian).

⁴⁹ Robert Carpelan, 10 April, 2006.

⁵⁰ Anna Lehto, 13 April, 2006.

⁵¹ Anja Järvinen, 13 April, 2006.

⁵² Anne Åberg, 10 April, 2006.

⁵³ Anja Järvinen 13, April, 2006

⁵⁴ Taina Kalpamaa, 10 April, 2006.

particular in Sweden and Norway but also in France, and their dealers cover a larger geographic area of the Nordic countries (Sweden, Denmark, Norway and Greenland) as well as Central and Southern Europe (Switzerland, Germany, France, Italy, Greece, the UK, and Portugal and Asia (Japan). The UK segment represents thus a clear minority. SHS has markets on all and TD on three continents (North America, Europe and Asia) with English as the only international language on the website.

Apparently, English serves as a lingua franca for example in many contacts with the Nordic countries. For example, in addition to BM, VE communicates with their customers in the Nordic countries in English and does not have for example a Swedish site at all. Also the Russian market and the Baltic States are approached by some companies in English (NTM and NO), and so are Central and Southern European countries. PP has customers in Poland and Holland, SK in Germany, the Netherlands, Portugal, France and Belgium and NO in Germany, but none of the respective languages appear on the websites. SK communicates in English with its customers in Turkey, Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia, while Russian serves as their lingua franca in Latvia, Lithuania, Belarus, Kazakhstan and Ukraine (Russian)⁵⁵. English is offered as one of the language options even if the company has no customers in an English-speaking country, which was the case with VE, PP, PF, UT and NO. English was in some cases also offered on some non-regional sites as an alternative language for accessing the site. On the KWH's Polish site, English and Russian versions were offered as alternatives to the Polish one and the company's Thai site⁵⁶ was offered in an English-language version as well.

English may be the only foreign language on the website also when the company has very little export or no significant English-language market. For example, only some 4-5% of the sales of LT are in exports, and for them English can function as a gateway for foreign market entry.

⁵⁵ The company serves its customers locally with print material in local languages (Information from Anna Lehto (Marketing Assistant), 13 April, 2006. ⁵⁶ http://www.wiik-hoeglund.com/

In some cases, one reason for the choice of English for the website was that English functioned as the official language of the international group or concern. For example, PF and UT are part of Scandinavian concerns for which English functions as a lingua franca. This supports further the suggestion by Moore & Varantola (2005: 149) that English has replaced both Swedish and other Nordic languages, although the official policy in Nordic cooperation is to use a Nordic language for communication. A somewhat different situation is that of the website of SHS which is part of the international Tyco concern. The Tyco Group has their headquarters in the U.S. and also the European Division Head Office is situated in England.

In conclusion, the majority of the websites would qualify without reservation as settings for ELF research. Even regional websites, which are more customized to the needs of a particular region, could be included. If accessed by NNS users, the communication would be between two sets of NNS users. Regional English NS sites address, as a rule, the UK clientele, and in one case only (TD), the setting is explicitly that of EFL use between Finnish and American users.

7. English on Regional Sites

English may also appear in various menus and links on non-English websites. This would qualify at least parts of them as ELF settings with NNS users of the site. My findings suggest that websites with different alphabetical/orthographic systems tend to keep the slogans and product names in English using the Latin alphabet. English also tends to be used in some hyperlink headings and the pages they open up and in updatable news. On European non-English websites English mainly appears in hyperlink headings and slogans.

Six companies in the research data had Russian websites. The links to the Russian site were usually more closely related to the actual geographical territory of Russia than other regional sites. Link headings, if given in writing (and even more so when indicated with a flag) referred to Russia as a territory, while other link headings in writing frequently referred to a language option. For example, PF lists the language options as the choice between "Suomeksi" [in Finnish], "På svenska" [in Swedish], "In English" and "Russia". The reading of the

reference to Russia as that to a country and the link, therefore, to a regionally customized site is further supported by the fact that the Russian site functions independently, while the other three sites, Finnish, English and Swedish, are interlinked, suggesting they may function only as language options to the same information content.

Although otherwise in Cyrillic alphabet, the name of the company and contact information was usually given using the Latin alphabet. This was the case with PF, RH, UT, KWH and VO. Product names were given in English using the Latin alphabet (e.g. *Vilpe vent, sk roof parts, sk fastening* and the names of the UT mattresses: *Classic, Comfort,* and *Super*), and also slogans retained their English form (*Vacon: Driven by Drives*). On the Russian site of RH, the slogan "vitality from nature" was, however, translated into Russian.

News and information of recent events appeared on some Russian websites in English, maybe for reasons of easy updating. For example, at the bottom of their front page, VO gave three brief news items in English about the annual general meeting of shareholders, a recent significant order from Scandinavian Electric System and the publication of the Annual Report 2005. Hyperlinks lead to more information in English. English was also the language of hyperlinks to the information about international concerns, such as the Hilding Anders (group) of UT and the "Contact" link of KWH, which both opened up English pages.

Japanese appeared only on the website of RH, and the site gave customized information in Japanese both about the company and its main product group, berries. English was used on the Japanese site for decoration (symbolic use), such as in the page headline *Scandinavian Wild Forest Berries* as well as in the body text slogan *Riita's* (sic) *Scandinavian Forest Berries* which appeared repeatedly under various links. The same pattern was repeated on the Chinese site of VO where the slogan, *Vacon Driven by Drives* appeared in English. On the same site, English was also used for giving information as some English hyperlink headings ("Vacon solutions and Investor sites") opened pages in English.

On the Thai-language site of KWH, English featured prominently in both the hyperlink headings and the pages they opened up. The hyperlinks on the opening page ("About us", "Products", "KWH Pipe", "Project reference", "International", "site map", "contact us", "news") were in English, and they also appeared on the pages as headings. On the

"Products" page, the pictures of products were provided with captions in English, and similarly, under "Project reference", all information (product, application, project site, contractor, owner, year) was given in English. The link to important international contact organizations and other KWH units was also given in English and so were the product names.

The European non-English language sites of RH illustrate the use of English for both decoration and giving information. The headline *Scandinavian Wild Forest Berries* and the body text slogan *Riita's Scandinavian Forest Berries* were repeated on German, Italian, French and Spanish sites. Link headings "Feedback" and "Home" were used on German, Italian and Spanish sites, while the French site used "retour d'expérience" for feedback but the English "Home" for returning back to the opening page.

8. Features of ELF on Corporate Websites

Finally I will describe my observations of possible features of LF English on the corporate websites of the Ostrobothnian companies in my research data. I have not aimed at distinguishing the different types of settings (with or without NSs of English), nor have I taken into account the possibility of translation. What follows are not findings of a systematic study and further research would be needed to establish these features as characteristic of website ELF. The order in which the features are represented does not suggest their prominence in the data either.

The fact that English in Finland has traditionally been linked with British English is reflected on the websites in their use of the flag⁵⁷ of the United Kingdom as a link to their English pages. The Union Jack appeared on seven websites either without a separate description of the language (LT, RH, SKT, VE) or with it (PF, SHS, UT). There were also some link headings which suggested more explicitly a regionally

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⁵⁷ The practice of using flags has, indeed, been criticized for inaccuracy as a country's flag does not always correlate with a single language, and a language is not always represented by a single flag (MCDonough 2006: 91).

customized site (Vacon Drives UK) or TD US site. One of the features of website English was, however, the mixing of both British and American (Standard) English. Even the customized sites (FL settings?) mixed them.

The mixing of American and British English was most prominent in spelling, in particular the difference between s and z in words such as "specialis/ze" and writing conventions, such as the date. For example, VO followed the American English standard in spelling (Vacon emphasizes cost-driven technology)⁵⁸ but the British standard for the date (Vacon Plc?s [sic] Annual General Meeting of Shareholders was held on 6 April 2006 in Vaasa⁵⁹). Some websites mixed features of both British and American English varieties even within the same sentence, such as the spelling of *kilometre/kilometer*, *centre/center*:

[...] which is only 2 kilometers from the airport and 6 kilometers from the city centre. 60 (VE)

Later, on the same site, the American English spelling was chosen in recognized:

Vaasa Engineering is to become recognized as the most reliable and responsible North European supplier of efficient total solutions in the energy field. (VE)

Another feature of the website English was the mixing of similar expressions such as in addition and additional in the following:

In additional to producing their own cheeses, in 1994 [...] (RH)

and anxious (to do something) and ambitious

⁵⁸ The websites are listed in References under Primary sources.

⁵⁹ When the news appears in English on the Chinese site, the setting changes from the UK FL to the Chinese LF setting.

60 The example here from VE website.

Ambitious to meet the most demanding needs of clients seeking top performance, easiness and reliability, Vacon offers AC drives in the power range of 0.25 kW...5 MW. In 2005, the Group revenues totalled EUR 150 million (VO)

English modifiers and qualifiers were used quite innovatively in descriptions of the companies:

We shall develop, manufacture, and market high-quality trailers in an <u>uncomplicated</u>, quick, and <u>flexible</u> manner. Närko <u>is able to provide</u> a high-quality range of products thanks to its <u>constant</u> product development and commitment to find new and innovative solutions. (NO)

The manufacture of gas masks begins in Vaasa, when the two Finnish Defence Forces' assembly lines, <u>complete with personnel</u>, are moved to Vaasa from Helsinki. (SHS)

Innovative headings and slogans were also typical of the promotional language of the websites:

Incomparable know-how in the energy field (VE)

Finnish at heart, yet strong in exports (UT)

Improved comfort control and high reliability (VO)

Some features displayed attempts to replace irregularities with regular forms:

The headquarter is located in Finland and has been operational for more than 20 years. (CC)

The main part of Oy Petsmo Products Ab's own production is developing and manufacturing machines and <u>equipments</u> for slaughterhouses and fodder kitchens. (PP)

Today, our respiratory protective <u>equipment serve</u> chemical industry, pulp & paper industry, [...] (SHS)

A similar feature was the attempt to replace the irregularity represented by the English usage with a 'regular' Finnish syntactic pattern. This was the case, for example, when the English genitive was replaced by the pattern used for forming the Finnish genitive case: in English, the genitive ending s is attached to the nominative case (Riitta + s), whereas in Finnish the noun also changes internally (Riitta > Riita + n):

Riita's Scandinavian Forest Berries (RH German, French, Italian, Spanish, Japanese sites)

or the transitive use of the verb locate in

Vaasa Engineering <u>locates</u> at Airport Park industrial area, [...] (VE)

In a few cases, the word choice or concord between subject and verb deviated from the NL norm:

We also have <u>a methodology</u> for establishing partnerships with our key customers. (CC)

[...] TITAN <u>production are</u> made mostly for export, primarly to Denmark, Sweden, Norway and Netherlands. (PP)

Our products significantly improve the standard of living, guarantee fresh air and healthy conditions for living, and ensure that the <u>constructions is</u> long lasting. (SK)

Overall, this is an area which would need further systematic study once the parameters for the settings could be established.

9. Conclusions

My study of the website of Finnish Ostrobothnian companies suggests that their English sites could provide a suitable setting for ELF research as in the majority of cases, the websites are used in communication between two NNS user groups. There were very few customized, regional sites and even there, the Internet and the World Wide Web allow access by NNSs of English. English appeared also on the otherwise non-English customized regional sites. The export markets and foreign partnerships are the most important features that can be used to distinguish between the NNSs and NS settings. A preliminary survey of recurring features of English on the corporate websites suggested that their ELF English would be characterized by 1) the mixing of British and

American Standard Englishes, 2) innovative use of English expressions and 3) standardization of irregularities.

Further research is, however, needed to establish the potential and relevance of distinguishing between customized regional sites (FL setting), the English site as a translation of a Finnish/Swedish/other site and a website in English targeted at a NNS user group. In my study, all companies and media consultants emphasised the importance of NS translators or language editors in creating the websites, but finding out how often this actually happened was beyond the scope of this paper. Moreover, the description of the features needs to be made more systematic, perhaps distinguishing between the different types (e.g. the three above mentioned) of English websites. I argue, however, that corporate websites can and should be submitted to further study as LF English settings. In this, my study of Finnish Ostrobothnian sites could be seen as a first step or a discussion opener.

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Appendix 1.

Ostrobothnian Export Companies by size and product.

Company (medium-sized) ⁶¹	Headcount	Main exports
Oy Botnia Marin Ab (BM)	130	boats
Laine-Tuotanto Oy Ab (LT)	70	processing of sheet
		metal
Oy Petsmo Products Ab (PP)	60	Machinery for
		slaughterhouses and
		fodder kitchens
Oy Primo Finland Ab (PF)	84	plastic profiles
Riitan Herkku Oy (RH)	70	cheeses, berries
Scott Health & Safety Oy	100	respiratory
(SHS)		protective equipment
SK Tuote Oy (SKT)	60	fastening and roof
		products
T-Drill Oy (TD)	100	machines for
		branching, cutting
		and forming of pipes
Unituli Oy (UT)	70	beds, mattresses
Company (large)	Headcount	Main exports
Citec Oy (CC)	294	consulting (technical
		information process,
		engineering for
		industry &
		environmental
		consulting)

⁶¹ According to the classification of the European Commission, implemented 1 January 2005, the classification is done on the basis of the headcount and turnover/balance sheet. For my classification, I have used only the headcount criterion which defines micro-sized companies as those where the workforce is less than 10, small companies as those where the headcount is less than 50 and medium-sized companies as those where the headcount is less than 250. (http://www.eurexcel.org/sme.asp Accessed 9.4.2006.)

Oy KWH Pipe Ab (KWH)	>1200 ⁶²	plastic pipe systems, turnkey projects involving pipe systems
Oy Konte Ab (KO)	294	building construction
Oy Närko Ab (NO)	330	trailers
Oy Närpes Trä och Metall (NTM)	260	sea/road transportation vehicles, trucks, trailers, customized vehicles
Vaasa Engineering Oy (VE)	>250	automation and electrification solutions to energy and production processes
Vacon Oyj ⁶³ VN	426	frequency converters

⁶² Oy KWH Pipe Ab Annual Report 2004, available at http://www.kwhgroup.com/Default.aspx?id=300732 Accessed 2.5.2006.

Appendix 2.

Website Languages, Markets and Foreign Partnerships.

Company (medium- sized)	Website languages	Export markets ⁶⁴	Foreign partnerships
BM	Eng	Sweden, Norway, England, France Dealers in Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Greenland, Germany, Switzerland, France, Italy, Portugal, Greece, UK, Japan	
LT	Fi, Eng	Very little export (4-5% of production)	
PP	Fi, Swe, Eng	Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Poland Dealers: Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Holland	
PF	Fi, Swe, Eng, Ru	Russia, the Baltic states, Sweden	Part of Danish concern Interprimo
RH	Fi, Swe, Eng, Ger, Ita, Spa, Ru, Jap	Markets = website languages	

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⁶⁴ Information from websites and telephone inquiries (BM: Robert Carpelan 10.4.2006; SK: Anna Lehto 13.4.2006; SHS: Anja Järvinen 13.4.2006; UT: Anne Åberg 10.4.2006; PF: Taina Kalpamaa 10.4.2006; TD: Pekka Ristimäki 13.4.2006).

		1	
SHS	Fi, Eng	Exports to all continents	Part of US-
			based Tyco
			concern;
			European
			headquarters in
			England
SK	Fi, Swe,	Norway, Sweden,	
	Eng, Ru,	Denmark, Germany,	
		Hungary, UK, the	
		Netherlands, Portugal,	
		Poland, Turkey,	
		Roumania, Israel, Latvia,	
		Lithuania, Czech	
		Republic, Slovakia,	
		Belarus, Kazachstan,	
		Ukraine, Russia	
TD	Fi, Eng,	Markets all over the	Subsidiary in
	(US site)	world, largest markets in	Atlanta
		US, Europe, South East	
		Asia	
UT	Fi, Swe,	No exports from Finland,	Part of
	Eng, Ru	Russian market interests	Swedish-based
			Hilding Anders
			group
Company			
(large)	P P	F: 1 1 G 1 XXX	
CC	Eng, Fre,	Finland, Sweden, UK,	
WO.	Ger,	India, China	
KO	Fi, Swe	Finland & Sweden	
KWH	Fi, Swe,	Marketing and sales	
	Eng, Dan,	offices: Finland, Sweden,	
	Ger, Pol,	UK, Belgium, Denmark,	
	Est, Ru,	Estonia, Germany, Poland,	
	Thai	Russia, US, Canada,	
		Malaysia, Thailand	

NO	Fi, Swe, Eng	Sales in 15 countries; sales offices in Russia, Germany, the Baltic States	Part of the Närko Ab group (also includes Svenska Närko Ab, Närko Norge and
NTM	Fi, Swe,	Sweden, Norway,	Atrans Ab Subsidiaries in
	Eng	Denmark, UK, the Baltic	Sweden,
		States,	Estonia, UK
VE	Fi, Eng	Through subcontracting in many countries, target Northern Europe	
VN	Fi ⁶⁵ , Swe, Norw, Benelux, UK, Ger, Austria, Italy, Ibérica, France, Russia, China	Manufacture in Finland and China Sales in Sweden, Norway, Germany, Italy, Spain, UK, Austria, France, Belgium, Netherlands, Russia, China	

⁶⁵ The description as regional sites.