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The English Influence in Iceland

A Diary Study

B.A. Essay

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Abstract

In recent years, there has been a dramatic increase in the amount of English encountered by Icelandic children, making it a subject in need of further study. This essay presents the finding of an ethnographic diary study on the amount of English exposure of four Icelandic children, at various ages, within their native language community. The purpose of this research is to estimate the amount, and type, of English encountered, by the children, during the course of one week. In order to get a true estimate of the amount and type of English exposure, the study was conducted in the children's natural surroundings. Data was collected through the use of background surveys, diary studies and interviews. The first part of this essay, presents current studies on language acquisition as well as recent developments in the amount and type of English exposure within the Icelandic community. These developments, have led to an increase in the use and exposure of English in Iceland at present time. The findings of the study indicate that English encountered by Icelandic children is largely receptive in nature. The study also found, that with increased age the children were less likely to watch television and more likely to enjoy online material in English, without the use of Icelandic subtitles. Similarly, the study found that time spent with family members reduced the children's online English encounters, which speaks to the importance of family in the acquisition of language and its maintenance. Lastly, the study shows how the younger generation in Iceland has adapted to advances in technology more rapidly than the older members of society. As a result, the younger generation currently lives a lifestyle that encourages frequent use of English. Therefore, the amount and nature of English encountered by Icelandic children is a field of study in need of further investigation.

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1. Introduction

For this paper, I conducted a qualitative diary study to examine the amount and type of English encountered by four Icelandic children in one week. The goal was to measure how much English the children would encounter as well as the nature of these encounters. As the mother and stepmother of these four children, I have seen rapid changes in the amount and type of English encountered by them in recent years. Their current environnment, is vastly different from the one I grew up in and I was curious to find out to what extent English exposure has changed in Iceland these past years.

Due to the nature of language learning, which is an immensely complex phenomenon (O'grady, Aronoff, Dobrovolsky 2011), it is impossible to thoroughly examine how we learn language in a short paper. However, it is important that the reader has some understanding of the subject of language learning in order for him to understand the difference between first, second and foreign language acquisition and provide context for this paper. Therefore, I will briefly address the theories and views on language learning which relate to the material at hand. I will also provide the reader with an overview of the history of English exposure in Iceland as well as examining how and why it is currently the second language taught in Icelandic schools (Menntamálaráðuneytið, 1999). This overview, is followed by a short description of the role that media plays in the linguistic context of Icelandic children.

2. Language Acquisition: Background Information

In recent years, the amount of English exposure in Iceland has steadily increased for several different reasons. According to information from the Ministry of Education in Iceland, English is currently the first foreign language taught in Icelandic schools (Menntamálaráðuneytið, 1999) which, at least in part, is due to the global spread of English as a lingua franca (Graddol, 1997). According to statistics from Statistics Iceland (2008-2016) the number of foreign visitors in Iceland has risen dramatically in recent years which has led to a 39% increase in the number of Icelanders working in sectors related, directly and indirectly, to tourism (Statistics Iceland, 2008-2016). Since broadcasting began in Iceland, the number of television stations has grown steadily making English encountered via television more frequent in today's environment (Statistics Iceland, 2008-2016). Lastly, the internet has become a common source for entertainment, commonly provided in English, and accessed by Icelanders through various online services (Statistics Iceland, 2014). In this essay, the focus is on all instances and types of English encountered by Icelandic children under any circumstance. Before examining, the amount and type of English encountered by Icelandic children, a few words about the nature of language and language acquisition.

Language is vital to human existence and the foundation of literacy and learning. A solid command of language is also a key factor in successful living in a modern world. What is more, human beings acquire this complex system of communication at an early age, without giving it a second thought, because the process is a combination of innate knowledge and learning. Interestingly, the learning of a language can either take place in a structured environment, like a classroom, or through input received from our environment, which is how children learn to acquire their first language (O'Grady et al., 2011). There are numerous theories, in various fields, on the subject of language acquisition and therefore it would be impossible to go into the process, in great detail, in a paper as short as this one. However, it is necessary to clarify a few general terms regarding language acquisition at the beginning of this essay to expand on this subject.

2.1 First Language Acquisition

Children learn their first language (L1), also known as the mother tongue, through interaction without any formal teaching (O'Grady et al., 2011). What is even more remarkable, than the fact that children acquire this complex system without instruction, is that they do so in less than five years and will go on to use this knowledge to produce

an infinite amount of sentences and phrases (Jackendoff, 1994). One of the leading theories, on first language acquisition, was put forth by Chomsky, in the 1960's. He believed it was impossible for children to acquire such a complex set of rules, as grammar and syntax, without having some sort of innate ability to acquire language (O'Grady et al., 2011). As a result, Chomsky presented the theory of Universal Grammar, which claims that children are born with basic knowledge of syntactic categories; such as nouns and verbs, as well as the fundamental principles of grammar (O'Grady et al., 2011). However, the process of language acquisition is dependent on adequate amounts of language input. As they grow, children use the input they have received through their environment and apply it to an innate set of rules which allows them to generate an infinite amount of phrases, without much conscious effort (O'Grady et al., 2011).

Another theory, put forth by Lenneberg, (1967) is the Critical Period Hypothesis which claims that there is an optimal time frame for the innate ability to acquire language and that this ability diminishes at the onset of puberty. This hypothesis, applies to first and second language acquisition and maintains that a person who starts to learn a language before, or during, the Critical Period will be able to produce language with a near native ability, without an accent (Lenneberg, 1967). In contrast, a person who starts to learn a language after puberty will not be able to produce language with native ability despite their best effort (Mitchell & Myles, 2004). However, it has been suggested that the process of language acquisition is so complex that the idea of one particular critical period seems to be overly simplified. Also, the amount of input, combined with interaction, is crucial to language acquisition if speakers are to achieve near native ability (Hyltenstam & Abrahamsson, 2000, 2005).

For the purpose of this essay, examining exposure, the critical period hypothesis is assumed, but as most contemporary linguists agree on, first language acquisition is a combination of nature and nurture; innate ability and input. The spread of English is a crucial factor in altering the linguistic input children receive around the world. Children who previously grew up with mostly their native language are now increasingly exposed to English in their native language environments. This will be discussed below.

2.2 Second vs. Foreign Language Acquisition

Due to the nature of this paper, it is important to provide a distinction between foreign language (FL) and second language (SL). These terms are separated only by the fact

that FL is traditionally learned, in a classroom, in a country where that language is not spoken by native inhabitants. In contrast, as pointed out by Arnbjörnsdóttir, the term SL commonly refers to language acquisition which takes place within the community where the language is spoken (Arnbjörnsdóttir, 2007).

The following example illustrates this: A Polish immigrant in Iceland speaks Polish as a first language and, upon their arrival, Icelandic will then be classed as their second language. However, the national curriculum in Iceland also requires students to learn English and Danish which means that these Polish immigrants will also study these languages as foreign languages (Menntamálaráðuneytið, 1999). Due to the global spread of English it is likely they will also, at some point, use English for lingua franca (ELF)¹ purposes as well (Graddol, 1997).

2.3 The Universal Status of English

However, it is not only the Polish immigrants in Iceland, mentioned above, who use English for communication. In recent years, English has become the lingua franca of the world and is widely used for communication between non-native speakers of English. As a result, people in different parts of the world are finding common ground for communication with the help of ELF (Graddol, 1997). This is also true for Iceland, where English is currently used, for various reasons, at all levels of society (Arnbjörnadóttir, 2011).

While English is currently the most widely used language in the world, it has not always been so. While some have claimed, that the current status of English as a world lingua franca is due to the nature and structure of the English language, indicating that it is somehow easier to acquire than other language, others refute that claim. According to Crystal (2002), the global rise of English has little to do with the structure of the language and more to do with the power and wealth associated with English throughout the years. Similarly, the amount of English media and pop-culture has also aided in the spread of English across the continents (Crystal, 2002).

In recent years, there has been a dramatic increase in the amount of English exposure in the world. One of the biggest contributors to the spread of English is invention of the internet. At present time, the internet has become a big part of the everyday life of most individuals. Now, that Smartphones have become readily

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¹ Definition of ELF: a lingua franca is a language that is used for communication between native speakers of different languages."

available to the public, global communication has reached an all-time high. Similarly, social media websites and applications have increased online communication and aided in the global spread of English (Graddol, 1997). In our modern society, English is also the language of international business, diplomacy and academia.

Another factor, which has aided in the global spread of English, is the fact that tourism is at an all-time high. Travel to foreign destinations, alongside migration, has increased the need for a common lingua franca which can be used for global communication between speakers of various native languages. According to the World Tourism Organization (2011), the number of tourists world-wide has grown from 940 million, since 2010 to a record breaking 1.2 billion in 2015 (2016). With global migration and tourism on the rise, the global need for a lingua franca seems obvious and the English language has stepped in to meet this need (Graddol, 1997).

Since English has become an essential tool, for global communication, it is currently a necessary skill, in a modern world, rather than an advantage (Graddol, 1997). Due to this shift, many countries have moved it from their secondary curriculum to lower levels of education. At present time, English is no longer taught alongside other foreign languages, in many countries at secondary level. Instead, some countries have even started introducing English at primary levels of education (Graddol, 1997). As a result, the Ministry of Education in Iceland has also moved English to the primary level or the 4th grade (Menntamálaráðuneytið, 1999). In my own experience, schools have even started to implement informal English instruction to lower levels of primary education and even at preschool level.

2.4. The Status of English in Iceland

Although, the national curriculum in Iceland has now been altered to place English as the first foreign language in an effort to adapt to the current status of English, it has not always held that status. In fact, Icelanders used to begin their foreign language education by studying Danish and the shift from Danish to English only took place in 1999 (Menntamálaráðuneytið, 1999). As a result, I and other members of my generation began their foreign language studies at the age of 10, when they were introduced to Danish, followed by English two years later. At present time, the roles of these languages have been reversed in Iceland. This in turn, has resulted in the younger generation being introduced to English much earlier than the rest of the population.

According to the National Curriculum in Iceland, the reason behind this shift is

the growing importance of English in the global community. It also states that English is crucial for education, global communication and commerce, accessing multimedia and leisurely activities (Menntamálaráðuneytið, 1999). Similarly, the curriculum maintains that access to education and employment is the main objective of teaching Danish in Iceland. However there is currently an obvious emphasis on the increased importance of English globally (Graddol, 1997) and in Iceland (Menntamálaráðuneytið, 1999).

It is apparent, that Icelanders feel an increased need for English, along with the rest of the world, in every aspect of their life. It is common knowledge that the inhabitants, of this remote island, are well aware of their inability to survive within the global community without a solid command of a language other than their mother tongue. Now that English has become the global lingua franca, it is not surprising that the people of Iceland have opted to place their emphasis on the language now used for global business ventures and international communication (Menntamálaráðuneytið, 1999). Another factor, it the growing number of tourists, and tourist related businesses, in Iceland in recent years (Statistics Iceland, 2008-2016).

According to the Icelandic Tourist Board, tourism in Iceland has more than tripled since the year 2000 and the average growth rate is 9,3% per year (Ferðamálastofa, 2015). Consequently, there has been a dramatic increase in jobs related to tourism. For example, in 2007 there were a total of 8400 jobs, related to tourism in Iceland, which means the number of jobs had increased by 190 from the year before. In the year of 2013, these numbers had risen to 9500 jobs, directly supported by travel and tourism in Iceland. At the time, tourism accounted 5,5% of total employment but if we factor in the jobs that are indirectly supported by tourism this number rises to 21,9% or 38.000 jobs in total. As a result, the tourist industry currently surpasses the fishing industry, and aluminum production, in Iceland by providing 27,9% of the total foreign exchange income (Ferðamálastofa, 2015). These numbers show, a solid command of English is more important to the people of Iceland than ever before.

2.4.1. English in the Icelandic Media

As English strengthens its position, as a global lingua franca, the value of knowing English becomes increasingly apparent. In fact, our modern day society, governed by its information technology and multimedia, demands a certain level of English competence. Rapid developments in digital mass communication, as well as information technology have provided Icelanders with an opportunity to access an array of materials

which require the understanding of different variations of English (Menntamálaráðuneytið, 1999).

Recent research by Birna Arnbjörnsdóttir, suggests that English should no longer be considered a foreign language in Iceland, as its presence in Iceland makes it closer to a second language (2011). At first glance, it appears as if there is sufficient exposure to back up that claim, with participants claiming to spend 16% of their waking hours exposed to English in some kind or form. Also, it points to a tremendous increase in the amount of English exposure in Iceland through the media. Most of the English encountered was through radio, television or various types of online entertainment. However, the study also found English encounters were receptive in nature, suggesting that there is insufficient interaction, in English, for it to be classed as a second language in Iceland (Arnbjörnsdóttir, 2011).

A large amount of English is encountered through the internet. According to information, gathered by Statistics Iceland, the amount and frequency of internet use in Iceland has steadily increased in recent years (2004-2014). In one of their surveys, 97% of its participants admitted to using the internet on a weekly basis. This is a marked increase from the year of 2004, where 81% of households were connected to the internet and only 77% admitted weekly use. The same survey shows Icelanders to be the most frequent users of the internet in Europe, with 94% of people admitting to daily use of the internet (Statistics Iceland, 2004-2014). Similarly, statistics show that 99.7% of households with children under the age of 16 have access to a broadband internet connection and 81.9% also have internet access via mobile (Statistics Iceland, 2013). With such a high number of the population accessing the Internet it is no wonder that English has acquired its current status in Iceland.

Despite the fact, that most Icelanders are currently exposed to English, through the internet, it is far from being the only type of English exposure. At this moment in time, there are three main television broadcasting stations in Iceland which reach the majority of Icelanders on a daily basis. Also, television providers currently sell access to foreign broadcasting stations like CNN, ET, Cartoon Network, The Discovery Channel and a number of other stations (Arnbjörnsdóttir, 2011). Similarly, Netflix has just been introduced to the Icelandic market, bringing an even wider range of English material. Therefore, the amount of English exposure in Iceland directly affects the amount of language input, experienced by children, during the optimal period for language learning.

2.4.2. English Encountered by Icelandic Children

Today, there are a variety of media outlets offering entertainment for children in Iceland. However, the media law in Iceland prohibits any local broadcasting that is not translated, either by dubbing or with the use of subtitles, especially if aimed at young children (Alþingi, 2011). As a result, all Icelandic networks either dub, or provide subtitles for all of their material. Even so, there are several foreign networks available in Iceland, which do not fall within the frame of this law and therefore do not offer Icelandic subtitles. According to a study, on English exposure in the media, conducted by Þóranna Hrönn Þórsdóttir (2014), the amount of English exposure, within the Icelandic media, is extensive. At the time of the study, the biggest contributors to English exposure were DVD, Blue Ray and Video on demand (VOD) rentals, as well as foreign broadcasting and video games in English (Þórsdóttir, 2014).

Despite the amount of material available for children in Iceland, there have been very few studies on how much English the Icelandic children are exposed to on a daily basis. This in turn makes it hard to estimate the true extent of English encountered by children in Iceland. In her study, Pórsdóttir questioned a total of 30 students, 15 girls and 15 boys, from the age of 8 to 9 years old. The results show, that all of the children admitted to encountering English weekly and most of them did so on a daily basis (Pórsdóttir, 2014).

Interestingly enough, the boys estimated their ability and time, spent exposed to English, considerably higher than the girls, with 40% of them rating their English to be very good while only 13% of the girls admitted to the same ability. Similarly, 46% of the girls admitted to using English frequently during the week while this percentage went up to 60% when the boys were asked (Þórsdóttir, 2014). Whether this gender gap is due to an overestimation, on the boys' part, or a true gender difference, when it comes to capability, is open to interpretation since the survey was only based on self-reports. Although it is hard to assess the amount of English exposure in Iceland, whether it is due to internet use, television, or even music, the fact remains that the Icelandic people are exposed to a variety of English material on a daily basis. This in turn, has increasing the value and importance of the English language in their daily activities (Arnbjörnsdóttir, 2011).

As previously mentioned, it appears as if Icelandic children encounter enough English, through various types of media, to acquire it through exposure within their native community. In fact, a pilot study conducted by Ásrún Jóhannsdóttir (2010),

found a positive relationship between listening to music and watching TV shows in English and vocabulary knowledge (Jóhannsdóttir, 2010). Similarly, research by Torfadóttir and associates shows that the majority of Icelandic children now meet the curriculum standards, for the first year of English teaching, before they have had any formal teaching (Auður Torfadóttir, Brynhildur Ragnarsdóttir, & Samúel Lefever, 2006). These findings suggest, the amount of English exposure in Iceland is significant enough to evoke incidental language acquisition, similar to second language acquisition, through exposure.

Despite the fact that the amount of English exposure in Iceland appears high enough to evoke incidental language acquisition, it is also common belief, within the field of applied linguistics, that speakers of language are able to understand much more than they are able to produce. According to research, the majority of English exposure in Iceland is receptive in nature (Arnbjörnsdóttir 2011), that is reading or listening, rather than productive, like writing and speaking (Nation, 2001). In fact, there is a marked difference in Arnbjörnsdóttir's research between the amount of receptive and productive English encountered by participants. In contrast, to the 86% who heard or read English daily, only 19% of them used productive English on a daily basis and 41% admitted to only speaking English once a month (Birna Arnbjörndóttir, 2011).

According to a study on English at University level in Iceland, by Arnbjörsdóttir and Ingvarsdóttir, Icelanders understand more English than they are able to produce. As a result, students find themselves struggling at University due to their lack of productive skills and have a tendency to overestimate their English ability (2010). However, results from another study indicate that something is changing in this respect in Iceland regarding the younger generation. In fact, the younger the participant, the more likely they were to use productive English and also appeared to hear, and speak, more English than their older counterparts (Arnbjörndóttir, 2011). Similarly, the study found another age dependent factor, namely that the younger participants were more likely to watch television without subtitles. Also, they admitted to more computer use and code switching than the older participants. Interestingly, the older participants also claimed they were more likely to use code switching when talking to a younger person (Arnbjörndóttir, 2011). As a result, it is important to examine both productive and receptive ability when estimating language ability.

Several factors, could be contributing to this shift, from one generation to the next. According to recent statistics gathered in Iceland, the biggest contributing factor stems from rapid advances in technology, which the younger generations has adapted to more

easily than the older generation (Statistics, 2010-2013). This in turn, has left them more exposed to English than their elders and more likely to watch movies online without subtitles (Statistics, 2003-2014). These findings coincide with my personal experience, where there is an obvious gap between my generation and my parents' generation regarding internet use, file sharing and general IT knowledge. Similarly, I find myself turning to my teenage daughters when I need help with figuring out new social media apps, like Snapchat, or looking for new file sharing sites.

The findings of Arnbjörnsdóttir's research (2011), as well as the common consensus that the younger generation is more likely to be exposed to English, is supported by numbers provided by Statistics Iceland on the use of Internet services. Even though, the over-all frequency of internet use has increased in recent years the younger participants were much more likely to have engaged in online activities, whether it was reading an online newspaper or file sharing. These statistics show a clear age and gender gap, regarding the frequency of accessing entertainment online (Statistics Iceland, 2004-2014). In my own experience, it is currently much easier to access movies, episodes and games than it was in 2008. Not only, has the process of downloading, online material, become faster and cheaper, due advances in technology and the way internet providers charge their services, but also the number online streaming services and file sharing programs has increased rapidly in recent years.

When looking at these statistics, in addition to the research on English exposure in Iceland (Arnbjörnsdóttir, 2011; Jóhannsdóttir, 2010; Þórsdóttir, 2014), there is a clear indication that Icelandic children are exposed to English on a daily basis. However, it is difficult to find statistics for children under the age of 16, which makes it difficult to assess the true amount of English they encounter. Similarly, studies on the subject of English exposure in Iceland either provide a small sample, are aimed at adults, or are based mostly, or only, on self-assessment. Therefore, there is an existing need to study the true amount, and type, of English encountered Icelandic children.

By conducting, a small diary study on the amount, and type, of English encountered by my own children, I hope to shed some light on this matter. Since, there are so many ways, for a child, to come across English in Iceland, the task of mapping out an average week seemed impossible at first. To name a few; there is YouTube, Snapchat, Instagram, Facebook, TV, Netflix and the list goes on. As a result, I decided to conduct the study by monitoring my four children for a week, in an attempt to examine the amount, and nature, of their English encounters. The study is described in the following section.

3. The Study: A diary study on the amount and type of English encountered by Icelandic children

The aim of the diary study was to measure the extent of English exposure, on Icelandic children, by taking note of the amount of English exposure on my four children over the course of a week. The study took to all types of English exposure, whether it was through TV, radio, video games, internet, school or even conversation. I also wanted to know what type of English the children were being exposed to, whether it was 1) English material with subtitles or without 2) conversation 3) reading or writing, as well as examining under which conditions they were most likely to encounter various types of English.

Similarly, I wanted to compare the amount, and type, of English exposure in my children's daily activities to a study conducted by Birna Arnbjörnsdóttir, on the amount and type of English exposure on Icelandic adults (Arnbjörnsdóttir, 2011). As a result, to provide grounds for comparison, the background survey, reflection sheet and diary sheet in this study is, for the most part, identical to the one used in the previous study on adults. Due to the young age of one participant the reflection sheet was adapted to meet her cognitive ability, which was the only part which was different to the previous study conducted on adults.

Due the wide range in age of the participants there were subtle differences in the methods used to conduct the study. Since two of my children were under the age of eight, at the time of the study, I personally took note of their English exposure while the older children were instructed to fill in the diary study onto the English diary sheet provided to them, with the appropriate information on each instance of English exposure. Lastly the children were interviewed separately, for an average of 30 minutes each, in order to fill in the reflection sheet in order for them to provide any additional information or further clarification needed for the purpose of this study.

Due to the fact that the study was a week long, I myself took the week off work to monitor the younger children and made sure to contact the older ones every two to three hours to ensure full participation on their part. Being their mother, and stepmother, gave me access to the children for the whole observation period. Another advantage, may have been that I know them and their habits very well. It is also possible, that may have caused bias, but every effort was made to be as objective as possible and let the children's behavior over the week speak for themselves. In the following section, I present the results from the study and compare them to the results of a similar study

made on adults (Arnbjörnsdóttir, 2011). The research question is: How much, and what type of English are Icelandic children exposed to, what are the sources of this exposure and what effects do it have on the children's linguistic repertoires?

3.1. Methodology and Data Collection

Participants

All four of my children were informed of the study before it took place and I actively discussed the purpose and process to each one of them. Since the focus group was constricted, by the fact that they are my children, there were no instructions regarding the selection of study candidates. As a result, there is not an equal gender representation, since we have three girls and only one boy. However, the age range is from 4-17 years old, which provides a wide range in age for Icelandic youth. The oldest two girls are 17 and 14 years old, our only son is 8 years old and our youngest daughter is 4 years old. All of the children have developed normally, although the two younger children show mild signs of ADHD. However, it appears as if that has not affected their learning abilities and none of the children present any learning disabilities.

The children are at various stages of education, ranging from preschool to secondary school. Our 17-year-old daughter has completed primary school and moved on to the first year of secondary education. Two of the children are currently in primary school, our 14-year-old daughter which is about to finish 9th grade and our 8-year-old son is currently in 3rd grade. Lastly, our 4-year-old daughter is in preschool at the moment and will move over to primary school in one year.

All but our youngest have stated some formal English education, however the amount of time spent on English education varies in relation to their age. It is worth noting, that our oldest daughter is not enrolled in an English course this semester and therefore her exposure to English during school hours is minimal. Although our youngest daughter is somewhat exposed to English in preschool, due to English as a lingua franca use between parents and teachers and a bilingual student that uses English, there is no formal teaching of English in her play-school.

3.2. Data Collection

Background Survey

A background survey elicited personal information and the children's perceived English proficiency. Then a week of their lives was monitored and mapped out in regards to

English exposure using a diary form and all of the children agreed to participate. As I mentioned before, the older girls were instructed to fill out background information and to keep their own diary of English encounters for one week. Their diary study was conducted a week before the younger children's, in order for me to assist all participants equally. I monitored the two younger children and assisted them with filling out their background information. All of the information provided for background information and diary research was provided at the beginning of the research. At the end of the research week, I interviewed the children individually for 30 minutes each

The background survey asked participants to provide information regarding their age, gender, level of education and general assessment of their English proficiency. This type of information is a crucial tool for the researcher in identifying any differences in the amount and type of English exposure that can be traced back to the children's age difference, gender or education. The outcomes of the survey can be seen in Table 1.

Table 1.

Child	Sex	Age	Education	English Proficiency	English Ed. Started
A	F	4	preschool	Does not speak any English	No
В	M	8	3 rd grade	Good	6-9 years old
С	F	14	9 th grade	Very Good	6-9 years old
D	F	17	1 st year of Secondary School	Very Good	6-9 years old

Diary Study

The methodology is based on previous diary studies that monitored adults' exposure to English (Arnbjörnsdóttir, 2015). This includes the background survey, the diary charts and the interview questions. Additionally, the children's teachers were consulted were possible about their encounters with English at school. The diary was based on a chart (see appendix B) which divided the hours of the day into three hour sections. Every three hours the participants were to make note of any instance of English exposure.

Also, they were to answer the following questions regarding each individual instance of English exposure:

- a) How long? Minutes, hours?
- b) What type? Purpose?
- c)Where? Under what circumstance?
- d) To whom? With whom?

Finally, the minutes per day were then simply tabulated over the whole week presented in tables as seen in the results section. One important note, regarding the diary study, is that the children all spend a bulk of their day at school. However, I was unable to document the English encounters, during school hours, for one participant. After I had compiled, the appropriate sheets for the background, and diary survey, I requested participation from the younger two children's teachers to be able to account for their English encounters in school. Unfortunately, one of the teachers did not participate, claiming a hectic work schedule. In order to accommodate her schedule, I offered to conduct the study at a time which was convenient for her but never heard back from her. As a result, the study does not account for English encountered by our 8-year-old son, during his school hours. Contrastingly, our 4-year-old daughter's play school teacher accounted for all instances of English, during school hours. In addition, she filled out the background survey for her and wrote up a list of observations, and additional information, presented in Appendix G.

The Interviews

At the end of the research week I sat down with the children and asked them to answer a few questions. The final interview questions covered their participation in the study as well as their views and use of English in their daily lives. The questions were as follows:

- a) Was this a typical week in your life? If not, how was it different to other weeks?
- b) Do you remember using English words or phrases in otherwise Icelandic speech? Do the people around you use English in their speech that is words, phrases, sentences or whole conversations? In what kind of situation do you

feel that people use English the most? Who most frequently uses English? Can you give an example?

- c) Do you typically watch movies or TV shows that are dubbed or have subtitles in Icelandic, or do you usually watch TV shows/movies in English without subtitles? If you do both, can you estimate the ratio between the two? (Note: this also includes instances of exposure through online activities such as YouTube, vine etc.)
- d) Do you feel it's important to know English in Iceland? Why, why not?
- e) In your opinion, should English replace Icelandic or is it important to maintain Icelandic? Why?
- f) Is there anything else you can think of, regarding English in your life, that you would like to share with us?

During the final interview, three out of four children, indicated that this had been an average week in their lives. The odd one out, the oldest participant, had come down with a stomach bug, which resulted in her not going to school on the Friday as well as having to work on Sunday, where she is not allowed to have her phone with her except during breaks. Another factor, that one of the children mentioned was the fact that "Ash Wednesday" had come up that week and that particular participant also attended three birthday parties, which he thought to be out of the ordinary.

Even so, the children mostly maintained that this had been an average week and for the most part I would agree. However, as a researcher, I did notice subtle differences, like the fact that our family had to attend two birthday parties during the week, one of them being their grandmother's sixtieth birthday. As a result, a large portion of the weekend, which is usually the time when the children spend the most time watching television, was spent in Reykjavík, planning and attending their grandmother's birthday and at another family member's birthday on the following day. Therefore, there is a possibility that the research outcome may have been affected by these factors.

3.3 Research Analysis

After compiling the data, it was then analyzed by 1) counting the number of minutes at each activity to compute the amount of time the children spent receiving and producing English and filling out the chart. This included the number of minutes, what type, with whom and receptive vs. productive uses.

4. Results

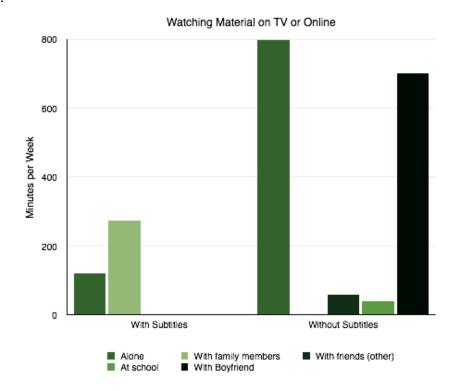
As this is an ethnographic study, the purpose here is to examine in some detail the nature and type of exposure. For example, the younger the participant the less likely they were to use productive English, like speaking or writing, with the two youngest participants not writing or speaking in English at all during the week of research. These findings are likely to stem from the fact that the youngest one has yet to learn to read, or write, and the 8-year-old has only recently acquired these skills.

Several themes emerged from the diary study, like for example that the older the children were the more likely they were to watch English material without subtitles. These findings are unlike the previous research on adults, where the younger participants were more likely to watch material without subtitles (Arnbjörnsdótir, 2011). The oldest participant exclusively watched movies or episodes online during the diary study and therefore all English material she encountered was without subtitles. The findings of this research showed that, out of the time spent watching materials in English, the children watched material without subtitles 50% to a100% of the time.

Unlike their oldest sibling, the younger children were more likely to watch TV and therefore they more frequently watched material which was either dubbed or subtitled in Icelandic. Interestingly, the youngest participant was more prone to watching English material without subtitles than her 8-year-old brother. In fact, the research indicated that only 23% of the material she watched was subtitled while her brother watched material with subtitles 50% of the time. However, this research only documented the children's overall English exposure and these findings most likely stem from the fact that she has not learned to read yet and therefore prefers to watch shows on TV that are dubbed in Icelandic rather than subtitled.

One of the most interesting findings, in my opinion, was the fact that none of the children encountered any English without subtitles while spending time with other family members. According to the calculations presented in Figure 1, regarding English encounters with subtitles, 70% of these encounters where however with other family members.

Figure 1.



At first glance, there seemed to be an even distribution between English encounters without subtitles in the company of friends, and alone. However, the fact that our oldest daughter lives with her boyfriend, and most of her English encounters are therefore with him, skewed my calculations. After realizing this, I decided to tabulate these instances separately, or as "with boyfriend" instead of "with friends, after which a different pattern emerged. Consequently, I found that 90% of the time the children where alone when they encountered English material without subtitles.

4.1 Receptive vs. Productive English

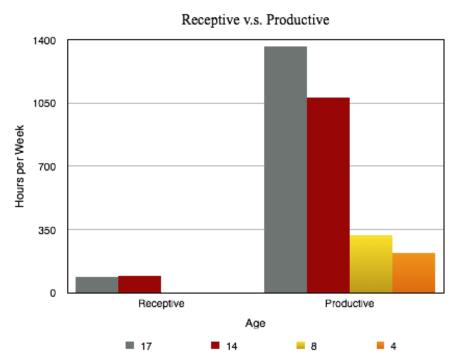
As I had predicted before the study, all of the children encounter much more receptive English than productive, and at different times throughout the day, which reconfirms the theory that Icelandic people encounter much more receptive English than they use productive English (Birna). According to Birna's findings in 2011, the average adult Icelander was three times more likely to be exposed to receptive types of English than using productive English output. Birna says: "...Icelanders are engaged in listening to English for over triple the amount of time that they spend speaking it. And they spend three times more time receiving English input (listening and reading) than they spend producing output (speaking and writing)." According to my findings, the children's exposure to English was even more frequently receptive in nature than indicated by the

adult study.

It is worth noting, that even though one of the older girls did produce some English, during the course of the week, it was minimal. Speaking time ranged from 0-30 minutes and three, of the four participants, did not speak any English at all. However, the 14-year-old girl spoke English for 30 minutes while taking part in a school assignment. Also, writing time ranged from 0-85 minutes a week and the bulk of their writing was for internet search, Facebook, Instagram and other entertainment purposes.

Lastly, the current study showed that there was an increase in the children's listening time as they got older, with their listening time ranging from just under 3,7 hours to just under 14,7 hours a week. Below, in Figure 2, the ratio between receptive and productive encounters of English is presented.





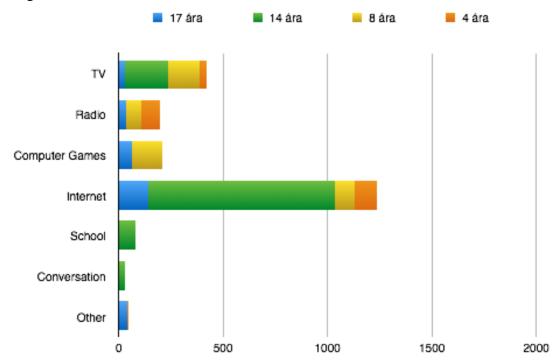
Over all, the hours spent on receptive encounters of English ranged from 4-23 hours a week, from youngest to oldest. However, the hours spent on productive encounters of English ranged from 0-90 minutes a week, with the youngest participants not producing any English and the 14-year-old producing the most. It should however be noted that the oldest participant is not taking an English classes in school, at this time, and therefore her productive English encounters are likely to be reduced due to that fact.

The ratio between receptive and productive English can be seen in the tabulations in Figure 1. In fact, there is a correlation between the children's age and the receptive input of English indicating that the younger they are the less likely they are to use productive English. Despite the fact, that the bulk of the children's English encounters are receptive in nature the background surveys show that 3 of the four children believe their English proficiency to be either good or very good. Also, the older the children got the better they felt their proficiency to be.

On average, the children encountered English, productive of receptive, most frequently between the hours of 18:00 and 21:00. However, when looking at the individual calculations, the children are shown to encounter English most frequently during the time of day when they are free from other activities and obligations. For example, the oldest participant encounters the bulk of her receptive English between 15:00 and 18:00, which are the hours of the day where she has just come home from school and likes to relax. Similarly, the 14-year-old, which has handball practice during that time, encountered the most English between the hours of 21:00-24:00, the time when she is free from other obligations like sports and homework to enjoy some quiet time.

Regarding the whereabouts of the children, when exposed to either receptive or productive English the results varied. The oldest two children only produced English when they were at school and during instances of internet browsing. As previously stated, the younger two children did not produce any English and all of their receptive English encounters were related to entertainment in some way. However, a gender gap appeared in the children's English encounters. In fact, the girls where most likely to encounter English during internet activities, while the boy spent an equal amount of time on computer games and television and much less time browsing the internet for other purposes. Below in Figure 3, the results from the type of English encounters are presented.

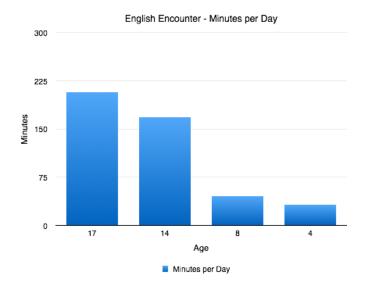
Figure 3.



It is worth noting, that some types of English encounters fell within more than one category. For example, the 14-year-old participant watched a movie without subtitles during school hours. In order to prevent categorizing this as two separate instances of English exposure I opted to categorize these types of exposure as school related instances of English exposure, rather than instances of TV related exposure. Similarly, there were times where the 8-year-old participant played online computer games that were categorized as English encountered via computer games rather than instances of internet exposure.

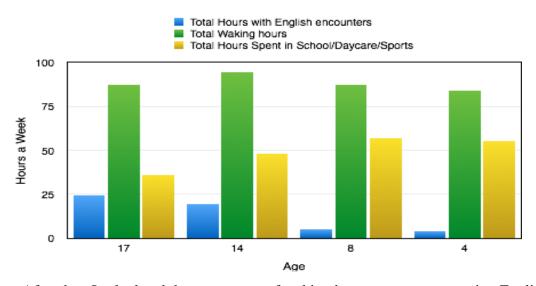
To my surprise, the younger children encountered less English than I had predicted before conducting the research. However, the older participants spent between 21-28% of their waking hours under some kind of English exposure which is more than the 16% presented in the adult study on English exposure (Arnbjörnsdóttir, 2011). To get a clear picture, of the time spent exposed to English I simply tabulated the minutes per day over the whole week as presented in Figure 4.

Figure 4



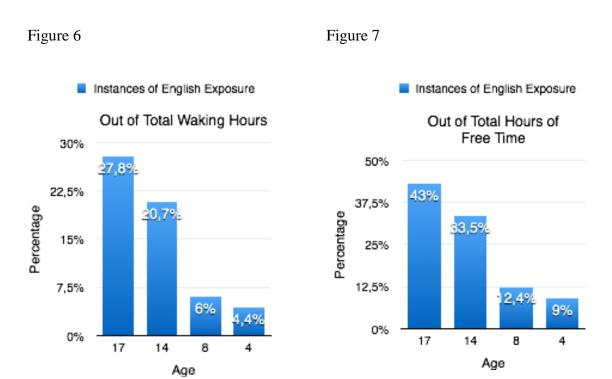
The younger the children where, the less they encountered English and the youngest two only spent between 4-6% of their waking hours under English exposure. If we factor in that the children all spend several hours, out of the week, with their friends, doing homework, attending sport practices and other activities these numbers go up accordingly. Therefore, I compiled the total number of the children's waking hours, school and daycare hours, as well as the hours they spend practicing sports, per week, and present these calculations in Figure 5.

Figure 5



After that, I calculated the percentage of waking hours spent encountering English

and then factored in the time they spend in school, daycare and sports and presented my findings in Figure 6. and Figure 7. As you can see, the amount of English encountered in their free time is twice as much than the time spent out of their over-all waking hours.



When looking at these numbers, you can see that there is a dramatic increase in the amount of English exposure after factoring for time spent at school, daycare and other obligations. Since these activities, render the youngest children unable of accessing the internet and television you can see that they spend twice the amount of time, then previously calculated, encountering English. Although, the numbers also go up when factoring for the obligations of the oldest girls the increase is not as apparent, as with the younger children.

Unlike their younger siblings, the oldest two both own Smartphones allowing them to access the internet any time of day, even at school hours. Also, they both encounter English at school for either homework or classroom activities. This in turn, makes them more likely to encounter English, even during activities where their younger siblings unlikely to encounter any English.

Even though, the children encounter different amounts of English, all of them admitted to code switching, to some extent. However, none of them felt they engaged in frequent code switching. Similarly, they mentioned only using words or certain phrases in English and never whole English sentences, in otherwise Icelandic speech. When

asked if they knew someone that spoke a lot of English, two of the children mentioned me and the oldest girls both mentioned that boys in their school frequently use English for whole conversations or sentences. According to the girls, all of these boys share a common hobby, namely online gaming.

All four children admitted to watching English material, either on television or online, without subtitles. However, the two oldest children, the 17 and 14 years old, reported watching English material without subtitles to a much greater extent. From youngest to oldest, estimated time watching English material without subtitles ranged from 5-95%. Since this research only took to English exposure, it is impossible to know whether or not this estimate is true to fact.

Even though the children all seek out forms of entertainment that requires the use of English they still feel that Icelandic is equally important to them, due to their nationality and connection to their heritage, and did not want to speak Icelandic to use English exclusively. That is, everyone but the youngest participant who claimed she wanted to learn more English in order to move to England and meet Winnie the Pooh. Since she is only 4 years old, I think it is safe to assume, that as she grows older she will come to share the same views as her siblings and develops a stronger connection to her mother tongue than Winnie.

Even so, all of the children felt that English was an important tool that they did not want to live without. Below are some examples of why they felt English was important to them:

"Það er mikilvægt að kunna ensku í skólanum og líka ef maður vill læra að gera eitthvað á netinu."

Male participant, 8 years old.

"Já mér finnst það mikilvægt afþví að það er allt á ensku á netinu og allt í háskólanum er á ensku líka þannig að maður verður að kunna ensku til að geta verið á netinu og menntað sig."

Female participant, 14 years old

"Persónulega myndi ég ekki vilja lifa án þess að kunna ensku en það er samt alveg hægt að lifa af á Íslandi án þess að kunna ensku. Þannig að það er kannski ekki nauðsynlegt að kunna ensku en það er samt alveg mikilvægt. Ef maður kann ekki ensku þá getur

maður ekki horft á neinar myndir frítt á netinu eða lesið sér til eða horft á eitthvað skemmtilegt á netinu. Þá getur maður líka ekki bjargað sér þegar maður fer til útlanda. Það er líka mikilvægt að kunna ensku ef maður vill læra eitthvað og mennta sig." Female participant, 17 years old

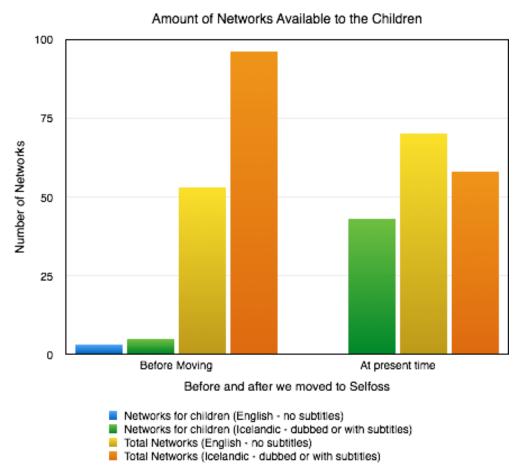
4.2. Possible Implications

Unfortunately, there are some limitations to this study that need to be accounted for to provide a better understanding of the final results. One of the biggest limitation to this study is the fact that there were only four children participating in the study. Also, this week turned out to be slightly out of the ordinary, due to birthday parties and illness that possibly affected the outcome, and therefore the results of the study might not present the amount of English encounters during an average week.

Another factor, I feel a need to address, is that our family is currently living under unusual circumstances. Firstly, our oldest daughter moved to a different town in August, where she started secondary school, and as a result I was not able to monitor her English exposure first hand. Secondly, my fiancé and I are currently residing at my in-laws, while our new home is being renovated, and have been since mid-October. As a result, the research was conducted within an environment which differs from what the children are used to, when we were all living under our roof and in our own home. The reason I want to address this, is that one could speculate that living under their grandparents' roof, where nieces and nephews visit often and loving grandparents frequently make time for them, could affect the amount of English exposure at present time.

Also, the number of Television networks subscribed to, at our current residence, has been drastically reduced from the number networks we subscribed to before moving in with the children's grandparents. In fact, their grandparents only subscribe to one television that is Stöð 2, in addition to RÚV. Since RÚV is a government run network, every Icelander, over the age of 18, pays a certain fee towards RÚV through their taxes, all Icelanders that own a television in have access to that network. Before the move, my fiancé and subscribed to Stöð 2, Stöð 3 as well as having access to foreign networks aimed at children like the Disney Channel, Jim Jam and Cartoon Network. Ultimately, this means that the three younger children, who are currently living at home, now have limited access to televised English material than before. In Figure 8, the amount of networks provided with material for children has been calculated to present the difference before and after the move.

Figure 8



Having resided with the children's grandparents, for six months, we have seen a dramatic decrease in the amount of internet activity, television watching and other types of English exposure in their lives. This is especially true, for the two youngest children, since they have had limited access to both television networks and other forms of entertainment in English. Contrastingly, the oldest two both have their own Smartphones, laptops and iPads, and the oldest is currently living on her own. Therefore, the older children have not been affected, to the same extent, by our change in residency.

These findings indicate the younger generation in Iceland to be more likely to encounter English than their elders. In fact, their lifestyle encourages, the use and amount of, English for daily activities. As a result, I think it is important to conduct more research on the younger generation in Iceland, to measure the amount and type of English exposure so that we can get a better view and handle on the subject.

5. Discussion

The results of this study, present a clear gender gap which is represented in the type of English encountered by the children. While the girls favor using English for internet activities, such as YouTube or streaming services, the boy encounters much more English while playing computer games and watching television. These findings, correlate with the background survey, where both of the older girls stated the boys in their class frequently play computer games. They also claim, that out everyone they know, these boys were most likely to use code switching, and use English for conversation, in otherwise Icelandic speech. Interestingly, both girls also reported to have a negative attitude towards their peers who opted to use English, instead of Icelandic, for whole conversations.

Interestingly, the younger two children spent only a fraction of their day encountering English. According to Jóhannsdóttir there I a positive relationship between English exposure and the vocabulary of Icelandic children at the beginning of 4th grade (Ásrún, 2010). However, neither of the younger children encountered any productive English during research week and the amount of receptive encounters did not appear to be adequate to evoke any incidental language learning.

These findings indicate, that our eight-year-old son either overestimated his English proficiency or that this week was not a true estimate of time spent, by the younger children, encountering English. In my opinion, the latter applies here because our son is already proving to be proficient in English despite the fact that he has just recently been introduced to English in school. In fact, his father and I have stopped using English when speaking discreetly, between the two of us, because he currently understands most of what we say. As a result, I think it is safe to assume that this week was out of the ordinary in regards to the amount of English encountered by the younger participants.

Looking at the data, from the background research and final interviews, it is apparent that the children all recognize a strong need to know English, whether it's for work, education or leisure. Not surprisingly, since they all encounter English, to varying degrees, daily. In our modern society, a strong command of English is necessary in order to use ELF for global communication, and the children seem well aware of the advantages of learning English. However, they also fell a strong connection to their mother tongue, and prefer using Icelandic when communicating with friends or family.

What's more, is the fact that the oldest girls reportedly have negative feelings towards Icelandic speakers who use English in, otherwise Icelandic, speak.

A surprising result, of this study, is the role of family and how it affected the outcome of the study. Despite the fact, that our current living arrangement is quite unique, it is clear that time spent with family members reduces the amount of English encountered by the children. This becomes apparent, in the data collected, and is something I had not anticipated but clearly speaks to the importance of family, in overall language maintenance.

6. Conclusion

Similar to other studies, conducted on English exposure in Iceland (Þórsdóttir, 2014), this study indicates that Icelandic children do in fact encounter English on a daily basis. However, the younger children were much less exposed than the older participants and none of their English encounters were productive in nature. As predicted, the bulk of the children's English encounters appear to be receptive as previous research, on English exposure in Iceland, has suggested (Arnbjörnsdóttir, 2011; Jóhannsdóttir, 2010; Þórsdóttir, 2014).

According to the data, in this study, the children all prefer to use the internet for entertainment purposes, which supports the research on English exposure experienced by Icelandic children prefer to use technology for entertainment rather than reading books or magazines. This in turn leads to the children being exposed receptive vocabulary and using informal English to a greater extent than formal English. With the amount of entertainment currently available, in the media and on the internet, it comes as no surprise that the children all feel that English is important to their daily activities

The findings of this research indicate that Icelandic children have access to a wide range of media outlets that provide them with the opportunity to encounter English. However, the amount and type of these encounters are influenced by certain factors like the children's gender and age. Other factors, like time spent with family, also appeared to affect the amount and type of the English encountered.

At the moment, statistical evidence on the amount and type of English in the lives of Icelandic children is sparse. Therefore it is difficult to estimate whether or not the results of this study depicts the true amount of English encountered by an average Icelandic child. Similarly, the fact that there were only four participants, living under circumstances that cannot be classed as the standard norm, has the ability to affect the outcome of this study. Therefore, I feel that this subject is in need of further examination in order to provide an overview of the amount and type of English exposure to children in Iceland. This is important, because if Icelandic children are incidentally learning English through receptive encounters the education system in Iceland is in need of some reform.

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Appendices

Appendix A	Background
Information	
Age:	
1. Gender:	
1. When did he/she begin learning English (in sch	ool)?
Before 5 years	
6-9 years	
10-12 years	
13-15 years	
1. Education Completed?	
Preschool	
Primary school	
1-3 years of secondary school	
General English Proficiency (How good is his/h Very good Good Fair(sæmileg) Benglish English	
1. His/hear English is (choose one)	
Better than the English of most Icelandic children_	
As good as the English of most Icelandic children_	
Not as good as the English of most Icelandic childr	en
Dagaarahar	

Appendix B

English Diary	Day
<i>6 1</i>	- J <u></u>

Time	How long? Minutes, hours?	What type? Purpose?	Where? Under what circumstance?	To whom?
6:00-9:00				
9:00-12:00				
12:00-15:00				
15:00-18:00				
18:00-21:00				
21:00-24:00				
Total				

Researcher:

Appendix C

TIL UMHUGSUNAR FYRIR VIÐMÆLANDA

1.	Var þetta dæmigerð vika í lífi þínu?	Ef ekki,	að h	ıvaða l	leyti v	var húi	ı öðruví	si en
	aðrar vikur?							

- 2. Manstu eftir að hafa sjálf/ur notað ensk orð eða frasa í íslenskum setningum eða samtölum? Nota þeir sem þú talar við ensku í samtölum, t.d orð, frasa, setningar, heilu samtölin? Hvenær finnst þér mest töluð enska? Hverjir nota mesta ensku? Getur þú gefið dæmi?
- 3. Horfir þú aðallega á kvikmyndir og þætti sem texta efni sitt eða eru með íslensku tali, eða horfir þú á erlenda þætti/kvikmyndir sem ekki eru textaðar? Getur þú áætlað hlutföllin ef þú gerir hvort tveggja? (Athugið, að tilgreina þarf einnig það efni sem horft er á í gegnum internetið s.s. youtube, vine ofl.)
- 4. Er mikilvægt að kunna ensku á Íslandi? Hvers vegna, hvers vegna ekki?
- 5. Finnst þér að enska eigi að koma í stað íslenskunnar eða er mikilvægt að halda áfram að tala íslensku? Hvers vegna?
- 6. Er eitthvað annað sem þér dettur í hug og varðar ensku í þínu lífi sem þig langar að segja okkur?

Researcher			
V acaarchar.			

	How much exposure? For how long (in minutes)	What kind of situation? What context? What purpose?	Where?	To whom? With whom?
Listen/Hear				
Speak				
Read				
Write				
Other				

Researcher		
Recearmen		

Appendix E

Til umhugsunar fyrir viðmælanda

1.	Var þetta dæmigerð vika í lífi viðmælanda?	? Ef ekki, að hvaða leyti var hún öðruvís
	en aðrar vikur?	

- 2. Notar þú stundum ensk orð þegar þú ert að tala íslensku? Geturðu sagt mér frá einhverju orðum sem þú manst eftir? Tala foreldrar þínir eða systkini stundum ensku þegar þau eru að tala íslensku? En vinir þínir, segja þau stundum einhver orð á ensku? Ef svarið er já, hvaða orð eru það? Hverjir tala mest ensku sem þú þekkir og hvenær gera þau það? Manstu eftir einhverjum sem talar stundum ensku þegar hann eða hún er að tala íslensku? Viltu segja mér frá því hver það var og hvenær hann eða hún gerði það?
- 3. Hvað horfir þú mest á í sjónvarpinu? Er það á ensku eða íslensku? Horfir þú stundum á eitthvað í sjónvarpinu sem er á ensku? Ef svarið er já, er það með texta eða ekki? Getur rannsakandi áætlað hvert hlutfallið er milli sjónvarpsefnis sem viðmælandi horfir á með íslensku tali og ensku, og hvort það sé textað eða ekki? (Athugið, að tilgreina þarf einnig það efni sem horft er á í gegnum internetið s.s. youtube).
- 4. Ef þú mættir ráða, myndir þú vilja kunna meiri ensku en þú kannt núna? Hvers vegna, hvers vegna ekki?
- 5. Ef þú mættir velja, hvort myndir þú frekar vilja kunna íslensku eða ensku? Hvers vegna, hvers vegna ekki?
- 6. Geturðu sagt mér eitthvað meira sem þú veistu um ensku?

Appendix F

Til umhugsunar fyrir kennara

1. Var þetta venjuleg vika í skólastarfi hjá ykkir eða var hún frábrugðin á einhvern hátt og þá hvernig?

Mjög hefðbundin vika

2. Er eitthvað sem þig langar að segja okkur um ensku í umhverfi barna á Íslandi í dag. Er eitthvað sem þú hefur tekið eftir sérstaklega og langar til að deila með okkur?

Mér finnst börn yfirleitt áhugasöm um ensku ef þau heyra einhver orð. Sum eru tilbúin að bulla og segjast vera að tala ensku. Heyra talsverða ensku t.d. í Dóru og Diego

Appendix G

Sérálit leikskólakennara

Leikskólastjóri Evu Dabjartar skilaði inn sér áliti, sem kemur hér.

Í daglegu leikskólastarfi heyra börnin á deildinni ákaflega litla ensku. Einstaka barn notar stundum frasa á borð við: "oh, my goodness", "o, my god" Fyrir áramótin notað einn drengur nokkuð oft frasann: "whet the fu..(fuck)"....en bar það samt fram "fo".

Á matmálstímum leikum við okkur stundum með ýmis tungumál, s.s. pólsku, lettnesku, ensku og thailensku. þá er einn starfsmaður með norskt móðurmál. Við erum því stundum að tala um hvað eitt og annað sé á öðru tungumáli, s.s. fiskur, ostur, smjör, mjólk, brauð o.þ.h. Börnin vita sum hvað enska heitið er yfir þessi matvæli. Stundum erum við líka að telja 1-10 á öðrum tungumálum - oftast þó á ensku.

Einn drengur á deildinni á íslenska móður en enskan föður. Drengurinn notar stundum ensk orð í leik, og stundum heyrast ensk orð í setningum hjá honum.

Þá er ein móðir sem talar ensku við okkur daglega, þessi móðir kemur alltaf inn á deildina og því heyrir Eva Dagbjört ensku talaða nánast daglega...þó í mismiklum mæli.

Figures and Tables

Table 1.

Child	Sex	Age	Education	English Proficiency	English Ed. Started
А	F	4	preschool	Does not speak any English	No
В	M	8	3 rd grade	Good	6-9 years old
С	F	14	9 th grade	Very Good	6-9 years old
D	F	17	1 st year of Secondary School	Very Good	6-9 years old

Figure 1.

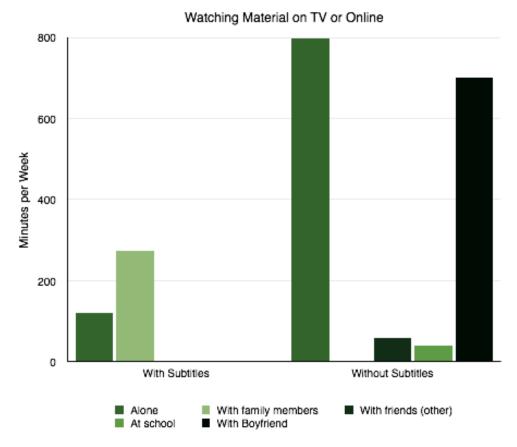


Figure 2.

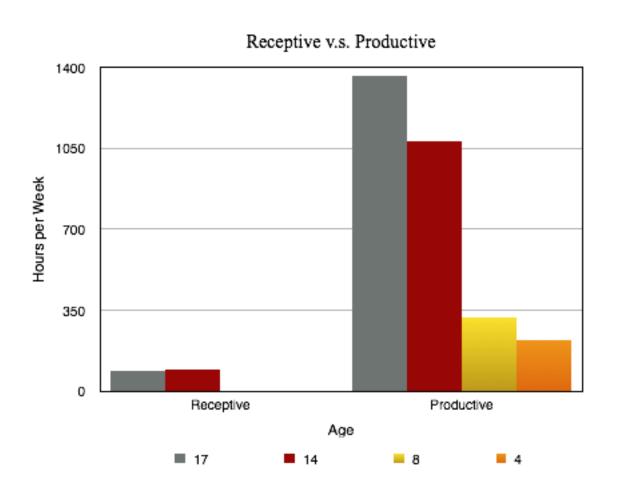


Figure 3.

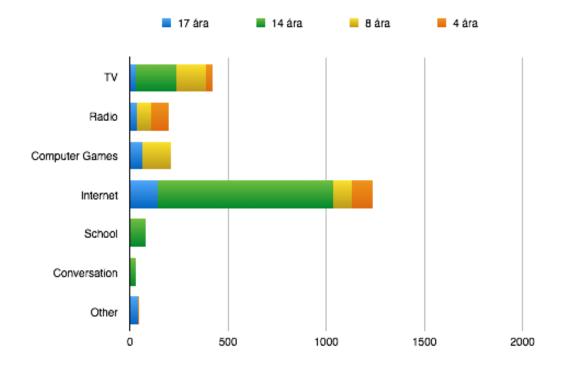


Figure 4.

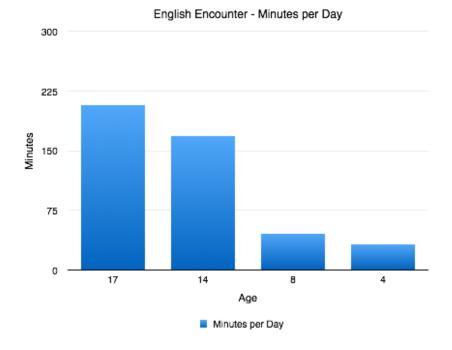


Figure 5.

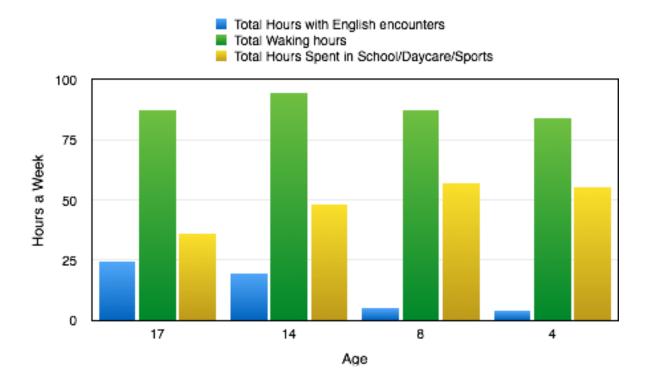


Figure 6.

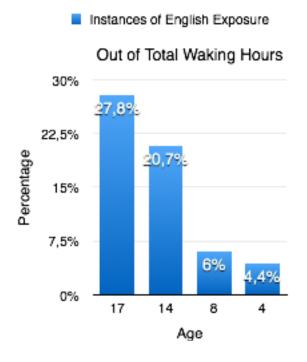


Figure 7.

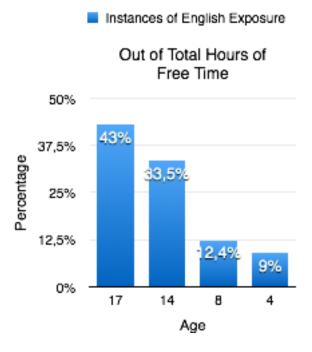


Figure 8.

