

”WHAT IS THE COLOR OF ENGLISH?”

Representation of English in the language portraits of Sámi children

Pro Gradu Thesis

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Tiivistelmä – Abstract <p>Tutkimus on osa Jyväskylän yliopiston kielten laitoksen Pohjoinen monikielisyys - hanketta, jonka tavoitteena on tutkia monikielisyyttä Pohjoiskalotin alueella. Projektissa hyödynnetään sosiolingvistiikkaa, kriittistä diskursiintutkimusta ja etnografiaa. Tässä tutkimuksessa esiin nousevat mm. kielentäminen, heteroglossia ja kielipolitiikka. Lähtökohtana ovat henkilökohtaiset kielikokemukset, resurssit ja repertuaarit, ja niiden tutkiminen multimodaalisen aineiston avulla. Erityisen kiinnostuksen kohteena on yksittäisen kielen, englannin, esiintyminen aineistossa. Vastaavaa näkökulmaa samantyyppiseen aineistoon ei ole aiemmin hyödynnetty.</p> <p>Tutkimuksen aineisto koostuu neljäntoista 6-12 vuotiaan saamelaislapsen kielellisistä omakuvista, taustatietolomakkeista, joissa lapset arvioivat kielellisiä resurssiaan ja suhdettaan kieliin, sekä ryhmähaastatteluista, joissa lapset kertovat toisilleen ja tutkijalle piirrostensa sisällöistä. Aineistoa lähestytään sekä kvalitatiivisesti että kvantitatiivisesti kuva-analyysin keinoja hyödyntäen. Kerättyä aineistoa verrataan aiempaan samantyyppiseen tutkimukseen hyödyntäen lasten kuvalliseen ilmaisuun ja värien käyttöön liittyvää sekä sosiolingvististä että kehityspsykologista tutkimusta. Apuna kuvallisen aineiston tulkinnaassa käytetään lasten omaa ääntä.</p> <p>Tulokset kertovat saamelaislasten kielirepertuaarien monipuolisuudesta. Ainoa kaikille yhteinen kieli on suomi. Merkittävänä kielenä esiin nousevat tietenkin saamen kielet (pohjoissaami, Inarin saami ja kolttasaami). Englanti on tavalla tai toisella läsnä jokaisen lapsen aineistossa, mikä ei ole yllättävää ottaen huomioon nykyaikaisen viestintäteknologian, kansainvälisen nuorisokulttuurin, turismin ja paikallisen (ja valtakunnallisen) kielipolitiikan vaikutukset lasten elämässä. Tutkimuksessa paljastuu säännönmukaisuuksia sekä kielten sijoittelussa että värien käytössä lapsille merkittävien kielten osalta. Lasten vielä kehittymätön kyky täyteen abstraktiin ajatteluun ohjaa lasten valintoja sekä kielille valittujen värien että niiden sijoittelun osalta. Valintojen taustalta paljastuu konkreettisia ajatuksia kommunikoinnista sekä kielten yhteydestä kansallisiin ja kulttuurisiin tunnuksiin.</p>	
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## ABBREVIATIONS

S used for Sari Pietikäinen and P (1,2,3,4,..) used for pupils in conversation extracts.

## 1. INTRODUCTION

As a young art student in the latter part of the 1980s I took a bus each morning along the main road leading to the center of Helsinki. As the bus passed the big international hotels in Mannerheimintie (the main road in Helsinki), I vividly remember seeing a taxidermic reindeer standing on the street outside of a souvenir shop day in, day out. That reindeer and other items in the shop window representing Lappish culture and way of life seemed exotic in the urban street of the capital, especially to someone never been to Lapland.

Some twenty years later – and yes, I have been to Lapland – I found myself studying English at the University of Jyväskylä and learning not only language but things about multilingualism, minority languages and commodification of culture e.g. selling four cornered hats and reindeer hides to the tourists. I decided that I wanted to write my minor pro gradu thesis 'sivuainegradu' on a topic related to multilingualism, and that I wanted to somehow utilize my previous experience as an art teacher combining visual methods and analysis to my work. I did.

North Calotte, the area spreading across four countries, Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia is bordered by the Arctic Circle in the south. It is a home for several overlapping languages and cultures and provides the setting for this study (more specifically the Finnish part of the Samiland). The data used in this study was collected as part of the *Northern Multilingualism* project currently in progress at the department of languages, University of Jyväskylä. Its aim, as well as the aim of this study, is to investigate multilingualism with several different methods applying concepts such as languaging, heteroglossia and experiences among others (<http://www.northernmultilingualism.fi/>).

The subjects of this study, multilingual children between the ages of six and twelve, live in an ever-changing environment where the minority languages have an increasingly better status than before. Changes in multilingual practices caused by the modern communication technologies, youth culture spanning across the globe, people on the move and tourism along with the ongoing language revitalization efforts all have their effects on the subjects of this study (see e.g. Pietikäinen et al. 2010; Pietikäinen 2010a, 2010b). The children encounter an array of languages both at home and in their everyday environment e.g. school, where the main language of

instruction for these children is Sámi. Tourism industry with its substantial income (see Lapin Liitto 2007) gives opportunities and incentive to learn and speak foreign languages. Local language planning considers English and French the two most important foreign languages, the former taught to all from the third grade and the latter offered as an obligatory language in elementary school. From early on the children have a possibility to learn foreign and local languages both in formal and informal settings.

The data of this study consists of fourteen children's linguistic self-portraits accompanied by their own oral accounts of the drawings, as well as their answers in background questionnaires. The self-portrait is an A4 sheet containing a pre-drawn outline of a human figure in which each child colors his/her linguistic resources choosing a color from a set of 24, and assigning a color and location for each language. Interpretation is based on cues provided by the drawer in the drawing itself (color, location, objects, text etc.) and the accompanying written and oral data. Knowledge of visual analysis is essential in approaching the material.

A qualitative approach employing multimodal data is an excellent way of giving voice to individuals and their experiences of languages as resources in their lives (on language as a resource see Blommaert 2005; Blommaert et al. 2005; Dagenais et al. 2006; Pietikäinen et al. 2008 Shohamy 2006). Drawing in this study is seen as a way of languaging (Jørgensen 2005; Pietikäinen et al. 2008; Shohamy 2006) having different affordances (Holm Hopperstad 2008; Kendrick and McKay 2004; Kress 2004; Lim Fei 2004; Mavers 2004, 2007; Pietikäinen et al. 2008) than e.g. writing or speaking, and thus possibly revealing things the maker of the picture would not be able or willing to put into words.

Multimodal data using language portraits has been utilized previously (Busch 2006, Busch and Busch 2008) to find out about the subjects' linguistic repertoires. However, the role of one specific language, such as English, has not been investigated in detail like in this study. Here the aim was to find out how English was present in the drawings, which colors were used for it and where the colors were located. The comparison between the language portraits of the children of this study to those of adults in previous studies seemed credible and provided an interesting subject matter with psychological undertones.

Firstly, theoretical and practical approaches to visual analysis and their challenges are discussed in chapter 2 and those approaches are later applied in the results in chapter 4. Descriptive qualitative approach combined with quantitative methods is used to find patterns and interrelationships in the use of color and their locations. Secondly, the method of *biographical approach* (Busch 2006, Busch and Busch 2008), its application in this study and the analytical framework are described in detail in chapter 3. Thirdly, possible reasons for the intriguing findings are discussed alongside with findings in result (chapter 4) and in the discussion in chapter 5. Finally, possibilities for further studies are contemplated and suggestions for altering/improving the data collection with children are presented.

## **2. THEORETICAL BACKGROUND**

### **2.1. Language as a heteroglossic multimodal resource**

Research in the field of multilingualism<sup>1</sup> in the recent decades has brought ever increasing knowledge of language and language use, and resulted in the long persisting idea of *one language, one culture, one nation* (see views on bilingualism in e.g. Dewaele et al. 2003; Dufva and Pietikäinen 2009; Heller 2007) within the borders of a nation state to become irrevocably questioned. The myth of monolingual countries has been forced to give way to realization that what once was considered a norm does not really exist; in Europe alone, within 46 nation states, 234 different languages are spoken (Ethnologue 2010). Not only the nation states or whole societies are defined being multilingual with varying numbers of official national languages, and languages with official or unofficial minority language status, but also smaller communities, groups and individuals are multilingual in different ways (Pietikäinen et al. 2008; Pietikäinen 2010a; 2010b)). Individuals are presently more easily accepted as multilinguals because of the changing notion of what it means to be multilingual; what it means to ‘know a language’. Rather than talking about full competencies, different languages in our language repertoires should be seen as

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<sup>1</sup> Even though in research bi- and multilingualism are sometimes separated, in this paper I will use the term multilingualism for referring to a person (community or country) having more than one language in one’s linguistic repertoire.

resources arranged according to different themes and situations; resources that we can draw upon as varying languages and language uses are needed (see e.g. Blommaert 2005; Blommaert et al. 2005; Dagenais et al. 2006; Shohamy 2006). In addition to the changed notion of what it means to know a language the whole idea of language itself has become more diversified. Instead of seeing languages as separate units, "monolithic and reified entities which are unequivocally distinguishable from each other and between which multilingual language user may 'alternate' or 'switch' (Pietikäinen et al. 2008: 81)," a different approach for looking at languages is needed in order to capture the rich and diverse ways of communicating and meaning-making in the lives of multilinguals.

A concept of *social heteroglossia* of a language (see Bakhtin 1981; Dentith 1995; Maybin 2001: 64 –71) comes from Mikhail Bakhtin, an influential Russian philosopher, literary critic and a semiotician, who saw language as having within itself several different ways of using a particular language i.e. different dialects and sociolects alongside the *standard language*, which Yule (2006: 194) calls "an idealized variety". This idealized variety is clearly associated with the standard written version of the language in question. Since there are different varieties, styles, genres and registers present in real language use (when talking about one specific national language), and all individuals have their own specific affordances and limitations – not only with language in a context (e.g. legal or medical language) but also with different modalities and media (e.g. formal/slang and written/spoken) – it is easy to agree that monolingualism in the narrow meaning of the concept does not exist at all. Both Busch's studies (Busch 2006; Busch and Busch 2008), and the results of this study with children as young as six concur with the realization.

In order to broaden the ways of communicating and meaning-making we need to move forward from Bakhtin's idea of heteroglossia (a linguistic term) to include other modalities and media as well. Linguist Michael Halliday considers language a primary semiotic resource among other semiotic resources. It is used for meaning-making: learning and knowing a language is learning and knowing 'how to mean' (Halliday 1973: 300, 1978, 1992; Kern 2000: 52). His notions of language as a 'resource' and 'meaning potential' and his systemic functional approach have later been extended to study of other semiotic modes.



I want to see 'language' as a concept referring to a broader way of communication; use the term 'linguaging' and see communicating as more than just written and spoken forms of language, no matter how heteroglossic in the Bakhtinian way, and extend 'linguaging' to making meaning with all modes of expression, in this study the visual in particular. Similarly e.g. Shohamy (2006: 172) calls for a broader understanding of language; she writes about not only mixtures, hybrids and fusions of languages but also 'multicodes within language' referring to elements such as "visuals, pictures, images, music, art, graphs and a variety of symbols with no language, boundaries" as ways of 'linguaging'.

Inspired by previously mentioned Halliday's work, Gunther Kress's and Theo van Leeuwen's 'grammar of visual design' is an attempt to apply grammatical rules to all visuals. Their multimodal semiotic approach puts language in the same equal category of other semiotic modes for meaning-making (Kress 2004; van Leeuwen 2005; Kress and van Leeuwen 1990, 2002, 2006 (1996)).

## **2.2. Multimodality: the visual as part of multimodal research**

"Visual expression is a way of obtaining, stocking, adjusting and communicating knowledge acquired from the world. It makes the world a meaningful place to live and function in, since it gives form not only to the observable but also to the mental and imagined within."

(Salminen 1988:40)<sup>2</sup>

Salminen refers to cognitive psychology, particularly to the work of Jean Piaget (1896 – 1980), arguing that in order to understand and grasp something a child has to construct it him-/herself, 'reinvent the world'. Early on visual expression offers the means for making ideas and feeling visible, perhaps better than any other mode representing reality outside or within (Salminen 1988: 52, 54; see also Piironen 1995). Later on in life, as we gain experience in different ways of communicating, we probably find the preferred way of expressing ourselves be it e.g. language, visual art, music or movement. In a similar way we also have our preferences in receiving information from the world around us. These preferred ways of communication have relevance in e.g. research of learning styles (see e.g. Dörnyei 2005:120-161). The

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<sup>2</sup> Originally in Finnish

subjects of this study are given a possibility to communicate the languages in their lives using multimodal material: drawing, writing and speaking. Similarly the researcher has an opportunity to receive and investigate the information in the multimodal data. Based on my background in the visual field, the assumption is that receiving visual information is my strength.

The term multimodality was introduced to emphasize the importance of taking into account semiotics other than language-in-use such as image. Multimodality gives broader range for studying meaning-making beyond the linguistic material. As Kress and van Leeuwen point out in their 'grammar of visual design': "The place, use, function and valuation of language in public communication is changing. It is moving [and in many domains has moved] from its former, unchallenged role as *the* mode of communication, to a role as one mode among others (2006 (1996): 36)." It is self-evident that being literate in the world today means much more than being able to read and write; it also means the ability to use and understand multiple ways of representative forms for conceptualizing and expressing meaning. Instead of being literate we are required to be multiliterate, and instead of talking about literacy we should talk about multiliteracies (see e.g. The New London Group 1996). We encounter multimodal materials combining text and visuals (moving or still pictures, graphs, diagrams etc.) on a daily basis when opening our newspapers, televisions or computers.

We all have been in situations where words are just not enough for explaining things to someone for one reason or another; it would be easier to draw a picture or as we say in Finnish: '*vääntää rautalangasta*' shape a simple model out of wire'. There is a wide agreement among researchers that different modes/modalities of semiotization/languageing have different affordances for meaning-making (Holm Hopperstad 2008; Kendrick and McKay 2004; Kress 2004; Lim Fei 2004; Mavers 2004, 2007; Pietikäinen et al. 2008). In the example above there are already three alternative modes of communication in use: talking, drawing and modeling – two of them being visual. Similarly in the field of science the use of various possible meaning-making methods are widely utilized both in gathering and reporting scientific results. O'Reilly (2005: 160 – 166) categorizes the use of images in three main groups: 1) *Images as 'writing'*: pictures that are used for making and supporting an argument and conveying messages (cf. quantitative research: charts,

pie charts, tables, graphs etc.) 2) *'Found' images*: any visual data (photographs, posters, advertisements, drawings etc.) gathered and analyzed with various methods. Making a distinction from previous category is 3) *Creative use of image*: visuals done by the participants of a study at the request of the researcher to create knowledge of the participants. The visual material of this study falls into the category of *the creative use of image*: pictures done by the children of this study on request of the researcher.

Since art critic Corrado Ricci (1858 – 1934) first published his book of children's drawings in 1880's, several studies of children's pictorial development have been made (see e.g. Arnheim 1970; Eisner 1972; Golomb 2004; Kellogg 1969; Rhoda Kellogg Child Art Collection; Salminen 1988). Human figure drawings (subjects draw either self- and family-portraits or human figures in general) are widely used in psychological and cognitive studies for assessing e.g. intelligence, learning disabilities and body image, as well as looking for indicators of psychopathologies and sexual abuse of children. The underlying idea is that in the drawings the subjects would reveal subconscious and inadvertent understanding of self (personality, attitudes, values) and relationships to other people and things – things the maker of a picture would not be able or willing to put into words. Lately pictures drawn by subjects of a study are also increasingly used in applied linguistics to research, for example, language resources and language identity (Busch 2006, Busch and Busch 2008; Pietikäinen et al. 2008; Pietikäinen 2010a; Salo 2008; Sirkeinen 2008), language portraits of learners of English (Dufva et al. 2007; Kalaja et al. 2008) and young children's perception of reading and writing (Kendrick and McKay 2004). The human figure drawings used in this study are used to find out about the linguistic resources of the children living in Finnish Lapland.

Whether found images or drawn by the subjects of the study on request, the images need to be analyzed by a researcher in order to have the expected added knowledge compared to the modes of written and/or spoken data. Interpretation of the visual presents challenges to any researcher, method of analysis and its application being the most substantial to many.

### 2.2.1. Analyzing the visual

In my experience, people tend to make interpreting images more complex and difficult than it really is by assuming that there is only one correct way of interpretation, thus forgetting that we all have our own associations, experiences, and not the least, our cultural background that we bring with us to the interpretation situation (see e.g. Sturken and Cartwright 2001). Visual analysis requires sensibility and sensitivity. For most people it is an acquired skill, which can be developed through practice and it can be taught and learned (see e.g. Acton 2003; Fichner-Rathus 1986: chapter 2; Seppänen 2002: chapter 4; Töyssy et al. 1999: 176 – 211).

When discussing the research methods in social sciences and sharing her experiences in doing multimodal research, Mavers (2004: 175) claims that interpreting visual data further than accompanying spoken or written words from the interlocutor explaining his/her picture 'allows' makes people nervous (on relationship between words and pictures see e.g. Mikkonen 1998). She believes that this attitude reveals the still deeply grounded idea that language, written or spoken, is *the* mode to give full access to meaning. Nevertheless, the idea of using multiple modes of representation, all equally valuable and able to express meaning in different ways, in social and others sciences should not be perceived as daring or even difficult since e.g. interpreting works of art has a tradition going back hundreds of years. For example, iconology or iconography, a way of finding and analyzing allegories and symbols in works of art, existed already in the 16th century and modern day semiotics, among others, makes use of iconography in its concept of 'signs'. Chandler (2007:3, 2009) defines a sign in semiotics as e.g. word, image, gesture or sound that, however, is not defined as a sign unless it is "interpreted as 'signifying' something, standing for something else than itself" e.g. a dove standing for peace or Holy Spirit. An array of signs, symbols, attributes and personifications can be found in works of art (see e.g. Carr-Gomm 2001). In this study colors and objects in the drawings are considered as possible symbols/'signs' for languages and feelings associated with them.

Even though in the case of creating and interpreting 'traditional' art (see e.g. Acton 2003 (1997); Fichner-Rathus 1986; Heikkerö 2001; Oja 1978 (1957) the idea of fixed 'grammar' (prescribing in nature) is persuasive, I am hesitant about extending

the idea of 'grammar' to all pictures (visuals) because of the 'heteroglossic' culturally and socially changing nature of visuals around us ('rules' of traditional art being more fixed). The grammar of all visuals, if even generally applicable, is most likely not prescribing. It might be called an emergent grammar, the rules and the syntactic structure emerging as language is used (on definitions of grammar see e.g. Hewings and Hewings 2005: 46 – 55). An example of the changing grammar of visuals is the development of movies caused both by the advancement of the technology and the changed notion of how to tell a story visually. A similar change has taken place in the development of the modern music videos in the MTV era. When talking about the separate linguistic system of visuals, it is good to keep in mind the separation between what I would call the *language of art* and the *semiotics*: the former having its roots in the aesthetic theories of Plato (see e.g. Dickie 1971, 1981), and the latter its modern roots in the work of the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure (see e.g. Chandler 2007, 2009). It is also good to keep in mind that some of the rules for making and interpreting visuals certainly differ from culture to culture. No matter which way visuals are used and interpreted, they have become a fundamental part of research in varying fields.

Apart from looking at signs, symbols, attributes and personifications there are plenty of things to look at in a picture to try and find out the intended (or subconscious) 'message' or 'meaning' of the maker of a particular picture. The aim could simply be to paint a picture as realistic and three-dimensional as possible and then it is up to the viewer to decide whether the maker has succeeded. Unless the intentions are explicitly stated, which they often are not, it is up to the viewer to make the interpretation and analysis; it is up to the analyzer to decide what is the possible meaningful interpretation in each case. Formal tools available are, for example, content (what is there in the picture?), composition and the use of space (where are things located in the picture?) along with form, tone and color. Colors together with location are the most significant elements to analyze in this study. Therefore a closer look at investigating color is needed.

### 2.2.2. Interpreting color

Do you know what purple is?  
 It's the smell of a garden of irises.  
 It's the taste of a mulberry.  
 It's the sight of a purple cloud meaning rain.  
 It's the sound of a thunder.  
 It's the feeling of a squished grape.  
 That's what purple is.

Salina (Welcome to Our Color Poetry Page 2001).

An elementary school child can put into words associations that come to her mind from the color purple, the associations being strongly related to senses: smell, taste, sight, hearing and touch. In this poem then association of color and its physical 'real life' counterparts are obvious, but e.g. in a case of synesthesia a color association could be strongly related to arbitrary phenomena, for example, sound (musical notes) or shape (letters or numbers), moreover, these associations vary from a synesthetic person to another. Russian painter and art theorist Wassily Kandinsky (1866 – 1944), a synesthete himself, was convinced that color acts as a universal language to the soul and that it is possible to summon up emotional responses with the use of certain colors (see e.g. Ball 2008 (2001), Kandinsky 2004 (1912)). Feeling blue, being green with envy or looking at the world through pink glasses are expressions familiar to us and we can make the connection between the mood or attitude and the color in question.

Creating a universal grammar for color is equally challenging as creating a universal grammar for visuals. Sometimes the connection of meaning and color seem obvious, and at other times it seems uncertain, unpredictable and even random depending on the time, place, culture and individual. Color can be used for expressing character or identity. There may be known color symbolism in use within a community, be it a small subculture associated with music or a global religion with its liturgical colors that can be clearly explained, understood and learned. A national flag is a typical example of the ideational function of color: a flag denoting specific people, a nation within a nation state. The colors of, for example, the Finnish flag, blue and white and the denotations of those colors in a schlager *Sininen ja valkoinen/ Blue and white* demonstrate that there may be two or more layers of denotation and connotation in a simple flag with two colors: "Blue is the sky, blue are the eyes of her, Blue are the

lakes, reflecting the blueness. White is the snow, white are the nights of summer, White are the clouds, sheeps of the blue sky (Lyrics and translations 2010).”

There are many theoretical and practical debates about color symbolism, and attempts both before and after Kandinsky have been made to create a unified system for color use and symbolism. The efforts have been unsuccessful and “there is no consensus what colours ‘mean’, nor how to use them ‘truthfully’ (Ball 2008 (2001): 24).” Kress and van Leeuwen (2006 (1996): 227) admit that “contemporary ‘color codes’ have limited domains of application, and specific colours can have very different meanings in different contexts.” It is easy to agree with their idea that “color does what people do with it (2002: 350)” and that the ‘doing’ is learned and internalized within a socio-cultural group (ibid. 346). What both theoreticians and practitioners agree upon is that reactions to colors are created by a combination of biological, physiological, psychological, social and cultural factors, and that colors do have an effect on both emotions and behavior. Apart from concrete associations and associations to feelings mentioned before, the affect of color, both physiological and psychological, has been widely investigated and the results have been utilized in e.g. design, architecture, cartography, science, medicine, industry and government (see e.g. Koller 2008; Kress and van Leeuwen 2006 (1996), 2002; Puhalla 2008).

Effect of color refers strongly to personal attitudes and emotions, and it has been studied both with adults and children. From the beginning of the color psychology in the late 19th century it has been thought that color was a matter of feelings rather than intellectual issue, and that color was ‘instinctive’ and ‘sensual’. It was also thought that the feelings grew weaker with aging (Kress and van Leeuwen 2002: 353.). Voijola (2005) investigated the color preferences of Finnish adult art audiences in their ideal paintings, and two Russian artists Vitaly Komar and Alex Melamid (1995) explored the favorite colors of fourteen nations in their project *The Most Wanted Paintings*. In both surveys the favorite color of Finns was blue. Children’s color preferences and their attitudes to color have been investigated by e.g. Burkitt et al. (2003, 2004) in Britain and a comparative research between the color use of Finnish and English children showed some cultural differences (Burkitt et al. 2007). In these studies children were asked to color affectively characterized figures and topics (e.g. neutral, nice and nasty person) with a selection of ten

different colors. An investigation of attitude towards the ten colors used was also part of the studies, the five most liked colors of the Finnish participants being green, red, pink, orange and blue. Psychologist Claire Golomb (2004: 133 – 168) has investigated the depiction of mood and feeling with colors in the drawings of American children. She found out that the use of color in the drawings reflect the feelings of children when depicting a happy, a sad and an angry figure. Use of particular colors in drawings indicated neutral (primary colors), positive (primary and secondary colors) or negative feelings (black and brown). Indication of change in the color preferences with age and differences in preference based on gender were found in some studies (see e.g. Boyatzis and Varghese 1994).

To sum up: colors as signifiers/symbols “carry a set of affordances from which sign-makers and interpreters select according to their communicative needs and interests in a given context (Kress and van Leeuwen 2006 (1996): 232).” For the maker of the picture colors is a way of expressing something, they mean something and the interpreter decodes the message with explicit or implicit cues the maker of the picture has given either in the picture itself or in the accompanying written or spoken explanation. The children in this study choose and use colors according to their personal interests. Whether the communicative purpose is expressed explicitly or implicitly, it is up to the interpreter to find out with the help of cues provided. In this study a biographical approach, a multimodal approach with drawn, written and oral accounts, is utilized for investigating children’s color associations with their language resources.

### **2.3. Biographical approach**

Biographical approach is a form of life story research done in a flexible way using several methods of data collection (see e.g. Robson 2002 (1993): 166, 195). The approach utilizes qualitative methods in both collecting and interpreting the data in question. The method aims to gain insight into a person’s life or as in this study, a particular aspect of a person’s life, multilingualism. The goal is to find out about the language resources available for the children in this study, and how they feel about the languages in their lives. The method of biographical approach has been previously used for studying multilinguals in Austria and South Africa (see Busch 2006, Busch and Busch 2008). Busch’s method consists of an empty outline of a



human figure in which the language resources are colored by assigning each language/ language use a color of its own. Drawing in this method involves the act of choosing (see e.g. Holm Hopperstad 2008: 77) from available colors to make intended meaning; choosing the color to best represent the language and feelings/ideas associated with it, and later on explaining those choices to others and to the researcher. The method could be seen as a form of "show and tell" that gives insight into (intra)personal experience of interpersonal processes/ broader social context of using one's language resources/repertoire. Drawing represents an alternative way for children to create and present themselves in relation to languages (and the relationships connected to those languages) in their lives. One objective of the language portrait is to make the children consciously think about the different languages in their lives, and perhaps in the process both gain and give information about the building blocks of their own linguistic identity, though as Heller (2007: 13) points out, it is a difficult (if not an impossible task) for the researcher to make direct associations between language and identity because of the complex nature of these concepts.

### **3. THE PRESENT STUDY**

#### **3.1. The research questions**

As mentioned before, there is a wide agreement among researchers that different modes/modalities of semiotization/linguaging have different affordances for meaning-making (see e.g. Busch 2006; Holm Hopperstad 2008; Kendrick and Mcay 2004; Kress 2004; Kress and van Leeuwen 2006 (1996); Mavers 2007; Pietikäinen et al. 2008). Therefore I am interested in the way the subjects of this study, the children living in multilingual Lapland, present their linguistic resources, 'reinvent' their linguistic world, in color self-portraits using colors as visual signifiers, and whether drawing as part of the multimodal data can bring added knowledge as to how they experience the languages around and within. Is visual data just 'tack-ons', illustrations to more serious and prestigious modes of writing and speaking (e.g. Kendrick and McKay 2004; Kress 2004; O'Reilly 2005), or is it a part of a complex practice of linguaging which draws on various resources, some of which, e.g.

drawing, have been traditionally considered as Heller (2007:15) puts it, "a separate linguistic system of its own"? (on visual 'grammar' see chapter 2.2.1. e.g. Acton 2003 (1997); Fichner-Rathus 1986; Heikkerö 2001; Kress and van Leeuwen 1990, 2002, 2006 (1996); Oja 1978 (1957)). I will be looking at drawing as 'texts' in their own right within the concept of 'linguaging' and try to find answers for my research questions:

- 1) How do multilingual children represent their linguistic resources in biographical drawings?

This pro gradu thesis was made in the department of languages, English in particular, and I therefore concentrated especially on the questions concerning English and its representation in the drawings asking:

- 2) How is English in particular present and what is its relation to other languages?
  - a. Which colors are used as regards to English and how do the chosen colors relate to the colors of the other languages?
  - b. In which parts of the body is English located and how does the location relate to the locations of the other languages?
  - c. Why are these particular colors and these particular places used for English and the other languages?

I did not, however, rely only on the visual; I utilized all of the multimodal data available to find explanations, confirmations and descriptions of the findings, and to make connections between the different ways of 'linguaging' or modes used.

### **3.2. The data**

The data used in this paper was collected by professor Sari Pietikäinen as part of the *Northern Multilingualism* project currently in progress at the department of languages, University of Jyväskylä. "The project aims at a theoretical and empirical investigation of multilingualism in the transnational North Calotte drawing on insights provided by sociolinguistic, critical discourse studies and ethnography by utilizing concepts such as linguaging, heteroglossia, discourses, practices, experiences, language policy and ideologies" (<http://www.northernmultilingual>

[ism.fi/](http://ism.fi/)). I was given permission by Pietikäinen to use the material for this pro gradu thesis, purpose of which was to find out about the role of English in the linguistic repertoires of Sámi children in Finnish Lapland. The data was not collected for investigating the role of English specifically, but rather to find out more extensively the linguistic repertoires of Sámi children. Similar data is being collected in collaboration in Austria and Sweden to explore equivalent aspects of children's multilingualism there.

The participants in the research project were multilingual children living in the Finnish Lapland, which is part of the area referred to as the North Calotte spreading through four countries: Norway, Sweden, Finland and Russia. Fourteen children between the ages of six and eleven in two different classes (six children between the ages of six and eight in one, and eight children between the ages of nine and twelve in the other), participated in the research assignment conducted by professor Sari Pietikäinen. In both of the classes Sámi language is the main language of instruction (three different Sámis are spoken by the pupils, but only two of them in the classroom: Northern Sámi and Inári Sámi), but the research was conducted in Finnish, a language shared by all the children. Present in both of the classrooms were also the teachers and in a more of an observing role, though participating in the general discussion before the assignment itself, professor Brigitta Busch.

The data was collected in February 2010 and it consist of 14 children's drawings representing their language resources/repertoires, recorded and transcribed discussions of the drawings in the groups as well as background questionnaires filled in by the children. There is also videotaped material of the research in the classroom, but it was not used in this study. The total time of the recorded audio material was approximately 2 hours and 15 minutes. The pre-assignment discussions, instructions for the assignments, implementation of the assignments, filling the questionnaires and discussion of the drawings were all included in the audio material. This was also the order in which the study proceeded. The implementation of the study is described in the following chapter.

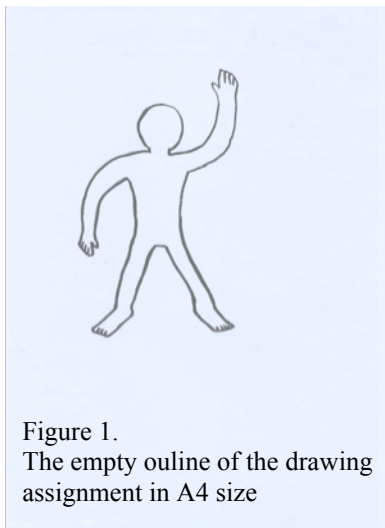
### 3.3. The implementation of the research assignment

#### 3.3.1 The pre-assignment discussion

Before the instructions for the drawing assignment were given, a general discussion was conducted. Its goal was to lead the children to think about different languages spoken, heard or used in different situations and with different people in their lives. Features of heteroglossic language e.g. different dialects and different ways of speaking the same language were discussed as well as similarity of languages e.g. Nordic languages. Topics such as sign language and how to cope when no common language is available for communication were dealt with. Expressions in different languages, Sámi(s), German and English were shared and taught, and an anecdote of the Finnish eastern dialect 'Savo' was told by Pietikäinen. Following the general discussion and getting acquainted with the researchers, instructions for the drawing assignment were given.

#### 3.3.2. The instructions for the drawing

The children were shown an empty figure copied on a piece of an A4 sheet and they were told that it represented them: "This is you" (Figure 1). The empty outline of a person used in this study was given by professor Busch, who has used this method of *biographical approach* extensively (e.g. Busch 2006, Busch and Busch 2008). After having been shown the figure, the children were asked to think about different languages in their lives and different ways of using them (also the heteroglossic use



of the same language: dialects, variations). They were asked to think about different people in their lives, for example, mother, father, siblings, grandparents together with different situations of language use: at home, at school, on holidays, on travel etc. The children were asked to assign each different language or language use a color of its own and color it into the drawing.

The content of the instructions for both of the

groups, younger (6-8) and older (9-12), was the same with emphasis on the fact that there is no wrong or correct way of doing the drawing, and that it is up to the child to decide how to proceed, what colors to use and where. Coloring either inside or outside the figure was acceptable. Some conformance questions were asked during the drawing process, which is shortly described next.

### 3.3.3. The drawing process

The children were given sets of color pencils containing 24 different hues. There was not a set for each child, so they were asked to share. Eagerly they got to work. Sounds of pens moving on the paper, falling to the floor and being set on the tables were heard on the tape, as well as exclamations, discussion and questions about the drawing (S = Sari Pietikäinen and P (1,2,3,4, etc.) = pupil):

- (1) P1: Mä en oikeen ymmärtäny sitä, että niistä väreistä...  
I didn't quite get the thing about the colors...  
S: Ok. Mää voin sulle vaikka kohta tulla sanomaan siitä uudestaan. Tehdäänkö niin?  
Ok, I can come in a moment and explain it to you again. All right?
- (2) P2: Minäpä laitan nää kaikki (värit)!...vaikkapa vaaleeta  
I'll use all these (colors)!...maybe light...
- (3) P3: Katoppa minkäläisen minä tein!  
Look what I did!
- (4) P4: Ai että niinku mä panen sen värin ja sitten mä panen, että mitä...  
So I will put the color and then write that...  
S: ...Sä tarkoitat niin, et mä oon valinnu itelleni sinisen suomelle, niin mä oon sitte pannu, että suomi.  
...You mean that I have chosen blue for Finnish, so I write Finnish next to blue.
- (5) S: Joo, voi värittää sisälle, ulos tai ihan mitenkä ite haluaa. Ihan ite saa valita.  
Yes, you can color, inside, outside, whatever you want. It's up to you.  
P5: Voiko tänne ulos piirtää?  
Can I also draw outside?  
S: Voi, voi sinneki piirtää.  
Yes, you can draw there too  
P5: Ai vaikka sen maan lipun?  
Oh, like the flag of the country?  
S: Kyllä voi tehdä niinki.  
Yes, you can do that also

The quickest children were ready in 15 minutes while others took their time. After half an hour everybody was already filling the questionnaire, content of which I will recount next.

### **3.3.4. The background questionnaire**

The questionnaire started with basic background information of the child (see Appendix 1.) name and age, and then the children proceeded to filling of two tables of language use: what languages they use and how? In the questionnaire there were also sentence completion tasks dealing with both the practical and emotional aspects of the languages in question. Ticking on a scale close-unfamiliar / easy-difficult / useful-useless was done for Sámi and Finnish and one extra empty place was reserved for a language of own choice. An empty place at the end of the questionnaire was reserved for additional comments. Most of the children seemed to be able to fill the questionnaire with not much difficulties. The youngest, a six year old boy, needed the help from the teacher, since he was not able to write yet. After filling the questionnaire the children were asked to move their chairs into a circle and get ready to discuss their pictures with the other children and the researcher.

### **3.3.5. Discussing the drawings**

The discussion was lead by Sari Pietikäinen. She wanted everybody to show their drawings at the same time giving positive feedback on the colorful drawings and the multitude of languages. First asking volunteers to start and later allocating turns, Pietikäinen asked the children to tell about their drawings, prompting the accounts with questions. The discussions were semi-structured, meaning that certain basic questions were asked of all, but depending on the answers and the children's willingness to elaborate further, follow-up question were asked. As expected, not all the children were equally eager to talk about their drawings, even though the situation seemed relaxed and informal enough. The basic questions asked were:

1. What languages were present in the drawing and which colors were assigned to them?
2. Which language was colored first?

Questions for the reason for location and/or color were also frequent, but the answers gave mostly the impression that neither were given conscious thought while drawing. I will not go over the discussions in their entirety; the content relevant to this reasearh will be discussed in the results (chapter 4) of this study.

### 3.4. The analytical framework

A biographical approach (see also chapter 2.3.) drawing on the principles of ethnography and flexible design research was used in the assignment; the study was carried out in everyday setting of a classroom, and several methods were used: drawing, interviewing, background questionnaire, audio recording and video (see e.g. O'Reilly 2005:2; Robson 2002: 161 – 200). Typically ethnographic methods also have room for alteration or 'improvisation' in the research situation, if needed. In this study the reliance on the data collected by other than the writer, and the data not being collected for the needs of this study specifically, leaves some room for suggestions in the discussion.

The focus of this study was on individuals: their experiences and their accounts of them. The multimodal data collected was approached with descriptive, qualitative methods as well as some quantitative ones, particularly when classifying the content of the drawings while trying to find similarities and differences in e.g. the use of color and location. The analysis was inductive; trying to find patterns, themes and interrelationships – not testing any preset hypothesis (on qualitative approaches e.g. Hirsjärvi et al. 2007: 156-162; Johnson and Christensen 2004: 362; Robson 2002: chapter 14)

I first took a look at the drawings without any particular background knowledge of the children to get a general feeling of the material. This initial method could be seen as applying reception analysis, based on reception theory with the concepts of *encoding/decoding* (Chandler 2007, 2009; Hall 1980; Rose 2001; Töyssy et al. 1999). As unreliable as viewer interpreting the work of art with 'impressionistic' attitude might be considered, the method of *reception analysis* is widely used in research of e.g. media audiences. The reception theory relies on the idea that the viewer interprets the 'text' (text used here as a general concept for all modes and means of interaction and meaning-making) based on his or her individual cultural background and life experiences, thus the meaning is created in interaction between the 'text' and the reader. I utilized my own background as an art teacher in the interpretation of the meaning-making in the drawings, though in the first stages of looking at the drawings the goal was to get a feeling of attitudes towards the assignment, whether positive, negative, enthusiastic or casual.

Second phase was to proceed to listening to the audio material and looking at the drawings simultaneously to connect a 'story' and a 'voice' to each drawing. The third step was to transcribe the audio-material and have it attached to each drawing for a closer and a more detailed look at both the drawings and the transcribed accounts of them. The questionnaires were also looked at concurrently. To some extent my approach to the data may be seen as drawing on the principles of grounded theory (see e.g. Koskela 2007; O'Reilly 2005; Siitonen 2000; Strauss and Corbin 1998). I made comparisons, tried to discover common properties and patterns in the use of color and location. Fourthly, I made lists of colors and languages counting their occurrences – a calculator was a big help. Lastly, an excellent way of finding common properties and patterns was to create tables of locations and colors in the drawings (Appendixes 2. and 3.). Pie and column charts with figures based on the appendixes made the results very concrete, explicit and comparable.

I decoded the children's images by interpreting the cues provided in the drawings and other multimodal material of the study. Some of the cues were intended and explained either in the drawings, or oral and written accounts, and others were unintended and unexplained (subconscious). As Sturken and Cartwright (2001: 26) suggest, relying on the known intention of a producer of a picture is not necessarily a fruitful entrypoint to any analysis since the intention is not always known. They also point out that the socio-historical background of an image and "the social context in which it is represented" (as well as the socio-historical background of its producer) has an effect on the interpretation. I interpret the concept of the *socio-historical background* being essentially the same as Scollon and Scollon's (2004) *historical body*, a concept derived from the Japanese philosopher Nishida Kitarô (1937) who thought that individuals create their identities through their interactions in the world, and that the world is continually created with them. In other words: everybody internalizes beliefs, values, memories and practices as they interact with other people and their environment bringing this historical body with them to each interaction. I gained valuable insight of the children's socio-historical linguistic background both from the questionnaires and taped discussions. That information helped interpreting the drawings.

As for formal elements of the drawings, such as color, I made comparisons to earlier research of children's color use of affectively characterized figures and



psychological findings of emotion related color use (Burkitt et al. 2003, 2004, 2007; Golomb 2004). Furthermore, I compared the use of color to the findings in other language portraits (Busch 2006; Busch and Busch 2008), and made some comparisons to color preferences described in the studies of Finnish art audiences (Komar and Melamid 1995; Voijola 2005).

## **4. RESULTS**

### **4.1. English and other languages in the drawings, discussions and questionnaires**

Altogether 28 different languages were present in the children's drawings, questionnaires and discussions. All the languages mentioned in the classroom discussions or questionnaires were not colored and/or coded in the drawings though. Out of the 28 languages mentioned seventeen were 'real languages', the rest eleven were invented private or playful languages used with e.g. a special friends, family members or even animals. None of the children were monolinguals; the language repertoires of the children varied from four up to eleven languages with widest possible definition of 'knowing a language'. The most common languages were Finnish, English, the three different Sámis (Inari, Northern and Scolt Sámi) and Swedish. The only language shared by all the children of this study was Finnish.

In both age groups, 6 – 8 years and 9 – 12 years, English was present in all the drawings apart from the youngest boy of six and in a drawing of a seven-year old girl, whose drawing leaves room for interpretation though. The mysterious language she called Jamakai might actually refer to Jamaica, where English is spoken. Even though not present in the drawings, English was mentioned by both in the questionnaire. One of the fourteen children had English as a home language because of an English-speaking parent. The others either had been learning English at school from the age of nine or at least had heard it spoken in their environment by their parents, siblings or tourists. The younger ones with no formal instruction of English were able to recognize and even use some English at least sometimes. English was thus present in each and every child's products: drawn, oral or written ones.

The colors and locations of English, and other languages in relation to English when relevant, will be discussed later. A short description of what was being said about English in the classroom is in order here before moving on.

- (6) S: Niinku huomasitte niin me puhutaan englantia (Sari P. and Brigitta B.). Se on meille yhteinen kieli. Kuinkas moni teistä puhuu englantia? Muutamia sanoja? Vähäsen? Ainakin tunnistaa vaikka että *hello* ja *thank you* ja *ok* ja tämmösii...ja meillä on lainasanojakin englannista, eiks vaan?..  
As you noticed, we're speaking English. It's a language we share. How many of you speak English? A few words? A little? At least recognizes *hello* and *thank you* and *ok* and the like for example...and we do have loan words from English as well, don't we?

The extract 6 above is from the introductory conversation with the older group of children between nine and twelve. Four different aspects of English emerged in this short part of the discussion: 1) English as a shared language of the researchers visiting the classroom (idea of *lingua franca* of international science communities). 2) The presupposition based on Finnish national curriculum and the age of the children that all recognize English and that some of the children speak it. 3) The different levels of 'knowing a language' and that 4) Loan words from English to Finnish exist. In the younger children's group a fifth aspect of English emerged: having a parent who is from an English-speaking country. These are fundamental aspects of English and its position both locally and globally, but while coloring their figures the children were more concerned about practical questions such as what color to use for English or how to spell it. Color and other features of English will be discussed later on.

#### **4.2. 'Significant languages' and their location in the drawings**

At the very first stages of the analysis while going through the drawings, transcribed discussions and questionnaires, it soon came apparent that there was a clearly visible trend of coloring a language either on the area of the head, or the vicinity of the head if the child considered it to be somehow important to him/her. This seemed to be true for English as well. To confirm the discovery of the location being somehow notable, a table (Appendix 2) of the location of two to three most 'significant languages' was made – English being one of them explicitly to one child. Based both on their drawings as well as the discussions and background questionnaires, the 'significant

languages' were determined being the ones used at home with parents, siblings and other members of the family. For most of the children the two most 'significant languages' were Finnish and Sámi. After putting the languages and locations in the table, the occurrences were counted based on the division of the body into eight parts: face and vicinity (neck, shoulders and upper chest), waist (to armpits), hips, thighs, legs, feet, arms and hands. A ninth category was assigned for anything outside of the figure. The division was based on the children's apparent partitioning of the bodies (e.g. limbs were divided to at least two parts). Occurrences were counted as one in case where, for example, a language was colored with several stripes on an arm. There was no need for dividing face and vicinity category for smaller parts since the 'significant languages' were either only on the facial area and/or on neck, shoulders and upper chest. The distribution is presented in figure 2.

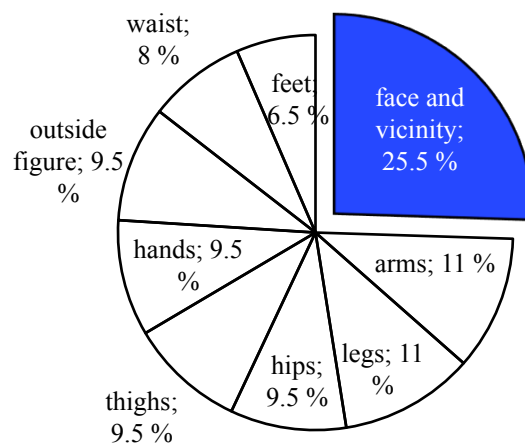


Figure 2. The location of the 'significant languages' in the drawings

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Percentages counted from 74 occurrences of 'significant languages' and rounded to closest 0.5 % making altogether 100%. See also Appedix 2.

As the following examples will show, there was a strong relation between what the children in this study distinguished as 'significant languages' for them, and where they were likely to color it on the predrawn silhouette of a person defined as 'me'. Out of the total fourteen self-portraits five did not have the 'significant languages' in the facial area or its vicinity, and out of those five three had all the languages colored or otherwise marked completely outside of the figure. Most of the other occurrences

in other categories than the 'face and vicinity' also overlap since in one drawing the 'significant languages' might be spread in different parts of the body and thus counted as separate instances. Counting the proportion of each language in the portraits would be tedious and most likely near impossible. TBSA-total body surface area rules in e.g. MedicineNet (1996-2001) could be utilized and consequently a figure with the proportions of the occurrences drawn. The figure with the percentages of this study would look much like a baby, the head taking approximately quarter of the height of the body. Moreover, it is difficult to be certain whether the drawers have either consciously or unconsciously premeditated the proportion of each language. Hints of such a line of thinking was, however, in the recorded and transcribed data:

- (7) S: Joo. Mitäs se punanen tarkoittaa?  
 Ok. What does the red stand for?  
 P: Saamea  
 Sámi.  
 S: Pohjoissaamea. Ja sä oot laittanu sitä minnekkäpäin? Koko ton...  
 Northern Sámi. And you have put it where? The whole...  
 P: ...Suurimmaksi osaksi, jalan osaks ja sit ylävartalossa.  
 ...The most part...part of the foot and then in the upper body. (The whole upper body from waist up: torso, arms, hands, neck and head)  
 S: Onks siinä (shhh – hiljentää muita oppilaita). Onks' siinä mitään erityistä syytä miks se on siellä?  
 Is there (shhhh – shushing for the other pupils to be quiet). Is there any particular reason why it's there?  
 P: No itse asiassa on  
 Well, as a matter a fact, there is.  
 S: Joo-o  
 Oo-kei  
 P: No sitä miä *puhun enimmäkseen* ja niinku *läheisten kanssa* ja niinku...  
 Well, because I speak it *the most* and like *with close ones* and so...

These findings strongly indicate that when a child considers a language to be important for him or her because his or her close ones speak it, it is most likely to be colored on the face or vicinity. Four examples of English along with other 'significant languages' following this pattern of location will be shown in the next chapter.

#### **4.3. Languages on the body: English on the heads and faces of the children**

In order to get enough data of English as a 'significant language', apart from the one explicit occurrence, the accounts in the discussions and the answers in the

questionnaires were taken into consideration. Cases of English either being spoken by close family members (mother, father, siblings) as well as obvious positive attitudes towards English e.g. wanting to speak it as an adult were included (see Appendix 3).

English was marked to the drawings as flat color (Figure 3) or facial features (Figures 4, 5 and 6). With the following drawings, extracts from the discussions and information obtained from the questionnaires examples of the discovery of importance of facial region will be provided. All examples have English specifically as one of the ‘significant languages’. Subsequently, a possible reason for the phenomenon will be offered.

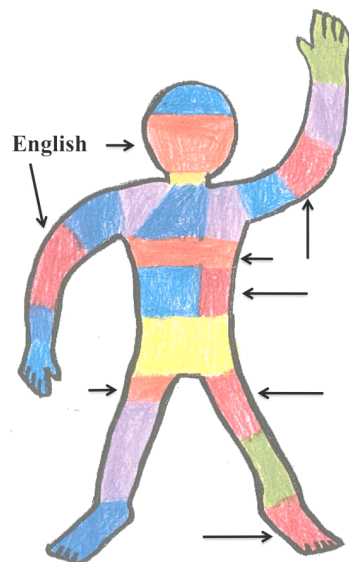


Figure 3. Self-portrait I

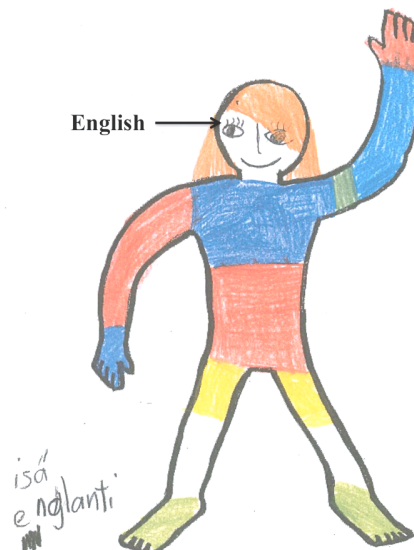


Figure 4. Self-portrait IV

Extract 8 is an explanation for colors on the head and on the face of the self-portrait I (Figure 3):

- (8) S: Joo-o, entäs tuolla ylhäällä?  
 Ok, what about up there (referring to the top of the head)  
 P: Ai täällä? Suomi (sininen).  
 Oh, up here? Finnish (blue).  
 S: Joo, entäs miks sen laitoit sinne?  
 Yes, why did you put it up there?  
 P: No ku ajattelin, että olisi niin sopiva paikka laittaa sen englannin viereen.  
 Well, I thought that the place would be appropriate, to put it next to English.

The eight-year old boy chose to use red color for English placing it, in addition to face, on both his arms, thighs, one foot, the left side of his rib cage and all the way across his chest and heart. The boy told that he had learned English from his father. When asked about the location of English in his drawing he claimed not to have had any particular reason for putting it where it was, even though he revealed in the extract 8 to have thought about it in relation to Finnish, another 'significant language' of his. In the questionnaire the boy told that he uses English fluently in several different situations daily with his father. Apart from the father, he also communicates in English with his relatives, and chose to describe his relationship with English language as close. This drawing is an excellent example to illustrate the discovery of the location of the 'significant languages'. Firstly, blue, located on the top of the head, stands for Finnish, the language the boy speaks with his mother. Secondly, yellow on the neck is Sámi (Inari Sámi), language also shared with his mother and thirdly, red for English, language shared with the father. When asked about the order of coloring, he said he started with English (red).

In figure 4 English is represented on the face of the figure with black pencil. The English user in the family is the father and this eight-year old girl hears him speak it. Again the 'significant languages' that the parents use are located on the face and vicinity: English in facial features and Finnish, the language of both the mother and father, on the upper chest. The hair was assigned for Greek, a language she has heard his father and grandfather use while visiting the island of Rhodes. In the questionnaire she wrote that she knows a little English, and uses it a few times a week. As an adult she would like to be able to speak English.

An eight-year old boy gave an explanation to the facial features in his drawing (Figure 5) in the classroom discussion telling that he hears his mother and his sister speak English. This explanation he provided neither in his drawing where he gave color-codes to all other languages, apart from English, nor in the questionnaire any more than mentioning that he knows a few words of it. The 'significant languages': blue for Finnish in the hair, and red for Sámi on the torso (also vicinity of the face) are the languages spoken in the family.

In the drawing of an eleven-year-old girl (Figure 6) English was colored on the face, neck and upper chest. The girl did not mention English in the interview, except for the color red associated with it, and English was also visible in her color chart in the

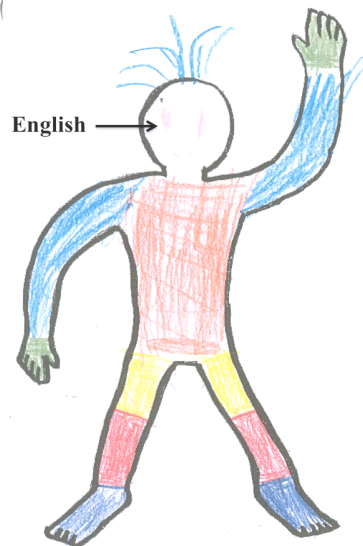


Figure 5. Self-portrait VI

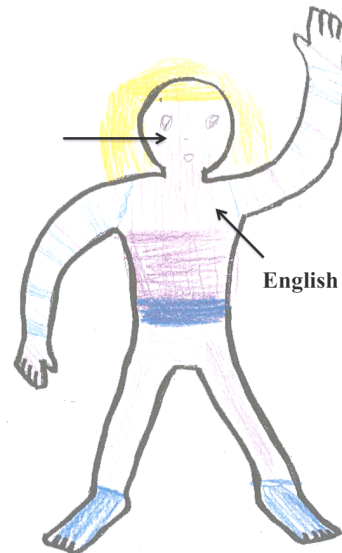


Figure 6. Self-portrait VII

drawing itself (color charts are not included in my figures). In the questionnaire though, she wrote that she speaks English fluently in several different situations on a daily basis. She added English to the languages she wanted to describe on a scale 'close – unfamiliar' and marked the x on the 'close' end of the scale. As to the reasons of significance of English in her life, she did not elaborate any further.

In order to find out the possible explanation for the re-occurring pattern of location a look at the previous research using the same biographical approach method is needed. The children themselves also gave valuable information on their thoughts in the classroom discussions.

#### 4.4. Reason for the location of the 'significant languages' in the drawings

The two previous studies conducted with adults (Busch 2006; Busch and Busch 2008) gave differing results as to the location of 'significant languages' on the body. In Busch's studies the importance of the languages to the interlocutors can be extracted from their narratives where "Turkish is closer to my *heart* than German" (Busch and Busch 2008: 31) or "Yellow i.e. gold, is Otijherero, my precious language, the language of my *heart*" (Busch 2006: 10). Several subjects refer to emotional attachment to the speakers of a particular language be it parents, grandparent or spouse, and the symbol of that attachment for them is the *heart*, in the place of which they either color or write the name of the language in question.

The difference to the children's drawings is clear. The adults take their interpretations of their 'significant languages' into the abstract emotional level, the heart representing warm, loving feelings towards the chosen language and its users. For them language is something very personal, something felt inside. Children were, however, not verbalizing their personal feelings towards any of the languages in the discussions this readily. In the questionnaires nevertheless they did define the 'significant languages' freely as 'close', 'easy' and 'useful'. There was, however, one burst of negative emotion regarding English in the group of the older children while doing the coloring assignment:

(9) P1: Enkku  
English...

P2: Enkku on tosi tyhmä kieli!  
English is really a stupid language!

P1: \*'enklanti'  
\*Enklisch (mispronounced in Finnish)

P2: Ihan sama! Mä en tykkää englannista niin mä kirjoitin sen väärin...Niin mä en tykkää englannista niin mä laitan sen tällä värillä (musta)...tänk juu  
I don't care! I don't like English so I misspelled it. So I don't like English, that's why I use this color for it (black)...'tänk juu' (says 'thank you' in noticeable, intentionally bad 'Finnish accent').

The boy wrote the word *ENKLANTI* with a black pencil on top of the figure. For him misspelling and the color black were symbols of his negative feelings toward the English language. The color symbolism of the drawings will be discussed later.

Trying to find an explanation to the significance of the faces for the children I turned, as Salminen in chapter 3, to developmental psychology, to Jean Piaget's *theory of cognitive development* of children and particularly its stages (see e.g. Piaget 2001(1950); Piaget and Inhelder 2000(1969); Wodsworth 2003;). Finding the answer started with the reasoning of an eight-year old girl when she talked about 'Dog' language, which she colored outside her body, next to her face:

(10) P: Koirakieli on täällä koska mie oon...mie ymmärrän koirakieltä niitten silmistä ja luonteesta ja sitte...  
'Dog' language is here because I am...I understand 'Dog' *from their eyes* and from their nature and then...



Another clear indication of the significance of eye contact and face-to-face interaction was in the same girls account for her own way of communicating with her father. She called this language used as 'Njah-njah':

- (11) P: Ja, ja tämä minun kieli on njäh njäh-kieli. Se on paidassa.  
 And, and this language of mine is 'Njah-njah' language. It's on my shirt (whole upper body apart from neck and hands e.g. close to the face as well)  
 S: Hmm...Minkälainen se njäh njäh-kieli on?  
 Hmm...what kind of language is this 'Njah-njah' language?  
 P: No ko mie haluan isin, isän syliin ni mie vaan njäh njäh ja osotan käsiä ylös.  
 Well, whenever I wan't to get into daddy's, father's lap I only say "Njah, njah" and hold my arms and hands up.  
 S: Ja isi ymmärtää?  
 And daddy understands?  
 P: Niin näin: njäh njäh.  
 Yep. I do like this: Njah, njah (raises her arms as if asking to be lifted and makes the sound)

In both these examples (Extracts 10 and 11) the center of communication is on the facial area, eyes that see e.g. expressions and moods, but also communicate meaning, and mouth, a concrete apparatus where the sound comes from. The age of the children (6 – 12 years) puts them in Piaget's *theory of cognitive development* to the stage of *concrete operations*, a stage in which children acquire a better understanding of mental operations, but understanding abstract and hypothetical ideas is still difficult. Only after the age of eleven does the child move into the stage of *formal operations*, which allows thinking in abstract concepts. Piaget's timing of these different stages has been criticized, but it is still widely agreed that the mental development does occur in stages as Schaffer (2006: 16 – 20) corroborates. I therefore argue that the absence of abstract thinking results in the location of 'significant languages' on the heads and faces of the figures colored by the children. Language is for communication, messages are 'transmitted' with mouths and facial expressions, and 'received' with ears and eyes – very concrete (for an example of reception through ears and expression through mouth see a language portrait of a young Polish-Austrian man in Busch and Busch 2008: 15, on facial perception see e.g. Bruce et al. 2003: 388; Jacob and Jeannerod 2003: 213). In addition, the lack of ability to express them selves in an abstract way makes it difficult for the children of this study to explain how they feel about the languages in their lives. Nevertheless, the feeling is there, the symbolism is there, although difficult for the children to transfer into spoken or written language. At present the children are both emotionally

and socially attached to their parents and express that attachment in their drawings through the location of the languages they share with their close ones (on attachment see e.g. Harris and Liebert 1984; Schaffer 2006: 160). Having a look at the colors assigned to the 'significant languages' gives more information about the emotional aspects of languages.

#### **4.5. Choosing and using a color for a language**

Since the children were in no way directed to select the colors for their languages based on the preference of neither language nor color, the colors were used and chosen freely. The task was to assign a color for each language in their language repertoire and color it in the empty outline of a person, 'me'. Majority of the drawings were composed with bright *primary* and *secondary colors* and some children utilized different shades of primary and secondary colors e.g. different shades of violet. Despite the 24 possible hues only one of the children chose to use mainly so-called earthy tones popular among the adult art audiences in Finland (see Voijola 2005). Some aspiration to use *analogous color harmonies*, using colors next to each other in a color wheel e.g. green, blue, violet and red (and their different shades), was noticed (On color harmonies see e.g. Fichner-Rathus 1986: 38 – 44, Töyssy et al. 1999: 178 – 181).

In order to find out the possible symbolic function of each color, the children were asked the reason for choosing the particular colors. In the joint discussions, when looking at the drawings together, none of the children offered explanation for attaching a certain color to a certain language. In the absence of the conscious connection between color, language and possible feeling towards either (except for extract 9) a less abstract approach is needed. A similar concrete way of thinking as with location of the 'significant languages' can be applied to color as well.

In the conversations during the drawing process only one connection between a color and a sense was made when someone was talking about the color orange meaning warm sunshine. A further connection of the warm feeling toward the language that the orange was used for was not explicitly stated in the drawing situation or later on. The most salient symbol for languages was expressed in the conversations going on especially in the older children's group while coloring: national flags denoting a

language. The flags mentioned were those of Finland, Samiland, Jamaica, United States, Japan, England (Britain) and Norway. The Finnish national flag was present in two of the drawings and the flag of Samiland in three. In two of these drawings the flags were the only objects in which color was used (apart from ‘äiti’ *mother* written in blue). The figures were added facial features and languages were written outside the figures all with the same black pencil. The other figure had a speech bubble saying ‘BÖÖ’ and huge biceps radiating strength. In the third drawing the small Sámi flag functioned as a substitute for text. ‘Suomi’ *Finnish* was written and the flag represented the Sámi language next to it. The connection between the colors in the flags and colors used for the two most ‘significant languages’, Finnish and Sámi becomes explicit in Figure 7. Instead of denoting only a specific nation state (see e.g. Kress and van Leeuwen 2002: 347, 2006 (1996): 229), the colors of the flags are used to denote the languages associated with them. All fourteen children in the study had both Finnish and Sámi as their ‘significant languages’, but the number of colors used for Finnish and Sámi in Figure 7 is 16 and 20 respectively because of the several colors in the flags.

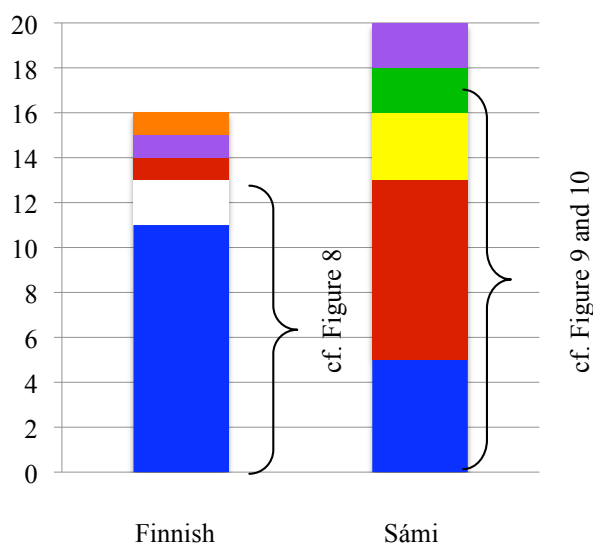


Figure 7. The colors for Finnish and Sámi in the drawings

To make the choice of colors in figure 7 even more striking, figures 8, 9 and 10 below present the Finnish and Sami flags and a Sami dress.

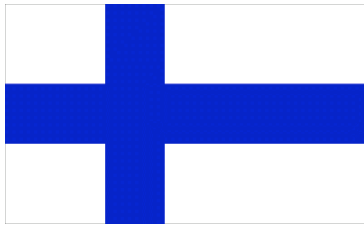


Figure 8.  
The Finnish flag

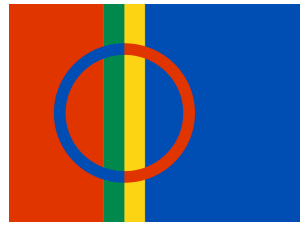


Figure 9.  
The Sami flag



Figure 10.  
A man's Sami dress

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Pictures: [www.mikimar.fi](http://www.mikimar.fi), [www.siida.fi](http://www.siida.fi) and [www.lapland.ws](http://www.lapland.ws)

These examples show quite convincingly the connection between cultural environment and color use, the internalized color codes within a socio-cultural group that e.g. Kress and van Leeuwen (2002, 2006 (1996)) write about. However, in the case of sámi dress there is regional variation in the colors and, for example, in the area where these children live, the background color of the dress can also be black with red, yellow and green decorations. In the absence of certain knowledge it can only be assumed that the colors of the traditional dress actually have an effect on the colors on the drawings. The awareness of the flags as symbols of nations and states becomes clear very early in association with national holidays, sports etc. Geography is taught in school and each country is certainly associated with their national flag. The children's color codes/symbols are very concrete. The ideational meaning of color is present through national flags/languages, but the connotational emotional/expressive level of color is not explicitly present. To find out more about the possible emotional level of color use in the children's drawings, a look at previous studies is needed.

#### 4.5.1. Colors for languages

Out of the 24 different hues of color to choose from 14 different color categories were first distinguished from each other. For the sake of clarity different shades of blue close to each other were combined to one category. The same was done with violets, greens and browns. Very light baby blue was not used in the drawings, but a

distinction between the rest of the reds and light pink was made. Grey was not used at all. In every drawing where white areas were left inside the figure and not assigned a language the white was considered a 'noncolor'. In the two instances of Finnish flag representing Finnish language the white was however interpreted as a color and thus assigned a category of its own. The final number of different color categories was reduced to ten. Proportion of each color category is represented in Figure 11.

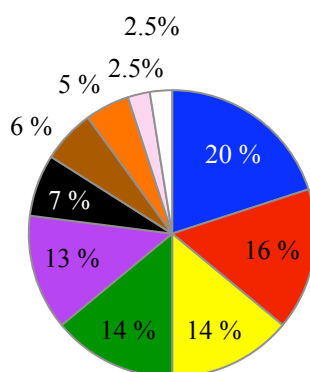


Figure 11.  
All the colors used in the drawings

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Percentages counted from 85 color-language combinations in all the drawings, altogether 100%.

In chapter 4.5. the 'significant languages' Finnish and Sámi were put next to each other for comparison (Figure 7, page 35). Only two instances of color use for other 'significant languages', red for English and Russian were missing from the columns. To make the proportion of each color clearer their percentages were counted from the table in Appendix 2 and put into a pie chart (Figure 12).

The colors chosen for important languages are primary and secondary colors (red, blue, yellow, violet, green and orange). This is in accord of the findings of Busch (2006) and Busch and Busch (2008) using the same biographical approach in investigating language resources of adults. Burkitt and coworkers' (2003, 2004, 2007) studies confirm the findings of Golomb (2004): children used primary colors (red, blue and yellow) for neutral topics and primary and secondary (green, violet, orange) for positive topics. Black was the most salient negatively charged color for

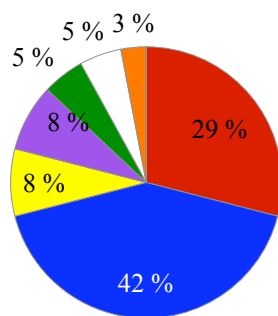


Figure 12.  
The colors of 'significant languages'

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Percentages counted from 38 occurrences and rounded to closest full per cent making altogether 100% (see also Appendix 2).

children. These findings were also verified in the study of Boyatzis and Varghese (1994) who found out children had positive emotional reactions to bright colors and negative to dark colors. In Burkitt et al. (2007) Finnish children did not, however, share the negative connotation of brown with their British peers, or with those of the American children in Golomb's study. An example of the negative connotation of black in this study is in extract 9 (page 32). All the other occurrences of black in this study were not similarly negatively charged. In some of the drawings (see e.g. Figure 4, page 29) the function of the black color pencil was essentially that of a pencil normally used for drawing and writing in the Finnish classroom. Even the boy with his negative attitude towards English and his reasoning for using the color black for it could be placed under scrutiny, since he used the same black pencil to write three other languages in his drawing as well, and did not comment on those in a negative way. Since the two most used colors for the two most 'significant languages' were blue and red, what was left for English as a 'significant language' if the same logic, choosing a color for a language according to the colors of the flag, is used? Was there any blue or red (or white) left to use?

#### 4.5.2. "What is the color of English?"

The only child stating explicitly the importance of English in his life did use red for it (see Figure 3, page 29) leaving blue and yellow for the other two of his 'significant languages', Finnish and Sámi. In order to get more than the colors from the four example figures in chapter 4.3., all instances of English either being heard in the family or other positive notions of English, such as wanting to be able to speak it or finding it useful, were included. The numbers of instances of each color used for English are represented in the graph below:



Figure 13.  
The number of each color assigned for English as a 'significant language'

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Real number of instances is used instead of percentages giving a more realistic view of the small-scale data.

Blue, the favorite color of Finns in two studies (Voijola 2005; Komar and Melamid 1995) and the most used color of this study (see Figure 11, page 37), was not used for English at all, since it was exclusively reserved for either Finnish or Sámi. In the other two cases where red was used for English the colors for the two most significant languages, Finnish and Sámi were blue and violet – violet being the mixture of the two primary colors: red and blue. The colors for English as a 'significant language' seemed to follow the same earlier observed pattern: primary and secondary colors were mainly used for positively charged languages (see Figure 12).

## 5. DISCUSSION

### 5.1. Answers to the research questions

This study aimed at finding out about linguistic resources/repertoires of multilingual Sámi children. A special emphasis was put on the role of English in their lives, though as mentioned before, the data was collected for a more general purpose of investigating all languages and ideas and feelings connected to them.

The multimodal method of biographical approach with language portraits was used with a purpose of obtaining multifaceted information from the subjects. The idea was that different modalities of languaging have different affordances and thus give a broader view of the children's multilingualism. The multimodal data proved useful, and the interpretation of the drawings together with the written and oral material helped to gain a broader understanding than any form of data by itself. The multimodal data also had its challenges with its broader theoretical approach: analyzing the visual in a versatile way (the way of interpreting e.g. color from the point of view of 'traditional art' proved difficult and an altered approach combining different theories was needed) and extracting noteworthy parts from the discourse helping the analysis and supporting claims proved demanding. An attempt to move forward from only (in no way underestimating them) qualitative and descriptive approaches had to be made in order to find patterns, themes and interrelationships. Resorting to also quantitative methods and ideas from cognitive psychology seemed to give interesting and relevant results, though psychological approach was mostly unfamiliar to the writer.

The data revealed a large number of not only 'real' languages in use but also a surprising number of imagined and playful languages in the children's lives – especially in the younger children's group. The heteroglossic nature of languages e.g. sociolects was not present in the drawings or other data, unless playful, coded languages, such as *Kontinkieli*<sup>3</sup>, can be interpreted as versions of Finnish.

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<sup>3</sup> Word *kontti* is placed after each word in a sentence: minä (I) kontti olen (am) kontti poika (a boy) kontti. The first letters/cyllables are then exchanged > kona mintti kolen ontti koika pontti, resulting in coded Finnish.



The drawings of this study were colorful depictions of languages spread both on the figures and surroundings. The findings confirmed general aspects of color use both in previous similar studies (Busch 2006, Busch and Busch 2008) and in more psychological approaches to the color use of children (Burkitt et. al. 2003, 2004, 2007; Golomb 2004). The children's most used color in this study was blue, the favorite color of Finnish adults in the two prior studies of Komar and Melamid (1995) and Vojola (2005). Caution is needed in drawing the conclusion that the most used color = favorite color in this study, since feelings towards color was not investigated at all, unlike in studies of e.g. Burkitt and coworkers' (2003, 2004, 2007). Research into the favorite colors of the subjects of this study might add a tool for the interpretation process of the drawings, but done before or at the same time with the drawing assignment could take away the possibility of more subconscious choice of colors.

The results showing English's presence in the lives of all the children in the study are not surprising at all, since English is readily available in the children's surroundings in the media, tourism and school, even if nobody in their immediate family speaks it. The formal teaching of English starts at the age of 9 in the third grade and continues all through the primary and secondary education. For these children English is the only first obligatory foreign language offered in the local curriculum (Inarin kunta 2007). The National Board of Education (2004) as well as local authorities with their decision making have a large impact on both national and local language policies that influence the pupils choices of languages in the grass-roots level. The influence of the media did not show in the results, most likely because of the nature of the drawing assignment. The interaction and the connection of languages with people were emphasized and thus choosing of languages and colors were both practically and emotionally motivated, although emotions were not explicitly mentioned in the explanation of the assignment.

Depending on the importance of English, its location and color were similar to those of other 'significant languages' of the children: most likely on the face or vicinity of the figure and colored with a primary or secondary color. The reasoning behind location and color choices is most likely tied to the cognitive developmental phase of the children, *stage of concrete operations*, which does not facilitate abstract thinking. Thus language use is connected with facial area where the mouth, ears and eyes are

(the concrete apparatus for producing and receiving sound), and the languages used mostly for communicating with family are placed there. Similarly the children make a concrete connection between the colors of national flags (and other colors used in their socio-cultural environment) and colors of languages.

## **5.2. Assessing the method of study, method of analysis and the results, and looking ahead**

The biographical approach with the type of language portrait used in this study has been widely used since the beginning of 1990s. Busch's (2006) vast experience with the method and her general findings in e.g. the color use (after seeing several hundred portraits) give assurance that even with a small data of fourteen drawings and accounts of language resources the patterns of color use are essentially the same.

A more personal approach to the interview part of the study e.g. personal interview or a written account done with time (see Busch and Busch 2008) seems to give more time to reflect upon the drawings in a deeper level. The interpersonal relationships within the groups of children of this study, the status or image of each child certainly has an effect on how they are able and willing to express themselves in a group discussion. The personality of each child in the group is different and may either facilitate or hinder their willingness/ability to orally communicate their ideas and feelings about their choices in the drawings. In some cases the children actually could not remember what the colors in their drawing meant. A more fruitful approach, and perhaps also more reliable, though a more time-consuming one, would be personal interviews or even combining the interview with the drawing process. In a videotaped session of each subject drawing in the presence of the researcher, an ongoing discussion between the subject and the researcher during the drawing process could prove fruitful. A mixture of a talking-aloud protocol and an interview would make not only the drawing but also the account on it, as Busch (2006: 11) puts it, "a kind of a snap-shot of a particular moment in time."

In order to get more information about English in particular, its role should have been investigated more thoroughly both in the questionnaire and the discussion after drawing. Data gathered from a larger number of children could have included more children with English as explicitly important to them e.g. English-speaking parents,

and thus provided a broader view of English as a 'significant language'. With more data the comparison with other 'significant languages', a more quantitative approach, would be easier. On the other hand, a closer look at a single individual (e.g. the boy with the English-speaking father, see Figure 3, page 29) would allow a thorough look into the experiences and emotions of a single child (cf. Pietikäinen et al. 2008).

The mixing of qualitative and quantitative methods proved useful. The tables and graphs in particular helped in finding patterns, themes and interrelationships of the colors and their locations. The conclusions drawn from the findings seem convincing, though more data is needed to confirm them. A new look at the already existing data elsewhere would confirm or contradict the difference in e.g. location of 'significant languages' in the drawings of children and adults. A comparison between the color choices based on socio-cultural /national emblems such as flags could be made, since similar data is being collected in other countries as well.

If the results of this study in fact depend upon the age and cognitive development stage of the children of this study, a data collected among teenagers should reveal signs of more abstract thinking. More signs of emotions related to color and location of the color in the drawings through abstract symbolism and more heteroglossic use of language should be present. Teenagers tend to detach themselves from their parents. Social interaction with peers becomes important and can be seen also in the forms of different/specialized language use e.g. slang and language related to hobbies/interests and used among 'specialists' of particular field (skateboarding, music, fashion, role-playing etc.).

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**APPENDIX 1.**

The background questionnaire (originally in Finnish) developed for use in *Northern Multilingualism* project

**Kielitarinat – hanke / Language stories – project**

Nimi / Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Ikä / Age: \_\_\_\_\_

Kieliä, joita puhun / Languages I speak

paljon, usein / a lot, often: \_\_\_\_\_

jonkin verran, silloin tällöin / some, sometimes: \_\_\_\_\_

muutamia sanoja / a few words: \_\_\_\_\_

Merkitse taulukkoon mitä kieliä itse käytät ja kuinka usein / Write in the table the languages you use

Päivittäin /Every day	Muutaman kerran viikossa / A few times a week	Harvoin, jonkun kerran kuussa / Seldom, a few times a month	Hyvin harvoin, ehkä muutaman kerran vuodessa /Very seldom, maybe a few times a year

Merkitse seuraavaan taulukkoon millä tavoin käytät kieliäsi / Write in the table the languages you use

Käytän sujuvasti useissa eri tilanteissa / Fluently in several different situations	Käytän jonkin verran muutamissa eri tilanteissa / Some in a few different situations	Osaan muutamia sanoja / I know a few words	Tunnistan mikä kieli on kysessä, vaikka en itse käytä / I recognize the language even though I do not use it myself

Näitä kieliä kuulen ympäristössäni / these languages I hear around me: \_\_\_\_\_

Äitini kanssa puhun / With my mother I speak \_\_\_\_\_

Isäni kanssa puhun / With my father I speak \_\_\_\_\_

Sisarusteni kanssa puhun / With my siblings I speak \_\_\_\_\_

Sukulaisten kanssa puhun / With my relatives I speak \_\_\_\_\_

Puhun saamea, kun / I speak Sámi when \_\_\_\_\_

Näitä kieliä haluaisin puhua aikuisena / These languages I would like to speak as an adult \_\_\_\_\_

Laita rasti itsellesi sopivaan kohtaan jokaisen kieltä koskevan väittämän kohdalle / Tick your opinion on a scale of each statement concerning the languages below X

saami / Sámi läheinen / close ----- vieras / unfamiliar  
 saami / Sámi helppo / easy ----- vaikea / difficult  
 saami / Sámi hyödyllinen / useful ----- turha / useless

suomi / Finnish läheinen / close ----- vieras / unfamiliar  
 suomi / Finnish helppo / easy ----- vaikea / difficult  
 suomi / Finnish hyödyllinen / useful ----- turha / useless

Valitse seuraavaksi itse mistä kielestä haluat tehdä kuvauksen / Next describe a language of your own choice

\_\_\_\_\_ läheinen / close ----- vieras / unfamiliar  
 \_\_\_\_\_ helppo / easy ----- vaikea / difficult  
 \_\_\_\_\_ hyödyllinen / useful ----- turha / useless

Saamen kieli on minusta / I find Sámi \_\_\_\_\_

Suomen kieli on minusta / I find Finnish \_\_\_\_\_

Saamen puhuminen tuntuu minusta / Speaking Sámi feels \_\_\_\_\_

Suomen puhuminen tuntuu minusta / Speaking Finnish, feels \_\_\_\_\_

Kun puhun saamea tunnen itseni / When speaking Sámi, I feel myself \_\_\_\_\_

Kun puhun suomea tunnen itseni / When speaking Finnish, I feel myself \_\_\_\_\_

Tähän voit kirjoittaa omia kommenttejasi tai vaikka piirtää / You can write your own comments here or draw something:

Kiitos vastauksestasi / Thank you for your answer

## APPENDIX 2.

The colors and the locations of the two to three most significant languages of the children

	color	location
6-8 years		
I	<b>red</b> = English <b>blue</b> = Finnish <b>yellow</b> = Sami	face face neck and hips (shorts)
II	<b>red</b> = Sami <b>blue</b> = Finnish	up left (outside the figure hips, thighs and legs (trousers)
III	<b>red</b> = Sami <b>blue</b> = Finnish	hips and thighs (skirt) legs (thighs and hips) = stockings
IV	<b>blue</b> = Finnish <b>red</b> = Sami	chest, shoulders, left arm and right hand waist, hips, right arm and left hand
V	<b>red</b> = Finnish <b>blue</b> = Sami	hair nose – both in the face
VI	<b>blue</b> = Finnish <b>red</b> = Sami	arms, feet, hair legs (and whole torso?)
9-12 years		
VII	<b>light violet</b> = Sami <b>blue</b> = Finnish	hips, thigh and legs (trousers), arms (stripes) waist, feet, arms (stripes alternating with Sami)
VIII	<b>red</b> = Sami <b>blue</b> = Finnish	face, neck, whole torso, arms and hands, left foot right hip, thigh, leg and foot
IX	<b>blue</b> = Sami <b>violet</b> = Finnish <b>brownish red</b> = Russian	left side: around face, arm, hand, torso and thigh thighs and legs left leg and foot
X	<b>red</b> = Sami <b>blue</b> = Finnish	top of the face/head and left hand (fingers – not thumb) lower part of the face/head
XI	<b>blue</b> (and <b>white</b> ) <b>red, blue, yellow, green</b>	Finnish flag under the figure Sami flag on the left side of the figure
XII	<b>blue</b> (and <b>white</b> ) <b>red, blue, yellow, green</b>	Finnish flag next to the left hand, upper corner Sami flag under the figure
XIII	<b>violet</b> = Sami <b>blue</b> = Finnish	shoulders and upper sides of the torso, right arm (stripes), upper thighs and lower legs upper middle chest and both arms (stripes)
XIV	<b>blue</b> = Sami <b>orange</b> = Finnish	left side of the hair, eyes, left hand, tip of the sword, cloak and belt buckle right side of the hair, mouth (and teeth), right hand, handle of the sword, and belt

### APPENDIX 3.

The role of English: a concise content of the drawings, discussions and questionnaires

	color of English in the drawing	location in the drawing	how well and often English is spoken	with whom/who speaks it/hears in the environment/feels about E.
6-8 years				
I	<b>red</b>	arms, legs, torso, face/head	every day, fluent	with father
II	<b>yellow</b>	up left	some in some situations	?
III	– <b>green?</b>	– feet/shoes?	a few words a few times a week	?
IV	<b>black</b>	facial features	a few words, a few times a week, some sit.	hears father speak/wants to speak as an adult
V	–	–	a few words, seldom	hears /difficult + wants to speak as an adult
VI	<b>pink</b>	facial features	a few words	?
9-12 years				
VII	<b>red</b>	face, neck and upper chest	every day, fluent, in many situations	hears/close
VIII	<b>violet</b>	left leg	some, a few times a week, some sit.	hears and speaks on holidays + at school/wants to speak as an adult
IX	<b>green</b>	right foot	every day, some situations	with siblings/hears
X	<b>green</b>	left arm (raised)	a few times a week in some sit.	? / wants to speak as an adult
XI	<b>black</b>	text above the figure	a few words, some situations	speaks at school/hears
XII	<b>black</b>	text on the bottom	a few words, a few times a week, some sit.	speaks at school/hears
XIII	<b>red</b>	left arm (raised)	every day, fluent, in many situations	hears/ useful
XIV	<b>violet</b>	both feet and left bicep (raised)	some, a few times a week, some situations	?