

**COLLEAGUES' SUPPORT IN MULTILINGUAL INTERAC-
TION IN A WORK ENVIRONMENT**

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<p>Abstract</p> <p>Multilingualism is common in the contemporary world. In the future, multilingualism will show even a more vital role in our personal and working life. The number of multilingual individuals will grow every year because of globalisation, increased transnational mobility, and further development of communication technology. Therefore, workplaces should take these individuals into consideration. If an institution calls itself international, often it means that the lingua franca is English. However, as multilingualism, also migration is growing. This means that many workplaces also employ people who do not speak the institution's official language natively. Because of this, it might be challenging for the employees to communicate at work. To make communication in working life function better, some employees may prefer to speak another shared language with their colleagues when possible.</p> <p>This thesis aims to find out what happens in multilingual interaction between participants. The participants are three cleaners who are spending their breaks together at the workplace's breakroom. Their interaction happens in two different languages from which dialogue in Finnish is investigated in detail. The purpose is to discover what kind of support, linguistic and non-verbal, colleagues provide each other in their interaction. The participants were video recorded during their breaks. Data was collected in the spring and early summer of 2021 with researchers from the Department of Language and Communication Studies at the University of Jyväskylä. After the data collection, recordings were carefully watched and afterwards transcribed. This research is qualitative, and the analysis was conducted using conversation analysis.</p> <p>The results show that three practices that support communication were identified. One of the participants use translation to support the communication: she translates from and to Finnish to help two other participants to understand each other better. Expressions and gestures are used by two participants to non-verbally express themselves in addition to spoken language. The third way of supporting the communication is to use repetition. The participant who natively speaks Finnish repeats certain Finnish words to make herself understood better. Results present three different practices that support communication. This thesis is limited because of its scope and length. To result in a comprehensive and more accurate analysis, more recordings should be studied, and the study should include more participants.</p>	
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<p>Tiivistelmä</p> <p>Monikielisyys on yleistä nykymaailmassa. Tulevaisuudessa monikielisyys tulee olemaan vieläkin isommassa roolissa ihmisten henkilökohtaisessa elämässä ja työelämässä. Monikielisten yksilöiden määrä tulee kasvamaan joka vuosi. Tämä johtuu globalisaatiosta, kansalliset rajat ylittävistä liikkuvuudesta sekä edelleen kehittyvä viestintäteknologiasta. Tämän takia työpaikkojen tulisi ottaa nämä monikieliset yksilöt huomioon. Jos instituutiota kutsutaan kansainväliseksi, se yleensä tarkoittaa sitä, että yrityksen lingua franca on englanti. Siitä huolimatta, kuten monikielisyys, myös muuttoliike on kasvussa. Tämä tarkoittaa sitä, että moni työpaikka työllistää myös sellaisia ihmisiä, jotka eivät puhu instituution virallista kieltä sujuvasti. Tämän takia jotkut palkansaajat saattavat mieluummin valita viestintäkielekseen jonkun toisen kielen, jota he voivat puhua sujuvammin kollegan kanssa.</p> <p>Tämä tutkimuksen tarkoituksena on selvittää, mitä tapahtuu monikielisessä vuorovaikutuksessa osallistujien välillä. Osallistujina ovat kolme siivoojaa, jotka viettävät taukoja yhdessä työpaikan taukokuoneessa. Heidän vuorovaikutuksessaan käytetään kahta kieltä, joista suomenkielinen keskustelu on tutkittu yksityiskohtaisesti. Tavoitteena on löytää minkälaista tukea, kielellistä ja ei-kielellistä, kollegat tarjoavat toisilleen vuorovaikutuksessaan. Osallistujia kuvattiin videokameralla heidän taukojensa aikana. Aineisto kerättiin keväällä ja alkukesällä 2021 tutkijoiden kanssa, jotka ovat Jyväskylän yliopistosta Kieli- ja viestintätieteiden laitokselta. Aineiston keruun jälkeen videonauhoitukset katsottiin huolellisesti ja tämän jälkeen litteroitiin. Tämä tutkimus on laadullinen ja analyysi suoritettiin käyttämällä keskusteluanalyysia.</p> <p>Tuloksista pystyy tunnistamaan kolme tekijää, jotka tukevat vuorovaikutusta. Yksi osallistujista käyttää kääntämistä keinona tukea vuorovaikutusta: hän kääntää suomesta ja suomeksi, jotta kahden muun osallistujan olisi helpompaa ymmärtää toisiaan. Kaksi osallistujaa käyttää apunaan ilmaisia ja eleitä ilmaistakseen itseään ei-kielellisesti kielellisen viestinnän lisäksi. Kolmas tapa tukea vuorovaikutusta on käyttää toistoa. Osallistuja, joka puhuu suomea äidinkielenään, toistaa tiettyjä sanoja, jotta hän tulisi paremmin ymmärretyksi. Tulokset esittelevät kolme eri tekijää, joita käytetään tukevana keinoina vuorovaikutuksessa. Tämä tutkimus on rajallinen sen laajuuden ja pituuden takia. Jotta voidaan saavuttaa kattavampia ja täsmällisempiä tuloksia analyysissa, siinä tulisi tutkia enemmän videonauhoituksia ja se tulisi sisältää enemmän osallistujia.</p>	
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1 INTRODUCTION

This master's thesis focuses on multilingual interaction between three participants in their workplace's breakroom. More specifically, it focuses on the support that the colleagues provide to each other while interacting. Purpose is to discover supportive practices and present the findings. The participants work as cleaners, but the informal interaction during the breaks touches upon topics mainly other than their professional life. This study aims to identify what kind of linguistic or non-verbal support colleagues provide in informal multilingual interaction. More specifically, the goal is to find out the main supportive practices that are done by the participants. This thesis is part of a larger research project conducted in the Department of Language and Communication Studies at the University of Jyväskylä. Video recordings that work as a data set were collected with researchers, and the video recordings were transcribed afterwards. The research interest revolves around communication, verbal and non-verbal, while focusing on the support that the colleagues provide. Data analysis is conducted by using conversation analysis. This chapter will introduce the thesis by first exploring the background and the context, followed by research aims and problems, objectives, and lastly, the significance.

Multilingualism as a phenomenon is one of the most relevant themes in this study. Multilingualism is part of a contemporary world, and multilingualism in working life is no longer a novelty. In order to explore it more, neighbouring concepts of multilingualism are discussed in the theoretical background section. Another concept that occurs is multilingual identity, which is shaped in groups where participants negotiate membership. Group members look for the sense of belonging, and how they can position themselves linguistically within other members. Multilingualism in Finland section brings background knowledge to the situation in Finland at the time of writing this study, and how it is related to working life in Finland in places where multilingual individuals or migrants work. This study explores a role of a multilingual group member who speaks two languages and translates from one to another, as well as the other two participants who support the group's communication in other ways.

This study focuses on informal communication in a multilingual setting. Multilingualism and migration have both greatly increased around the world.

Linguistic flexibility in today's workplace is valuable for the employees. If a workplace is multilingual and they have agreed on a language practice, the company language is often English. Therefore, English as a lingua franca is often studied more than minor languages as lingua franca (Lønsmann and Kraft 2018). Migrants who work in positions where communication with others is required most often have to learn the host country's language. If the employee does not know the local language fluently, and there are other employees who speak the same language as them, they often choose to talk in a shared language that they both know fluently. This might lead to social exclusion and power struggles. Informal situations such as having lunch together or meeting colleagues in the corridor makes it easier to communicate and form relationships with other employees.

Lingua franca of the workplace in which the data was collected for this thesis is Finnish. This means that migrant workers often must communicate in what is for them a second, third, or fourth language. When applying for a job position of a cleaner in Finland, one usually must have some Finnish language skills (job advertisements, see appendix 2). In this study, cleaners mostly have independent work but have lunch and coffee breaks together. This forms an informal and multilingual meeting because some of the cleaners do not originate from Finland. The language during the breaks is mainly Finnish, but some other languages are used when participants who speak a mutual language are in the breakroom simultaneously. This thesis considers only three participants who all share at least one common language, Finnish.

Previously, migrant cleaners and linguistic diversity have been studied, for example, by Strömmer (2016), while Hovens (2021) has studied entry-level workplace's linguistic landscape. The importance of informal talk during breaks at work has been studied by Corvo et al. (2020). However, no previous research is available specifically about multilingual participants in Finnish context who interact informally during breaks and support each other linguistically and non-verbally. Additionally, in this study, the lingua franca of the setting is Finnish, whereas often lingua franca is English. Therefore, it is essential to expand this topic further. Moreover, in the future, there will be more employees in Finland who originate from somewhere else and thus may be in a similar situation as the participants in this study. Support that the colleagues provide is vital, for example, in terms of mutual understanding and work motivation. The subject should be studied in more detail to understand the support provided.

This thesis introduces relevant literature first generally about multilingualism, then more specifically about multilingualism in the workplace and in Finland. Other than those topics, the main areas on the theoretical background are teams' interaction in working life, and relational communication. When the background is discussed in detail, summary of the whole theoretical background is presented as well as the research question. Next, methodological framework provides information on research

approach, how the data was collected and how the data is analysed. Findings present the most interesting instances that were found in the data. This part is divided into three sections that show the research interest, tools of support. Discussion goes through the findings and answers the research question. Finally, conclusion finishes the thesis by evaluating the research process, discussing limitations, and presents the final ideas.

2 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND

The theoretical background consists of three main sections that focus on the themes of this thesis. Firstly, multilingualism is defined and other concepts that are related to it. Secondly, multilingualism is presented from a working life's point of view. Lastly, team interaction is presented in the working life, and the concept of relational communication is explained.

2.1 Multilingualism and Related Concepts

Multilingualism is visible because of globalisation, mobility, and new technologies integrated into social, political, and educational situations. Multilingualism can be explained as a person who is able to communicate in more than one language, or for example, bigger groups, such as institutions, where interaction takes place with more than one language in everyday situations. However, multilingual individual is not to be considered as someone who has the competence to fully have skills in many different languages (Blommaert et al., 2005). The individual and societal levels are also related: if one is an individual in a multilingual community, presumably they speak more than one language, whereas an individual from a monolingual society speaks more likely just one language (Cenoz, 2013).

The definition of multilingualism remains complex. In addition to the individual and societal viewpoint, one can also speak of "balanced" and "unbalanced" views of multilingualism. If an individual is as fluent in one language as they are in another, it is called balanced multilingualism. On the other hand, an individual with different language proficiencies is called an unbalanced multilingual (Cenoz, 2013). Another way to explain multilingualism is, for instance, through "atomistic" and "holistic" views. Roughly, the atomistic view looks at multilingualism in terms of linguistics and

specifies only elements in language or how to differentiate languages. A holistic view believes that parts make up one since they are linked to each other (Cenoz, 2013).

Sociolinguistic approach on multilingualism has brought critical aspect to its research as well as ethnographic approach. Moreover, because of transnational mobility, globalisation and general awareness of the international possibilities, the focus on multilingual studies has been on linguistic, social, and cultural changes, as described by Martin-Jones and Gardner (2012). To quote the aforementioned authors: "These changes have had major implications for the ways in which we conceptualise the relationship between language and society and the multilingual realities of the contemporary era" (p. 1). Multilingualism research now provides a sphere of understanding in which ideas and concepts from sociology, anthropology, economics, and politics serve as fundamental references. Awareness of this helps to understand the means "language is connected to complex social processes" (Moyer, 2012, p. 34).

The concepts of *bilingualism* and *multilingualism* can be mixed up easily. There is a way to separate the terms, such as noticing that generally, bilingualism implies that two languages are in question. However, the concept can include additional languages too. Multilingualism is often described as a general term when speaking of more than two languages. According to Gottardo and Grant (2008), bilingualism has multiple definitions that vary depending on the source and use. Some define it simply as knowing two languages, whereas others think a person should be equally fluent in both languages to be considered bilingual. This, however, can be considered as unbalanced multilingualism as mentioned earlier. Some other factors include social and environmental conditions and the level of proficiency (Cenoz, 2013; Gottardo & Grant, 2008).

The term *plurilingualism* is also associated with multilingualism. The main difference lies in plurilingualism being about the relationships of languages and multilingualism being about individual languages (Piccardo, 2016). Plurilingualism is more about linguistic diversity, shared communication, and experiences. The plurilingual way of thinking considers monolingual discourse to be generic compared to plurilingual discourse. They describe their way of interacting to have strengths such as creativity, diversity, and increased understanding (Piccardo, 2016). Plurilingualism can be seen as referring to attitudes toward languages rather than linguistic competence. According to García and Otheguy (2020), the Council of Europe defined plurilingualism as the capability to learn and use more than one language and the ability to have plurilingualism as a competence. By that definition, a European citizen that is competent in plurilingualism should hold several languages and demonstrate tolerance for all languages (Piccardo, 2016; García & Otheguy, 2020).

The term *multilingual identity* refers to an individual's own understanding of them holding multilingualism as part of their identity, and having a multi-faceted

linguistic repertoire. *Linguistic identity*, on the other hand, means that one identifies oneself based on the languages one speaks (Haukås et al., 2021). Multilingual identity can also be considered as a holistic phenomenon which could affect, for instance, beliefs or life situations. Haukås et al. (2021) explain how multilingual identity may be linked with language habits, the idea of a future multilingual self, beliefs about multilingualism, open-mindedness and other factors such as gender and travel experiences.

In the same way as monolingual individuals, multilingual individuals obtain their identity from their understanding of the world. Another critical aspect of identifying oneself is seeing how one is positioned in contexts such as social, cultural, and linguistic environments. Szyszka (2020) asserts that exposing oneself to mobility and studying in another language presents a great chance to develop multilingual skills and re-negotiate the understanding of the world. Szyszka also claims that a person who originates from another country and lives in a non-English speaking country speaking the dominant language is influenced by pronunciation in terms of multilingual identity. Multilingual individuals might have one stronger linguistic identity, which also reflects group membership in that language or nation (Szyszka, 2020).

In this thesis, the most relevant concept is multilingualism which follows the definition of a person who can communicate in more than one language. Moreover, multilingualism exists in institutions, where interaction takes place with more than one language in everyday situations. This is highly related to the aim of the thesis and the participants who interact multilingually. Aspects on multilingual identity will be addressed later on in relation to team communication. Identity will be discussed since it influences the multilingual individuals who communicate as a part of a team.

Multilingualism in Finland

Finland has been bilingual at least since its independence in 1917, officially since 1922 (Blommaert et al., 2012). However, in practice, Finland is and always has been multilingual. For example, during the 19th century, when Finland was a grand duchy of the Russian Empire, Russian was widely used. Also, having “one” Finnish language is a kind of illusion as well. The regional differences in language use have historically been significant, and drawing the line between a dialect, and a separate language has not always been easy. For example, in Eastern Finland, the Karjala area has been known for this challenge. The language spoken there has been said to be a dialect of the Finnish language, or alternatively, a separate language of Karjala. In addition to Finnish and Swedish, the Sámi languages have had an official status in the Sámi native

region since 1992. In addition, Romany and sign language are mentioned in the Finnish constitution (Blommaert et al., 2012).

Even if multilingualism has always been present in Finland, in the last few decades, the linguistic landscape in Finland has gone through more changes because of globalisation and internationalisation. As an effect of this, the number of people from foreign backgrounds and foreign-language speakers in Finland is increasing. Moreover, people in Finland are expected to have universal and better language skills nowadays, especially in the working life language skills are needed (Palviainen and Bergrot, 2018). Altogether the number of people from foreign backgrounds permanently living in Finland was 432 847 at the end of 2020 (Finnish Government, 2021). The foreign language most commonly spoken in Finland is Russian, with about 84 000 people. The second-largest foreign language is Estonian, with about 50 000 people speaking it as their first language. After that, the most significant groups are Arabic, English and Somalian. (Finnish Government, 2021).

At the end of 2020, Finland's population was 5 533 793 (Official Statistics of Finland 2020). Of these people, 4 811 067 were Finnish speaking and 287 871 Swedish speaking. Finnish was the majority language with 86,9 per cent, and Swedish was the second most spoken language with 5,2 per cent. People who speak other than Finnish or Swedish language as their first language locates in 7,8 per cent. Sámi languages were spoken by 2 008 people, 0,04 per cent, according to the Official Statistics of Finland (2020). However, the number of Sámi people and how many speak Sámi languages are higher. These numbers come from the official Finnish population register system, where everyone marks their native language. In this system, one is allowed to insert only one language they consider as their native language, which leaves out bilingual and multilingual individuals (Finnish Government, 2021).

2.2 Multilingualism in Working Life

In the contemporary world, all kinds of workplaces can have an international atmosphere regarding the usage of different languages, virtual teamwork across borders, and the mobility of employees (Angouri, 2014). Multilingualism in working life has been an interest of researchers because of companies operating across national borders, new technologies invented, and employees travelling for work between countries. Research interest has been primarily directed toward language policies as well as language practices in the workplace (van der Worp et al., 2017).

Multilingualism in European workplaces has increasingly grown since the European Union introduced an open labour market (Gunnarsson 2014) which opened opportunities to anyone working in professions that demands higher or lower skills.

Angouri (2014) mentions that research on multilingualism has been focused more on the communication between so-called white-collar workers than so-called blue-collar workers. However, the so-called blue-collar workers are often not equally fluent in the company language, so the focus on these workers is valuable. Today, it does not matter whether one is a manager or a low paid worker; one still needs to be linguistically flexible since anyone in the workplace can have a different linguistic background (Gunnarsson, 2013).

Today, if a workplace is multilingual, its lingua franca is often English (Gunnarsson, 2014). Finland is officially a bilingual country but practically a multilingual one, as discussed previously. This means that generally, workplaces in Finland have a higher chance of being multilingual. Workplaces often have a language policy which determines the primary language used in the workplace. If a company uses more than one language in the workplace, the language choice can be made on the basis of the situation. For example, if a multinational corporation uses English and German as company languages and the meeting minutes must be done in English, the German speakers might also use English as the meeting language (Gunnarsson, 2014). Another example presented in the same study by Gunnarsson (2014) describes a Danish company in which the workers originating outside of Denmark typically have a proficient level of English but varying skills in Danish. She also describes a Finnish-Swedish company where mainly English is used in meetings, but it is common to use the employees' languages, either Finnish or Swedish, in other situations English. Changing the language is natural in this kind of a multilingual company where everyone has some language skills in all three languages. In order to overcome misunderstandings, the employees would often fluently change the language to whichever is easier for the individual they are interacting with.

Immigrant workers often must learn the local language when working in positions where face-to-face interaction is needed (Gunnarsson, 2013). These positions include, for instance, cleaners, gardeners, and staff in hospitals and care centres. Language requirements can be problematic for the immigrants who are asked to have good language skills when applying for a job. Gunnarsson (2013) argues that "language and communication play a more central role today than earlier" (p. 163). She has written an overview of studies focused on multilingualism in the workplace, where one of the focus points is migrants working in entry-level jobs. The language they have to use at work is often foreign, which they do not speak fluently, and the work conditions are described as poor and insecure. Gunnarsson (2013) points out that there is another end of the spectrum where well-educated professionals speak multiple languages, including global languages English, French, and Spanish and who can effortlessly be mobile between jobs and countries.

Lønsmann and Kraft (2018) researched multilingual production workplaces in Norway. They studied a construction company where team leaders had two groups: Scandinavian-speaking and Polish-speaking. Team leaders had to make sure that the Polish speakers would understand the rules and safety issues even though the company's official language was Norwegian. The leaders were appointed to be Norwegian-Polish-speaking who work together with the Norwegian-speaking team leaders. Polish workers could communicate with the management with simple words relying on the help of context. Interviews revealed that shared professional knowledge makes communication easier despite lacking a shared language. One of the Polish workers said to understand some Norwegian despite not being able to speak the language at all:

“He said that he understood a fair deal of Norwegian though he was not able to speak any. He had therefore developed a practice of listening to Norwegian instructions, checking with a Polish-Norwegian speaker if he had understood correctly, and then carrying out the work” (Lønsmann and Kraft, 2018, p. 419).

Lønsmann and Kraft (2018) ponder whether the companies that hire a transnational workforce could find solutions to language challenges since they have chosen to hire people outside of Scandinavian countries. These solutions could include, for instance, teaching Scandinavian staff some Polish, which could increase the understanding and ease of instructing the workers (Lønsmann and Kraft, 2018).

Piller and Lising (2014) have researched temporary meat industry workers in Australia who typically come from the Philippines. They are not encouraged to speak during work; thus, communication happens mainly during breaks and shift changes. There is a high number of workers originating from the Philippines, and consequently, during the breaks, they have conversations in their mutual language Tagalog. Despite them being the majority in the workplace, they sometimes must make an effort to speak in English because otherwise, they would get reprimanded by Australian co-workers. Negative reactions such as angry shouting cause the Filipinos to feel stressed and obliged to switch the language to English. The company has someone who speaks their common language and acts as go-between management and the Filipino workers (Piller and Lising, 2014).

If an organisation hires people with different backgrounds, they most likely have different proficiency levels in a variety of languages (Kingsley, 2013). Moreover, linguistic competence differing from person to person is another factor that impacts language practices. Kingsley (2013) has studied communication and practices in multilingual workplaces. The data reveals that in informal talk, a range of languages is spoken instead of exclusively the company language English. Social and small talk, also known as informal talk in Kingsley's study, often occurs in the workplace

corridor. She also points out that the native language of employees has a central role in sharing knowledge. In the particular organisation that she investigated, employees sharing the same nationality or language would get together and form a speech community. This was visible during the lunch breaks when different nationalities tended to form so-called language tables where only their shared language was spoken. Employees explained this by saying that speaking their native language is part of expressing themselves and maintaining relationships with fellow nationals. Auer and Wei (2007) found similar results in Portuguese factory where English is needed in workplace interaction. They observe that speaking Portuguese means a lot to the employees because they can maintain an ethnic identity, and expressing themselves in Portuguese serves as a tool for maintaining friendships.

Tange and Lauring (2009) found that employees who share the same language often come together informally. In their study, the Danish speakers in particular grouped and talked together. Danish was the majority language in the company studied. Because of this, the international employees experienced exclusion from the informal interactions. Lønsmann (2014) has also found similar results in a Danish company: language competence might be connected to social exclusion. Moreover, language ideology, language hierarchy, and assumptions about connecting language and the nation might result in social exclusion. Lønsmann (2014) also points out that in a bilingual company where there are people with good language skills in English but not in Danish and vice versa, it might be a challenge for everyone to receive all the information. If everything is not translated into both languages, there might always be someone left out from some information.

It is relevant to form social relationships in a multilingual workplace via informal interaction (Negretti and Garcia-Yeste, 2020). Communication issues that might occur in a multilingual workplace in a formal context are often related to power imbalance and possible unequal flow of information. When the lingua franca is English, non-native speakers who do not feel confident using English often stay silent (Negretti and Garcia-Yeste, 2020). This could be interpreted so that the same phenomenon can happen in any other language too when one is communicating with native speakers. However, in an informal context, language has a vital role when the group boundaries are established, and it may lead to exclusion in informal social interaction. Charles (2007) highlights how important informal meetings are in multilingual workplaces: “informal, oral communication should be considered of paramount importance in multinational companies” (p. 271).

Research about multilingualism in the workplace has been mainly focused on language practices where the lingua franca is English. Therefore, it is important to research some other languages as a lingua franca in the workplace and different kinds of workplaces. Organisations often have a variety of employees in various work tasks;

until recent years, the research interest has been focused on higher placed multilingual migrants. Another vital research possibility could be migrants who make physical work and those migrant workers' language choices in an informal setting. Moreover, language has a significant role in communication and how it affects people in informal situations.

If one's work is independent, the main activity for social communication is during lunchtime. Lunch break is when informal information is exchanged, and social relationships with co-workers are formed. Lunch is considered an activity to which location, participants and relationships are tied to (Negretti and Garcia-Yeste, 2020). Who is attending, where it is being held and what kind of relationships they have with each other are all factors that influence language practises as well as socialisation patterns. The lunch location regulates who will be present and the relationship between the participants. In this combination of social interaction, language seems to be a central factor in language choices and the capability to participate in informal interaction. These three things, language, people and place, form a phenomenon of *language clustering*, which means that a group is created based on the people who interact socially on a regular basis (Negretti and Garcia-Yeste, 2020).

2.3 Teams' Interaction in Working Life

There are many ways in which teams can be formed. Team membership can originate from an organisation, although it does not have to happen only in a specific location. A team can consist of members that have a variety of backgrounds, interests and values (Raappana and Horila, 2020). Team members' roles in the group are based on members' involvement in communication. In order to make sense of team communication, one should look at how the team evaluates their communication. Even team efficiency can be measured by team members' perception of their communication (Raappana and Horila, 2020). To be a part of a team and develop a relationship with other members, one must know the importance of team communication. In addition, it is important that all the parties are active in interaction and are aware of the team's communication practices (Rajamäki and Mikkola, 2020). For the purpose of building relationships and constructing team identity, relational communication is necessary.

Interpersonal workplace relationships are made at the workplace and are shaped by work tasks and processes (Mikkola and Nykänen, 2020). What also influences the relationships is how the communication is done at the workplace. The influencing factors may include the level of formality in communication, communication practices and communication culture. New employees seek to build relationships with co-workers, and they try to find their place in the team or organisation. Building a

relationship takes both parties to be responsible for keeping the connection and developing the communication in the workplace. Moreover, the way in which co-workers describe their work and perceive their work tasks reflects the relationships between them and other workers (Mikkola and Nykänen, 2020). Sometimes, employees can expect co-workers to be supportive, while in other cases, the relationship can be more about information sharing. Therefore, workplace relationships have socially constructed expectations, and the employees are expected to work towards them. Whether a co-worker shares private information with another or not depends on the nature of the relationship as well as the expectations of a friendship.

In contemporary working life, it is not uncommon to have teams in which members have different backgrounds, and the shared language might not be the first language of every employee. Language might have a significant impact at the workplace: “lack of competence in the dominant language at the workplace may affect organizational members’ participation in meetings or informal socialization with colleagues” (Lahti, 2020, p. 111). Even if the work might require knowledge of some language, it does not mean that every employee speaks it fluently. For example, in Finland, people who work in the cleaning and maintenance professions, are expected to have at least some Finnish language proficiency. However, since there are many people working in such professions who have migrated to the country in their adulthood, not all of them necessarily feel comfortable or competent enough to speak what is for them a foreign language. In that case, the employee might find another common language with co-workers that they use to communicate with each other. Generally, it might help if a group has one common language so that the group is somewhat equal in this respect, and there is no otherness or feeling of being left out. However, if the common language is not the strongest language of everyone in the group, everyone cannot participate in the interaction equally.

Entry-level cleaning jobs that Lønsmann (2015) studied in Denmark shows that the teams used Danish at work even though the corporate language was English. In Lønsmann’s study, most of the employees were Danish, while some of them were migrants. In the team of six, only one had proficiency in English despite all of them needing English while using the computer, reading posts and signs that were in English as well as understanding emails in English. The study shows how the information in English that they might need was ignored. When one of the employees who did not know English received an email that was in English, it was deleted in order not to cause any worry or stress. In case there was information that all of them needed, they relied on their co-workers to pass them the information. Lønsmann (2015) found that English as a corporate language caused some problems for employees that are working in entry-level jobs. Furthermore, she mentions that in order to get a better job position, they must have English competence.

Relational Communication

Relational communication refers to characteristics of communication which determine conceptualisations of relationships (McLaren and Pederson, 2014). Relational communication refers to interpersonal communication, which is focused on messages in close relationships. Concerning messages, one can interpret the meaning in many ways despite the context being the same. The relational meaning of the message, therefore, might vary thus there is a possibility that the ability to understand is limited. The relational messages may be a main aspect for relational discourse, and what people interacting define their interpersonal relationship as (Mikkelsen et al., 2019). Relational communication is of great value in groups (Barker et al., 2000). Relational messages affect the dynamics in groups. Nonverbal communication has an influence also to group formation, continuation, and occurring changes. McLaren and Pederson (2014) focus on relationships in their study and they have found relational communication to be ambiguous in terms of misunderstandings in relationships.

One aspect that influences group dynamics is a relational dimension of groups (Keyton, 2001). According to relational communication, relational dimensions specifically in groups are constantly and simultaneously developing multiple relationships, making the process complex. Relational communication in groups means that verbal and non-verbal communication form the social fabric of a group which encourages relationships between group members. Relational communication in groups involves relations, connections, and communication among group members in their social reality. All interactive groups have relational communication, even though the quantity and quality of relational messages vary (Keyton, 2001). Relational communication also has an impact on an individual level: the group members assess themselves where they fit in the intragroup relationships, for instance, by how the other group members like them.

There are relational concerns when referring to group communication (Barker et al., 2000). For instance, attraction or dislike of group members may influence the dynamics. Conforming these kinds of group expectations of relational issues as well as how other group members deal with the issues are all influencing the dynamics. Barker et al. (2000) write that prejudice, stereotypes and bias between group members can explain the issues in intragroup relations. There might be tension between social and personal identities. Communication in this situation might happen because a group member is interacting with other group members as just members of a group instead of individuals. Identity is related to this in a way that if one is communicating with group members, they use social identity, whereas when communicating with individuals in a group, they use personal identity.

Communicating social support, or supportive communication, is one form of social interaction. Supportive communication is verbal and non-verbal communication that is provided to those needing assistance (Mikkola, 2020). Supportive communication in the workplace brings many benefits from strengthening one's job motivation to job commitment. Social support in the workplace helps to create a basis for the work as well as mutual understanding. It can be visible through behaviour: while co-workers interact, the way they express their need for support, how it is given and how they react to the support. Even listening can be done in a supportive way and it has an effect. With social support, the acceptance as to be a part of the group is strengthened. Social support is a tool to manage uncertainty and keep hope and expectations optimistic. Uncertainty can arise for instance from the employee's work identity or not feeling confident about their work performance or competence (Mikkola, 2020). This could be reflected to employee's language skills and feeling insecure about their language competence.

Communication competence brings many positive results to the workplace (Horila, 2020). Effective communication helps, for instance, to reduce stress and level up well-being. Employees have goals when building relationships, and they might be for example interpersonal or team specific. Employees' effort in communication in the workplace makes a difference at an organisational level as well as on a personal level (Horila, 2020). Communication competence is not self-evident, but individuals must make an effort to improve their communication skills. However, when multilingualism and communication with a weaker language take place, the situation is not so simple. One can be competent in one's first language, even second and third, but when interaction happens with a language one is not comfortable or confident enough with, communication competence cannot be classified in the same manner.

Teams' interaction in working life influences the individuals, team dynamics and even the organisation. Interpersonal workplace relationships are decided in the workplace, and this is based on for example how the team members discuss their work or how they interact with the team. Individuals influence team communication, and things such as language competence have importance in multilingual teams. The organisational language might be foreign to some of the employees, for instance, entry-level workers. Therefore, team interaction might play a huge role for the individuals: if a co-worker who is proficient in the organisational language helps the ones who do not necessarily understand, it may develop the team communication and the individual relationships between the team members. Team interaction and sharing information are important in maintaining the relationship of the team members. Understanding working life's team communication in multilingual teams is one of the general goals of this thesis.

Since relational communication relates to team communication, workplace communication, and the relationships between people, it is a relevant and close concept to this thesis. The three participants form a group that comes together for breaks: this is informal communication, and it happens based on the participants' own will to be involved in it. Informal interaction in the workplace is vital in terms of forming relationships: as the recordings show, the participants have formed relationships to the point where they can discuss about their personal issues. Relational communication in groups develops via verbal and non-verbal communication, which then influences group dynamics.

2.4 Summary and Research Question

The theoretical background has described multilingualism as its first topic and how it is utilised in working life. Multilingualism is a significant factor considering that people are highly mobile and often speak more than one language. Multilingualism in working life has increased due to, for example, labour migration. In this study, participants speak more than one language during their interactions that happen during their breaks. The interaction is informal since it does not happen during work. In this study, cleaners often work independently but gather together for breaks. In the break-room, they have a chance to interact as a cleaning team. Discussion that happens on the recordings, are about the work tasks, personal matters or some general topics such as the weather or gardening. However, whatever the topic, communication between the team is the part that is the most interesting for this study. Specifically, the type of interaction that multilingual team has during their breaks.

Interpersonal workplace relationships are created when communicating in the workplace. Relational messages affect the dynamics of groups and therefore it matters how the team communicates. When the team interacts, language choice, comfortableness, and the type of relationships between the team members are taken into account. During team interaction, verbal and non-verbal communication is used. If all the team members do not speak one mutual language fluently, it might influence team communication. The data in this study shows that two different languages are used in team communication. The key factor is how the participants within these two languages function.

Supportive communication helps team members to cope in case of challenges in work or personal life. Support can be expressed through simply listening or assisting a person through communication. Uncertainty might be an aspect that one could need help with. If insecurity that one has would be language competence, then one might appreciate it if fluent speakers could help with communication in the language in

question. Support in this study might be, for example, a role of a translator who operates between two languages and thus aims to help two people to understand each other better. Since the language that the workers choose to speak during the breaks, Finnish, might be foreign to some of the workers who have migrated to Finland, language learning and maintenance can be supported by the co-workers. Supporting might be expressed by helping to find a word that they are missing, speaking clearer, or choosing words that are possibly easier to understand and speaking slower. In this thesis, the goal is to find out what kind of support is offered and how it is realised.

The purpose of this thesis is to find out what takes place in the interaction between cleaners who communicate informally within their team. The study aims to answer the following research question: RQ1) How do colleagues provide linguistic or non-verbal support in informal multilingual interaction?

3 METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

The methodological framework chapter presents research approach, data collection, and data analysis. Motivation and the aim are also explained in detail in the first section, research approach.

3.1 Research Approach

This thesis is part of a larger research project in which I had the pleasure to participate in at the University of Jyväskylä. I worked as a research assistant in the spring and summer of 2021. During this time, I translated documents related to the research, searched literature, and collected data. I translated research documents from English to Finnish, searched literature relevant to the research project's topic, and collected data that I am also using as a data set in this thesis. This thesis uses qualitative methodology to explore the key topics and search for answers to the previously mentioned research question. Qualitative approach was chosen in order to be able to provide an in-depth perspective on naturally occurring data. The goal is to study behaviour and interaction, which means that the qualitative approach fits better the aim of the thesis. Migrant workers usually must communicate in a language that is not their first or second language. Therefore, interaction in that language should be studied further and its possible influences.

Data shows how interaction takes place between the participants. Based on the recorded video, one can see as well as hear everything that is happening. Since this thesis does not present any hypothesis, it is essential first to see what is going on in the video and then specify how a participant's particular role is taken. Because this study uses conversation analysis as its methodology, it is necessary to act based on it, starting with close observation of the recorded videos. By studying naturally

occurring data, the researcher will find out what in fact is happening in the interaction. If a researcher would conduct interviews, the participants would only tell what is happening in their opinion, or how they see the events from their point of view. By observing the recorded interaction, the researcher is able to see how the interaction takes place, how the participants behave, what they tell with their body language, and in what way the participants explain their message to one another.

3.2 Data Collection

Data for this study were collected in the spring and early summer of 2021. Since I worked as a research assistant for this project, I also participated in the data collection. Before starting the recordings, there were some preparations to make. First, one must ask for permissions and make sure everything is done in an ethically correct fashion. Preparations were done by two professors that I worked for. I was involved in translating the agreements and other research documents to Finnish. The entire process has been conducted according to the ethical guidelines accepted by the University of Jyväskylä. Before the recordings, all the participants were presented a written form explaining them the reasons of recordings, the aim of the project and asking for their permission to collect recordings. Only after they expressed their approval on paper, we started to record the videos. Ethical standards are of utmost importance to us as they attest to the highest quality of the research process. Only those who agreed to be in the recordings were recorded, and they had the right to withdraw from the project any moment.

As the recordings have sensitive content about the participants, the recordings must be stored in a safe place. Safe virtual storage was created internally at the University of Jyväskylä, where the recordings were accessible only by authorised personnel. The data was available on a secured university network server through a VPN protected connection. However, when needed, there was a possibility to download the data to a personal computer's hard drive. It must be acknowledged that as the internet connection was not always stable, and a high level of protection on the side of the university's server would automatically cut the connection and therefore make video unplayable, it was necessary to download the data to the local hard drive. Anyhow, the videos were deleted from the personal computer right after watching and transcribing the videos. In this way, it was made sure that the privacy of the participants is secured.

Ethics is a necessary part of the data collection when data has been collected by researchers instead of it being collected from public records. Finnish National Board on Research Integrity TENK (2019) has published a guideline for ethical principles of

research that has human participants in it. This thesis follows the principles that are agreed on with Finnish scientific research institutions, and which have been updated in 2019 by a group formed by TENK. The guidelines were approved by the comments received from all universities, universities of applied sciences, as well as research institutions, and key stakeholder groups in Finland. Principles include for example: “The researcher conducts their research so that the research does not cause significant risks, damage or harm to research participants, communities or other subjects of research” (TENK, 2019, p. 50) and that the participant in research have the right “to participate voluntarily but also to refuse to participate” (TENK, 2019, p. 51).

The point of our project was not to conduct interviews nor to do anything else organised but to capture participants in their natural environment at the workplace breakroom, behaving as they usually would during their breaks. We thought it would be ideal if they would forget the camera that was recording them and interact as they would any other day. This was very important as this study focuses on human behaviour which could be altered by a researcher being present in the room and breaking the routine. Although, we must consider the fact that the camera which was recording the participants was standing in front of them on the table every time we collected data, which means that likely they acknowledged that the camera exists, and they could have been influenced by it in their behaviour and interaction. This, however, was possibly the best chance to catch the most natural interaction. Videos were recorded with a 360-degree camera and the recordings last from 30 to 60 minutes, usually around 50 minutes. The two videos picked for this analysis are 47 and 56 minutes long. The 360-degree camera was chosen because it is convenient to place in the middle of a table where it can record the surroundings, wherever the participants are located (Figure 1). The recordings include video because non-verbal communication can play a big role in communication, as well as where the participants sit and who is present in the breakroom.

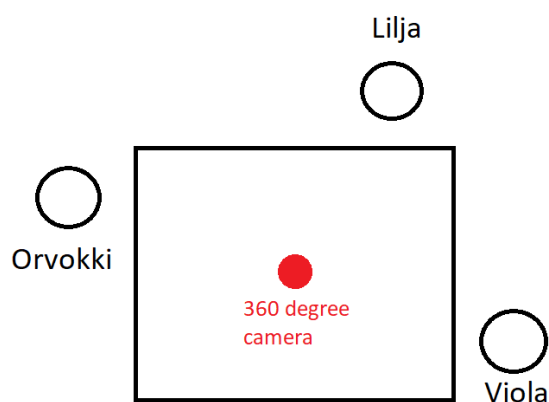


Figure 1 Participants in the breakroom.

The breakroom is located on the ground level of the building and only the staff of the organisation can access the breakroom. The breakroom is meant for cleaners and staff in the building, so also other people apart from cleaners are using it. However, quite often cleaners have their breaks earlier than other staff in the building since they start their work early in the morning. Breaks that were recorded took place either before eight in the morning or on their second break around lunchtime. The breakroom was open to all the staff at the time of recordings but there was a sign on the door saying that there is a camera recording. This was to inform anyone coming in that they are allowed to enter but they are going to be visible in the videos if they do so. The participants, cleaners, were coming to the breakroom from different buildings with the intention to come together for breaks. The number of participants varies: the lowest number of participants was two cleaners, and the highest number was eight cleaners in the same place. This thesis focuses on the interactions that happen between the same three cleaners in two different videos.

3.3 Data Analysis

The data analysis method used in this thesis is conversation analysis. Conversation analysis was chosen because it is a standard analysis method used to analyse conversation. In the field of intercultural communication, conversation analysis is a valid method and it is used to examine interactions that can be described as intercultural (Brandt and Mortensen, 2016). Conversation analysis is used to analyse everyday conversations which is one form of social interaction (Olbertz-Siitonen, 2021). The idea of conversation analysis appeared in the 1960s when Harvey Sacks and Emanuel Schegloff first started to research phone conversations. They were inspired by ethnomethodology created by Harold Garfinkel. Conversation analysis attempts to describe empirically how intersubjectivity is produced and maintained in interaction. The conversation analysis can be described as systematic research of social interaction since the aim of it is to find out what the details of the interaction are like (Olbertz-Siitonen, 2021).

Conversation analysis aims to identify bits of social interaction and explain practices of conduct that participants use to achieve them (Sidnell, 2013). Conversation analysis is data-driven and explains what happens between participants in real time. The methodology strictly describes social interaction instead of basing it on concepts such as intentions, emotions, or beliefs (Mortensen & Wagner, 2013). The primary method of conversation analysis includes a detailed examination of some specific instances observed in data. Instances are bits of behaviour in social interaction that are interesting for the researcher, and repeated multiple times. When several instances of

a phenomenon are identified and collected, a more compact view of the collection is revealed. In their first seminal paper in 1974, Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson introduced turn-taking structure. Through turn-taking, participants run the conversation without overlapping or leaving gaps in between the turns (Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson, 1974). In their next paper in 1977, they describe intersubjectivity being threatened which may refer to participants' issue in interaction that they find problematic and is a subject of repair (Mortensen & Wagner, 2013). Turn-taking and repair organisation were the two key aspects in conversation analysis.

After the introduction of the two key fields, conversation analysis has also other points of interests in researching talk-in-interaction. For example, affiliation and alignment refer to behaviour, membership categorisation analysis refers to categories in interaction, and adjacency pair is when the pair is composed by exchange that has two parts and where the second utterance is depended on the first utterance (Mortensen & Wagner, 2013; Gardner, 2004). Conversation analysis for many years has used monolingual conversation as data, and researchers would mainly study their own languages, for instance Finns would study Finnish (Gardner, 2004). However, more recently with an interest of studying second language talk, this has started to change. While conversation analysis does not exactly take interest in language learning, the resources that participants use to make sense of the action make it compelling for research (Mortensen & Wagner, 2013).

First step in data analysis was careful planning. After the data was collected and made available in the safe storage, I first watched the videos thoughtfully. After just listening to the conversations and seeing what happens in the interaction, I watched them again and made notes. I made notes about the different settings in the breakroom, group dynamics, the mood of the participants, topics that were discussed, and how the language plays a role in their interaction. Sidnell (2013) reminds that conversation analysis starts with observation. Researcher should be open to possibilities that the data brings and see practically what happens in the interaction. The interesting parts that are selected to study further are first introduced and explained. The third time watching the recordings, I transcribed the videos which helped me to deepen my understanding of the communication and therefore it was easier to choose the instances for analysis. The detailed analysis was made possible with the 360-degree camera we used to record the videos. With the possibility to see everyone and observe the talk-in-interaction, analysis was easier to conduct.

4 FINDINGS

The findings are divided into three parts, each of them focusing on a different practice that reflects the supportiveness of a colleague. In two of the recordings that were studied, there were practices that stood out and three of them are discussed in this chapter in detail with excerpts from the recordings.

4.1 Translating Everyday Matters

Excerpt 1: Postal service

These findings show how translation plays a role in supportive communication between colleagues. In the first excerpt, three cleaners, Viola (V), Lilja (L), and Orvokki (O) (pseudonyms) are sitting around the same table in their workplace's breakroom. Viola and Lilja are speaking in a shared language that is foreign to Orvokki. Lilja asks help from Viola in their mutual language about something related to the postal service, and Viola turns to Orvokki and functions as a translator in order to help Lilja.

Excerpt 1

01 ((V and L speak in foreign language))
02 V hän hän ei ymmärrä (.) ↑Orvokki (0.5) voiko neuvoa
she she does not understand Orvokki can you advise
03 ((L hands her phone to O))
04 hän haluaa. posti tulee
she wants mail to arrive
05 O =joo
yeah
06 V =sitten hän haluaa käy hakeen

then she wants to pick it up
 07 =ja sitten mitä. pitää. tehdä. (1.0) neuvoo hän
and then what she must do advise her
 08 (3.0)
 09 O e:i tässä-
there is no
 10 V on on siellä semmonen koodi
is is there is such a code
 11 (2.0)
 12 O joo ↑sinä vaan (.) näytät tämän
yeah you just show this
 13 jos tämä- onko tämä sinun saapumisilmoitus?
if this- is this your arrival notification
 14 ((L gets up from her seat and stands next to O))
 15 L tämä? ((points at phone))
this
 16 O nii
yeah
 17 L menee postiin sitten hän
go to the post office then she
 18 ((L imitating scanning noise, shows with a hand as she would scan))
 19 O joo?
yeah

In line 1, Viola and Lilja are first discussing in their shared language. By asking help from Viola, Lilja shows an orientation to Viola being more proficient in Finnish and therefore fit to work as a mediator here. In line 2, Viola turns to Orvokki for help. Viola changes the language to Finnish and points to Lilja's phone while talking to Orvokki. Previously, Lilja was showing her phone to Viola. Lilja hands her phone to Orvokki (line 3), thereby displaying an understanding of what is going on here. By doing so, she also indicates that a view of the screen might be crucial to solve the problem. Orvokki grabs the phone to her hands and looks at the screen while Viola talks (lines 4-7).

Viola asks help from Orvokki on behalf of Lilja directly in lines 2 and 6. Firstly, Viola uses the word "can" when she asks Orvokki to advise Lilja. Secondly, in line 6 Viola uses a command to request her again to advise, this time without asking nicely: this time when Viola seeks assistance, she tells instead of asks. In this case, Viola is shifting the responsibility of helping Lilja to Orvokki. After that, Viola provides additional information for Orvokki.

Viola asks help from Orvokki because both Viola and Lilja treat Orvokki as a person who has relevant knowledge on the matter. Orvokki is ready to help straight away and takes the phone from Lilja without asking any questions. Support is given

by Viola first translating Lilja's question and later support is given by Orvokki who helps them to understand what postal service's messages practically mean.

Excerpt 2: Sugar and sweets

In this excerpt, Viola and Lilja talk in their shared language at first. Lilja explains something, and after that they both laugh. Orvokki follows the conversation by following the colleagues and then smiling when they laugh, even though she does not show that she understands what is being said. Lilja uses several gestures and facial expressions when she talks. Viola looks at Orvokki and explains what Lilja told her and why they were laughing. Before this exchange took place, the participants discussed an illness and a diet that Lilja should be following. Lilja had expressed that she would like to eat sugar and sweets, but her diet does not allow it. Therefore, she explains in this excerpt how she eats sweets in secret from her husband.

Excerpt 2

01 ((V and L speak in foreign language, laugh))
02 V hänen mies ei kato. sitten hän vähän. (0.5) joo (.)
when her husband is not looking then she a bit yeah
03 salamasyö tämä makea heh
eats fast this sweet
04 ((V gestures fastly putting food into mouth))
05 ((V and L laugh))
06 O niin niin
right right
07 V joo
yeah
08 O mää vähän arveli[nki.]
that is what I guessed
09 V [joo]
yeah
10 ((L continues speaking in foreign language))

Lilja tells a story that makes Viola laugh, and by repeating the story in Finnish, Viola treats Orvokki's gaze as an indication that Orvokki would like an explanation. Lilja realises that Viola translates her story and laughs in line 5. Her laughing indicates that she is closely monitoring what Viola is doing, which allows her to laugh at the right moment. When Lilja first tells her story, she demonstrates the event by cutting something (some sweet) with a knife and putting it fast into her mouth. The exact second the sweet reaches her mouth, she turns her head to the side. After that, she bursts into laughter and covers her mouth. When Viola translates the story to Orvokki, she mimics the gesture (in line 4) that Lilja shows her when she first tells the story.

Orvokki follows what happens through Lilja's body language: this is evident in line 8 when Orvokki says she guessed that Lilja gestured eating some sweets in secret. Viola's repetition of Lilja's gesture in line 4 confirms this as Orvokki reacts to Viola's translation in line 6 after the explanation of what Lilja did and repeating the gesture. In addition, Orvokki smiles when she watches Lilja explain her story and sees the gesture that Lilja makes.

Viola, the unofficial translator in this group, decides to translate Lilja's story to Orvokki straight after hearing it. Orvokki's gaze work as an indicator for Viola to translate since Lilja tells the story in a language Orvokki does not understand. Consequently, Viola tells Orvokki why they laugh. Orvokki already knows the context of the story, as in why Lilja would eat sweets in secret from her husband.

Excerpt 3: Gardening

In this excerpt, Orvokki opens the conversation by asking Lilja if she has taken care of the yard, which means gardening in this case. Lilja does not say a word; she just sits silently. When Lilja does not answer, unexpectedly Viola answers on behalf of Lilja without translating to her first. Afterwards, Viola explains to Lilja what Orvokki has asked her.

Excerpt 3

- 01 O joko sinä olet Lilja paljon hoitanu pihaa?
have you Lilja taken care of the yard much
- 02 (1.5)
- 03 ((O and V looking at L, L stays silent))
- 04 V justiin hän kysyi multa (1.0) laittaaako parveke (.) kasvin
she just asked me if I put a plant to balcony
- 05 O [mm]
mm
- 06 V [en:] mä vielä
I did not yet
- 07 (1.0)
- 08 ((V points at O, says her name and speaks in foreign language to L, L answers))
- 09 V mitä muuta sinä laita nyt
what else have you put now
- 10 O tomaattia?
tomatoes
- 11 L =oh:
ohh
- 12 O =kurkkua?
cucumber
- 13 V onko nyt tulee kurkkua
will the cucumbers grow now
- 14 O joo ja mansikkaa?

yeah and strawberries
 15 (1.0)
 16 V onko kukkia?
any flowers
 17 O [mm]
mm
 18 L [↑millon] sinä millon sinä
when did you when did you
 19 O mää lait[toin jo]
I already put
 20 V [keväällä]
in the spring
 21 O mm
mm
 (0.5)
 22 V kolme kuukautta ↑kaksi kuukautta ainakin (.)
three months or two months ago at least
 23 sinä [laitoit]
you put
 24 O [viime] kuussa nyt on mikä kuu huhtikuu
in last month now it is what month April
 25 maaliskuussa laitoin tomaatit kasvamaan.
in March I put tomatoes to grow
 26 L o::::h maaliskuu?
oh in March
 27 O joo?
yeah

After some time of silence, Orvokki puts away her phone and asks Lilja a question in line 1. Lilja looks at Orvokki but stays silent. Viola looks at Orvokki as well and glances at Lilja after Orvokki has presented the question. Viola glances Lilja again to see if she is about to answer and when she interprets that Lilja does not give any signs to do so, Viola answers for her in line 4. Viola answers on behalf of Lilja because two of them have discussed about the topic earlier, and therefore Viola knows what to answer. In line 4, Viola tells Orvokki what Lilja had asked her earlier, and she also tells what she had answered to Lilja in line 6. After that, in line 8 Viola turns to Lilja, points at Orvokki and says her name so that Lilja understands that Viola translates what Orvokki asked earlier from Lilja. Lilja answers something to Viola. After this, Viola presents a question to Orvokki in line 9.

Lilja reacts to Orvokki's answer in line 11, when she hears that Orvokki has planted tomatoes already. Next time Lilja takes part in the conversation is in line 18 when she wants to know when Orvokki has planted the vegetables and berries she mentions in lines 10, 12 and 14. Lilja asks the question in Finnish from Orvokki.

Interestingly, Viola answers on behalf of Orvokki in line 20 even though Orvokki starts to answer to Lilja's question in line 19.

Colleague's support can be seen in Viola's behaviour: even if a question is directed straight to Lilja, Viola notices that her colleague is not answering so she decides to answer on behalf of Lilja because they have been discussing the topic previously. Afterwards, Viola helps Lilja to understand the situation by translating what Orvokki has asked Lilja in the first place. Viola also asks Orvokki a question that most likely Lilja has asked Viola to translate.

In summary, translations that Viola provide to both Lilja and Orvokki are valuable for both of them. Viola working as an unofficial translator provides support to the interaction by making sure all of them know what is happening. Orvokki nor Lilja asks Viola to translate for them, which shows that Viola does it voluntarily. Her translations strengthens the fluency in the participants' conversation. Viola supports Lilja by asking questions on behalf of her and translating words and sentences by Orvokki. Orvokki supports both by helping with interpreting text messages in Finnish. Viola supports Orvokki by translating Lilja's story, and later Viola even answers to Orvokki's question meant for Lilja.

4.2 Utilising Expressions and Gestures

Excerpt 4: Doctor's orders

In this excerpt, the cleaners are on a break in their workplace's breakroom, sitting in the same order as in the first video. Viola and Orvokki sit around the table already from the beginning of the video, and Viola arrives to the breakroom a bit later, but before the conversation of this excerpt takes place. Before the exchange in the excerpt, the participants discuss Lilja's new medication and that it makes Lilja feel tired. Viola translates this to Orvokki.

Excerpt 4

01 ((V and L speak in foreign language))
02 V kolme viikkoo sanoo että tämä uu:si lääke
three weeks she says that this new medicine
03 O =mmm
mmm
04 V allergia joo (.) paha semmonen. paha olo
allergy yeah bad this kind of bad feeling
05 [väsyttää]
tired
06 O [pitää mennä] lääkäriin jos ei käy
you must go to the doctors if it does not suit you

07 (1.0)
08 ((V says something in foreign language to L))
09 O lääkäriin. mene. jos ei käy
go to doctors if it does not suit you
10 L [mutta-]
but
11 O [lääkäri] uusii lääkkeen jos ei käy
doctor will renew the medicine if it does not suit you
12 L =hän sanoo (.) e:i ole mitään. uusi (.) tablet
she says there is no new tablet
13 O [mm]
mm
14 L [oli] insuli:n
was insulin
15 O mmm
mmm
16 L jos minä ei voi syödä tämä
if I cannot eat this
17 ((gestures applying insulin shot on leg and imitates a sound))
18 L insuliini
insulin
19 O joudut pistämään niinkö
you have to apply an insulin shot is it so
20 L mmm
mmm

After Viola's and Lilja's interaction, Viola translates to Orvokki in lines 2–5 what Lilja has said. Orvokki presents a solution in line 6, which in this case is to visit the doctor again to get a different kind of medication. After a short break, Viola translates this to Lilja to make sure she understands what Orvokki has said in Finnish. Orvokki also makes her point again in line 9 where she says the same thing but slower. Lilja tells Orvokki what the doctor has told her when she visited the doctor's office (lines 12-16). In line 17 Lilja uses a gesture to support her message about having to apply an insulin shot. Orvokki makes sure she has understood correctly by asking in line 19 about Lilja's gesture. Lilja confirms Orvokki's presumption in the next line.

The gesture that Lilja makes (line 17) plays an important role in the interaction. Since Lilja does not know every word in Finnish, occasionally she uses gestures either to support her message or to replace a word or set of words she does not know in Finnish. In this case, instead of saying that she needs to apply an insulin shot on her leg, she shows how to do it with her hand. Additionally, at the same time she imitates the sound of injecting a substance, or releasing the substance from a pressurised container. The use of the onomatopoeic expression is to highlight the gesture and make it unambiguous, unmistakable with anything other than injection.

Despite not operating with words, Lilja does the gesture so that Orvokki would understand what it means. She operates with a context base that has been established during the previous discussion. Based on Orvokki's question in line 19: "You have to apply an insulin shot is it so" Orvokki indicates that she understands what Lilja has gestured. Therefore, gestures are one way to show support in colleagues' communication. Gestures are vital in this kind of multilingual interaction where gestures are replacing a word or an expression that Lilja is lacking (lines 16-18).

Excerpt 5: Weight loss numbers

Participants discuss about an illness and weight loss related to it. Orvokki first explains how much her husband has lost weight and repeats it after Lilja asks "what". Lilja still does not understand and turns to Viola to ask what Orvokki has said. When Viola tells her, she immediately reacts and continues to discuss with Orvokki how many kilos the husband has lost weight.

Excerpt 5

- 01 O sehän laihtutti (1.0) kolmekymmentäviisi kiloa
he lost weight thirty-five kilos
- 02 L mitä?
what
- 03 O mies. laihdutti. kolmekymmentäviisi. kiloa
husband lost weight thirty-five kilos
- 04 ((L turns to V and says something in foreign language, V answers))
- 05 L o:::::h
oh
- 06 V mikä aika se [millon se] paino
what time when did he the weight
- 07 O [ja::] si-
and the-
- 08 L =kolmekymmentä? ((looks shocked))
thirty
- 09 O viisi kiloa laihtui
five kilos he lost
- 10 L viisi ((shows five fingers))
five
- 11 O kolme. viisi. ((draws numbers on air))
three five
- 12 ((L looks shocked))
- 13 L o no:::
oh no
- 14 O nii nii (0.5) pääsi piikeistä silleen eroon (1.0)
so so he got rid of the insulin shots that way
- 15 ei tarvinnu ku laihtu. nii (1.0) se (0.5)
do not have to when he lost weight so he

16 ((O tries to find words; waves her hands around))
 17 silleen parani
got better that way
 18 nii ei tarvi pistää enää
so do not have to apply insulin shots anymore
 19 L aaa
oh

Orvokki introduces a fact about her husband in line 1. Lilja asks straight away for Orvokki to repeat which indicates that she does not know or did not hear what Orvokki has said. In line 3, Orvokki repeats slower, starting with the word “husband”, to which Lilja nods. Lilja does not react to “lost weight”, which indicates that this is a strange expression for her. She listens carefully but, in the end, Lilja turns to Viola to ask what Orvokki means (line 4), and Viola answers shortly. Lilja reacts immediately after hearing Viola’s translation by saying long “oh” as an expression of surprise. After Lilja’s reaction, Viola tries to ask Orvokki something related to the weight loss in line 6, but since Orvokki and Lilja are in the middle of their exchange, the question is ignored.

It is evident that Viola did not translate the whole sentence to Lilja but only the set of words “to lose weight” because in line 8 Lilja asks Orvokki “thirty?” to refer to the number of kilos lost. Orvokki adds “five” straight after Lilja has said “thirty” (line 10). At that moment when Lilja says “five” she shows her hand with five fingers to make sure it is five kilos they are talking about. Now, Orvokki decides to answer with a gesture in line 11. Instead of showing the numbers with her fingers, Orvokki draws the numbers on air with her finger despite Lilja sitting in a way she cannot see them from Orvokki’s perspective. Orvokki also decides to use simple numbers, “three” and “five”, instead of saying “thirty-five”. This works, because Lilja indicates that she understands by looking shocked and reacting to it in line 13.

Orvokki continues to explain how the weight loss has impacted her husband’s illness in lines 14–18. Lilja does not indicate that she understands what Orvokki says, but she is not asking Viola to translate. In line 19 she says “oh” as to tell that she understands at least some part of what Orvokki explains. Colleagues’ support in this excerpt can be seen by Orvokki repeating slower (line 3), Viola translating to Lilja (line 4), Lilja showing five fingers to indicate the number five (line 10), and Orvokki making sure Lilja understands the numbers by saying “three five” instead of “thirty-five” while drawing these numbers on air.

Excerpt 6: Feeling bloated

In this interaction, the three cleaners participating in the discussion are talking about Lilja’s medication. Before this exchange takes place, Lilja and Viola have been

speaking in their shared language but then Lilja turns to Orvokki changing the language to Finnish.

Excerpt 6

- 01 L umm tämä tablet. minä syön (.) neljä päivää ((shows four fingers))
umm this tablet that I eat for four days
- 02 minä ei voi((gestures incapability of doing something))
I cannot
- 03 syödä= ((points food on the table))
eat
- 04 O =joo neljä-
yeah four
- 05 L =ruokaa minä ei- ((gestures as something smells bad))
food I cannot-
- 06 sama on lapsi. (0.5) ((gestures being pregnant))
same as a child
- 07 vauva. sisällä ((claps her belly))
baby inside
- 08 O turvottaa
feeling bloated
- 09 L =mhmmm
mhmmm
- 10 ja mm haluaa- ((places fingers to the sides of her head))
and umm I want
- 11 O juo vettä. lääkkeet tarvii nestettä
drink water the medicines need liquids
- 12 juo paljon paljon vettä
drink lots and lots of water
- 13 L mm joo
umm yeah
- 14 O ainakin kaksi litraa päivässä.
at least two litres a day
- 15 L ahaa:
aha

Lilja glances at Orvokki and sees that she looks at her, so she starts speaking to her in Finnish. She uses gestures from the start (line 1) where she shows with her fingers that she has been taking medicine for four days. Lilja continues the sentence in line 2 where she expresses incapability of eating by saying she “cannot” and waves her hand as a denial. In the next line, Lilja continues using her hands to show the next word she is going to say. She does this by pointing the food that she has on the table in front of her. Orvokki tries to say something on line 4 but Lilja is not finished yet, so Orvokki lets her continue. Lilja continues her story (line 5) and this time she does not finish what she is saying but she only gestures in a way that she does not want to eat food because it smells bad in her opinion.

Another interesting gesture that Lilja does is in line 6. She does not have a word in Finnish to say that she feels bloated, so she comes up with a solution to express it otherwise. First, she says “same as a child” while showing with her hands the imaginary size of a pregnant belly. Lilja wants to be more precise, so she uses the word “baby” to better describe the pregnancy evoked through means of a gesture in line 7 while clapping her belly. Orvokki understands and says aloud the Finnish word “feeling bloated” (line 8) to which Lilja agrees by making a sound of confirmation in the next line. Lilja still continues explaining but this time Orvokki sees her opportunity to contribute when Lilja stops to search for another word in line 10. Orvokki tells Lilja to drink water so that she would feel better when taking medicine (lines 11, 12 and 14). Lilja confirms that she understands by answering Orvokki in lines 13 and 15.

Lilja shows that she can also help her colleague to understand what she wants to say by using gestures and different words to express herself. For instance, Lilja does not know what feeling bloated is in Finnish, so she uses expressions such as “being pregnant” and “same as a child” and “baby inside” and at the same time showing it with her hands. Moreover, Lilja uses her hands to confirm her words, such as showing four fingers when she says, “four days” (line 1). By using these gestures and expressions, Lilja confirms and strengthens her message. In this case, Orvokki does not use gestures but gives Lilja a piece of advice and therefore helps her regarding her struggle with new medicine.

In summary, expressions and gestures are used widely in the interactions. They are used by all the participants, but in these examples (excerpts 4-6) mainly Lilja uses them to support her messages. Lilja uses gestures to replace a word or some expression that she might not know how to say in Finnish. In addition, she uses gestures to simplify her message e.g., saying the number “four” and showing four fingers at the same time. Orvokki also uses gestures when she wants to convey her message in an easier way. These gestures and expressions make the interaction between Lilja and Orvokki easier because they make their messages clearer by using gestures.

4.3 Using Repetition as a Tool

Excerpt 7: Water choice

Viola, Lilja and Orvokki are sitting around the table in their workplace’s breakroom. Previously, there has been a discussion that Lilja does not drink enough water during the day to which Viola and Orvokki have reacted by telling her to drink more. Now, Viola and Lilja have been speaking in their shared language for a short time. Orvokki starts to speak in Finnish to continue the water discussion.

Excerpt 7

- 01 O ↑osta vaikka vichy-vettä
buy for example sparkling water (Vichy-brand)
- 02 jos et tykkää tavallisesta vedestä.=
if you do not like normal water
- 03 =<°kraanavedestä jos et tykkää°> ((points to the sinks))
if you do not like tap water
- 04 L mm
mm
- 05 (1.0)
- 06 O osta. vaikka. vichy. vettä.
buy for example sparkling water (Vichy-brand)
- 07 tai jotain missä on happoja
or something with gas
- 08 sitä juo.
drink that
- 09 ((L says something in foreign language, V answers))
- 10 L ↑o:::h
oh
- 11 ((V and L speak in foreign language))
- 12 O kaikki ei tykkää kraanavedestä
everyone does not like tap water
- 13 L [mmhm]
mmhm
- 14 V [nii]
yeah

After the discussion previous to this exchange, about Lilja not drinking enough water, Orvokki still thinks about it and wants to tell Lilja that there are other options to normal tap water. Based on her message, Orvokki considers that perhaps Lilja does not drink enough water if she does not like tap water. Orvokki suggests Lilja to buy sparkling water, more specifically she mentions a brand name that is popular in Finland, vichy water (line 1). Straight after mentioning vichy water, Orvokki explains what she means by drinking sparkling water in case Lilja does not like “normal water” (line 2) or “tap water” (line 3). Lilja barely reacts to Orvokki’s suggestion in line 4 which might mean that she does not understand what Orvokki means by her suggestion. However, Lilja does not ask Viola to translate.

After a short break (line 5) Orvokki repeats her words from the first line. This time she says the words slightly louder and separates them with breaks so that there is more time for Lilja to understand each word. In line 6, Orvokki continues to say that Lilja can drink other types of water, for instance, with gas. Lilja has been listening, but it seems that she does not understand what Orvokki means and decides to ask from Viola in their shared language (line 9). Viola answers shortly, which indicates that she only translates that Orvokki suggests her to drink sparkling water. This is evident also

because Lilja reacts to Viola's answer in line 10. They continue to speak in their shared language. When they have a break in the exchange, Orvokki makes another point in line 12 to repeat about tap water. Lilja and Viola agree (lines 13 and 14).

Repetition is visible in this excerpt. Orvokki uses repetition as a way to explain Lilja about the alternatives for tap water. First, however, Orvokki uses repetition to say "normal water" and in the next line "tap water". She might think that Lilja knows tap water in Finnish better than normal water and what it stands for. Orvokki tries to help Lilja to understand by repeating the same sentence that Orvokki opened the conversation with. This time she considers that she should talk slightly louder and separate the words with breaks to be clearer. However, it might be that Lilja does not understand what vichy water is since it is quite specific sparkling water brand in Finnish market. Orvokki says once more that not everyone likes tap water in the end just to be clear why she suggested drinking sparkling water.

Excerpt 8: Strawberry bed

Before this excerpt, Orvokki asked if Lilja has taken care of the yard yet since it was spring at the time of recording this video. All three of them talk about what vegetables, berries, and flowers they have already planted. Now, mainly Orvokki and Viola have been talking about strawberries.

Excerpt 8

01 O minulla on nurmeksessa on mansikkamaa=
I have a strawberry patch in Nurmes
02 =tänä vuonna jos mä pääsisin sinne.
this year if I could go there
03 (1.0)
04 i:::so i:::so mansikkamaa.
big big strawberry patch
05 V ((smiles and nods))
06 °o::i°
oh
07 L minä laitan (.) sama ((shows with hands how big))
I put the same
08 (1.0)
09 O penkki?
bed
10 L ((speaks in foreign language))
11 V hän sanoo että kokonaan näitä. laittaa ((shows with hands))
she says that she puts these to the whole
12 (0.5)
13 maa- (.) [kas-]
land- gro-

- 14 O [nii] penkki=
yeah bed
- 15 V =nii joo joo
right yeah yeah
- 16 O kukkapenkki
flower bed
- 17 L [mansikka]
strawberry
- 18 O [tai mansikka]penkki
or strawberry bed
- 19 V mansikka
strawberry
- 20 O mansikkapenkki. joo
strawberry bed yeah
- 21 L =↑sitten lintu tulee ((makes bird sounds and gestures that they
peck her strawberry bed))
then bird comes
- 22 ((O and V laugh))

Orvokki tells others that she has a strawberry patch in another town in Finland. Viola actively listens, nods and smiles in line 5 as well as reacts to what Orvokki says in line 6. Lilja joins the conversation in line 7 to say that she has also planted some strawberries. Even though Lilja does not know how to say where she has planted the strawberries, she shows with her hands. Orvokki guesses that Lilja means strawberry bed (line 9), but Lilja indicates that she does not know the word in this context because she does not react to Orvokki's comment but starts speaking to Viola in their shared language. Viola listens and then translates it in Finnish in lines 11-13. Viola also does not know the exact word, but Orvokki repeats "bed" to which Viola confirms by reacting (line 15) that this is what Lilja means.

It is still unclear what kind of bed Lilja has prepared and therefore Orvokki asks in lines 16 and 18 whether it is a flower bed or strawberry bed. Lilja confirms herself already in line 17 that she means strawberry bed at the same time as Orvokki asks if it is strawberry bed. Even Viola confirms it to be strawberry bed (line 19). Finally, Orvokki repeats that in fact it is a strawberry bed. When they have cleared out that the bed is strawberry bed, Lilja adds a problem that she has encountered with it. In line 20 she says: "then bird comes", makes bird sounds and shows with her hands how the birds are pecking her strawberry bed. This makes Orvokki and Viola laugh.

In order to support the interaction and help to understand the meaning, repetition is used. Repetition is done by Orvokki and the word is bed. By repeating this word Orvokki teaches her colleagues what it means. Orvokki also repeats flower bed and strawberry bed to make sure which one Lilja means. Even though Viola nor Lilja are saying the word bed, Orvokki still repeats it because she seems to assume that they mean either flower or strawberry bed.

In summary, Orvokki uses repetition as a tool to teach the repeated word to her colleagues, and to make sure that her point comes across. Orvokki also tries to help Lilja to understand her message without Viola having to translate. In the excerpt 7, when Orvokki repeats the same sentence to Lilja, she talks slightly louder and separates the words with breaks in between them. After that, Orvokki uses repetition slightly differently - not repeating the same words but saying the same thing in different words. Orvokki contributes to the supportive communication by repeating words in Finnish which helps Lilja and Viola to grasp the meaning of the words.

5 DISCUSSION

This thesis aimed to find out what kind of interaction takes place in the breakroom where multilingual participants sit around at the same table. They come together to have a break from work and informally meet each other. The following research question was presented: RQ1) How do colleagues provide linguistic or non-verbal support in informal multilingual interaction? This chapter analyses and discusses the findings briefly and answers the research question. The theoretical background and main concepts are revisited to explain the purpose and findings better.

5.1 The Nature of Support

The support shown by colleagues appears in the excerpts by translating from one language to another, gestures and expressions, as well as repetition. First, linguistic support is shown by Viola who is translating everyday matters such as how and where to collect a package, or their mutual hobby, gardening. Tools to seek help in translation can be for instance turning gaze and body toward the person who translates. In this thesis, Viola is the unofficial translator who helps Lilja and Orvokki when needed. As Ticca and Traverso (2017, p. 130) write: “Generally speaking, interpreters in social settings are seen as participants in charge of doing interactional work in order to ensure and promote the user/non-native speaker's participation in the encounter”. It is evident that Viola is willing to translate to both Orvokki and Lilja since she often does it voluntarily.

Another way that support is visible in the interactions is through gestures and expressions. All the participants express themselves non-verbally, but Lilja in particular uses gestures often to either replace a word she is missing, or to explain herself simpler. If a speaker is concerned about the speech reception or interpretative

reasonableness, research suggests that it is related to speech production and using gestures (Taleghani-Nikazm, 2008). Lilja might be uncertain of her Finnish language skills and therefore uses gestures to make sure that her message comes across, for example, when she says the number four in excerpt 6, she shows four fingers at the same time. According to Clarke et al. (2021), visualisation for participants is important because any kind of addition to the sound is an improvement to the listener. In the excerpts where expressions and gestures are used, one can see that all three participants are using some kind of gestures or express themselves non-verbally. While Lilja might be using gestures for two reasons, Orvokki and occasionally Viola gestures to be better understood in addition to verbal expression.

The third way that was found in the data to support colleagues in interaction is to use repetition. Repetition as a tool is used by Orvokki who repeats specific words in Finnish. In excerpt 7, Orvokki repeats the word water while trying to explain about various types of water in different words. Here, by using repetition, Orvokki teaches Lilja new words as well as tries to help her understand what she means. Research by Lilja (2014) suggests that the repetition indicates receiver not knowing what the meaning of a repeated element is. In excerpt 7, Orvokki is not getting any reaction from Lilja which she interprets as Lilja not understanding what Orvokki has said. Therefore, Orvokki repeats the same matter in different words. Only Orvokki uses repetition as a way to support her communication. Therefore, the three supportive tools examined in this thesis are used by all the participants: Viola translates, mainly Lilja gestures, and Orvokki repeats.

5.2 Support in Communication

At the beginning of the thesis, relevant literature and related concepts were introduced. Szyszka (2020) presented the idea of exposing oneself to mobility which develops multilingual skills. Viola and Lilja, who both originate from outside of Finland, have developed their multilingual skills by speaking their shared language and Finnish. Multilingualism and internationalisation in the workplace are often associated with the English language. Often, companies and institutes choose English as a lingua franca and therefore also previous research has been mainly focused on it and language practices in a company where the main language is English. It is essential to also consider interaction in which the main language is not English.

It is beneficial to form social relationships via informal interaction in a multilingual workplace (Negretti and Garcia-Yeste, 2020; Charles, 2007). For instance, informal interaction in the breakroom while having breakfast, lunch, or coffee is a great opportunity. Based on this thesis, the three participants constantly develop their

relationships while interacting in the breakroom. Since all the participants work mainly independently while cleaning, breaks are one of the only possibilities to form more meaningful relationships. There is no exclusion in the cleaners' interaction, even if the conversation might go smoother between Orvokki and Viola. Viola possesses better Finnish language skills than Lilja, nevertheless, Lilja is not excluded from the discussions. In fact, Orvokki is often asking questions directed only to Lilja. The location, participants and the relationships of the participants form language clustering (Negretti and Garcia-Yeste, 2020). The three participants in this study form language clustering because their group meets regularly and interacts socially.

Relational communication plays a big role in interpersonal communication and in groups. Especially in groups, relational messages are important since they influence the dynamics (Barker et al., 2000). In this thesis, especially supportive communication is noted. Supportive communication includes verbal and non-verbal communication, and it is offered when one needs it (Mikkola, 2020). This kind of communication is relevant because in the workplace, colleagues' support increases job motivation and commitment. Social support also reflects to the feeling of being more confident about one's language skills and how one better manages uncertainty. Based on the data, Lilja needs Orvokki's support concerning language issues. Related to work or not, Lilja often seeks help which affects their relationship and Lilja's job motivation.

As the analysis shows, support between colleagues is often given or received. Supportive communication in the workplace's breakroom is visible and the participants are doing it proactively. Even if the whole team's communication competence might be defective, the individual participant's effort in communication makes a difference on an organisational and personal level. One can conclude that the informal meetings at the workplace are valuable for the employees. Lilja is able to ask questions related to work, and she also asks help in everyday matters. Orvokki wants to help Lilja so that she can develop her language skills in Finnish, and therefore speaks to Lilja in Finnish and tries to explain her message in different words if Lilja does not understand Orvokki the first time. Viola helps both Lilja and Orvokki by being the supportive translator in their communication.

6 CONCLUSION

This thesis has focused on multilingual interaction that happens in the workplace's breakroom. The study is qualitative, and the analysis is done according to conversation analysis. Data includes two recordings, approximately 50 minutes long, which were recorded in the spring and early summer of 2021. In those two videos, three participants have a break from their work, and they come together to eat. The purpose of this study has been to find out how the colleagues support each other linguistically and non-verbally in their interaction. The main findings suggest that colleagues in this multilingual interaction support each other by translating the spoken language, using gestures and expressions to support messages non-verbally, and using repetition as a tool to convey the meaning of the messages.

Data collection process has been conducted by following all the ethical and scientific standards. Therefore, data collected in this manner is appropriate for any research. Analysis was conducted by using conversation analysis because that methodology identifies bits of social interaction and explains these bits of practices. Data analysis followed Sidnell's (2013) reminder that conversation analysis starts with observation: listening and watching, then writing transcriptions. After that, a phenomenon was identified which was then possible to describe as a practice when there were many of these instances. Three practices were found, and they were described in detail as they should in conversation analysis. However, this thesis did not go through the organisation of social interaction introduced by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974): turn-taking, adjacency pair, and repair organisation, or membership categorisation. To explain these practices more thoroughly, the given page limit would be greatly exceeded. Limited by the approximate length of 40 pages, I decided to focus only on the analysis of participants' linguistic and non-verbal communication. Organisations by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) are left for possible future research as they would benefit from more in-depth analysis. Otherwise, data provided rich content and many interesting practices to research. If the instructed page limit would have

been longer, the organisation of social interaction could be studied, and it is therefore something that could have been done differently.

This study is limited because of its scope and length. Even though there would have been more recordings to go through, it would not have been possible to study all the material because of the scope of the thesis. This master's thesis went through only two recordings which included the same three participants. To widen the scope, more recordings should be studied and included in the analysis. Analysis should show more examples where more people interact. For further research on the same topic, for example, gestures and expressions could be a subject to further expand on. This is because non-verbal communication plays a significant role in multilingual interaction. In this thesis, the participant who does not speak Finnish fluently, uses non-verbal communication often and affectively, which means that it is an important aspect of her communication. Looking ahead, research on other practices such as non-fluent participant asking help in work related matters, asking help in booking an appointment, and practical help from the Finnish speaking participant would be interesting to investigate. In addition, research could look into the talk about the participants' home country – how they express their views and discuss about it.

The whole research process of this thesis has been fulfilling because of the chance to participate in the data collection which I could have not done by myself. Collecting the data, going through the recordings, transcribing, picking the interesting practices, and analysing them was new and intriguing project for me. In the recordings, the colleagues discuss various topics, and it seems that they have known each other for some time already. Despite participants coming from different backgrounds, their communication and friendliness towards each other is effortless. They do not mind the differences or challenges the communication between them might have. Support that they provide to each other is valuable and makes their interaction smoother. It is marvellous to see that the colleagues that were studied are always willing to help and support each other despite having different levels of language skills.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

Transcription Conventions

[start of overlap
]	end of overlap
=	“latched” utterances (no silence between turns)
(.)	micropause, a hearable pause, which is difficult to measure (usually less than 0.3 seconds)
(0.5)	silence, timed in tenths of seconds
.	falling intonation (at the end of a unit, but not necessarily end of turn)
?	rising intonation (not necessarily a question)
↑	marked rise in pitch (marked before the syllable where the rise occurs)
↓	marked fall in pitch (marked before the syllable where the fall occurs)
:	lengthening of sound (the more colons, the longer the sound, e.g. lo::::ng)
ye-	cut-off speech (“self-interruption”)
yes	stress or emphasis (via pitch and/or amplitude)
° yes °	soft speech
YES	loud speech (the louder, the more letters in upper case)
>talking<	compressed talk; talk that is faster than surrounding talk
<talking>	talk that is slower than surrounding
()	something is said, but it is not possible to hear it well enough to transcribe
(())	transcriber’s comment (to represent events that occur but are not part of verbal utterances, but have bearing on the interaction)

Gestures can be marked using double brackets (e.g. ((points to X)))

APPENDIX 2

Osa-aikainen siivooja Kouvolaan
Kouvola
Toistaiseksi voimassaoleva

Hei reipas **SIIVOOJA** – me etsimme sinua osa-aikaisen siivoojan tehtävään Kouvolaan!

Tässä tehtävässä vastaat ylläpitosiivouksista, peruspesuista ja vahauksista erilaisissa asiakaskohteissamme. Työvuorosi sijoittuvat arkipäiviin kello 05:00–16:00 välille. Toivomme myös mahdollisuutta työskennellä satunnaisesti viikonloppuisin. Työaikasi on 20–37,5 h/viikko. Tämä työsuhte on toistaiseksi voimassa oleva ja alkaa mahdollisimman pian.

Sinun kannattaa hakea tätä tehtävää, koska ISS tarjoaa

- paikan, jossa voit kasvaa: meillä voit rakentaa oman urapolkusi ja hyödyntää monipuolisia koulutusmahdollisuuksiamme. Voit lukea [tästä](#) Lukaksen vauhdikkaan tarinan.
- työyhteisön, jossa tukenasi on niin paikallinen tiimi kuin kansainväliset taustajoukot. Arvostamme monimuotoisuutta sen kaikissa merkityksissä, meidän tiimissämme voit olla oma itsesi.
- vakaan ja luotettavan työpaikan, jossa voit luottaa siihen, että palkkasi maksetaan oikein ja ajallaan. Erityisiä onnistumisia huomioimme ISS-palkitsemisohjelman mukaisesti.
- kattavat työterveyshuollon palvelut ja työhyvinvointiohjelmat
- turvalliset työolosuhteet: suojavarusteet, työvaatteet, perehdytyksen ennakoiwaan turvallisuuskulttuuriin ja säännölliset turvavartit

Sinulta me toivomme

- itsenäistä, tarkkaa ja oma-aloitteista työtettä
- sujuvaa suomen kielen taitoa ja hyvää fyysistä kuntoa
- erinomaista, hymyilevää palveluasennetta
- B-ajokorttia ja oman auton käyttömahdollisuutta työkohteisiin kulkemisen vuoksi
- puhdistuspalvelualan tutkinnon sekä aiemman kokemuksen siivoustyöstä luemme eduksi, mutta tärkeintä on reipas asenteesi ja halusi oppia!

Me, ISS Suomi, olemme osa maailman johtavaa kiinteistö- ja toimitilapalveluyhtiötä, joka toimii yli 30 maassa. Suomessa meitä ISS:läisiä on 8 000 ja toimimme valtakunnallisesti. Toimintamme tarkoituksena on luoda tiloja, joissa on hyvä olla. Luomme näitä tiloja siivous-, kiinteistö-, ravintola- ja työpaikkapalveluillamme. Siivous on palvelualoistamme suurin, olemme kehittäneet siivousosaamistamme yli 80 vuoden ajan.

Ilmastotavoitteenamme on olla hiilineutraali vuonna 2035 – ISS:läisenä pääsetkin vaikuttamaan merkittävästi tämän tavoitteen toteutumiseen ja yhteisen ympäristömme hyvinvointiin!

Haethan oheisen linkin kautta mahdollisimman pian tai viimeistään 2.2.2022! Käsittelemme kaikki hakemukset ja kerromme jokaiselle hakijalle prosessin etenemisestä. Halutessasi saat lisätietoa tehtävästä rekrytointi@iss.fi.

Täytä hakemus

Figure 1: Job advertisement for cleaners. In the third paragraph it is written: “Sinulta me toivomme” (We wish from you): “sujuvaa suomen kielen taitoa” (fluent Finnish language skills). ISS. 31.01.2022



Hae tähän työpaikkaan

Kokoaikainen työ tehdassiivoukseen

Oletko vailla kokoaikaista työtä vai haluaisitko vaihtaa nykyisesi uuteen? Pidätkö rutiineista ja säännöllisistä työtunneista? Tässä olisi tarjolla juuri sitä, sillä etsimme aurinkoiseen joukkoomme

PALVELUVASTAAVIA TEHDASSIIVOUKSEEN.

Työtehtävät koostuvat ylläpitosiivoustöistä asiakkaamme tehdastiloissa. Meillä on tarjolla ihanan vakituiset työajat: ma-pe klo 7-15, jolloin pääset vapaasti suunnittelemaan viikonloppu- ja iltamenoisi. Eikö olekin houkuttelevaa?

Valitun henkilön parhaat ja **tärkeimmät ominaisuudet** ovat reipas työskentelyote ja asenne sekä halu sitoutua työtehtäviin. On tietenkin eduksi, jos sinulla on valmiiksi kokemusta ja/tai koulutus vastaavasta työstä, mutta perehdytämme sinut kyllä huolella kohteeseesi ja siellä suoritettaviin siivoustehtäviin. Työturvallisuuskortti vaaditaan, avustamme tarvittaessa hankinnassa. **Työssä tarvitaan riittävän hyvää suomen kielen taitoa asiakaspalvelutehtäviin liittyen.** Ajokortti on eduksi.

Hyvän perehdytyksen lisäksi tarjoamme sinulle koko tiimin vankkumattoman tuen ja mahdollisuuden suorittaa tarvittavia koulutuksia työn ohessa.

Kiinnostuitko? Toivottavasti! Työ alkaa 1.1.2022 ja perehdytys alkaa 1.12.2021, joten täytä pikaisesti sähköinen hakulomakkeemme. Lisätietoja tehtävästä antaa Anne Huhtaviita-Tolonen, anne.huhtaviita-tolonen@sol.fi

Liity osaksi aurinkoista porukkaamme!

Hakuaika alkaa: 18. lokakuuta 2021

Työsuhteen tyyppi: Kokoaikainen

Figure 2: Job advertisement for cleaners. In the middle of the text, highlighted in red it is written: "Työssä tarvitaan riittävän hyvää suomen kielen taitoa asiakaspalvelutehtäviin liittyen" (It is needed in the job to have good language skills in Finnish related to customer service tasks). SOL. 31.01.2022