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Tiina Räisänen

Professional Communicative Repertoires and Trajectories of Socialization into Global Working Life

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UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ

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JYVÄSKYLÄ 2013

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ABSTRACT

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This longitudinal study explores the construction of professional communicative repertoires of Finnish engineers across their trajectories of socialization from the educational through stay abroad to global working life contexts. Taking a biographical perspective on lives with English, this study investigates repertoire construction in relation to community memberships, identity work within discourses, participation in interaction and enregisterment processes of ways of speaking. Utilizing ethnographic, sociolinguistic and discourse analytic theories, this study conceptualizes repertoires as biographical and indexical of macro-level phenomena of globalization, global working life and English used as a (business) lingua franca. This study comprises four articles and an overview on case studies with five participants followed for over six years. The data include interviews and audio- and video-recorded workplace interaction. Article 1 focuses on the engineering students' discursive identity work as users of English before and after work practice abroad, revealing identity change accompanying a shift in orientation from educational norms to surviving with one's repertoire. Article 2 discusses problems caused by one's own and other people's English that one engineer faces across contexts, with implications for restrictions in repertoire construction. Article 3 examines meeting interaction, focusing on how a manager manages interpersonal relationships between Finnish and Chinese colleagues with skillful use of resources in a mediator role. Article 4 investigates the enregisterment of business English in interaction, highlighting the development of a repertoire via learning of resources and business practices. This study shows how repertoire construction is intertwined with norms and discourses of appropriateness and proficiency, socialization into ways of speaking, multiple types of identity work, inequalities and asymmetries in knowledge and professional practices. This study reveals how a truncated repertoire emerges in interplay between learner and professional repertoires constructed across various trajectories, closely connected with locally and globally enregistered ways of speaking English.

Keywords: biographies, communicative repertoire, discourse analysis, engineers, English as a lingua franca, enregisterment, ethnography, identity, interaction, intercultural communication, interview, language and globalization, socialization, sociolinguistics, work environment

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LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

Article 1 Virkkula, Tiina & Tarja Nikula (2010). Identity construction in ELF contexts: a case study of Finnish engineering students working in Germany. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 20(2), 251–273.

Article 2 Räisänen, Tiina (2012a). Discourses of proficiency and normality – endangering aspects of English in an individual’s biography of language use. In Jan Blommaert, Sirpa Leppänen, Päivi Pahta & Tiina Räisänen (eds.) *Dangerous multilingualism: northern perspectives on order, purity and normality*. Basingstoke: Palgrave McMillan, 207–227.

Article 3 Virkkula-Räisänen, Tiina (2010). Linguistic repertoires and semiotic resources in interaction: a Finnish manager as a mediator in a multilingual meeting. *Journal of Business Communication*, Special issue of Language Matters, part 2, 47(4), 505–531.

Article 4 Räisänen, Tiina (2012b). Processes and practices of enregisterment of business English, participation and power in a multilingual workplace. *Sociolinguistic Studies* 6(2), 309–331.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and purpose of the study

The process of becoming a professional constitutes an intrinsic part of an individual's development as a human being. We enroll in compulsory education, educate ourselves to have a job and then enter working life. At the same time we construct our communicative repertoires and develop them in order to be able to carry out our job tasks. Constructing a professional repertoire is a longitudinal process carried out across various stages and trajectories of socialization into working life. While each repertoire consists of a unique set of communicative resources, everyone's repertoire is influenced by biography, experiences with languages, participation in communities, communicative demands and views about languages and language-related practices circulating in social life. This study sets out to explore Finnish engineers' construction of their professional communicative repertoires in the contexts of education, work practice abroad and global working life.

1.1.1 Setting the scene: globalization and working life

What kinds of professional repertoires are needed at the micro-level of working life can be partly explained by macro-level processes of globalization and technologization. In order to understand repertoires, it is important to discuss the concept of *globalization* and some of its key processes as these affect the individual worker. While it is not a new phenomenon – global integration has existed throughout our history with colonization representing only one example – a great deal of the processes of globalization are qualitatively novel, more dynamic and large-scale, and occur at an ever-accelerating and rapid pace, causing changes in social life which, at the same time, has already globalized and continue to globalize (e.g. Castells 2000; Friedman 2006). Illustrative examples of globalization processes include cultural changes (e.g. observable in popular music, food, sports), the development of various new communication technologies (most notably those enabled by the internet), expansion of global markets (the birth and growth of multinationals, small companies becoming global, cross-border company mergers), new types of consumer culture (e.g. buying items from the internet) and the opening of national borders (e.g. the European Union). Globalization shows in the interconnectedness of individuals, peoples and nations in a "flattening world" (Friedman 2006). However, people do not live in a uniform global village but in "customized cottages globally produced and locally distributed" (Castells 2000: 370), seen for example in the segmentation and diversification of media audiences based on individual desires and needs (Castells 2000). Thus individuals are increasingly engaged in various global networks in which they need to find their own ways of being.

Finnish individuals working in the Finnish technology industry[1] represent a case in point in understanding grassroots-level globalization processes. Globalization of working life unfolds as companies need to meet the demands of the global market, be able to accommodate to global trends, customize their products and services and extend their reach into new locations. Moreover, they are dependent on worldwide partnerships. In developing their global business, and for economic reasons, companies cross national borders. For example, many Finnish industries have established subsidiaries in China in order to increase capacity and flexibility, save costs in business operations and production (see e.g. Ali-Yrkkö 2006), and be close to markets (Ahoniemi 2010: 11). [2] As a result, engagement in projects abroad, especially in China, has become commonplace for many Finnish professionals working in the technology industry. How companies actually function in China and what individual workers' roles are there depend on company strategies, organizational cultures and labor policies as well as characteristics of the Chinese institutional environment and the availability of qualified Chinese employees, for example (Kosonen, Kettunen & Penttilä 2012). Often Chinese employees lack expertise and specialized skills that are found in Finland, which is why Finnish experts are needed in China either as long-term expatriates or during short visits. Moreover, in order to monitor operations in China, Finnish companies want to keep control in Finnish hands (Kosonen et al. 2012: 26). A study on Scandinavian companies' technology transfer to China has shown that having Western managers in key positions in mixed management teams is an implicit way of securing technological advantage and can be seen as a means to reduce the need for expatriates and to increase local management (Bruun & Bennett 2002). Adapting to the local community has also been perceived as strategically important. It is therefore crucial that when appointing key management professionals for overseas projects businesses select those who possess the required competencies and expertise (Kosonen et al. 2012: 29, 31).

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[1] Finnish technology industry is one of the most important industrial sectors in Finland, see The Federation of Finnish Technology Industries (http://www.teknologiateollisuus.fi/en/)

[2] In 2011, Finnish enterprises had 4 617 affiliates in 119 countries with a concentration in Europe and Asia (Official Statistics of Finland). In China the number was over 300 in 2012 (Bäckström, Koikkalainen & Simpura 2012: 65).

Hence, although communication technologies have revolutionized communication making frequent chat between workers across national units via skype commonplace, face-to-face and physical contacts have not lost their importance in global working life. Such an operational environment poses various linguistic, cultural and practical challenges for business professionals. Those challenges were faced by a Finnish manager of a Finnish company whose work at one point comprised management of China-based projects, travelling back and forth between Finland and China and daily contacts with a Chinese workshop. For example, the same Finnish manager, Oskari, a participant in this study, discusses his working days in China in an interview, and describes them as involving work on the computer in an office just as in Finland, except for the presence of the Chinese, who often enter the room to ask questions about how work should be done. After that he compares his working days in Finland and in China:

Extract 1 (interview, Finland, spring 2008) [3]

Oskari	when I'm in Finland, a really big filter exists between China and Finland. but when I'm in China I keep on wondering how extremely hectic it feels there, something happening all the time, always somebody calling and coming in asking questions. but then back in Finland it feels like coming from the horrible din of traffic to your lakeside cottage with birds singing. it is misleading that everything is alright, like today. I didn't hear much from China, but there is likely to be a fuss there all the time. everything related to the projects gets around in China, but not everything reaches Finland. but when you are physically there you are always having to interfere or be a part of it

Oskari describes the existence of a filter between China and Finland in that he has not heard much about projects when working at home, whereas in China he is constantly aware of them. There seems to be a difference between working in China (illustrated with the expression "horrible din of traffic", in Finnish "kauhee liikenteen melu") and working in Finland (which is like "lakeside cottage with birds singing", in Finnish "linnunlaulu mökillä"). This is just one example illustrating the complex operational reality of workplaces brought about by globalization processes which affect individual workers who have both the possibility and the obligation to engage with global networks and become mobile themselves. Moreover, the example reveals why key professionals need to be, at least occasionally, physically located in global units and why face-to-face contacts are important in doing one's job. That way one can be fully aware of what happens, as described by the Finnish manager. Therefore, it is safe to say that what it means to be at work and do one's job has been affected by globalization processes. Moreover, as suggested in the Finnish manager's example, individuals have been given more responsibility over their own work, and are even required to do their work in more independent ways than before (cf. Iedema & Scheeres 2003; Gee, Hull & Lankshear 1996). Increasingly, more individuals are involved in economic activities that relate to globalized forms of exchange (Heller 2010: 349). Many workers, such as the Finnish manager, need to engage in global assignments (Bender & Fish 2000). Such work tasks can be both emotionally demanding in causing feelings of anxiety and at the same time rewarding in advancing one's international career, as was the case of Finnish engineer expatriates studied by Peltonen (1999). Hence, not all people experience globalization in the same way: not everyone has access to similar global networks or the will or skill to operate in them. Therefore, rather as uniform, linear and universal for all, globalization is better seen as saturated with "tensions between sameness and difference, between centripetal and centrifugal tendencies, and between consensus and fragmentation" (Coupland 2010: 5).

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[3] The participants of this study are Finnish and the interviews were conducted in Finnish. All the examples are translations which aim at conveying the Finnish expressions as closely as possible. Nevertheless, nuances are inevitably lost in translation, and hence I have included Finnish expressions here and there, especially if they are particularly illustrative in meaning (and if, in my opinion, I cannot find an English translation that conveys that meaning). In addition, all participants' names are pseudonyms (for more information on the data collection and participants, see Chapter 2).

As globalization processes and new capitalism contribute to changing working situations, illuminating the micro-processes of global economies (Farrell 2001: 60), workers' roles become blurred and hierarchies at the workplace scattered – old identities are renegotiated and new ones created (Sarangi & Roberts 1999: 10). The notion of the *new work order* (Gee, Hull & Lankshear 1996; Hull 1997) aims to capture "a discourse which constitutes emergent work-related positions and identities" (Sarangi & Roberts 1999: 9; see also Roberts 2009: 406). The idea of the new work order neatly captures the reality of how individuals are subjected to widely circulating discourses and ideologies about the kind of work that is valued in global working life, the ways in which they should cope with their tasks and communicate at work. Moreover, when individuals move to increasingly globalized and globalizing professional contexts from educational ones, a clash may emerge between the new discourses and the old ones which individuals have earlier been socialized into, causing challenges and even problems to them, their repertoires and identities, which must then be reconstructed and renegotiated. Such global moves are typical in late modern societies, creating noticeable contradictions, unpredictability and unsteadiness for individuals' communication at the local level of interaction (Sarangi & Roberts 1999: 10 drawing on Giddens 1991). In dealing with interactions and the relationships that are established through various globalized forms of communication, individuals require different kinds of communicative and professional expertise (see also Gunnarsson 2009: 250–251). Along the lines of the new work order, the changing ways of using language has been characterized as a *new word order* (Farrell 2001; Iedema & Scheeres 2003) in which the workforce has become a 'wordforce' (Heller 2010) that manufactures talk and text (Roberts 2010: 212). In this complexity, communication poses challenges for individuals, not least due to its role as the most essential competence in a "competence-driven world" (Matthewman 1996 as cited by Roberts 2010: 212).

1.1.2 Communication and English in global working life

In understanding communication in the conditions of global working life and the new work order, *the English language* is a case in point. There are a number of considerations. First, increased global networks and contacts mean a greater emphasis on the need and ability to communicate in a global lingua franca. In the case of English, which is the language the most used in international relations, science, industry, technology, tourism, media, music and the internet, this situation has given rise to the concept of *English as a lingua franca* (*ELF*, Knapp & Meierkord 2002; Nickerson 2005; Seidlhofer 2001; House 2003; Charles 2007). Interactions carried out in using English as a lingua franca can be seen as a means of interconnecting economic, cultural, political, professional and social spaces by which human relations are maintained (Jenkins, Cogo & Dewey 2011: 303). Often, in the communicative situations, people for whom English is not a mother tongue have learned English as a foreign language in institutional settings. For example in Finland, with Finnish and Swedish as the two official domestic languages and English the most studied foreign language (Leppänen et al. 2009, 2011; Pöyhönen 2009), most pupils start learning English at the age of nine and continue until they come of age. Although Finns consider English the most important foreign language which they encounter in the education, media, everyday and professional life domains (Leppänen et al. 2009, 2011), the first time a Finnish person may face a real need to use the language may be to do his/her work tasks, often independently without any help from translators or interpreters, depending on whether the use of English is part of company-level policy or a decision made at the grassroots level (e.g. Virkkula 2008; Leppänen & Nikula 2007: 347–351; see also Kankaanranta 2005). In fact, English has become a solid global working language and even a prerequisite for many jobs in Finland (e.g. Alatalo 2006; Huhta 2010) as well as elsewhere (e.g. Nickerson 2007; Ehrenreich 2010). In many ways, English enables individuals to gain access to new repertoires, spaces and careers, the language defining their trajectories (cf. Blommaert 2010; see also Leppänen et al. 2011: 16).

Second, knowledge of lingua franca English is seen as an important element of overall business know-how (Kankaanranta & Louhiala-Salminen 2010). In today's economic competition, effective communication skills have become increasingly important (EK 2005; TEK 2009; Huhta 2010). According to Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta (2011: 244), professional communication has undergone dramatic changes and thus a global professional needs a new type of communicative competence. Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta's (2011) study shows that important aspects of global communicative competence include multicultural competence, business know-how (i.e. field-specific professional competence) and competence in *English as a business lingua franca* (*BELF*, Louhiala-Salminen, Charles & Kankaanranta 2005). Most of all, BELF is seen as an enabler and a tool for communication and an easy and neutral choice for a shared working language among business professionals who do not have a common first language (Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005; see also Kankaanranta

2005; Rogerson-Revell 2007; Gerritsen & Nickerson 2009; Ehrenreich 2010; Kankaanranta & Planken 2010). Users of BELF are viewed as communicators in their own right rather than English language learners judged against native speakers' performance, which is a view shared by researchers of ELF in general (Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005; Jenkins et al. 2011: 283–284). Because BELF is a tool for communication at work, it has implications for business operations: for the ways work is done, for how management is constructed and for how individual workers engage in workplace practices (Tienari 2009: 253).

Third, when considering the role of English, one has to note individuals' need to navigate amidst different norms of usage, since at the same time English articulates global values and identities and is attached to local principles and cultures (e.g. Pennycook 2007a). For example, the native speaker model persists as a yardstick against which professionals' communicative competence is conceptualized in lingua franca contexts (Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta 2011: 245), even though communicating in ELF has been characterized as a culture-free code which is not tied to a particular English-speaking culture but one in which the speakers relate to the local community and their ways of speaking (Meierkord 2002; House 2003; Pölzl 2003). Globalization thus creates new value systems with implications for the use of English (Coupland 2010), which is enmeshed in complex and unique indexical meanings (Blommaert 2010: 1; Leppänen et al. 2011: 169) tied to the different roles of English as a foreign language and a lingua franca. The two, somewhat opposing, views (communication in English as adherence to native-speaker norms and being a culture-free, local code) reveal the dichotomy regarding the role of English, which in turn influences individuals' repertoire construction and communication. As Higgins (2009: 5–6) notes, English has been regarded either as an oppressive force or as a creative resource. The first view resembles Blommaert's (2010: 100) idea of English on the ideological level (*English*$_1$) whereas the second view corresponds to the idea of English used in real practices (*English*$_2$) (see also Pennycook 2007b). The two different ways of seeing English have an impact on how individuals enter into working life and into interactions with their repertoires, which in turn affect their expectations and shape their discursive understandings about language and ways of speaking. Hence, in seeking to understand English as a (business) lingua franca, it is important to view English not only as a tool of communication – as a global and neutral form of English – but as a language involved in global flows, used and appropriated by its users in novel ways, residing in individuals' repertoires as a resource alongside other resources, and as various specific ways of speaking related to domains, identities, ideologies and values – to the being of 'self' in the globalized world (cf. Pennycook 2007a: 7, 19; Leppänen & Nikula 2007: 338; Blommaert 2010).

New communicative realities and demands for the use of English reflect changes in global working environments where individuals' expectations about communication may vary considerably because of their diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds, discursive histories and socialization trajectories. This is why looking at professionals' repertoire construction is interesting and important as it is carried out in the dynamic interplay of globalization and the new work/word order phenomena, the various roles of English and on-the-job reality. When entering working life, individuals often have to learn new ways of speaking, used for various purposes, with colleagues near and far (Duff 2008a: 258). Because of the contradictory discourses and ideologies about what language and language use are and should be, as the dichotomy related to English indicates, there is a continuous call for research on grassroots knowledge with a dual perspective: how people themselves conceive language and how they use language (cf. Makoni & Pennycook 2007b; Blackledge & Creese 2010: 30; Johnstone, Andrus & Danielson 2006). Such a dual perspective is needed to understand individuals' professional repertoires.

While professional communication in lingua franca contexts has been studied from different perspectives, either from the point of view of individuals' understandings or of their language use in interaction (e.g. Firth 1996; Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005; Mondada 2004; Poncini 2002; Rogerson-Revell 2007; Kankaanranta & Planken 2010), little research has actually focused on individuals' professional repertoires and their resources, addressed and problematized how individuals make sense and construct their repertoires across their mobile, dynamic and varied career trajectories that take them to different places, communities and types of interactions (cf. Day & Wagner 2009). Moreover, Heller (2011: 5–8, 10–11) argues that we need to focus on the development of people's trajectories over time, and move from looking at stability to investigating mobility. This shift in focus is linked to a larger epistemological movement in the field, as "trajectories were largely overlooked in the sociolinguistics of the latter half of the 20th century with its synchronic focus" (Martin-Jones & Gardner 2012: 10; see also Blackledge & Creese 2012).

This is the background against which this study addresses questions of professional repertoire construction, communication and identity across individuals' trajectories of socialization into global working life. This is a longitudinal ethnographic study of a group of Finnish individuals' repertoire construction as professionals and users of English, and their trajectories. Five Finnish individuals, born in 1977–1981, have been followed for over six years, starting from their stay abroad period in Germany as polytechnic students and engineering trainees and continuing to their employment in engineering and managerial posts in global businesses based in Finland. Their trajectories from the educational and stay abroad to working life contexts organize the timeframe of this study. The participants' possibilities for participation in social life with their repertoires are investigated across timescales and contexts from a multidisciplinary perspective combining *sociolinguistics*, *ethnography* and *discourse analysis*. Thus, this is a study of "globalization from below" (Appadurai 2000: 3), as repertoires reflect the influences on them of globalization processes, social issues and structures. Moreover, the study yields knowledge about professional repertoires as constructed by individuals in their talk across the different stages in their lives and in workplace interaction. People's conceptions of themselves and their language and their actual use of language offer a dual perspective on repertoires.

1.2 Conceptual and methodological framework

A repertoire refers to an individual's package of *communicative resources*. The conceptualization draws on a strand of sociolinguistics developed by Dell Hymes (1964, 1971, 1974a, 1974b, 1986[1972], 1996) and John Gumperz (1964, 1971, 1972, 1982b; Gumperz & Hymes 1986[1972]) and on the sociolinguistics of globalization and ethnographic approaches to language which stress the need to study individuals' language use in order to understand society (Blommaert 2005, 2010; Rampton 2006; Pennycook 2007b, 2010; Agha 2007; Higgins 2009; Heller 2007, 2010; Blackledge & Creese 2010). Repertoire was developed in the 1960s by Gumperz with his initial notion of verbal repertoire containing "all the accepted ways of formulating messages"(Gumperz 1964: 137–138), being "the totality of linguistic forms regularly employed within the community in the course of socially significant interaction" (Gumperz 1971: 182). For decades, repertoire has been one of the central sociolinguistic concepts. However, scholars have begun to revisit the notion under the current conditions of increasing diversity and globalization (Blommaert 2010; Blommaert & Rampton 2011b; Blommaert & Backus 2011, 2012, 2013; Busch 2012) in order to understand not only its interactional aspects (stressed in the original conceptualization) but also its biographical, historical, ideological and discursive dimensions, that is, to understand a repertoire as *biographically organized* (Blommaert 2010: 103). This is part of the strand of the new sociolinguistics, which aims at understanding late-modern forms of communication as influenced by individuals' movement across contexts and virtual spaces, and by the development of new forms of communication as a result of digital technology (Blackledge & Creese 2012: 82; see also Martin-Jones & Gardner 2012).

Thus, repertoire has been viewed as belonging both to a group of speakers and to the individual (see also Duranti 1997: 71). In this study repertoire is used in the latter sense. Hymes's (1972: 64) *communicative competence* is closely related to the idea of an individual repertoire, capturing the individual's ability to use language. Blommaert & Backus (2011, 2012, 2013) apply communicative competence in their conceptualization of a repertoire which includes "all those means people *know how to use and why* while they communicate" (Blommaert & Backus 2011: 3, 2012: 3, 2013: 11, italics in originals). This formulation is useful in this study for understanding the complex ways individuals communicate in the world by drawing on all the resources at their disposal (cf. Pietikäinen 2012; see also Jørgensen 2008, who talks about features). 'Means' (Blommaert & Backus 2011, 2012, 2013) refers to the *resources* that belong to a repertoire. As the above conceptualization suggests, using a repertoire in communication presupposes knowledge of what resources to use and how. Thus, *communicative* *repertoire* is a more suitable term for capturing an individual's communicative practices, documenting the actual communicative demands in today's heterogeneous and diverse environments, and understanding the social world than, for example, the narrower concepts of language and linguistic repertoire or verbal repertoire (cf. Busch 2012; Hall, Cheng & Carlson 2006; Martin-Jones & Gardner 2012; Rymes 2010; Zentz 2012). Because communicative norms are not shared across communities and people do not necessarily understand linguistic messages the same way, other resources such as gestures can be crucial for making meaning more precise (Kendon 1997, 2000). Moreover, in multicultural and lingua franca business situations, individuals require resources that reach beyond the notion of language proficiency, discussed in earlier (Section 1.1.2). Drawing on Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck (2005: 213), then, a repertoire is "what the environment, as structured determination and interactional emergence, enables and disables".

On such a broad view of communication, language is one such communicative resource (cf. Hymes 1996: 34–41; Rymes 2010 : 532). When conceptualizing language as a resource and as used in, more often than not, new ways in global environments due to various social, cultural and linguistic movements, dominant ideologies about language and the idea of language as a system are challenged, and thus a need for a new framework and methodology is called for (Heller 2010: 360–361; see also Martin-Jones & Gardner 2012: 4; Busch 2012). In developing this framework it is important to look at real-life communicative demands, expectations and goals in particular situations and environments and how they are negotiated in situ (Blommaert et al. 2005: 200), in interactions. First of all, such a framework should consider interactions as not occurring in a vacuum, but rather as always influenced by widely circulating discourses (i.e. representations of knowledge, Gee 1990, 2005) about communication and practices which are unevenly distributed across social contexts and communities (cf. Heller 2010). Due to the heterogeneity of societies, communicative practices and individuals' competences, the possibilities for using a repertoire vary across social domains. For example, institutions may regulate the use of languages by imposing norms sot that individuals may be forced to adapt their communication in ways they find undesirable. Language and communication can therefore create both possibilities and problems for individuals and inequalities between speakers and social structures (Hymes 1996; Blommaert 2005: 71; Heller 2010: 361; Leppänen et al. 2009: 151–156, 2011: 164–167; see also Blommaert, Leppänen, Pahta & Räisänen 2012). Thus, how individuals cope with language in the contemporary world is a central sociolinguistic question which requires a critical look at individuals' repertoires as used and talked about in contemporary social situations (cf. Blommaert 2008; Makoni & Pennycook 2007; Heller 2007, 2010).

In this study a *professional communicative repertoire* is viewed as an individual's resource package, constituting all the resources used by an individual to communicate in working life. In this study, professional repertoires are investigated through individuals' professional *biographies with*

English. [4] Each individual has a unique repertoire because everyone has a unique personality and biography (e.g. Johnstone 2000: 407), dependent on the social, sociolinguistic and cultural conditions in which the individual's life is lived (Blommaert 2010: 103–106). However, people also share resources, because of their membership in the same *speech community* (Gumperz 1964, 1972: 219, 1986[1972]: 16; Hymes 1971; 1974a, 1974b, 1986[1972], 1992, 1996). For example, people share ways of speaking, including their norms of usage, which shows in their use of a set of communicative resources determined by the demands of particular situations in the speech community. Following the social theories of late modernity, repertoires are seen as being in a constant process of change and remodification (cf. Giddens 1991), and hence people construct them constantly in social action and over time. Thus, in this study the *construction of a professional repertoire* is seen from a *processual perspective* with several *dimensions*: individuals' *trajectories of socialization, memberships in communities, identity work, participation in interaction* and *enregisterment processes*. The framework for studying repertoire construction in this study is the outcome of applying several theories and approaches. Below, the dimensions of repertoire construction are briefly introduced.

Professional repertoire construction is seen to involve *socialization* into various types of linguistic, discursive and semiotic phenomena, such as discourses, ways of speaking and workplace practices. The notion of socialization usefully considers the relationship between the individual, group and the social order (Garrett & Baquedano-López 2002) and involves *learning*, which in this study refers to the "broad range of tactics, technologies and mechanisms by means of which specific language resources become part of someone's repertoire" (Blommaert & Backus 2011: 9, 2012: 7, 2013: 14) and to "a range of pathways along which one travels sometimes more quickly, sometimes more slowly" (Blommaert & Backus 2011: 9–10). Importantly, constructing a repertoire is not only about learning new words and ways of speaking but about learning new (working) identities (cf. Iedema & Scheeres 2003; Farrell 2000, 2001: 62; du Gay 1996; Mertz 2007). What kinds of identities are constructed depends on access to *discourses* (Gee 1990, 2005; Blommaert 2005), and identity options vary across contexts (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004): for example, the case of students' versus professionals' identities. Identity work relates to the repertoire construction in which we engage as particular kinds of people, in a particular position (Davies & Harré 1990) available in discourses, or in a *role* or as a *footing* (i.e. stance on what we are saying) available in interaction (Goffman 1981).

Earlier longitudinal studies relevant for understanding repertoire construction have focused on individuals' trajectories of socialization over several months in classrooms (e.g. Wortham 2005, 2008), academic settings

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[4] Professional lives with English is the lens through which repertoires are investigated. Hence the focus on English. The term 'language' is used in this study in the meaning of the sociolinguistics of globalization in which it does not necessarily refer specifically to the English language but is used in understanding and theorizing what language is.

(Vickers 2007), training programs and workplaces (e.g. Sarangi & Roberts 1999; Mertz 2007; Li 2000; for an overview of studies see Duff 2008b; also Roberts 2010). In the field of applied language studies research has addressed the language development of individuals and groups in the conditions of study and stays abroad, which have been highlighted as powerfully influencing learners' identities and confidence in using a foreign language (Jackson 2008; Kinginger 2009). Studies of language socialization in professional contexts have drawn on the language socialization framework (Schieffelin & Ochs 1986), with an interest in novices' socialization into using language, and through language into ways of "acting, feeling and knowing, in socially recognized and organized practices associated with membership in a social group" (Ochs 2002: 106; see also Vickers 2007; Duff, Wong & Early 2000; Li 2000). From within this framework, Finnish engineers' socialization into the global workplace can be seen as a matter of *double socialization* (Li 2000) into both their work environment and their way of speaking. In fact, a third component exists, since Finns socialize into professional lingua franca settings and hence not only into ways of speaking in their native language, but also in a foreign language, English.

Research in lingua franca contexts has touched upon issues important in professionals' language socialization in global working life, such as the way participants make choices in their linguistic code in workplace activities (e.g. Mondada 2004) where the potential difficulties and deficiencies in the language used are bypassed with the pragmatic aim of fulfilling the functional requirements of the activity in question (Firth 1996; Rasmussen & Wagner 2002; Gardner & Wagner 2004; for a discussion see Roberts 2010; see also Kankaanranta & Louhiala-Salminen 2010). Lingua franca studies, however, lack longitudinal, repertoire-based research with a socialization dimension, a gap which the present one therefore aims to fill. Importantly, researchers of socialization contend that studies should consider the whole lifespan and individuals' movement into new and heterogeneous communities and settings (Garrett & Baquedano-López 2002; Duff 2008a; Duff 2010). However, as Duff (2008a: 266–267) notes, most of socialization research does not catch the "longer term school-to-work (…) or cross-career trajectories", or "socialization across contexts", where it would be important to discover how individuals' prior discourses affect their socialization into new communities, how they may try to change or resist the practices and discourses dominant in the new community and develop new practices instead (see also Heller 2001). In this socialization process, it is important to consider the role of English as a lingua franca in people's lives, particularly their working lives (cf. Duff 2008a: 268). Thus, for a more holistic account of individuals' professional socialization into the workplace, a longitudinal, ethnographic study is needed with naturally occurring data, evidence of learning and in which workplace identities are seen as multiple and blurred and socialization as a complex rather than a linear and unproblematic trajectory of novice to expert (Roberts 2010: 212, 215). This study contributes to research on individuals' professional socialization into lingua franca contexts by looking at repertoire construction from an ethnographic perspective: that is, by following individuals across educational, stay abroad and professional contexts, taking into account the identities, resources, practices and processes that are involved.

In this study, individuals' movement from educational and stay abroad contexts to global working life constitutes a *trajectory*. According to Wortham (2005: 95), socialization involves "a connected series of events across which individuals come to participate in forms of life". It is an ongoing process with a longer timescale and it can actually be observed in the micro-level of practices (cf. Vygotsky 1978). Hence repertoire construction occurs both in situated *speech events* (Hymes 1986 [1972]), e.g. interview event or interactional event, and across events, longitudinally, and is influenced by resources both within situated events and by those widely circulating across events. Here, repertoire construction is examined in different stages of the trajectory in four case studies[5] focusing on specific speech events. Repertoire construction itself involves different trajectories (of discourses drawn on, for example) with both short and long timescales. Consequently, as Lemke (2000b) frames it "trajectories on *longer timescales* may be envisioned as 'envelopes' of the *shorter timescale* trajectories" (italics added)[6].

In this study, the process of professional repertoire construction is approached from a *dual perspective* and seen as carried out in 1) people's talk about themselves and their repertoires in interviews in the educational, stay abroad and workplace contexts, and 2) their talk within a repertoire in workplace interaction. In perspective 1), individuals draw on available discourses in talk whereas in perspective 2) they use communicative resources in interaction where English is used as a shared language. My approach to individuals' repertoire construction is guided by ethnographic principles, according to which 'small things' should be studied in order to understand the 'bigger picture' and in which it is important to situate the events within larger macro-social phenomena (cf. Hymes 1974a, 1996; Blommaert 2005, 2008; Wortham 2005; Heller 2006, 2012; Rampton 2006; Blommaert & Dong 2010). In this study 'small things' refers to the studied situated events (e.g. workplace interactions, individual interviews) occurring on the short timescale and functioning as windows for seeing and understanding 'bigger things' such as the widely circulating discourses in society and longer timescale phenomena such as longitudinal repertoire construction. Such a dual perspective and an ethnographic approach to Finnish engineers' repertoire construction in different contexts will contribute to understanding the phenomenon of working in global multilingual and multicultural settings and individuals' positions in them. As Linell (1998: 151) argues, "studies at the micro-level of discursive practices in actual conversations and specific texts contribute to an understanding of the 'macro'-relations between discourse communities, and conversational and textual subcultures, in society" (see also Blommaert 2005: 48, 123, 2008: 13).

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[5] Articles 1–4 are listed in Section 1.3 and they appear in the printed version of this study. Unfortunately, due to copyright restrictions the articles are not included in the parallel online publication.

[6] No page numbering.

Moreover, it is on the micro-level of social interactions that macro-level phenomena in society and changes in language practices can be observed (cf. Agha 2005; Pennycook 2010). Interpreting what kinds of discourses are reflected, invoked and drawn on requires that the researcher has knowledge of the society in question and the participants. Hence, interpretation moves back and forth between micro and macro (Wortham 2006: 40).

To avoid determinism and the assumption that certain discourses, ways of speaking and repertoires are always ‘handed down’ to individuals as essentializing categories (cf. Wortham 2006: 43), this study places emphasis on the reproductive nature of social action and individuals’ agency in choosing which discourses to draw on and what ways of speaking to use, sometimes through contestation of existing norms about ways of speaking and discourses (cf. Higgins 2011). I use the concept of *enregisterment* (Agha 2003, 2005, 2007) as an intermediary link between the micro-macro dialectic and as a tool to understand processes and practices of repertoire construction. Enregisterment is a process in which the forms and values of a repertoire are recognized as distinctive from the rest of the language (Agha 2007). It has to do with metapragmatic reflexivity and people’s activities of evaluating language use (Agha 2007; Blommaert & Rampton 2011a, 2011b; Verschueren 2012). In enregisterment processes, particular ways of speaking are recognized and assigned value in specific communities, for example ‘Pittsburghese’ in Pittsburgh (Johnstone et al. 2006) and ‘integrated’ and ‘street language’ in Copenhagen (Møller & Jørgensen 2012). Enregisterment processes are constantly at play and help in understanding individuals’ conceptualization and use of repertoires (cf. Makoni & Pennycook 2007; Blackledge & Creese 2010). Moreover, enregisterment relates to the analysis of competence which ”must take into account the *interactive processes of evaluating language use,* in which negotiability-in-principle operates across multiple levels” (Blommaert et al. 2005: 212, italics added). Enregisterment foregrounds individuals’ recognition and value attribution processes, agency and local understandings and norms of ways of speaking in each social domain in question.

Drawing on Agha (2007) and earlier research (e.g. Johnstone et al. 2006; Goebel 2007, 2009, 2010, 2011; Dong 2010; Møller & Jørgensen 2012), in this study enregisterment is viewed as a constantly evolving reflexive process of individuals recognizing ways of speaking and assigning them value. Enregisterment has not been a key focus in the study articles (except for Article 4), but the theory serves as a framework for interpreting the empirical findings in the individual articles and thus functions as an interpretative analytic tool in the overall study. The two main themes in the individual articles are identity work within discourses and individuals’ participation in workplace interaction in which the participants engage in enregisterment processes by means of explicit and implicit metapragmatic activities (cf. Agha 2007; Blommaert & Rampton 2011a: 8–9, 2011b: 10); explicitly, for example, by characterizing linguistic forms in drawing on discourses of language use in interviews and implicitly through communicative responses to interlocutors’ turns, in which the responses index the assigned value of the chosen communicative actions in the particular situation. As enregisterment processes unfold constantly in and through social action, individuals simultaneously construct their repertoires by using resources from particular ways of speaking. Certain resources can also be involved in repertoire construction, but do not necessarily enter a repertoire; for example, other people's resources can function in this way. By looking at enregisterment processes, the study describes the processes and practices involved in repertoire construction. Enregisterment also helps to capture what kinds of resources feature in individuals' professional repertoires and enter into them over time. It thus functions as a link between findings on the micro level of situated events and widely circulating discourses and ways of speaking on the macro level (cf. Adams 2009: 116). By exploring a set of situated events collectively in the individual articles, it is possible to gain a more comprehensive picture of how, through different enregisterment processes, professional repertoires are constructed.

This section has introduced the core theoretical, conceptual and methodological frameworks that complement each other and contribute to the study of repertoire construction. Table 1 summarizes the core concepts used in this study.

TABLE 1 Key concepts

CONCEPT	DEFINITION
professional biography with English	a professional life with English
professional communicative repertoire	an individual's set of (professional) ways of speaking and associated resources
resource	means of speech (Hymes 1974a) all those means that people *know how to use and why* while they communicate (Blommaert & Backus 2011, 2012, 2013)
ways of speaking	the communicative resources needed and used in a speech community (Hymes 1986 [1972])
the construction of a professional repertoire	a process with various dimensions: *trajectories of socialization, memberships in communities, identity work, participation in interaction, enregisterment processes*
trajectory	continuous movement from and between x, y, z, etc. (Wenger 1998: 154)
short and long timescales	trajectories on *longer timescales* (months, years) may be envisioned as "envelopes" of *shorter timescale* trajectories (cf. Lemke 2000a, 2000b; Vygotsky 1978)
socialization	a process of learning various resources for speech community membership (e.g. Ochs 2002)
trajectories of socialization	a connected series of events across which an individual comes to participate in forms of life (Wortham 2006, 2008)

identity	multiple and changing, three levels: discourse identity, situated identity, transportable identity (Zimmerman 1998)
discourse	a way of representing ideas and knowledge (Gee 2005)
role	an individual's dynamic interactional identity (i.e. situated identity Zimmerman 1998)
footing	an individual's stance on what he or she is saying (Goffman 1981)
enregisterment	a constantly evolving reflexive process of individuals recognizing ways of speaking and assigning them value (Agha 2007)

1.3 Aims

This study is an article-based study and it includes four articles:

Article 1	Virkkula, Tiina & Tarja Nikula (2010). Identity construction in ELF contexts: a case study of Finnish engineering students working in Germany. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 20(2), 251–273.
Article 2	Räisänen, Tiina (2012). Discourses of proficiency and normality – endangering aspects of English in an individual's biography of language use. In Jan Blommaert, Sirpa Leppänen, Päivi Pahta & Tiina Räisänen (eds.) *Dangerous multilingualism: northern perspectives on order, purity and normality*. Basingstoke: Palgrave McMillan, 207–227.
Article 3	Virkkula-Räisänen, Tiina (2010). Linguistic repertoires and semiotic resources in interaction: a Finnish manager as a mediator in a multilingual meeting. *Journal of Business Communication*, Special issue of Language Matters, part 2, 47(4), 505–531.
Article 4	Räisänen, Tiina (2012). Processes and practices of enregisterment of business English, participation and power in a multilingual workplace. *Sociolinguistic Studies* 6(2), 309–331.

The study addresses repertoire construction from various perspectives in four individual articles with a focus on the participants' professional lives with English, which the participants have studied since the age of nine and which has a solid role in Finnish society and working life (see Leppänen et al. 2009, 2011; Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005). The following dimensions of repertoire construction are considered: individuals' trajectories of socialization from educational and stay abroad contexts to professional life, membership and participation in communities and interaction, identity work and enregisterment processes. The study aims to answer the following research questions which developed during the research process, as is typical of ethnographic studies (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995; Blommaert 2004; Blommaert & Dong 2010):

1) What kinds of professional communicative repertoires are constructed within situated events and across timescales and contexts, how, and with what kinds of resources?
2) What kind of identity work is involved in the construction of professional communicative repertoires?
3) What kinds of trajectories emerge in the construction of professional communicative repertoires?
4) What enregisterment processes are involved in the construction of professional communicative repertoires?

All the articles address research questions 1 and 2: Article 1 contributes to understanding repertoire construction by investigating discourses and discursive identity construction with reference to educational and stay abroad contexts. Article 2 also focuses on these two contexts in addition to working life and an individual's discursive resources in relation to perceptions of normal and abnormal language practices. Articles 3 and 4 examine repertoire construction in work contexts with a focus on participation and role alignment. As for research question 3, Articles 1 and 2 investigate longitudinal trajectories of identities (Article 1) and discourses of language use and proficiency (Article 2). A thorough examination of trajectories in professional repertoire construction is carried out in the findings section of this study (Chapter 5). Each situation under investigation in the articles functions as a building block of trajectories. Analytically, the articles resemble the windows of a house: as when looking inside a house (the construction of repertoires), which one can do through different windows (the present articles) and thus from alternative angles of vision. A more holistic picture of repertoires and trajectories can be gained by means of a longitudinal perspective, and thus research question 3 is addressed in this Overview at its fullest. Furthermore, question 4 is addressed in Articles 2 (briefly) and 4 whereas a thorough discussion of the enregisterment processes is included in the findings section of this study (Section 5.2). The following Table (2) indicates how the research questions are addressed in the articles.

TABLE 2 Research questions addressed in the articles

ARTICLE	PARTICIPANTS	DATA	AIM	APPROACH TO REPERTOIRE
1) Identity construction in ELF contexts	Tero, Oskari, Simo, Pete, Risto, Lauri, Joel	Theme interviews 1) before stay abroad 2) after stay abroad	Discursive identity construction Long timescale trajectories	Talk about a repertoire
2) Discourses of proficiency and normality	Oskari	Theme interviews 1) before stay abroad 2) after stay abroad 3)working life	Discursive resources Problems of a repertoire Long timescale trajectories	Talk about a repertoire
3) Linguistic repertoires and semiotic resources in interaction	Tero	Video-recorded meeting at work	Possibilities of a repertoire at work Roles Participation	A repertoire-in-use
4) Processes of enregisterment of business English	Tero	Audio-recorded meeting at work	Development of a repertoire Short timescale trajectory	A repertoire-in-use

Collectively, the four articles tell a story about individuals' trajectories and repertoire construction across contexts and timescales. They illustrate how people with a background of living and studying in Finland develop a particular sense of themselves as language users and their repertoires, how English is both a problematic and an empowering resource in working life, simultaneously disabling and enabling an individual in participating in diverse social functions, and how a repertoire is used and develops in workplace activities. Moreover, the articles and their foci present my journey in developing the theoretical framework.

Article 1 focuses on all five individuals' discursive identity construction and changes therein by means of interview data collected at the beginning and at the end of/after a work practice period abroad and on the ways in which individuals make sense of their language use, proficiency and experiences with the English language both in Finland and abroad. In order to gain an in-depth understanding of individual repertoires and a particular dimension of repertoire construction, Articles 2–4 examine individual cases with the aim of documenting individuals' activities and deepening our understanding of how people, with their unique trajectories, function with and experience their repertoires (cf. Kinginger 2004: 220, 223). Article 2 addresses changes in an individual's talk about a repertoire and its problematic aspects at the beginning and the end of a stay abroad period and during working life. Article 3 examines an individual’s participation, role alignment and resources used in maintaining interpersonal and business relationships in a workplace meeting carried out mainly in English. Article 4 focuses on the construction of a professional repertoire through enregisterment in workplace interaction with English as the shared language. Following the ethnographic tradition, all four case studies in the articles function as complementary windows on professional repertoires and collectively constitute a series of studied events across which individuals participate, become socialized into professional life, and thereby construct their repertoires.

This study is theoretically and methodologically unique and multifaceted, utilizing a combination of various perspectives, theoretical frameworks, concepts and types of data. With case studies and detailed analysis of particular phenomena in particular environments it is possible to probe into complex processes, issues and structures that reach beyond the speech events in question (e.g. Yin 1994; Rampton 2006). Furthermore, it is novel to study trajectories of professionals’ repertoire construction with the aim of data and methodological triangulation, which enables the construction of individual repertoires to be approached from different perspectives. Using multiple sources of evidence and seeking converging findings increases the validity of this study. Moreover, a temporal and a longitudinal approach allow the investigation of whether, to what extent and why certain phenomena change or congeal (see also Goebel 2010: 192). It should be noted that this study is able to capture changes in the way people talk about their repertoires, but only partly account for changes in how a repertoire is used in interaction with English as the shared language. Nevertheless, going beyond the speech event reveals that phenomena such as repertoire construction are dependent on the reuse of signs and meanings across speech events (cf. Rampton 1995 on crossing; Wortham 2006 on processes of social identification). Over time, certain signs become associated with other signs and become indexical of particular repertoires, ways of speaking and identities (cf. Goebel 2010: 59). In this study a temporal approach allows professional repertoires to be considered as emerging out of a constellation of various dimensions and enregisterment processes on different timescales and contexts, and thus to gain a holistic view of them. Lastly, the study is unique not least because investigating the same individuals in this kind of design is a challenging and time-consuming task (cf. Roberts 2010). Figure 1 summarizes the approaches to the construction of professional repertoires adopted in this study.

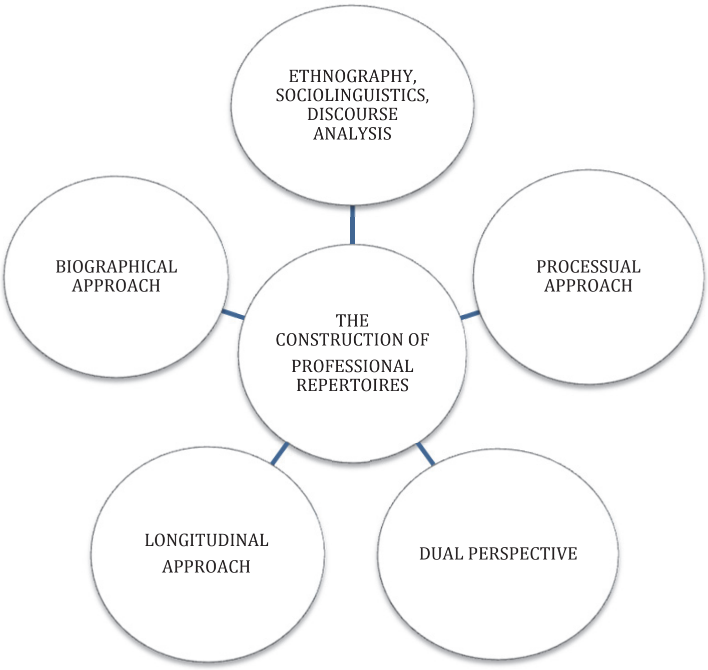
ETHNOGRAPHY, SOCIOLINGUISTICS, DISCOURSE ANALYSIS
BIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH
PROCESSUAL APPROACH
THE CONSTRUCTION OF PROFESSIONAL REPERTOIRES
LONGITUDINAL APPROACH
DUAL PERSPECTIVE

FIGURE 1 Approaches to the construction of professional repertoires

1.4 Organization of the study

This article-based study includes four articles and the present Overview which includes six sections. I refer to the text at hand as an Overview to distinguish between what has been done in the articles and what is done here. The articles were written separately and three were published in international journals and one in an edited volume. While Article 1 is a co-authored paper, Articles 2–4 have been written by me alone. While the articles represent original empirical research, in this Overview I summarize the findings of the individual articles and discuss them in a larger framework. This Overview is constructed in the following way. In Chapter 2 the research process as an ethnographic endeavor in four separate phases is introduced to provide a general outline of the participants, data gathered and my own journey through knowledge and in gaining knowledge. Next, in Chapter 3, the theoretical framework is discussed along with the key concepts more thoroughly, in line with my own journey in developing the framework. Chapter 4 introduces the methods of analysis used in the articles and the interpretative process carried out in this Overview. Chapter 5 summarizes and discusses each article in turn, presenting their findings, and ends with two summarizing sections. Lastly, in Chapter 6, the research is evaluated, implications and future directions are discussed and conclusions drawn.

2 THE RESEARCH PROCESS

2.1 Biographical and ethnographical approach

For a broad description and interpretation (Becker 1996) of the situations, events and activities in and across which repertoire construction occurs, it is vital to adapt a multidimensional approach, where each dimension provides a different perspective on the object of study and where the researcher alternates between questioning what is going on and under what circumstances, and how that is being achieved (Gubrium & Holstein 1997: 205, 211). My approach has developed and been revised throughout the research process, as will be illustrated in the present section. From the outset, the interest has been in individuals' use of English and their professional biographies with the English language, but the focus has shifted along the way. The research process began with an analysis of discourses related to using English as a foreign language and lingua franca, moved into an ethnographic study of language and communicative practices and eventually was narrowed down to a micro-discourse analytic and multimodal view on the phenomena. First, I discuss the two basic principles which have guided the study from the beginning, the *biographical* and *ethnographical* principles, and then I introduce the participants and the research process.

2.1.1 Biography

With individuals as its focus, this study links to a recent strand in the qualitative research tradition, particularly in the social sciences (e.g. Denzin 1989) and in applied linguistics, in such areas as second language acquisition research (e.g. Benson 2005: 16–17), which has become known as (auto)biographical research (also as narrative research and personal experience). The ascent of narrative-based studies in various fields (e.g. psychology, gender studies, education, anthropology, sociology, linguistics, law and history) suggests a 'biographical turn' in the social sciences

(Chamberlayne, Bornat & Wengraf 2000: 9; Roberts 2002; see also Johnstone 2000). According to Roberts (2002: 1), biographical research "seeks to understand the changing experiences and outlooks of individuals in their daily lives, what they see as important, and how to provide interpretations of the accounts they give of their past, present and future". The biographical turn in relation to the changing nature of the social processes has been well described by Rustin (2000: 3), who contrasts modernity and late modernity. In modernity, individual identities were seen to a large extent as determined by social structures whereas in late modernity individuals are seen as having more agency over their identity options. Due to globalization, technology and social change, individuals have better access to information and to alternative versions of how life could be lived. In the context of this change Rustin (2000: 34) argues, "the time seems to be right for a fresh methodological turn towards the study of individuals, a turn to biography".

Interest in individual lives has also gained more ground in sociolinguistic research (e.g. Pavlenko 2007; Pietikäinen et al. 2008). This may be explained by the changing nature and mobility of people, their repertoires and discourses in the conditions of globalization. With English as a case in point, in late modern society languages transform rapidly, communities are fragmented rather than stable, and languages move across the world, undergoing modifications along the way, and are no longer tied to a place. In such an environment language does things to people and people do things to language (cf. Hymes 1974a: 21). However, attention to individuals in sociolinguistics is not entirely new. For example, LePage & Tabouret-Keller (1985: 2) suggested *a sociolinguistics of the individual* because they saw language as essentially idiosyncratic – as the linguistic repertoire of an individual, which needs to be taken as the focus of study in order to understand the mechanisms of language change and variation, and the role of individuals in creating "unique voices by selecting and combining the linguistic resources available to them" (Johnstone 2000: 417).

When chosen as the focus of sociolinguistic research, biography functions as an ethnographically informed lens (Maybin 2006: 13) through which to view selected phenomena. To take a biographical approach is to adopt a speaker-centered perspective and a view on repertoires as dynamic, situated and historical: as representing people's complex daily lives and their multiple identities (Blommaert & Backus 2011, 2012, 2013). Furthermore, such an approach focuses on speakers and their experiences and enables one to capture shifts, changes and reconfigurations in repertoires as affected by historical, social and political factors (i.e. 'macro'; see also Heller 2001; Busch 2006, 2012; Pavlenko 2007). Furthermore, the researcher is enabled to reveal the challenges that people face, and to address the tensions between the linguistic norms and ideologies (cf. Heller 1999, 2010) which people need to tackle in order to survive in globalized working life. As Busch (2006: 9) notes, with a biographical approach it is possible to link the macro-level sociolinguistics of the roles and functions of languages and the micro-level of the individual. In particular, "the biographic account can offer insights into how an individual experiences the broader social context and the language regimes in which she develops her language practices, her ambitions and desires in terms of imagining herself as a speaker of a certain language or code" (ibid.). The biographical approach is well suited to ethnography, which is discussed next.

2.1.2 Ethnography

Ethnographic research has its roots in anthropology. What ethnographic research means is disputed, since it can refer to a method, a methodology or an approach, depending on the nature of the study (Agar 1995: 583; Hymes 1996: 3; see also Blommaert & Dong 2010). Hammersley & Atkinson's (1995: 1) description of ethnography states that "in its most characteristic form it involves the ethnographer participating, overtly or covertly, in people's daily lives for an extended period of time, watching what happens, listening to what is said, asking questions - in fact collecting whatever data are available to throw light on the issues that are the focus of the research". In addition, being more than a method of observation and interviewing, ethnography is rather a research strategy "a commitment to an investigation and explication of how "it" actually is, of how "it" actually works, of actual practices and relations" (Smith 1988: 160). Ethnography begins from what occurs in the everyday world, from the local and particular, and takes into account the participants' tacit and articulated understandings, also in reporting the findings (Rampton 2006: 391). This means a commitment to studying the subject of inquiry in its entirety from multiple viewpoints, and hence to doing holistic research in which the participants' perspectives and analyses of language-in-use are combined. For these reasons the research focus may change during the process, and thus there should be a dialectic relation between theory, interpretation and data (cf. Hymes 1990: 421). Transparency and explication of precisely what ethnographic research means in each study is thus important.

Ethnography in this study is rather like looking inside a house through different windows. This is an approach to reality where the house is the phenomenon under study and the windows represent different perspectives on repertoire construction. Hence, ethnography in this study is both a methodology and an approach; 'a way of seeing the world'**.** Through each window one sees inside the house from a unique viewpoint. By means of ethnography, I look at the participants from multiple perspectives. The windows of the house, or events, are not isolated cases, but may be indexically linked to each other in different ways (Wortham 2005; Agha 2007; Blommaert 2008). With ethnography, the researcher gradually begins to see connections, patterns and systematicity (Rampton 2006: 391; Agar 1980: 194) between the 'small things' s/he sees through the separate windows and the 'bigger things' (Blommaert & Dong 2010). Repertoires can also be examined in this way: from various perspectives to gain a more holistic picture of them.

When speech events (Hymes 1986 [1972][7]), i.e. interview situations and interactions, are looked at collectively, trajectories begin to emerge. My ethnographic approach involves using my own knowledge of the value of languages in the studied communities in the interpretation of data (cf. Gumperz 1999; Rampton 2006: 392). As Blommaert (2010: 3) argues, such "an ethnographically formulated sociolinguistics, […], is a critical social science of language." When looking at 'small things' in the totality of 'big things', one engages in an analysis of social structures, of inequalities and of asymmetries. As Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982: 1) note, "communication cannot be studied in isolation; it must be analyzed in terms of its effects on people's lives". With ethnographic research one is thus able to "tell a story; not someone else's story exactly, but our own story of some slice of experience" with a close look at the language practices and social processes intertwined in specific settings (Heller 1999: 14–15). While traditional ethnographic studies focus on a single cultural or linguistic group, the present study incorporates what could be called *multi-site ethnography* (Marcus 1995[8]; Garrett & Baquedano-López 2002: 343; Hannerz 2003) by looking at several individuals across their trajectories. Multi-site ethnography "allows us to track circulation of social actors across different social spaces and identify the links between practices observable in different sites, real or virtual" (Martin-Jones & Gardner 2012: 10). Moreover, it is a method for increasing the credibility and generalizability of research (Duff 2006: 85).

Combining different perspectives according to ethnographic principles, this study investigates the processes of the construction of individuals' professional repertoires over several years and the practices that constitute them (cf. Heller 2012: 25) from a dual perspective: 1) the participants' own descriptions and talk about their repertoires with reference to their educational, stay abroad and working life contexts, and 2) repertoires-in-use at work. Both perspectives are important for revealing individuals' expectations of situations where they need to use language and their self-perceptions as language users, and illuminating individuals' actual communication and situational requirements.

2.2 Participants

A total of seven individuals took part in this study: five in the entire process (for over six years), and the remaining two in the first phase[9]. The participants' pseudonyms are Tero, Oskari, Simo, Pete, Risto, Joel and Lauri. Finnish is their first language (L1), they were born in 1977–1981 and they have lived in Finland their whole lives, mostly in towns with fewer than 200 000 inhabitants. They have all completed basic education, and Tero, Oskari, Simo and Risto have taken the Finnish matriculation examinations while Pete, Joel and Lauri have gone to vocational school. Each of them studied English for seven years at junior and secondary school and for three years in either high school or vocational school.[10] In total, they studied English as a school subject for ten years[11], and also took a few courses at polytechnic[12], which makes them, overall, representative of most Finns of that age (see e.g. Leppänen & Nikula 2008: 16–21; Leppänen et al. 2011: 20–22). At the beginning of the research and before the stay abroad they reported not having travelled abroad for more than two weeks, and not having used English in Finland much apart from at school.

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[7] For Hymes (1986 [1972]: 56), a conversation during a party is an example of a speech event.

[8] Marcus' (1995) term is 'multi-sited ethnography'.

[9] The four phases of the research process are introduced in Section 2.3. In the fourth phase, two key participants were selected for closer investigation (see Section 2.3.4).

The participants began their engineering studies at a polytechnic in Finland in 2001 and were in the same class. In 2003, they applied to and were accepted for a trainee program in Germany as industrial production workers. As I accompanied the participants to Germany, it was a natural choice to include all of them in the study. The participants could decide the length of their stay for periods ranging from four to six months. The participants graduated in 2005–2007 and were either already employed or almost immediately got a job in global industry. Tero worked in sales in a design company with a world-wide network. Despite his job title as a Sales Manager, he did not have any subordinates. In 2008 he moved to a small-sized, Finnish engineering works with a developing workshop in China to work as a Global Business Developer and Research and Development (R&D) Manager. Oskari was first employed as a Project Engineer in a multinational engineering and technology corporation, but after finishing his studies he moved to a small-sized, international Finnish company with around 30 employees and with a world-wide sales network and a workshop in China. There he worked as a Project Manager. Both Risto and Simo worked as Project Engineers in a multinational engineering and technology corporation. Later Risto moved to a job as a Project Chief Design Engineer whereas Simo moved to another global supplier to work as a Project Engineer. Pete worked as an Area Sales Manager in the Product pricing and Spare parts and Service sales section of a large multinational manufacturing company with around one thousand employees in over ten countries and a worldwide partner network. Tero's and Oskari's jobs involved a lot of travelling abroad, particularly in China, Risto and Simo travelled less, mostly in Europe, whereas Pete mainly travelled in Finland. The participants' professional biographies after graduation are illustrated in Table 3.

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[10] The English terminology referring to the Finnish educational levels varies (cf. Pöyhönen 2009; Leppänen et al. 2011: 20–21). In general, the Finnish education system comprises four stages. The first stage includes pre-school education for six-year-olds and the second stage includes basic education (i.e. comprehensive school attended by all children aged 7 to 16, here referred to as 'junior and secondary school' as in Articles 1 and 2). Upper secondary education is the third stage (here referred to as either 'high school' or 'vocational school', also called 'general upper secondary education'). The higher education forms the fourth stage (either university or polytechnic studies) (Leppänen et al. 2011: 20–21.)

[11] Here it is important to note that high school studies include more language courses than vocational school studies, as defined by the national core curriculum (see Finnish National Board of Education, Core Curricula and Qualification Requirements).

[12] As legislated in the Polytechnic Studies Decree 352/2003, §8, polytechnics are to provide language studies which aim at "such written and oral skills as are needed for the profession and professional development in the field" (for a comprehensive presentation of Finnish Language Program Policies, see Huhta 2010: Appendix 2).

TABLE 3 An overview of the participants' professional biographies after graduation

PARTICIPANT	JOB	COMPANY	EMPLOYMENT PERIOD
Tero	Sales Manager	Global industrial design company	2006–2008
	Global Business Developer and R&D Manager	Small-sized engineering works	2008–2010
Oskari	Project Engineer	Small-sized engineering company	2005
	Project Manager		2006–2011
Simo	Project Engineer	Multinational engineering and technology corporation	2005–2008
	Project Engineer	Large global technology company	2008–2011
Risto	Project Engineer	Multinational engineering and technology corporation	2005–2007
	Project Chief Design Engineer		2007–2012
Pete	Product pricing, Spare parts & Service sales	Large global manufacturing company	2005–2008
	Area Sales Manager		2008–2009

2.3 The research process and data collection

From the epistemological perspective, my research process is an ethnographic project in which I started as an outsider by conducting interviews and learning about the people under study. Gradually, I formed a relationship with the participants and the field. During the process and over the years, my knowledge of the participants has steadily grown and my participation in their lives has increased during the process of seeking answers to the research questions. Below, I explicate the research process and its phases.

2.3.1 The first phase: stay abroad

The research process began in 2003 when the participants enrolled in a work practice program abroad as part of their engineering studies at a polytechnic. They embarked on a four to six months' practice period in a mill in a small town in Western Germany where they worked five days a week in three shifts. In the factory they were advised to use German only, although none of them knew it very well, some did not know any, and without receiving any training in German during the stay. In practice they used English whenever possible, mostly with Portuguese workers, because most of their German colleagues possessed poor English skills. All the participants lived in a student dormitory which accommodated students and workers from different countries.

I had already known some of the participants before their trip and learned that the German factory also employed trainees without any technical background, which represented an opportunity for me to conduct language practice in German, my minor subject at the university. I was also employed as a trainee in the same factory alongside the participants. At that time I was planning my Bachelor's thesis and chose to interview the participants at the beginning and at the end of their stay abroad period with an aim of investigating their views of themselves as users of English and their experiences in using English both in Finland and abroad. Thus, at this point the focus was on the participants' lives with English in general. The interviews were semi-structured theme interviews with flexibility and active listening to what the participants themselves brought up (Noaks & Wincup 2004: 80). Of particular interest was to see whether their views changed during the stay. In addition to the individual interviews, I gained a great deal of information about the participants' lives in Germany through observations and discussions with them on language-related issues throughout the stay. All the participants were studied in the Bachelor's thesis. In 2006 I finished my Master's thesis (Virkkula 2006) with seven participants. Article 1 is based on this data.

2.3.2 The second phase: fieldwork and interviews

The second phase of the research process began in 2008 when I started my doctoral studies with an interest in working-life English. At this point the focus was narrowed down to the participants' professional lives with the English language. Five participants (Oskari, Tero, Risto, Simo and Pete) were asked to participate in the second phase. They were chosen because they had all graduated from a polytechnic, were employed in international companies where English had a significant role as either an official or a working language, and owing to the simple fact that they were available. Furthermore, I expected that the role of English in their lives had changed, and now played a different role than earlier when they entered working life.

The interviews conducted in 2003 functioned as important starting points and background information for the second phase of data collection, discussions and interviews. However, the focus shifted more towards the here-

and-now and what the participants did with their repertoires at work. Therefore, first we had discussions (either face-to-face or via email) regarding their language use at work, documented by most of them, for instance, in the form of a clock activity (Satchwell 2006) which they filled. The aim of the clock activity was to find out about the participants' hour-by-hour workplace activities and languages used. Not all of them completed the clock activity, because it was considered too time-consuming to fill in during working hours. Nevertheless, the filled in clocks provided interesting insights on the kinds of work tasks, revealing the varied nature of working days with English: on one day English had a more significant role than on another day. The participants read and wrote emails in English, spoke and heard English, chatted via computer-mediated programs and read and wrote documents to varying degrees.

On the basis of the clock activities and discussions, I decided to observe the participants' workplace activities on the spot with the purpose of gaining knowledge about the nature of the participants' work and the role of English in it. With such a 'fly-on-the wall' perspective it is possible to capture the general atmosphere at work and reveal "the most striking features of the target" (Louhiala-Salminen 2002: 226). Access to the field and permission to do the recordings were facilitated by the participants, who in their own words explained my study to their employers. The confidentiality agreements were perused together to ensure that each party was satisfied with the rules for the subsequent uses of the collected data.[13] Thus, I observed three participants at work, at least for a day, either in the office (Oskari and Pete) or during a work trip (Tero) in spring 2008. Unfortunately, due to time constraints I was unable to follow Risto and Simo: Risto was also studying in another city, and Simo, according to his own words, did not have enough work to be followed, owing to the recession. Following Tero on his work trip to California and observing Oskari and Pete at work in Finland facilitated my learning about Finnish professionals' working days in and outside Finland and gaining an insider's perspective. In Finland, the participants mainly sat in front of a computer writing and reading emails, inspecting technical specifications and solving problems, whereas abroad work tasks were principally carried out via speaking and where working days included dinners and sightseeing trips with colleagues. After this, I considered interviews a useful next step, which would allow me to delve deeper into the participants' views about their work, and compare them with my observations.

I interviewed all the participants in 2008 in order to gain an overall picture of their views, experiences and feelings about using English at work. The interviews were theme-based and lasted more than an hour. At this point, I had already built a close relationship with each participant, which made it easier to talk with them. These discussions confirmed that the situations they encountered, experiences they had had and the feelings aroused by the use of English were noticeably different, although similarities were also observed.

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[13] Confidentiality and ethical issues are discussed in Section 2.3.5.

First, all of them faced and used English at work, but in dissimilar ways. In the larger Finnish context, Leppänen et al. (2009, 2011) also found differences in the use of English between Finnish professionals: 78 % of Finnish workers see or hear English at their place of work (Leppänen et al. 2009: 52, 2011: 68) and 46 % use it on a weekly basis (Leppänen et al. 2009: 105, 2011: 118). Moreover, the present interviews confirmed that the participants themselves valued speaking the most as a communicative resource, but it also presented them with the most challenges. It also emerged strongly in the first interviews that the participants principally viewed the use of English in terms of speaking. For this reason, I steered my focus towards their speaking which I investigated through recording their interactions.

2.3.3 The third phase: self-recordings at work

Due to the participants' extremely busy working lives and difficulty in finding time for fieldwork, a practical solution to collect more data was self-recordings which could be done during work trips abroad where the participants spoke English the most. Tero took a digital mp3 recorder to China and India in 2008, Oskari to China in 2008, Simo to Germany in autumn 2008 and Risto to Sweden in spring 2009, the only instruction being to "record any situations at work where you use English". All of them returned with different types of material. Listening to the recordings and transcribing them was at the same time interesting, confusing and time-consuming because I lacked contextual information, and some of the recordings included heavy background noise because they were recorded in a factory or in a restaurant. As for the activities, some discussions were highly technical, with frequent references to machines, machining and tools, while the participants audibly used artifacts, objects and other materials at the site. In general, their language use was difficult to understand, partly because of the unfamiliar vocabulary and accents, which caused me to position myself in the same stage in my own knowledge trajectory as the participants themselves had been when entering working life.

An important aspect of self-recordings is the fact that such recordings illustrate what the participants regard as "recordable" to begin with. Hence the recordings themselves in part characterize how people view their working life: they are representations and thus valuable information *per se*. For example, Risto had recorded two meetings with two Finnish and one Swedish colleague present in his three-day work trip to Sweden (a total of ~180 minutes), while Tero had the recorder switched on during different types of activities in the China office – whether during a meeting or a lunch break in his weeklong trip (a total of ~140 minutes). However, although there were ten activities in Tero's recordings, the total amount of spoken discourse was less than in Risto's case. Oskari recorded three situations with the same Chinese Project Manager, Chen (lasting about 20 minutes) during a weeklong trip, explaining later that they were "very typical" communicative situations in China: short and simple (e.g. explaining in an interview that "14 minutes is already quite long"). Simo, on the other hand, recorded approximately 200 minutes during his four-day trip to

Germany with situations ranging between training sessions to lunch breaks and discussions during a taxi ride. For these reasons, the recordings represent noticeably different working days, trips and situations. This is a significant finding: what the participants understand by being at work differs.

Therefore, it is important to clarify the meaning of the terms ‘work’ and ‘workplace’. In this study, when I discuss the participants being at work and at the workplace, I refer to the various settings where the participants consider themselves as at work (Sarangi & Roberts 1999: 4–5). Hence, this notion entails various work-related activities, and, depending on the participant, meetings, email communication, encounters at the airport, lunch gatherings and social events that are related to their work.

After having listened to the data over and over again, I compiled a list of clarifying questions to ask the participants in order to understand the data better. In addition, I went through the data to find recurring themes and conducted test analyses.

2.3.4 The fourth phase: following key participants

The research process was adjusted again in 2009, when, for various reasons, Tero and Oskari were chosen as the key participants for closer investigation. One reason was that “the more settings studied the less time can be spent in each” (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 40). Focusing on two people would enable me to delve into their professional lives in more depth. Another is that Tero and Oskari travelled a lot, the role of English was more important for them than for the other three participants, and for this reason they were able to provide me with a great deal of data on their use of English with their colleagues both in Finland and abroad. Moreover, the earlier phases of the research process confirmed that they were similar in many ways. For example, they had markedly similar career trajectories: both of them worked as managers in companies doing business in China and were engaged with the Chinese component of globalization (see Introduction of this study). In light of earlier studies on the use of English as a business lingua franca (e.g. Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005; Kankaanranta & Louhiala-Salminen 2007, 2010; Gerritsen & Nickerson 2009; Pullin Stark 2009; Kankaanranta & Planken 2010; Ehrenreich 2010; Kankaanranta & Lu 2013), Tero and Oskari represent fairly typical BELF users, as internationally operating business professionals whose work involved regular contacts with colleagues who did not speak their native tongue, were fairly young (below 40), had a managerial-level job, a university degree or equivalent and English as their working language, but whose repertoire construction and trajectories have not yet been documented in a similar way.

In spring 2009, I conducted fieldwork at both Tero’s and Oskari’s workplaces. I received a permission from Tero’s workplace to follow him and video-record his activities during three consecutive days when the subsidiary manager (Susan, a Chinese L1 speaker) and the quality manager (James, a Chinese L1 speaker) from the Chinese subsidiary company visited the Finnish workshop. In addition, a Chinese supplier (Tim, a Chinese L1 speaker) accompanied Susan and James. Most of these activities occurred in Tero's office with Tero, Susan and James. They were both pre-planned and spontaneously arranged in that the participants either had agreed to talk about a certain issue in advance or merely discussed topics as they encountered them. Also, the general manager, Matti, an engineer, Ville, an administrative person, Kaisa and Tero's office partner Juha[14], all of them Finnish L1 speakers, were present at the discussions. The topics were manifold: travel arrangements, machining, invoicing, specifications of deliveries and shipment - in general, issues that had to do with the Chinese subsidiary, its running and management. The office recordings were made with an audio-recorder and a video camera on a tripod placed in the corner of the office facing Tero. Discussions carried out in the corridor and in Kaisa's office were audio-recorded, as I followed Tero when he stepped out of the office. At that time the video-camera was left recording in Tero's office. Two activities were also video-recorded with a camera in the corridor. In total, the recordings amount to approximately 450 minutes. In addition, I took photos of the office and tools talked about, collected material written by Tero, such as instructions for shipping, shipping document requirements and notes he made during meetings. Besides recordings, I wrote a great deal of field notes on what I witnessed to accompany the recordings.

In addition, I travelled to the China workshop with Oskari for a week's visit in spring 2009, as at that time Oskari was involved with various China-based projects and he had also stressed his (and the company's) China-centered work and operations earlier in an interview. Focus on China was also displayed in his office where he had a map of the Republic of China on the wall with pins placed on the location of factories. Moreover, he answered the phone a few times with a Chinese greeting "ni hao". The China workshop was situated in a city near Shanghai. It had around 50 employees, all Chinese (except for two Finns), at that time and a Finnish general manager. Oskari's working days followed a rather similar pattern. He worked on the computer in the negotiation room, and had discussions both there and in the corridor of the open office, where about ten Chinese engineers working at their desks. He also discussed with some workers in the workshop while checking their manufacturing work. Oskari participated in the interactions with two or three of the following people: a Finnish engineer, Mikko (a Finnish L1 speaker), a Finnish administrative person, Minna (a Finnish L1 speaker), a Chinese manager, Chen, a Chinese engineer, Kevin, and a project assistant and a buyer, Hua, and two Chinese workers in the workshop.[15] The topic of the discussions ranged from technical specifications to project management issues and schedules. I did video- and audio-recordings of the majority of Oskari's activities and discussions in China. Each of the situations was audio-recorded and a half of them video-recorded. As in the fieldwork at Tero's workplace, I also placed one video camera on a tripod in the corner of the office where Oskari worked. In addition, I video-recorded some situations with a camera which was easy to take with me when following Oskari and did not attract too much attention. The recordings in total amount to approximately 180 minutes. I also took photos and I wrote extensive field notes, also in situations that could not be recorded (e.g. lunch breaks, spontaneous chats etc.).

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[14] All of these names are pseudonyms; Chinese L1 speakers' pseudonyms (Susan, James, Tim) resemble the originals, since most of the Chinese people in this part of study had English first names.

[15] All of these names are pseudonyms. Chen, Kevin and Hue are all Chinese L1 speakers. Their either English or Chinese pseudonyms resemble the originals.

Following the key participants in their work revealed that their multilingual and multicultural workplaces are indeed very interesting and exciting research sites where language practices are constantly evolving (cf. Roberts 2009: 408). As in the earlier phases, I analyzed the entire material roughly to find recurring themes and asked the participants clarifying questions. I also interviewed Tero and Oskari after fieldwork on my observations and questions and their current working situations. Discovering the ways in which the key participants communicated at work raised the need to look at the nature of communication as multimodal, i.e. the participants' communicative repertoires, and not only as their language use. At this point I was forced to view the data through a different lens than before and, in addition to reading earlier studies on the use of English at work, I had to familiarize myself with the research on multimodal interaction.

2.3.5 Reflection on the process and ethics

As the research process revealed, in ethnographic and qualitative studies one cannot anticipate the nature of the end result. Therefore, instead of finalizing the exact and specific focus in advance, the researcher makes plans on how to proceed, while studying the topic of interest. It is also common to encounter problems in understanding, particularly when studying unfamiliar communities (Agar 1995). For example, in the second phase of the process I was somewhat surprised by the differences in the role of English for the participants. Whereas in the first phase their experiences with English were strikingly similar, after entering working life, their lives with English differentiated. Compared to the results of a quantitative study of English in Finland by Leppänen et al. (2009: 47, 2011: 63) according to which, of all the occupational groups, experts and managers use English at work the most, a qualitative inquiry such as the present one can reveal interesting differences in the use of English within a single occupational group (see also Virkkula 2008). Another example of a problem in understanding was the participants' actual use of English, which required careful analysis, rereading of data and member checks because of the unfamiliar technical vocabulary and the interlocutors' accents. The solution in encountering problems is to find coherence in them (Agar 1995: 587[16]). In ethnographic projects, it is important to be able to tolerate uncertainty, modify one's aims and adjust the research process if needed. This is particularly the case when studying individuals at multiple sites. When engaging in a longitudinal project, one has to be open to the research process, to what one encounters and expect that there may be surprises along the way.

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[16] Agar (1995) calls problems in understanding 'rich points'.

The data collection journey is a significant part of the researcher's trajectory of knowledge construction in ethnographic projects (see Blommaert 2004; Blommaert & Dong 2010). During the research process, the need to collect certain types of data (e.g. video-recorded interaction at work) arose, which led to increased interest in the multimodal nature of repertoires that could not have been anticipated. As the process evolved and my knowledge accumulated, different types of data also had to be collected. In this ethnographic research, I have followed Agar's (1980) principles: I have got close to the people, their lives and ways of thinking and behaving. Furthermore, I have questioned and problematized what I have seen as ordinary and familiar (e.g. Agar 1980: 49). Thus, I have moved between being close to and distant from the field at different times (cf. Agar 1980: 51). In addition, I have explored the participants' use of English from alternative angles as components of their communicative repertoires. Therefore, ontology influences the methodological process: how we perceive the world influences the direction of the research process and its topic development (Briggs 1986: 119–120). Now, after having known the participants for almost ten years, I consider myself a learned insider, who also learns all the time.

Ethical issues have been a concern throughout the research process. In longitudinal projects on individuals, preserving anonymity becomes a key issue, not only in reporting and writing but also in presentations and informal discussions about research. From the outset, I have emphasized to the participants that I will not reveal their real names or identities and respect their own views about ethics. While the participants have not been very concerned about the exposure of their own identities, they have stressed the need to hide details concerning their employer companies and customers, for example in transcripts. For this reason, separate consent forms concerning companies' confidentiality issues were compiled and carefully checked by the participants and their managers. Thus, I have kept the participants' identities as general as possible, speaking of them as (machine) engineering students and their workplaces as global industries and engineering companies, yet trying to provide enough contextual information to enable interpretation. Throughout the process I have used the same, invented pseudonyms for all the participants so that following each of them would be easy.

It has been argued that research participants should be fully informed about the objectives of research (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 264). This is not an easy task, particularly in ethnographic studies, which tend to change their focus along with the process. In this study, the participants were told that their language use would be studied, but no further details were given, because I suspected that revealing too much would have affected their behavior and thus data (cf. Hammersely & Atkinson 1995: 265). Other people present in the interactions were informed before and during the fieldwork. As Hammersley & Atkinson (1995: 266) admit, a researcher's control over research in natural settings is often limited, and thus it is difficult to ensure that all participants are fully informed and freely consent to be involved. While I have not encountered any objections from the participants' part during or after fieldwork, I have made every effort to protect their privacy throughout the process.

The research process illustrates the overall storyline of this study and the steps through which knowledge has been gathered. Each phase has contributed to the main aim of finding out what kinds of repertoires the professionals construct and how. Also, the theoretical framework has changed. In the following chapter I introduce the theoretical framework of this study, which has taken its present shape as a result of the research process.

3 CONSTRUCTION OF PROFESSIONAL REPERTOIRES

This chapter presents the theoretical framework of the study. The presentation is carried out through a discussion of the key concepts used in the study. Before this, the chapter begins with an introductory section on the nature of language as social, indexical and reflexive, serving as the tenets of the framework. Next, the concepts of English, repertoire, resource and way of speaking are explained, accompanied with reflections on the research process governing the choices to use those particular concepts. After this, the discussion focuses on my present understanding on the construction of professional repertoires as influenced by theories of language and professional socialization, participation in interaction, discourses, and identity work. The last part of this section discusses the concept of enregisterment as a theoretical framework and as a tool applied to interpret the findings of the individual articles.

3.1 On the nature of language

This study adopts a theory of language which has roots in the sociolinguistics developed by Dell Hymes and John Gumperz in the 1960s and 1970s. [17] Central to this theory is the approach to language as a changing phenomenon in the changing social world in which people live. As Hymes (1974a: 75) notes, a crucial characteristic of his sociolinguistic approach is to look into language from its *social* matrix, since if we were to start from language itself, we would miss much of how linguistic phenomena are organized in society. Therefore, in order to understand language in society, it is necessary to begin from its functions instead of structure (Hymes 1971). Following this line of thinking, what language means to people is conditioned by each situation as it arises, and meanings are constructed in social interaction through the use of language. Here the relativity of function is important, since what works in one context does not automatically work in another. Hence individuals need to be aware of the social conditions of language use. As language is simultaneously a linguistic, discursive and social system, it not only functions according to linguistic rules but according to social norms and regulations. This also makes language subject to variation and change – new forms and norms are created and old ones reformulated constantly. These ideas are important in investigating individuals' trajectories from one context to another, since their frames of reference in understanding and using language change. Therefore, for the language user, language is a multi-faceted resource, which sets both possibilities as well as constraints. Moreover, the functions of language should be seen at within the social, cultural, political and historical context in order to understand society. (Hymes 1996; Blommaert 2005, 2008, 2010.) Consequently, a Finn's biography with English should be discussed in relation to such relevant macro-level contexts as globalization, education, Finland and working life. Hymes's (1964, 1971, 1972, 1974a, 1974b, 1986[1972], 1992, 1996, 2009) views on language have similarities with Halliday's (e.g. 1978, 2003) systemic-functional theory, as both of them advocate the importance of understanding the relationship between language and social structure through investigating language use in social life (e.g. Halliday & Hasan 1985). Halliday's (1978, 2003; see also Halliday & Hasan 1985) approach to language is social-functional, in which the functions of language can be divided into the following three principles: language as a tool for communication; language as representing the world; and language as creating social relations and identities, which are important functions attributed to English in the participants' biographies. Language also has, for example, indexical, emblematic, and aesthetic functions.

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[17] For a thorough historical overview of sociolinguistics, see Wodak, Johnstone & Kerswill (2010: Part 1).

In order to understand individuals' language use and to link their language use to social contexts and macro-level issues, it is necessary to apply *indexicality*, which is a key notion in sociolinguistics. The indexical nature of language means that what we say and how we say it provide information about us (e.g. social role, occupation, age), the utterance itself and the context of speaking. Language varies across contexts, and such variation is part of the meaning that linguistic structures index (Ochs 1992: 337–338). As indexicality connects language to cultural patterns, it is possible to identify a link between particular structures, social occasions and situational conditions (Blommaert 2007a: 115, 2005: 11). This means that individuals are able to establish this link because they are social beings in the society into which they have been socialized (Ochs 1996: 410). Moreover, it indicates that what transpires on the micro-level of individual lives and interaction can be linked to larger social and societal processes. Therefore, indexicality enables the researcher to explain wider themes than can be identified on a micro-level, for example in participants' drawing on discourses in interviews or interacting with a work colleague, such as what kinds of norms, discourses and ideologies circulate about language and communication and what kinds of power structures exist in the surrounding contexts (see also Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009).

Indexicality relates to the *reflexive* nature of language. For example, language use is reflexive when language is used to communicate about the very activity of using language. In addition, it is reflexive because linguistic forms are able to index aspects of the communicative situations in which they are used and this indexicality is part of their meaning (Lucy 1993: 9–10.) According to Agha (2007: 16), reflexive activities are activities "in which communicative signs are used to typify other perceivable signs". *Metalinguistic activities* are reflexive and they typify language, its users and the activities accomplished through the use of language; however, they need not be linguistic. For example raising one's eyebrows as a response to a linguistic act can be counted as a metalinguistic act (Agha 2007: 17). Enregisterment processes are based on individuals' reflexive activities which transpire constantly in social interaction simultaneously indexing various linguistic, social and cultural meanings (cf. Giddens 1991). Lucy (1993: 17) notes that most reflexive activities are metapragmatic instead of only metalinguistic: when talking about language, people not only talk about linguistic features but also often provide images of people related to language use to which they attribute values. In fact, such *metapragmatic reflexivity* is an intrinsic feature of language use (Verschueren 2012: 183). For example, in an interview with a study participant (Simo in spring 2003) he said that "I don't know whether it is so childish for Finns to try to pronounce [English] in a fancy way" (i.e. here he refers to native-like way of speaking). In this way, Simo engages in a reflexive activity which is metapragmatic: he not only talks about the use of language, but he assigns values to it and attaches images of people related to the use of language (cf. Jacquemet 1992).[18]

These views of language as social, indexical and reflexive are the central themes in the ethnographic, sociolinguistic and discourse analytic approach taken in this study.

3.2 On the process of conceptualizing the participants as users of English

As elaborated in the previous chapter, during the research process the focus shifted from the participants' use of English to the broader aim of understanding their communicative repertoires. This contributed to the development of the theoretical framework and to changes in applying concepts to comprehend key phenomena, particularly concerning language in general, the English language in particular and language use in relation to individuals. Before elaborating on the concept of communicative repertoire, I will discuss the background behind its adoption, as this lies in the journey of conceptualizing the participants as users of English.

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[18] Simo's example will be analyzed in more detail in Section 5.1.1.

Because the study participants represented themselves as Finnish users of English, they were viewed, at the beginning of the research project, from within the modern languages paradigm as users of *English as a foreign language* (EFL) and non-native speakers (cf. Jenkins et al. 2011: 284; Leppänen et al. 2011: 20–22), which resembles the conceptualization of language learners in educational settings with British and American English as the most popularly represented varieties and points of comparison, especially in teaching pronunciation (Pihko 1997; Tergujeff 2013). Such a conceptualization seemed justified since the participants had learned English as a foreign language at school (see Section 2.2), in the first phase of the research process they reported little use of English outside educational contexts, particularly in speaking, English was a rather distant language for them, and they viewed their own performance in relation to prescriptive norms advocated in educational settings. Nevertheless, the participants had some experience of travelling abroad and of using English as a lingua franca mainly as tourists, and in general regarded communicative success as the ultimate criterion of language competence – hence they were beginning to distance themselves from educational frames of reference. These issues challenged the notions of a learner or a user of English as a foreign language and, consequently, had implications for viewing the participants as users of *English as a lingua franca* (as discussed in Article 1), that is, as users of English in their own right whose linguistic performance is viewed as different from native speaker varieties rather than evaluated against them (e.g. Jenkins 2006b).[19]

The notions of English as a foreign language and English as a lingua franca emphasize different issues and realities when it comes to conceptualizing English and its users: while English as a foreign language directs attention to proficiency, correctness and evaluation, English as a lingua franca has a role as a resource in interaction (e.g. Jenkins 2006b; cf. Firth 2009: 136; see also Seidlhofer 2011: 18). Both these notions of English intertwine in the participants' biographies and their repertoire construction because English was a subject at school and yet is also a means of communication with other people abroad and at work. In both types of situations the participants use language for different purposes and engage in language learning (Blommaert & Backus 2011; see Firth 2009; Canagarajah 2007b on language learning in relation to English as a lingua franca), while also identifying themselves as learners (as will be shown later on in this study). During the research process, it became evident that notions of language learning and language use should be seen as inseparable and sensitive to, and dependent on, context (Canagarajah 2007b; Firth 2009). In particular, as earlier research on English used as a lingua franca has highlighted, context-sensitiveness, the enormously varied terrain between speech events (e.g. Jenkins et al. 2011: 296, 304; Mortensen 2013) and content- (rather than form-) orientedness (e.g. Jenkins et al. 2011: 293, 304; Kankaanranta & Planken 2010 on

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[19] See also Leppänen & Nikula (2007) on the changing role of English for Finns.

BELF) are important in understanding the participants' use of English as a lingua franca.

Moreover, during the process of socialization into global working life the participants' increasing use of English as a lingua franca for work purposes warrants the exploration of *English used as a business lingua franca* which emphasizes specific types of knowledge needed in communicating in the business domain and which has direct implications to what individuals can do in interactions (Charles 2007: 264; Kankaanranta & Planken 2010). Moreover, as BELF is used to get the job done, contextual factors such as professional roles and tasks, interpersonal relationships and the amount of shared knowledge, values and expectations gain of utmost importance (e.g. Ehrenreich 2010: 411, 422) making BELF interactions highly dynamic and idiosyncratic (Kankaanranta & Planken 2010: 402) in which individuals require strategic competence (e.g. Nickerson 2007: 353) and intercultural skills (e.g. Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005; Kankaanranta 2006; Rogerson-Revell 2007; Ehrenreich 2009). In addition, in order to construct meaning, speakers can exploit plurilingual resources (e.g. Hülmbauer 2009) and use various moves in interaction to support communication (e.g. Pullin Stark 2009).

The results of individual studies speak for the need to address the dynamic ways in which English and its associated communicative resources (e.g. the kind of strategic, interactional and intercultural resources noted above), which matter to individuals and with which the job gets done, actually reside in individuals' communicative repertoires constructed across trajectories of socialization. Thus, during the research process it has become evident that the concept of English does not suffice in understanding the realities, since the overall individual communicative repertoire needs to be considered. Moreover, as Canagarajah (2007b: 927) insightfully notes, "we have to interpret the meaning and significance of the English used from the participants' own perspective, without imposing the researcher's standards or criteria invoked from elsewhere". These factors contribute to adopting the view of language as a repertoire.

3.3 Communicative repertoire of resources

Drawing on the sociolinguistic tradition illustrated earlier in this chapter, I conceptualize language as a mixed set of resources, as a *repertoire* (Gumperz 1964, 1971, 1972, 1982b; Hymes 1974a, 1986[1972], 1996; Blommaert 2007a, 2010; Blommaert & Backus 2011, 2012, 2013; Heller 2007, 2010; Martin-Jones & Jones 2000: 7; Otsuji & Pennycook 2010; Rymes 2010; Blackledge & Creese 2010; Busch 2012) – a concept in the core vocabulary of sociolinguistics (Gumperz & Hymes 1986[1972]; Blommaert & Backus 2011, 2012, 2013). Gumperz (1964) used verbal repertoire to capture a community's (e.g. Hemnesberget in Norway, see Blom & Gumperz 1972) distinctive set of speech varieties and their linguistic characteristics "definable both in linguistic and social terms" (Gumperz 1964:

151), each variety having its own internal grammatical structure (Gumperz 1964: 140). Moreover, the concept was further developed from an interactional perspective to understand the ways in which messages are composed in interaction where linguistic choices are seen as situated and determined by interactional conventions and rules (Gumperz 1971; Busch 2012).

In more recent discussions, the concept of repertoire has gained momentum as a term encompassing individuals' and speakers' language practices and communication in today's changing and globalized social world (Blommaert 2010; Heller 2007, 2010; Otsuji & Pennycook 2010; Busch 2012). In addition to its interactional aspects, a repertoire can be seen as a biographical, historical and discursive construct which evolves as individuals employ different communicative resources from their own history, that arise out of experiences, attitudes and beliefs for creating meaning and making sense of themselves (cf. Busch 2012[20]; see also Section 2.1.1). Both of these views are important in the present study in which repertoires are explored both using interviews and interactions. This section focuses on the notion of an individual's communicative repertoire (cf. Rymes 2010: 529), which integrates interactional and biographical perspectives.

Repertoires are indexical of individuals' histories and trajectories of socialization during which their resources change in value by becoming mobile (e.g. Busch 2012). Changes in repertoires and in people's talk about them reflect individuals' paths of entrance into different communities (Blommaert 2010: 103–106). As these paths are unique, individuals' repertoires are structurally unique, too. However, individuals' repertoires also have similar features due to institutionalized practices, such as education, where people are socialized into the same resources. A longitudinal approach to repertoires, such as the one adopted in this study, helps us understand why repertoires are configured the way they are (cf. Heller 1999) and why individuals' communication practices change across timescales and contexts. For these reasons, repertoires have become an even more interesting object of sociolinguistic inquiry (e.g. Busch 2012; Zentz 2012; Karjalainen 2012).

Repertoires thus include resources, which are means of speaking (Hymes 1986[1972], 1974a: 198; Gumperz 1982b: 155) – they are "all those means that people *know how to use and why* while they communicate" (Blommaert & Backus 2011: 3, 2012: 3, 2013: 11, italics in originals). Means of speaking constitute the speech acts (e.g. questions, responses) and genres (i.e. forms by which verbal performances can be characterized) available to the members of the speech community for the conduct of speaking (Bauman & Sherzer 1974: 7), as well as the frames that guide the interpretation of speech acts (Gumperz 1982b: 155). According to Blommaert & Backus (2011, 2012, 2013), the two types of knowledge - 'knowing what' and 'knowing how' - were originally captured in the term *communicative competence* (Hymes 1972). Therefore, the notion of using a repertoire presupposes knowledge of how to use the resources in one's repertoire in a given situation. Individuals construct their professional repertoires with specific aims, such as the aim of being able to do their jobs. In addition to resource, the notion of *way of speaking* is included in the terminology of repertoires. Below, repertoire, resource and way of speaking are elaborated in more detail. [21]

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[20] Busch (2012) provides a useful discussion and overview of the background against which the notion of repertoire as biographical has been developed and what the related concepts are.

3.3.1 From knowing language and communicative competence to having resources in a repertoire

Hymes's communicative competence[22] includes the knowledge of whether (and to what degree) 1) something is formally possible; 2) something is feasible in virtue of the means of implementation available; 3) something is appropriate in relation to a context in which it is used and evaluated, and 4) something is in fact done, actually performed, and what its doing actually entails (Hymes 1972: 63, see also 1992). For Hymes (1972: 64), competence meant the capabilities of a person and thus could be interpreted as referring to a set of resources that belong to a repertoire. Blommaert & Backus (2011: 7) revisit Hymes's (1972, 1992) work:

> If we define communicative competence as a set of resources over which people have more or less conscious control, but which all share that their use requires some sort of mental operation, a conscious or unconscious 'decision', then there is no *a priori* reason to separate out resources that are squarely within the linguistic domain (e.g. how to pronounce a /p/, which word to select, what syntactic pattern, etc.) from those that are not (e.g. how to mark politeness in a given conversational setting, whether or not show a particular attitude, how to dress, etc.). (italics in original)

This formulation highlights the notion of a repertoire as a knowledge-kit of resources. In fact, resources, whether for example linguistic, social or cultural, are used to construct meaning in given situations; broadly speaking, they refer to "anything that people use to communicate meaning" (Blommaert & Backus 2011: 7). This is a very broad definition of resources and links to a generally accepted view of communication involving the integration of various channels, signs and modalities, and which, according to Hymes (1964, 1996: 34–41), is to be studied ethnographically. To illustrate, Hymes (1992: 38) stresses that to understand individuals as users of language in social life "we actually need to consider their ability to integrate use of language with other modalities of communication, such as gesture, facial expressions, sniffs and snorts, etc." – that is, one's full repertoire.

Along the lines of Hymes (1964, 1992, 1996) and Blommaert & Backus (2011, 2012, 2013), this study considers other resources besides language that are used by people in communication, including semiotic resources (e.g.

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[21] These concepts have not been used throughout the articles of this study. The reason lies in the nature of ethnographic research. As Hymes (1974b: 44) notes, "an adequate set of terms cannot be imposed in advance of case studies, however, but will grow interdependently with them".

[22] This is a central notion in language learning pedagogy, teaching and acquisition.

gestures, gaze) and discursive resources (e.g. discourses[23]). This consideration evolved as a result of the research process. In the same vein, Hall et al. (2006: 232), citing (Vygotsky 1986), talk about

> communicative repertoires – conventionalized constellations of semiotic resources for taking action – that are shaped by the particular practices in which individuals engage, be they interpersonal, that is, practices that involve others, or intrapersonal, that is, practices such as thinking, planning, and self-reflecting that involve just the individual.[24]

This conceptualization accords well with the dual perspective to repertoires adopted in this study in which a repertoire is viewed as a collection of various communicative, rather than linguistic (cf. Heller 2007: 1, but see 2012: 32), resources. A particular set of communicative resources is relevant for investigating professional repertoire construction in this study; these resources are described as follows: *linguistic*, (e.g. knowledge of words and grammar), *sociolinguistic* (e.g. knowledge about what forms to use with whom, i.e. appropriateness in social context), *interactional* (e.g. knowledge about how to take the floor and align with roles in interaction), *discursive* (e.g. knowledge about different ways of representing ideas and knowledge), *semiotic* (e.g. knowledge about when and how to utilize gestures in communication) and *cultural* (e.g. knowledge about communicative conventions in specific cultures).[25] When repertoires are looked at from a dual perspective, each of these resources has a specific function in the repertoire, a characteristics which can be illustrated with the idea of affordance (van Lier 2000; Kress 2003; see also Blommaert 2012b: 9): every communicative instrument has different affordances, that is, a quality defining where, how and with whom it can be used. The articles address linguistic, discursive, semiotic and interactional resources a priori while the findings point to the importance of other resources as well, such as sociolinguistic and cultural resources, which should thus be included in the understanding of professional communicative repertoire. In this theory chapter, I discuss semiotic and discursive resources, while the notion of interactional resources (i.e. linked to participation, role alignment and footing) is discussed in Chapter 4 (Methodology) and other resources as they emerge in the findings.

During the fourth phase of the research process, it emerged as necessary to investigate the multimodal nature of workplace communication (see Section 2.3.4). Two concepts refer to such a view of communication in which individuals are seen to exploit various semiotic resources: multisemiotic and multimodal. Since I have used the term semiotic in two articles (3 and 4), the terms semiotic and *multisemiotic* (rather than multimodal) are used in this study for the sake of clarity. My understanding of semiotic resources is influenced by two main approaches to multimodality. According to Bezemer & Jewitt (2010: 180), "*multimodality* refers to a field of application rather than a single theory" in which social action is seen holistically as making meaning through various semiotic devices, such as language. The use of modes is always socially and culturally shaped, and in interaction activities shape and are shaped by modal configurations. Two major strands of multimodal research are presented here as they are relevant in the present study.[26] First, research on the multimodal nature of social interaction has looked at how interaction is organized turn by turn by the participants, using a configuration of different modalities (e.g. Goodwin 2000; Goodwin & Goodwin 1986, 2007; Stivers & Sidnell 2005; for workplace studies, see e.g. Mondada 2007). This branch relates to the present study in which meaning-making in interaction is seen as an arrangement of semiotic resources including language, embodiment and tools. Second, a research field in multimodal social-semiotics, which extends Halliday's (e.g. 1978, 2003) systemic-functional theory, has aimed at discovering how meanings are constructed with language and other semiotic resources, such as the visual and typographical, in written, spoken and visual discourse (Kress & van Leeuwen 2001; Kress 2003, 2009; Iedema 2003; Bezemer & Kress 2008; O'Halloran 2004; Lim 2004). This strand links with Agha's (2007: 80) theory of linguistic registers as usually part of larger semiotic register formations and, therefore, entailing non-linguistic aspects as well (see also Goebel 2007, 2010, 2011), and thus it interrelates with enregisterment theory. For example, cartoons can play a role in enregisterment processes by displaying images of personhood which assign value to particular ways of speaking (see Agha 2003: 239, 2007: 197–199).

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[23] For a fuller discussion see Sections 3.4.3 and 3.5.3

[24] Hall et al.'s (2006) use of the concept of communicative repertoire has its origins in Hymes's (1962, 1972) communicative competence.

[25] It should be noted that these resources are prominent in the present data. With a different framework and participants, the set of resources and their labels would be different (e.g. Duranti 1997: 71; Karjalainen 2012; Blommaert & Backus 2013: 20).

As individuals are confronted with new communicative challenges as a result of their trajectories of socialization in conditions of globalization and increasing multilingualism, their communicative repertoires appear as changing and complex. People need more than a mastery of linguistic features – they need to master *discursive practices* (e.g. Young & Miller 2004) and thus possess discursive resources. Discursive practices are established linguistic, semiotic and cultural ways of acting in certain situations of language use in which tensions and relations brought by the social and historical context are present (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009: 42). Discursive practices thus entail a social side, and they are both resources of language use and of social action as available choices in different situations. As human beings individuals socialize into discursive practices: discourses, genres, styles, narratives, registers, and visual representations (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009; see also Davies & Harré 1990; Hall 1996). This study focuses on *discourses* as important discursive resources in an individual's professional communicative repertoire. The notion of way of speaking is discussed in Section 3.3.2 and discourse in Section 3.4.3.

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[26] For an extensive overview, see Bezemer & Jewitt (2010). Also *Mediated Discourse Analysis* (e.g. Scollon 1998) studies social action as mediated through various multimodal and cultural resources, such as discourses.

Whether a resource is part of a repertoire depends on its degree of entrenchment. According to Blommaert & Backus (2011: 6), "whether or not a particular word, combination or pattern actually exists as a unit in the linguistic knowledge of an individual speaker is dependent on its degree of entrenchment. 'Having' a unit in your inventory means it is entrenched in your mind". Figure 2 below presents an individual's communicative repertoire as composed of different resources.

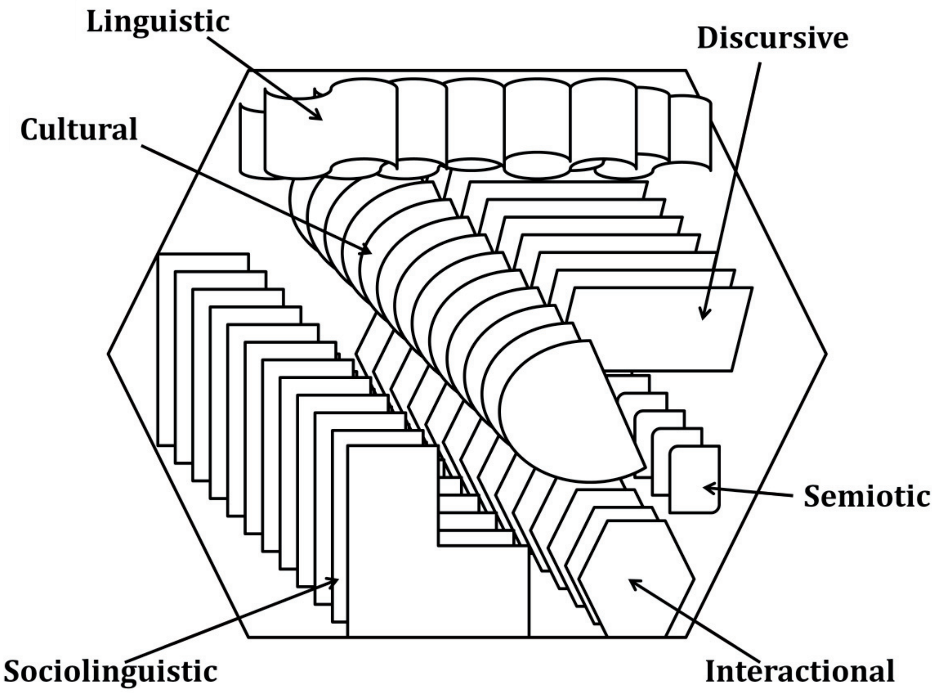

FIGURE 2 Resources in a communicative repertoire

Figure 2 illustrates how resources occupy various roles in a repertoire: some of them are at the front while others are in the background and, depending on the occasion for use, they range between marginal and prominent, general and specific (cf. Blommaert & Backus 2011, 2012, 2013; Rymes 2010). The idea of a linguistic market (Bourdieu 1991) is useful here since it captures the relative value of resources. While one resource, for example a grammatically correct way of speaking English, has value in one marketplace, it may have little value in another. People can thus do different things with one and the same resource which can influence their lives in different ways: English can be oppressive in one context yet liberating in another (Blommaert 2010; Higgins 2009). Due to dissimilarities in linguistic markets, a repertoire manifests itself differently at each point in each market. Repertoires are thus dynamic with environment playing a decisive role in how a repertoire is and can be used (Blommaert et al. 2005). Therefore, in order to gain a holistic picture of professional repertoires, it is essential to investigate them longitudinally across events both from the point of view of the individual and from the point of view of a repertoire-in-use in social interaction. In sum, we must direct our gaze ethnographically at the functions of different resources for the people who employ them in order to understand their place in individuals' repertoires (cf. Hymes 1996: 39).

3.3.2 Ways of speaking

Individuals' professional communicative repertoires serve as important tools with which work goals and tasks are accomplished. As Mondada (2004: 19) argues, "work settings show that members […] exploit all possible linguistic (and non-linguistic) resources in order to organize and achieve their goals" (see also Heller 2005, 2010 on language as a technical skill). Moreover, individuals use resources creatively by appropriating and localizing them to suit each separate purpose (cf. Higgins 2009). At the same time, however, a professional is obliged to employ certain resources as these are determined by the needs and requirements of his/her current tasks and company policies. Having an adequate communicative repertoire is important for professionals who need to hold specialized knowledge of a particular field and handle specialized tasks at work (cf. Widdowson 1998; Louhiala-Salminen 1999). This explains why they necessarily know a limited set of resources.[27] For such a set Hymes's (1974b, 1986[1972], 1996, 2009) concept of *way of speaking* is a useful description, because it relates precisely to the communicative resources needed and used in particular communities. Hymes's (1986[1972]: 58) point with ways of speaking is that "the communicative behavior within a community is analyzable in terms of determinate ways of speaking, that the communicative competence of persons comprises in part a knowledge of determinate ways of speaking".[28]

Different ways of speaking are socially and culturally relative (Gumperz 1982), since there is no single way to express disagreement, for example. Similarly, work practices and talk in the workplace vary across contexts (e.g. Mertz 2007) and develop as a result of individuals' participation in those practices. What ways of speaking individuals learn depend on their access to and membership of different communities, groups and networks (cf. Blommaert & Backus 2011, 2012, 2013). This is because each community has a specific communicative repertoire consisting of a number of different language codes and ways of speaking available to its members. According to Hymes (1974b: 446, 2009), the idea of ways of speaking entails the notion of speech and is analogous to ways of life and Whorf's term *fashions of speaking*[29]. Hence, it encompasses ways of being a human and includes a cultural dimension, as well (ibid.). Way of speaking comprises two parts: speech styles and their contexts, or means of speech and their meanings, which enter into a community's relationship patterns (referred to as *speech economy*, Hymes 1974b: 446–447, 2009: 167). This implies that knowing ways of speaking includes knowledge about role behavior, norms of appropriateness, turn and floor taking and rights to speak in a given situation, etc. (Hymes 1974b: 445, 2009: 166). In this way, a way of speaking is more than choosing a particular style as it also involves attitudes and beliefs with regard to language and speech (ibid.), which are central ideas in understanding both the interactional and the biographical dimensions of a repertoire.

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[27] Although this applies to each individual's repertoire, because no one knows all of a language but bits of language (Blommaert 2010: 8; see also Blommaert, Collins & Slembrouck's *truncated multilingualism* 2005), it is particularly suitable for the notion of professional repertoire here because professionals need specific ways of speaking in their particular profession (e.g. law, medicine, engineering, teaching). Hence we all speak varieties when we use a language and no one actually speaks a standard language (Milroy 1999: 27; Pennycook 2007: 97).

[28] This relates to Hymes's (1972) theory of communicative competence, see also Section 3.3.1.

Gumperz (1977) and Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz (1982) explore the linguistic features of ways of speaking. For Gumperz (1977: 192), communities' language behavior includes "all varieties, dialects, or styles used in a particular socially defined population, and the constraints which govern the choice among them". Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz (1982: 13) refer to "the actual linguistic cues used through which information relevant to the other two perspectives is signaled. This level includes grammar and lexicon as well as prosody, pausing, idioms, and other formulaic utterances." As Blommaert & Backus (2011: 3, 2012: 2, 2013: 11), referring to Gumperz-Hymesian sociolinguistics[30], note, "the narrower notion of 'linguistic repertoires' is […] combined with the broad and somewhat less precise notion of 'means of speaking'". Therefore, the broad notion of way of speaking can be seen to include various communicative resources, constituting styles, registers and genres which are concepts that, in particular, applied linguistics has addressed at length. For example, systemic functional linguistics (SFL) focuses on language and linguistic properties in language use. In systemic functional linguistics, registers are conceptualized as rather fixed and stable varieties of language and their linguistic features as employed in specific settings including contextual features (Martin 1992, 1997). In Article 4, I have used the term 'register', alongside 'way of speaking', by drawing on Agha (2005, 2007) to whom a register (e.g. Received Pronunciation in Britain) is a social regularity and an outcome of enregisterment.[31] Although I draw on Agha (1998, 2003, 2005, 2007), in this Overview I have chosen to use the term 'way of speaking' rather than 'register' to avoid confusion with other (socio)linguistic theories.

From within an anthropological approach to sociolinguistics (cf. Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz 2008), resources can be seen as organized and patterned in a broad sense as ways of speaking and as interrelated in a systematic way with, and deriving meaning from, other aspects of culture (cf. Saville-Troike 2003: 10–11). Ways of speaking are flexible rather than regular in terms of variables such as fixed pronunciation styles and grammatical forms which characterize a more linguistically oriented variationist sociolinguistic perspective. For example, each time individuals communicate, a number of particular resources cluster into a unique way of speaking that is linked to specific individuals, functions, attitudes, roles and educational levels (cf. Saville-Troike 2003: 11). This has implications for conceptualizing English and its users (see Section 3.2): depending on whether individuals are talking about a repertoire or using it, each time emerging ways of speaking manifest themselves uniquely as intertwined with various extralinguistic factors and the different understandings, functions and roles of English (e.g. as a subject learned at school, used as a lingua franca). Similar issues are relevant in the field of linguistic anthropology, which sees speech as an interactional achievement, situates talk in its context (Duranti 2009) and in which different ways of speaking are seen as principally organized on the basis of their function in speech. Here it is useful to note what counts as data in linguistic anthropological tradition: rather than relying on recordings of spoken interaction only, a researcher needs ethnographic knowledge of the situation (Duranti 2009: Chapter 4). This has implications for the way repertoire, way of speaking and resource and their relationship are seen in this study: they are ethnographically formulated concepts (cf. Section 2.1.2; Hymes 1974b: 44).

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[29] See Lee's (1996: 25) discussion on Whorf's fashions of speaking.

[30] References are made to Gumperz & Hymes (1986[1972]), Gumperz (1982b, 1986[1972]) and Hymes (1972, 1974b, 1986[1972], 1992, 1996).

[31] Agha's (1998, 2003, 2005, 2007) framework will be discussed in more detail in Section 3.5.1.

To summarize, in this study, way of speaking is viewed in a Gumperz-Hymesian sense and, similar to repertoire, it is seen as social and communicative: professionals' ways of speaking are packages of communicative resources including communicating and interactional behavior and norms. They are not fixed varieties, but rather fluid configurations. Way of speaking has been adopted in this Overview as an overarching concept to refer to constellations of resources talked about with reference to communities and situations and used within a community by the studied individuals. My purpose is not to describe them rigidly with fixed boundaries, but rather as sets of resources as they emerge in this study. Professionals learn and use ways of speaking across trajectories of socialization and in participation in interactions. Hence, in this study way of speaking is a larger term than repertoire, encompassing an idea of shared ways of communicating beyond the professional repertoire of an individual. Ways of speaking relate to community and societal levels in that two individuals can acquire and know the same ways of speaking whereas individual repertoires are unique (cf. Blommaert & Backus 2011, 2012, 2013). Ways of speaking feature in individuals' repertoires and they are enregistered in various ways (i.e. recognized as distinct from the rest of the language and assigned value in social action).[32]

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[32] The verb 'to enregister' derives from Agha's (2005) terminology. Section 3.5 includes a more elaborate discussion of this terminology and enregisterment processes.

3.3.3 Professional repertoire in this study

For reasons of clarity and to distinguish the closely related and intertwined concepts (repertoire, way of speaking and resource), this study understands a professional communicative repertoire as *an individual's set of (professional) ways of speaking and their associated resources.* Ways of speaking are learned through participation in different communities and different channels (speaking, writing, virtual, face-to-face). Professional repertoires index individuals' lives and trajectories of socialization into working life. In this way, they are seen as *biographically organized complexes of resources* (Blommaert 2010: 103–106; Blommaert & Backus 2011: 9, 2012: 8, 2013: 15).

Although language is viewed as a communicative resource in this study, the term 'language' is not abandoned altogether. Rather, the term 'language' is used, as it is part of the core vocabulary of individuals' own terminology when they talk about their repertoires and different languages (e.g. English, Finnish) as bounded units in the traditional sense, as well as part of the core vocabulary of sociolinguistics.

3.4 Dimensions of repertoire construction

During the research process, individual repertoires have emerged as biographical, temporal and dynamic in the sense that something always 'comes in' and something 'goes out' (Blommaert & Backus 2011, 2012, 2013). When individuals participate in interactions and practices in different communities, they are, at the same time, constructing their repertoires (cf. Ochs 1996). In fact, we engage in life-long repertoire construction during which resources and ways of speaking enter our repertoires via *learning*. Here learning is seen as a range of pathways along which one travels sometimes more quickly, sometimes more slowly (Blommaert & Backus 2011: 9–10). Learning transpires through *microgenetic processes* collectively configuring *macrogenetic processes* of learning (Vygotsky 1978). According to Vygotsky (1978: 65), "it is only in movement that a body shows what it is" by which he refers to historical processes evolving over time. Drawing on this line of thinking, professional repertoire construction should be seen both as a short timescale and a long timescale process[33]. First, in situated events on the micro level, individuals participate in interactions, learn ways of speaking and their associated resources and thereby construct their repertoires. Repertoires are put to use and they evolve through interaction in which people use ways of speaking, depending on the social practice in question, by aligning with roles and establishing forms of footing. Moreover, some resources can be involved in repertoire construction, but do not necessarily feature in individuals' own repertoires in that people may recognize resources which are different from those they have and thereby construct a better sense of what they do have. Second, professional repertoire construction is a long timescale, and thus a longitudinal process, involving socialization into various communities, discourses and ways of speaking and participation in interactions, as became increasingly evident during the research process. Individuals thus socialize *to* the use of their repertoires and *through* the use of their repertoires in communities (cf. Schieffelin & Ochs 1986). The following dimensions of repertoire construction are discussed next, as they have emerged as essential in this study: trajectories of language and professional socialization, membership and participation in communities, identity work, and enregisterment processes.

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[33] See Section 4.4 for a discussion of timescales as part of the methodology.

3.4.1 Trajectories of language and professional socialization

Repertoire construction reflects individuals' socialization into communities and ways of speaking. Studies on language socialization have been interested in how novices across the life span are socialized into using language and through language into local ways of acting, feeling and knowing, in socially recognized and organized practices associated with membership in a group (Schieffelin & Ochs 1986; Ochs 2002: 106). In language socialization paradigm the processes of acquiring language and sociocultural knowledge are seen as intertwined, spanning the entire life of an individual (Ochs & Schieffelin 2001: 292–293). Earlier research at the workplace has drawn on this framework and has touched upon, for example, socialization into professional discourses and the way professional identities are constructed in this process (for reviews, see Zuengler & Cole 2005; Roberts 2010). A study by Vickers (2007) relates to the present one as she has looked into processes of becoming a core member of an engineering team. Vickers's (2007) study characterizes language socialization studies in general which focus on apprentices becoming experts, even though what actually constitutes today's workplace and community is blurred (Roberts 2010: 215). What is increasingly important is one's identity, including the presentation of self and face work (Roberts 2010: 216, 222). A longitudinal case study by Li (2000) is a case in point as it illustrates how a Chinese immigrant worker momentarily loses her novice role in managing interactions in the office by requesting co-workers (i.e. the 'a priori' experts) to be more polite. Artemeva (2005) has a similar finding of an engineer who within a year of graduation successfully challenged an established genre in a workplace situation which led to his acceptance as an expert by the company management. Such findings challenge us to rethink the notion of novice-expert in the socialization framework – becoming an expert is not a linear process but instead involves blurred roles in interaction and multiple trajectories of socialization. Furthermore, existing research stresses the fact that individuals socialize into multiple and heterogeneous societies and communities, and that this occurs across the individual's whole life span (Garrett & Baquedano-López 2002). Moreover, Roberts (2010: 212) advocates a holistic account of professional socialization in the workplace through a longitudinal, ethnographic study with naturally occurring data and evidence of learning. However, due to the difficulties in getting into the field (e.g. Roberts 2009), such studies are rare. Given the few studies in this area, Roberts (2010: 213) points out that it is useful to take “a rather elastic definition of language socialization research so that the workplace theme can be adequately discussed”, as in the present study.

Interestingly, most studies exploring professional socialization focus on minorities’ (e.g. immigrants’) socialization (see e.g. Goldstein 1997; Katz 2000; Kleifgen 2001; Li 2000; but see Vickers 2007, 2008; Parks 2001). Unlike them, the present study links with studies on interaction conducted in lingua franca workplace settings in which interactional participants have more or less equal status or valued skills, are not tied to a particular geographic area and in which the notion of language socialization relates to participants’ choices of linguistic code in particular activities (Mondada 2004; Rasmussen & Wagner 2002; Firth 1996).

However, this study differs from earlier workplace-oriented research in various respects: with a longitudinal take on individuals’ professional repertoire construction across educational and lingua franca contexts, it investigates the same individuals as students and professionals and combines different types of data, methods and approaches. Furthermore, the present study looks at trajectories of socialization, “*a connected series of events* across which individuals come to participate in forms of life” (Wortham 2005: 95, italics added) which provide “mechanisms to explain sociolinguistic phenomena” (Wortham 2005: 97). The developmental theory of Vygotsky (1978) within the sociocultural framework closely relates to the idea of studying micro-level events across trajectories in order to investigate change and development. In particular, Vygotsky (ibid.) advocates a microgenetic analysis of learners in actual events of interaction. His model places a major emphasis on social interaction and the social context in the individual’s development and learning (macrogenetic processes) but also stresses that individuals have agency in influencing the development of society. Each individual travels along different trajectories, interacts in different communities and has access to different institutions; consequently, one’s competence to perform or comprehend language and ways of speaking varies (Wortham 2005). Although in this study individuals’ trajectories of socialization are examined, it is possible nevertheless to gain sociolinguistic information both on the individual’s particularity, and the resources that are used to accomplish that particularity, and on the resources used to accomplish, for example, group affiliation and shared ways of speaking. It is thus possible to understand resources beyond the individual’s usage – those that are shared, persist and dominate in a community.

Drawing on this line of thinking, socialization into global working life is viewed as a process that occurs across the events in which individuals participate. In light of the globalized working life and dimensions of work outlined in the introductory chapter of this study, it is more challenging than ever to define ‘working life’ and ‘workplace’[34], as boundaries between work and other spheres of social life have become blurred and the nature of work is changing along with changes in the communicative environment at work (Roberts 2010: 211; Gee et al. 1996: 33). People move back from work to education and enroll in internship programs as part of their education and in training sessions as employees (Duff 2008a; Vickers 2007). These are the reasons why the present study sees socialization into working life as transpiring throughout individuals' trajectories from education and work practice abroad to working life proper, thus both within the physical workplace and outside it.

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[34] See also discussion in Section 2.3.3.

3.4.2 Membership and participation in communities

In the process of becoming a professional, socializing into working life and constructing one's professional repertoire, individuals have multiple community memberships in which they create their unique ways of communicating, as is typical in conditions of globalization (Blommaert 2010). Community memberships and participation obviously influence what kinds of repertoires are constructed and thus they constitute a key dimension of repertoire construction. In referring to communities, the term *speech community*[35] is used in this study. The conceptualization draws principally on Hymes (1971, 1974a, 1974b, 1986[1972], 1992, 1996) and Gumperz (1964, 1972: 219, 1986[1972]: 16, 1992b, 2009). In sociolinguistics, speech community has been disputed for a number of reasons; for example, there are different definitions of it, it places a strong emphasis on language as the primary criterion for a community and it focuses on the group rather than the individual (see e.g. Bucholz 1999; Holmes & Meyerhoff 1999). Nevertheless, the term fits in with the present study, although some views related to other similar concepts are also taken into account.

Defining a speech community is difficult today given people's mobility and mass migration (Garrett & Baquedano-Lopez 2002; Blommaert et al. 2005; Goebel 2008). Hymes's (1974a: 47, 1986[1972]: 54) definition focuses on speech community "as a social, rather than linguistic, entity" and follows the sociolinguistic tradition which is the basis of this study. People form speech communities with joint orientation to group norms (LePage & Tabouret-Keller 1985): speech communities share "knowledge of rules for the conduct and interpretation of speech" (Hymes 1974a: 51). According to Hymes (1996: 33, 1974a: 199, 1992: 48), membership in a speech community means sharing one or more of its ways of speaking, hence speech (including writing and other modes of language, Hymes 1986[1972]: 53), other communicative aspects related to speech including norms, attitudes and beliefs (ibid.). The fact that members of a speech community do not have equal knowledge and ability to interpret and produce speech (Bauman & Sherzer 1974: 6) is well in line with the notions of unique biography and trajectories of socialization. In addition to diversity, which characterizes communities (ibid.), identity and identification are important aspects of a speech community (Hymes 1996: 32). In this study, drawing on these views, individuals in speech communities are seen to share not only speech but also practices of doing and types of identities. In some studies, it might be of interest to determine the borders between speech communities and their structures. This is not essential in this study; instead the interest is in the participants' roles in the use of and their talk about ways of speaking, their drawing on experiences and discourses in different communities and their functioning in them with their repertoires (cf. Gumperz 1971). Hence speech communities emerge as a relevant concept in terms of the participants' trajectories of socialization.

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[35] Besides speech community, other concepts are also used in sociolinguistics to understand the way language shapes and is shaped by the community of its speakers, for example: *imagined communities* (Anderson 2006[1983]), *discourse communities* (Swales 1990), *small cultures* (Holliday 1999), *discourse systems* (Scollon & Scollon 1995: 144) and *communities of practice* (Lave & Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998; see discussion below).

These views have similarities with the concept of *community of practice* (Lave & Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998), which extends beyond the notion of speech to the idea of shared practices as part of a community's characteristics, mutually constituting a community. Moreover, learning in participation is a key process in attaining legitimate membership of a community of practice (ibid.). Furthermore, a community of practice entails mutual engagement between its members, joint enterprise, a shared repertoire consisting of both linguistic and non-linguistic resources, and identities as a result of practices (Wenger 1998; Bucholtz 1999). These are useful ideas in the present study and worth elaborating further, as the studied participants clearly engage in processes of apprenticeship in different roles related to their repertoires, ways of speaking and hierarchies of membership in their communities. According to Wenger (1998: 47), "the concept of practice connotes doing, but not just doing in and of itself. It is doing in a historical and social context that gives structure and meaning to what we do." Moreover, practices include both the explicit and the implicit: language, tools, roles, procedures, untold rules, and embodied understandings, for example. In this way, community of practice is a more elaborate concept than speech community.[36]

Community of practice theory is particularly useful in understanding socialization trajectories, and thus this study draws on its view of a trajectory of participation in communities (Lave & Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998) in relation to the present participants' professional biographies with English. Central to the idea of participation are learning and aspects of identity both of which are meaningful for people's construction of themselves as members of communities of practice (ibid.). According to Lave & Wenger (1991; see also Wenger 1998: 100–101), the trajectory begins with peripheral participation. In the process of becoming a professional and learning professional ways of communicating and behaving, an individual first participates in the community in question as a peripheral or a novice member and later as a full participant. Learning to master professional ways of speaking has been called *register socialization* (Agha 2007)[37], which is expected from apprentices and novices in order for them to become legitimate members of the community (Lave & Wenger 1991). As such a member, a person knows how to act and speak in the community. Thus, socialization can be seen as a general "knowledge trajectory from novice to expert" (Lave & Wenger 1991).

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[36] See Holmes & Meyerhoff's (1999) comparison between speech community and community of practice (see also House 2003; Rampton 2000). See also Meyerhoff (2002: 526 as cited in Ehrenreich 2009: 130) according to whom the "CofP domain is rather smaller than that usually circumscribed by the term 'speech community'".

However, it should be noted that even as a legitimate community member, an individual constantly acquires new knowledge about language and social practices; for example, when newcomers enter the workplace, new communicative demands arise and new ways of doing are introduced (cf. Lave & Wenger 1991: 117). As Roberts (2010: 214) notes, everyone at some stage is new to the workplace environment and has to be socialized into its particular linguistic and cultural environment. Therefore, the trajectory of participation is not linear: "learning to be a worker is no longer structured around an identificatory trajectory that leads from marginal, via peripheral, into full occupational, professional, or organizational membership" (Iedema & Scheeres 2003: 332). Rather, the trajectory is non-linear and flexuous which is perhaps illustrative of globalization processes in general.

Despite the many relevant notions in the community of practice theory, in this study I have chosen to use the term 'speech community', because it is more suitable for talking about the participants' community memberships across their trajectories of socialization than community of practice. As Gumperz (2009: 66) argues, most groups may be treated as speech communities: either small or large, a handful of people or nations, or occupational groupings, "provided that they show linguistic peculiarities that warrant special study". Hence even dyadic conversations can represent speech communities that are worth studying (cf. Goebel 2008: 149). Individuals, during their socialization trajectories, are members of different speech communities. In this study, such memberships are explored in terms of the English language. Moreover, the existence of a speech community is seen as both situational and dependent on widely circulating discourses and ideologies: it is "*the product of the communicative activities engaged in by a given group of people*" (Duranti 1997: 82, italics in original). In interactions individuals both participate in speech communities as well as create and reconstruct them and in so doing they appropriate existing discourses and ways of speaking (cf. Silverstein & Urban 1996; Mäkitalo & Säljö 2002; Wortham 2005).

However, the concept of community of practice could be useful for analyzing workplace interaction where community practices entail more than the use of language and involve communicative repertoires. In the study of business communication in particular, Louhiala-Salminen (1999: 72) argues for the use of 'discourse community' which emphasizes the functional dimension as a primary determinant of its members' linguistic behavior instead of the social, which characterizes the behavior of the speech community's participants (see Swales 1990: 471).[38] The functional dimension is seen as more important in business communication than the social dimension (Louhiala-Salminen 1999: 72; see also Sales 2006: 22). However, considering the overall research process, the micro and macro dialectic of repertoire construction across time and contexts and the theoretical framework, the term speech community better serves the present purposes, being sufficiently narrow for investigating the enregisterment of ways of speaking English across the participants' trajectories, rather than their practices through time in a wider and more detailed sense. After all, this study focuses on individuals' repertoire construction across their trajectories with English, rather than practices on the community level, although individuals' professional practices and the multisemiotic nature of workplace interaction are considered (which would argue for the use of the term community of practice). In the analysis of interaction, the focus is on the individual rather than the community, which has been a core focus in speech community theory. This overt focus on the group rather than the individual (Gumperz 1982b: 24) has been criticized by those favoring community of practice (see e.g. Bucholtz 1999). As a response to this, with an ethnographic approach and a focus on individual repertoires, it is possible to document individuals' desires, experiences and challenges, community memberships and affiliations, meaning negotiations in local activities and engagements in the enregisterment processes through which they construct their repertoires.

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[37] Agha's (1998, 2003, 2005, 2007) notions of register and enregisterment are discussed in Section 3.5.

3.4.3 Identity work within discourses

In the process of constructing their repertoires and in participating in communities' practices as certain types of people, individuals do identity work (cf. Wenger 1998). Although identity is challenging to define, Zimmerman (1998) provides a useful conceptualization of identity in social processes by distinguishing 1) *discourse identity* (e.g. teller, answerer), 2) *situated identity* (e.g. teacher, learner) and 3) *transportable identity*. This formulation suggests that identity is changing, fluid and heterogeneous rather than static (cf. Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004; Bailey 2009; Martin-Jones & Gardner 2012), and relates to the construction of repertoires across timescales and contexts.

First, in this study identities are seen as constructed with different communicative resources. Second, identity work occurs on both the micro and macro levels: in situated interaction as well as within and across the widely circulating discourses that are drawn on. Third, identity becomes salient on both the short and long timescales: individuals' role alignment within single events, such as in a meeting at work, signals short timescale identity construction, i.e. situated identities, whereas identity construction over a longer period of time (i.e. several years), indexes long timescale processes and transportable identities, for example professional ones. Thus, attending to various micro and short timescale events of identity work provides information on contexts and on individuals' construction of transportable identities.[39] That is, people's management of interaction, their assumptions of local roles and uses of particular ways of speaking (Agha 2005) carry with them indexical meanings, which have important consequences for the projection of individuals and the construction of professional repertoires at a macro and longitudinal level. Various types of identity work thus illuminate individuals' possibilities and constraints in repertoire construction.

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[38] It is argued that Swales' (1990) conceptualization of a discourse community is very rigid, and that for such a community to exist, a fixed set of criteria need to be established (see Shore & Mäntynen 2006: 29).

This section focuses on identity work within discourses whereas the following section (3.4.4) deals with identity work in interaction. Individuals' drawing on discourses in talk and positioning of themselves within discourses are used to illustrate identity work in two articles (1 and 2). A discursive viewpoint to identity as social and discursive action draws on post-structuralist accounts and relates identities to wider social issues, such as dominant discourses and hegemonic processes (Hall 1996; Woodward 1997; Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004; Higgins 2011: 10). In this study, discourse is conceptualized as a way of representing ideas and knowledge.[40] Discourses may be realized in alternative ways and appear differently, often through language, but they are also part of the social and societal practices from which their power in use derives (Ivanič 1998: 17; Fairclough 2001: 235; 2003: 124; Weedon 1997[1987]: 34; Kress & van Leeuwen 2001: 5). When using language, people draw on pre-existing discourses to represent their conception of themselves and the world and position themselves as certain kinds of people. According to Gee (1990: 143),

> A Discourse is a socially accepted association among ways of using language, of thinking, feeling, believing, valuing and of acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or 'social network', or to signal (that one is playing) a socially meaningful 'role'.

Within the discursive framework, identities can be seen as accomplished through positionings in discourses and through participants' recontextualization of pre-existing signs (e.g. discourses) to position themselves and others as certain kinds of people in situated interaction (Davies & Harré 1990; Georgakopoulou 2007). Moreover, individuals position themselves with respect to others. *Positioning* refers to the process through which speakers adopt or resist offered subject positions that are made available in discourses (Davies & Harré 1990; Harré & van Langenhove 1999). Within discourses only a limited set of positions may be available, which suggests that individuals lack agency in those processes (De Fina, Schiffrin & Bamberg 2006). This is partly the case, but individuals are also able to resist identities handed down to them which may position them in unfavorable ways (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004; Norton 2010; Higgins 2011).

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[39] Transportable identity resembles Gidden's (1991: 14) *self-identity* which "forms a trajectory across the different institutional settings of modernity over the *durée* of what used to be called the 'life cycle'" (italics and brackets in original).

[40] As a discursive practice, *discourse* is a challenging term and there is no single definition for it. The singular term 'discourse' characterizes the theoretical thinking of a whole field of study which views language as social action. 'Discourses' in the plural have a more specific focus as they are theoretical-analytical concepts with which meaning making can be investigated (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009: 51; Gee 2005).

Studying identities as constructed in discourses provides information on the kind of world to which individuals relate themselves and thus on their repertoire construction. We learn to structure our language use in established ways that are grounded in the culture and social environment in which we live. Seen in this way, discourses are thus important resources for repertoire construction, available for individuals in describing and typifying their language practices. For example, when talking about their own repertoires, individuals draw on their experiences of language use: in interviews they draw on discourses related to particular contexts, ideas of how language is and should be used, and thereby assign value to their own resources. People's identification of themselves and their identification by others is a constantly evolving process and relies upon the appropriation of resources from various timescales (Wortham 2005, 2006).

During the research process, the discourses available for individuals before they become professionals emerged as different from those available in working life. To illustrate, discourses of proficiency and learning circulate in educational contexts in more powerful ways than for example discourses of everyday language use, perhaps due to the fact that an individual's language production is constantly being evaluated and corrected at school (e.g. Firth 2009: 136). In a similar way, certain discourses occupy more valuable roles at one stage of individual's life than at another, since some are realized, others silenced, forgotten or marginalized. The relative value of resources helps understand identity as changing since, for example, the discourses one has access to and can draw on influence available identity options in a given context and situation (e.g. Blommaert 2005). For example, with appropriate resources one can hold a powerful position as a teacher whereas with little or scarce resources desired identities cannot be constructed and thus an individual can lose voice (Hymes 1996).

Moreover, a particular discourse may be drawn on at one point of a biography but not at another. Through socialization, individuals encounter, gain access to and are influenced by new discourses which may contradict those they have socialized into earlier and thus one's options for identity and repertoire construction change (e.g. Lam 2000; Roberts 2010). In a way, then, through mobility, old discursive resources are renewed, recycled and reshaped across contexts to suit new ones. However, some resources persist through time and across contexts and, consequently, certain identities are stable and transportable (Zimmerman 1998). At this point the notion of indexicality is important: when a present discourse echoes a past one, an indexical linkage exists (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009: 118, 122).

Considering the study participants' engagement in double or 'triple' socialization (i.e. to working life, professional discourse and BELF), individuals' identities are bound to change after their entry into working life, when they begin to engage in the complexities of business to develop and maintain professional and social relationships with co-workers every day in their workplace talk. They also become subject to the organization's explicit objectives. The workplace talk that individuals socialize into provides an essential means of constructing and negotiating diverse social identities in the workplace (Holmes 2006: 166–167). In socialization, professional routines to accomplish duties and responsibilities become part of the individuals' identities and professional repertoires, which necessarily develop according to workplace functions and duties and ways of speaking related to them (see Articles 3 and 4). As employees, individuals may have to conform to company objectives at the expense of their personal goals, for example in the choice of language (cf. Piekkari, Vaara, Tienari & Säntti 2005). In such a situation, a particular professional identity has been imposed as an undesirable and negative option for the individual (see Article 2). Discourses are thus powerful, as they guide the use of other resources, action and interpretation. For example, educational discourses of correctness may influence individuals' language use to the extent that they might be too afraid to talk, if they are worried about making mistakes with their imperfect way of speaking (see Article 1).

Discourses could be seen to condition enregisterment processes, because their ability to articulate values of ways of speaking (cf. Agha 2003: 231). When drawing on discourses of language use, individuals enregister ways of speaking from within a particular discursive position. For example, discourses of correctness influence how and what ways of speaking are recognized and how one's own and other people's repertoires are typified. In such reflexive activities, individuals simultaneously position themselves and others vis-à-vis discourses, and thereby enregister ways of speaking. Individuals drawing on a certain discourse at a certain point in time can be seen as one phase in the ongoing, long timescale enregisterment of a particular way of speaking (cf. Swinehart 2012). In this way, then, discourses and ways of speaking are important resources for constructing one's own repertoire.

3.4.4 Participation and identity work in interaction

Socialization transpires in interactions with both more experienced persons and peers (see Garrett 2009: 233). Through interactional participation, individuals construct and develop their professional repertoires, learn ways of speaking, and align with social roles and categories of identity (cf. Garrett 2009) that are important in working life. How individuals arrange themselves in interaction requires adopting the concept of *participation framework* (Goffman 1979, 1981; Goodwin 1986, 2000; Goodwin & Goodwin 2007) which suggests that individuals may hold different participant roles in interaction which then influences their repertoire construction. Participation framework refers to participants' sense of what happens in interaction and their organization in relation to one another. An interactional sociolinguistics[41] (Gumperz 1977, 1982a, 1982b, 1992a, 1999) perspective is useful here since participation framework enables disclosing how people involved in an interactional setting participate in that setting, are positioned vis-à-vis one another, how power is distributed in that setting, and how the participants' repertoires are being put to use and developed. During the course of interaction, participation frameworks shift as interlocutors constantly reorganize their participation. The concepts of *footing* and *role alignment* refer to forms of participation in interaction and they are discussed next.

Two articles (3 and 4) focus on participation in interaction. Goffman defines participation as follows:

> When a word is spoken, all those who happen to be in a perceptual range of the event will have some sort of participation status relative to it. The codification of these various positions and the normative specification of appropriate conduct within each provide an essential background for interaction analysis […] (Goffman 1981: 3).

Speech is the principal definer of participation here. The concept of footing (Goffman 1981) relates to the individual's stance to what he or she is saying. According to Goffman (1981: 144–147), a speaker can establish forms of footing as an *animator, author, principal* and *figure*, the first three of which are the most useful here. The animator refers to the "individual active in the role of utterance production" but does not necessarily involve one's own voice. The author refers to "someone who has selected the sentiments that are expressed and the words in which they are encoded". The principal is "someone whose position is established by the words that are spoken, someone whose beliefs have been told, someone who is committed to what the words say". Lastly, the figure refers to "figure in a statement – that serves as the agent, a protagonist in a *described* scene, a "character" in an anecdote, someone, after all, who belongs to the world that is spoken about, not the world in which the speaking occurs" (Goffman 1981: 144–147, italics in original.) Through individuals' shifts in their footing, participation frameworks change continuously. Footings also provide information about the study participants' repertoires: speaking from the point of view of the company (for example by using the plural pronoun "we" to talk about company's views as a principal) might imply that the participant's repertoire is tied to a particular place and to a particular company – that the person has socialized into the company practices and talks in its voice (Articles 3 and 4).

Goffman's (1981) conceptualization is useful in analyzing how the participants organize themselves in relation to speech, who is speaking and distinguishing different speaker stances to utterances (i.e. footings). However, as the research process evolved and theoretical framework developed, footing came to be considered too narrow for underscoring other dimensions of participation in interaction and the whole of the social action that takes place at the workplace.[42] Goodwin (2000) offers an extension to Goffman's framework with an action-centered approach in which actors are seen as using practices in participation. In this view, people engage in interaction by using multisemiotic resources: language, embodiment, gestures and artifacts through which they organize participation (see also Heath & Hindmarsh 2000; Kendon 1997; Mondada 2007). According to Goodwin,

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[41] See also Section 4.5.2.1

> any participation framework is an ongoing contingent accomplishment, something not under the control of a single party (who can at best make proposals about the structure of participation that should be operative at the moment), but rather something that has to be continuously achieved through public displays of orientation within ongoing processes of interaction. (Goodwin 2000: 1500)

Hence, in different participation frameworks participants are constantly establishing forms of footing for what they say and mutually align with roles. Here the concept of 'role' is broader than that of footing, because it captures all the participants' dynamic identities in interaction (cf. Zimmerman 1998). For example, in Article 4, the business meeting analyzed embodies characteristics of teaching discourse in which the interlocutors, judged by their interactional moves and use of communicative resources, align with learner and teacher roles. However, the participants' principal and author footings add another layer for interpretation which shows that dynamic forms of participation explicate the nature of the repertoires with which to participate in interaction. Furthermore, they are also essential for interpreting enregisterment processes, because certain ways of speaking are evoked through individuals' alignments (see Section 3.5), which in turn are influenced by discourses about appropriate language use circulating in the community.

As this section has aimed to establish, discourses and forms of participation, within which individuals engage in identity work, constitute important dimensions of repertoire construction.

3.4.5 Summary

This section has presented the dimensions of repertoire construction relevant in this study: across trajectories of socialization individuals become members in different communities, draw on and position themselves within discourses, participate in interactions and do identity work. These dimensions are addressed in the four articles and illustrated in Figure (3) below. The flexuous arrow from and between peripheral and legitimate memberships illustrates trajectories of socialization as understood in this study (see Section 3.4.2). The circles of the onion expand from the middle core (titled 'Professional repertoire') outwards, illustrating the level of empirical inquiry: from the most micro-level detail of participation in interaction to the macro level of discursive identity work, biographies and trajectories. Moreover, the colors illustrate the empirical foci: light color is for interview analyses of talk about a repertoire by means of discourses and discursive identity work, and dark color is for interaction analysis of repertoires-in-use by means of participation and interactional identity work. Lastly, each dimension leads to enregisterment: in participation, through discourses and identity work individuals engage in enregistering different ways of speaking. Enregisterment theory and its applications are discussed next.

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[42] For criticism of Goffman's (1981) framework, see Goodwin & Goodwin (2007).

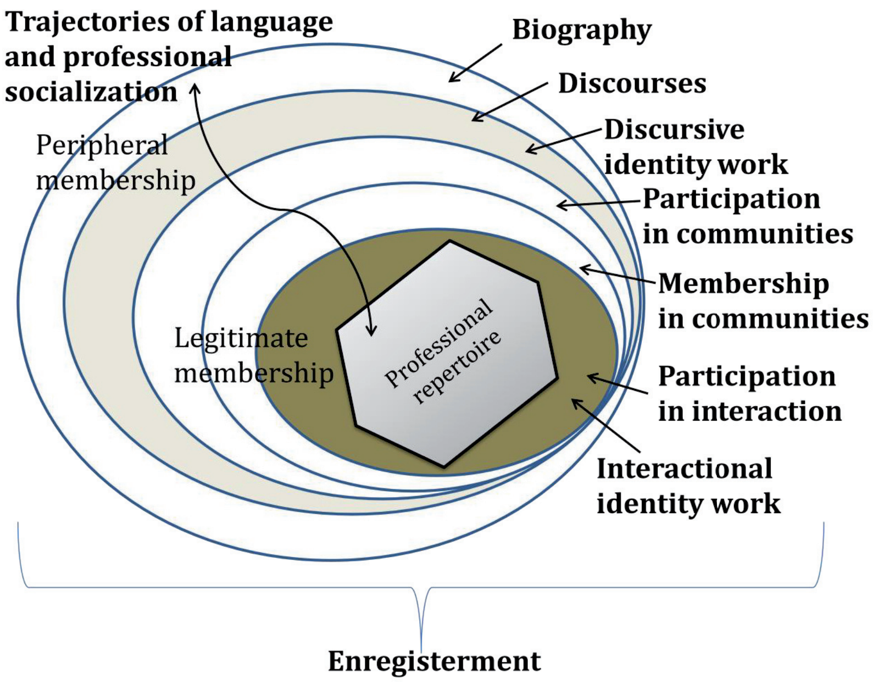
Trajectories of language and professional socialization
Biography
Discourses
Discursive identity work
Participation in communities
Membership in communities
Participation in interaction
Interactional identity work
Peripheral membership
Legitimate membership
Professional repertoire
Enregisterment

FIGURE 3 Dimensions of repertoire construction

3.5 Enregisterment

In order to understand what kinds of resources are part of, enter and inform individuals’ professional repertoires, and how and why, this study applies the concept of ‘enregisterment' (Agha 2003, 2005, 2007). The concept was adopted at a late stage of the research process for establishing links between the micro-level findings of individuals’ talk about their repertoires and repertoires-in-use and the macro-level sociolinguistics of ways of speaking, discourses, norms and ideologies about language and communication circulating in society. With enregisterment as an interpretative analytic tool, it is possible to gain a more holistic understanding of what kinds of processes and practices are involved in professional repertoire construction. The aim of this section is to explicate

Agha's (ibid.) theoretical framework of enregisterment, discuss its previous applications in light of their usefulness for the present study and, finally, illustrate how enregisterment is applied in this study.

3.5.1 Agha's framework

Enregisterment has gained wide interest in sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology. Developed in linguistic anthropology, the concept aims to apprehend the reflexive nature of language use (see Section 3.1). Some key linguistic anthropological work has focused, in particular, on the metapragmatics of language and the indexical relation between macro- and micro-sociological order (esp. Silverstein 1976, 1993, 2003). Acknowledging this background, I rely on the work of Asif Agha (2003, 2005, 2007) a linguistic anthropologist, who has utilized enregisterment[43] in order to capture "processes through which a linguistic repertoire becomes differentiable within a language as a socially recognized register of forms" (Agha 2003: 231; see also Adams 2009), or more specifically "processes whereby register's forms and values become differentiable from the rest of the language, i.e. recognizable as distinct, linked to typifiable social personae or practices, for a given population of users"(Agha 2007: 168).[44]

The technical terms enregisterment and register have their roots in everyday language (Agha 2005: 57). Enregisterment derives from the verb 'to register' (recognize; record) which corresponds to, for example, "a verb of cognition and recognition that takes a dative experiencer (viz., "the point didn't register on him at all")" and […] a verb meaning "to (institutionally) record, inscribe, write down" (viz., "he hasn't registered to vote")" (Agha 2005: 57) whereas the noun 'register' is the outcome of enregisterment and it "brings together the cognitive, discursive and institutional sense to some extent" (ibid.). According to Agha (1998), registers are products of individuals' explicit and implicit metapragmatic discourse that describes the pragmatic values of language, in other words, language users ascribe values to linguistic forms according to how they are and should be used so as to be appropriate in given contexts. Hence, in a similar way to Hymes's (1974, 2009) way of speaking, Agha's (1998, 2003, 2005, 2007) register constitutes both the form and meaning of forms, and for a register to exist, it has to be recognized by a population of users. Therefore, registers are living social formations, used by social persons, index social personae, and are susceptible to variation and change (Agha 2005: 39–40). It should be noted that such a conceptualization of register is broader than that of many other scholars in sociolinguistics, such as Biber & Finegan (1994; see also Johnstone 2009a: 36). Importantly, as a register is a social regularity, it does not suffice to establish its social existence if a single individual engages in metapragmatic activity, but it needs to be confirmed in some way by the evaluative activities of others (Agha 2005: 46, 2007). Hence, enregisterment is a social process: it is constantly executed in and through people's social actions.

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[43] Silverstein (2003, 2006) has also used the term 'enregisterment'.

[44] This study discusses Agha's theory to the extent that it applies to the present framework. For a thorough account of the theory, the reader is advised to turn to Agha (2007).

Agha's (2003, 2007) classic example of a register is Received Pronunciation (RP) in Britain which has been an emblem of speaker status and linked to a specific set of cultural values. RP is a good example of how micro-level processes of enregisterment contribute to the macro-social existence of a way of speaking. To illustrate this, Agha (2003, 2007) explains that RP has evolved through people's use of the phonolexical way of speaking and through their acts of recognition of the register. Furthermore, as Agha (2007: 203) maintains, by using RP, people align with a social role which carries value about the way of speaking. These processes and practices of use, recognition and value ascription are examples of micro-level processes of enregisterment. Thus, even though RP is a macro-level, widely established way of speaking, for it to become and remain such, large-scale practices (e.g. the legitimization of RP in societal domains) unfold in one communicative, or semiotic, event at a time (cf. Agha 2005: 40, 51), for example in such reflexive daily activities where people evaluate speech forms or distinguish one way of speaking from another. Hence, it is in the micro-level of social interactions that macro-level phenomena of society and changes in language can be observed (cf. Agha 2005, 2007; Pennycook 2010).

Enregisterment enables making links between findings obtained from different types of data analyses in the individual articles, since enregisterment can be identified along the lines of three different perspectives on register formations. These are: 1) a repertoire perspective, 2) an utterance perspective and 3) a sociohistorical perspective, which can be seen as corresponding to users' different levels of engagement with registers (Agha 2007: 149) and which can be found in the empirical parts of this study.

According to Agha (2007: 147), registers involve 1) repertoires which are often linked to systems of speech style and to non-linguistic aspects such as dress that constitute larger semiotic styles. Repertoires become distinguishable from the rest of the language through metapragmatic stereotypes of speech which are culture-internal models of utterance indexicalities associated with speech variants (Agha 2007: 148). This view of registers involving repertoires corresponds to the distinction established in this study about ways of speaking on the community level and individual repertoires (see Section 3.3): repertoires involve ways of speaking. 2) The utterance perspective refers to the use of a register's forms which articulates a scheme of the type of social occasion where the forms are used. Furthermore, registers' forms index stereotypic features such as interlocutors' roles, relationships and the type of social practices of registers' usage. Naturally the forms are accompanied with other linguistic and non-linguistic signs. Hence, Agha's (1998, 2003, 2005, 2007) register is semiotic in nature, which resembles the view of a repertoire involving communicative resources in this study (see discussion in Section 3.3). Finally, registers are 3) sociohistorical formations in that a register formation always involves a social domain of people who are acquainted with the model of speech, that is, a register's boundaries may either change or remain relatively constant over time depending on institutional factors and on the society's support for register competence (Agha 2007: 148–149). Similarly, in this study ways of speaking and discourses are seen as shared, negotiated and used in speech communities (see Section 3.3 and 3.4). Furthermore, Agha (2007: 149) notes that "in register-mediated encounters with each other, individuals are 'located' with respect to all three levels at once". Considering the three engagement levels, Agha (2007: 149) argues that language users better identify repertoire features than the effects of utterances in actual events of use or the register's sociohistorical features.

These three levels are useful in interpreting enregisterment processes in the findings: ways of speaking become distinguishable through metapragmatic reflexivity, their use is indexical of the social occasion, roles, relationships and social practice and they are shared by a domain of people. Recognizing repertoire features is thus intrinsic of the enregisterment processes through which different ways of speaking emerge. Such recognition work can be termed language users' *metapragmatic typifications*, which can be empirically studied as examples of enregisterment processes. According to Agha (2007: 150), such typifications are acts that typify the pragmatics of speech forms, as language users have "the metalinguistic ability […] to discriminate forms across register boundaries and to assign pragmatic values to variant forms". Some forms of metapragmatic typification involve explicit talk about talk, but not all. They are all reflexive behaviors that can be summarized as follows:

TABLE 4 Typifications of language use (Agha 2007: 151)

Everyday reflexive behaviors	a) use of register names b) accounts of usage/users c) descriptions of 'appropriate' use d) patterns of 'next turn' response behavior e) patterns of ratified vs. unratified use
Judgments elicited through	f) interviews g) questionnaires h) 'matched guise' experiments
Metadiscursive genres such as	i) traditions of lexicography j) grammatology k) canonical texts l) schooling m) popular print genres n) electronic media o) literary representations p) myth q) ritual

According to Agha (2007: 152), these are examples of metalinguistic behavior because they communicate something about speech forms' properties. Evaluations are metapragmatic typifications of speech because they tell us about pragmatics of speech (ibid., p. 153) and thus count as data for the sociolinguist to study enregisterment processes. For Agha (2007: 152), a), b) and c) in the list are explicit statements about language whereas d) and e) are tacit. When a pattern can be identified in a speaker's response behavior (case d), such a pattern "orient[s] us to facts of value" which "implicitly evaluate the indexical effects of co-occurring forms (as 'next turn' responses to them, for example) but do not describe what they evaluate". For instance, such implicit behavior can be seen in interaction in a 'next' interactional turn in which an interlocutor's response to co-participant's talk can be treated as providing information about language used in the prior turn (Agha 2007: 18). Thus, next turn response behavior can reveal indexical meanings and implicit values of the linguistic forms used. Furthermore, Agha (2007: 152) argues that such data is invaluable for the linguist but yet it cannot be used unless there is "some independent perspective on the pragmatic properties of the forms which occasion the response" because "the less explicit a metapragmatic utterance, the more context is needed to establish its import, or even to recognize that it is a metapragmatic act" (Agha 2007: 31). Implicit reflexive behavior is often accompanied with semiotic activity beyond language, such as gesticulation. For the sake of clarity it is necessary to simplify these complex formulations: in interaction there are covert ways of typifying language use and such cases need to be investigated in concert with their pragmatic characteristics and the semiotic resources that the interlocutors have at their disposal. The behaviors listed above provide information on the characteristics of speech forms either by decontextualizing the forms out of their contexts of use and describing their properties or by evaluating their effects while the forms are still in use. Indexicality is thus a central feature in enregisterment processes since metapragmatic typifications are possible due to the capacity of speech forms to index speaker roles, activities etc. that are part of the way of speaking (cf. Johnstone et al. 2006; Bailey 2009).

When people talk, they align with social roles and establish forms of footing (Goffman 1981; Agha 2007). According to Agha (2005: 38–40), individuals' encounters with registers are encounters with voices (or characterological figures of personhood and personae which refer to indexical images of speaker-actor), as well as "encounters in which individuals establish forms of footing and alignment with voices indexed by speech and thus with social types of persons, real or imagined, whose voices they take them to be" (see also Agha 2007). To know a register is to perform a kind of role alignment with the characterological figures linked to that register (Agha 2005, 2007). Enregisterment processes penetrate through linguistic exchanges in which individuals on the one hand choose to talk about a certain way of speaking and on the other hand recognize the value of certain resources by aligning with particular social roles and using a way of speaking. In these ways, enregisterment can be seen as a process in which individuals recognize relevant and appropriate language use in a certain social situation and assign value to it, and they do this by establishing some form of a position to the figures that are indexed through speech. Furthermore, the outcome of enregisterment is a register (Agha 2005: 57), or a way of speaking, the characteristics of which have been discussed above. Thus, to use a professional way of speaking is to align with particular roles and use particular communicative resources, that is, for example, to perform as an engineer who knows machines and how to talk about them. As two ways of speaking can be used interchangeably and simultaneously, the same engineer may use a managerial way of speaking in a teacher role by instructing subordinates on how to use a machine. In addition, when an individual values grammatically correct English and aims to speak it, he or she aligns with a social type of person who should speak grammatically in order to be appropriate. Hence, when acting in this way an individual also constructs his or her own repertoire with particular resources.

Denotational enregisterment is a specific type and is important for this study as a tool for investigating the most valued element of a professional repertoire as defined by the study participants: a specialist professional vocabulary. Denotational enregisterment is a process of social recognition of denotational contrasts in language which are linked to differences between speaker roles (Agha 2007: 88–89, 142). According to Agha (2007: 104), "the denotation of an expression is its constant capacity to refer to the same type of things across many acts". For example, the word 'bearing' always denotes the same class of machine parts in engineering. In terms of enregisterment, the researcher's interest is in denotational success in interlocutors' acts of referring. To illustrate, if interlocutors understand what is being referred to with bearing, the referential act is interactionally successful and if that act is denotationally correct, interlocutors have used the expression according to the norms of usage. However, reaching success in denotation does not occur automatically, of course, because of language users' differing repertoires and competences. Such a situation results in a need for negotiation. Denotational enregisterment is a micro-level process traceable by means of a detailed analysis of interaction and interlocutors' turn by turn reaching success in denotation (Article 4).

As the above discussion has demonstrated, enregisterment processes capture various important issues simultaneously: *forms* and *values* of a way of speaking become *differentiable* and linked to social *roles* and *practices* in *social action*. As the articles focus on how individuals talk about and use of their repertoires at the micro-level of speech events, enregisterment accompanies a macro-sociolinguistic interpretative level to investigating repertoire construction: to understand the processes and practices through which ways of speaking and their associated resources are, enter and inform an individual's repertoire. Enregisterment links micro to macro as "any encounter is mediated by institutional processes that influence its social domain" (Agha 2005: 56) and as "macrosocial processes of register expansion always operate through microsociological encounters, or interactions" (Agha 2005: 56, see also p. 38, 47)".

Hence, investigating processes of enregisterment on the micro-level points to repertoires' sociolinguistic characteristics at a macro level, that is, there is dialectic between micro and macro (cf. Wortham 2006).

Enregisterment processes take place in everyday social and discursive encounters in populations of users, which can refer to both large populations and small populations consisting of a handful of people. In light of this, enregisterment is conceptualized for present purposes as a process operating via various channels and instruments, and in interaction, and is empirically analyzable in two-party interactions. Drawing on Agha's (2007: 151–152) list of different types of metapragmatic typifications as an analytical tool, enregisterment processes can be detected in interviews, which are both interactions and discursive sites for constructing meaning (Blommaert & Dong 2010; i.e. repertoire perspective, see Agha 2007: 147–149). They are also discoverable in interaction where participants orient to and use particular ways of speaking (i.e. utterance perspective, ibid.).

3.5.2 Earlier studies applying enregisterment

In recent discussion, enregisterment has been considered to be an element of a contemporary sociolinguistic approach to social interaction and social structures that traditionally went under the rubric of interactional sociolinguistics (see Auer & Roberts 2011: 383). This also relates to the call to study how meaning-making "involves indexical, emblematic, aesthetic and other dimensions" and thus "one should focus on the complex practices of enregisterment rather than on structures of 'language' in this process" (Blommaert 2012a: 3 citing Hymes 1996; Hanks 1996; Blommaert & Rampton 2011b).

Studies applying enregisterment reveal how various aspects in social life can be seen as enregistered: semiotic registers (Goebel 2009, 2010), ways of speaking (Møller & Jørgensen 2012), dialect (Johnstone et al. 2006), and diversity (Cole 2010; Urciouli 2010). Moreover, Johnstone (2009b: 160) argues that "the same feature can be enregistered in multiple ways", because each feature is linked to an ideological scheme that is used to evaluate the feature in contrast to another ideological scheme, and, therefore, they become recognizable as a result of this association. This is an important notion for the present study: each individual embodies a unique competence depending on his/her relations to these systems of feature-ideology associations.

The multidimensional nature of enregisterment as a concept presents both possibilities and challenges for the researcher. On the one hand, Agha's (2007) framework is very theoretical, and thus challenging to apply, but, on the other hand, it is applicable to the study of various social phenomena. Although enregisterment was not a core locus of study in this study from the beginning, it nevertheless adds a valuable perspective to repertoires and repertoire construction.

Various studies applying enregisterment are useful for the present one. The study by Johnstone et al. (2006) is particularly relevant. They use enregisterment to understand the development of a dialect called 'Pittsburghese' in Pittsburgh. Through historical research, ethnography, discourse and sociolinguistic analyses, they investigate how a set of linguistic features have undergone a process from not being recognized at all to becoming used and heard as markers of socioeconomic class and later linked to a place. They analyze newspaper articles about Pittsburgh speech to trace the historical emergence of explicit metapragmatic discourses about the social meaning of linguistic forms. Johnstone et al. (2006) also use sociolinguistic interviews and participant observation in Pittsburgh to closely examine five participants' use and talk about local speech which varied across contexts and times. In order to understand different levels of dialect enregisterment in Pittsburgh over time, they used Silverstein's (2003) orders of indexicality to explain how linguistic form-social meaning correlations become available for sociolinguistic marking and stereotypes in reflexive identity work. Johnstone et al. (2006: 82–83) explain how orders of indexicality are different levels of abstraction illustrating the relationship between linguistic form and social meaning. First, the *n*-th-order indexicality level refers to the ability of linguistic forms to index social meaning and, in Pittsburgh, the frequency of regional variants can be correlated with being from particular areas, class and gender group. Second, the *n*+1-th-order refers to the situation in which the *n*-th-order indexical relations are noticed by speakers of the forms. Third, the *n*+1st-order refers to a situation in which a new indexicality replaces the older *n*-th-order indexicality and, in the case of Pittsburghese, people begin to use regional forms to perform local identity (ibid.).

A significant finding by Johnstone et al. (2006) for the present study was that in order to understand patterns of variation and change in a speech community a researcher should pay attention to both people's talk and their metapragmatic activities through which ideas about how they talk are created and circulated. Their study is useful as it shows that being aware of the links between linguistic forms and social meanings and making this explicit (i.e. talk about talk) and using the forms appropriately in one's own speech (i.e. interaction) are two alternative ways of engaging in enregisterment. This notion of the two ways of carrying out enregisterment is applied in this study.

Goebel's (2007, 2009, 2010) research on enregisterment processes in diverse transient settings in Indonesia is also relevant for the present study. Taking a multidisciplinary approach, Goebel (2007) investigated audio- and video-recordings of Javanese-Indonesian bilingual talk to find out how Javanese and Indonesian are portrayed in language policy, the media, and educational settings that might lead to enregisterment. In particular, his interest was in analyzing how knowledge of those languages is appropriated in talk, and hence he views enregisterment processes as providing 'constituting possibilities' (Mäkitalo & Säljö 2002: 63 as cited in Goebel 2007: 513) to individual speakers in situated interaction. For example, Goebel (2007) discusses how language use in particular television series offers constituting possibilities for viewers to appropriate in their own interactions. Hence, in this way, linguistic items are transferred from one context to another by language users, from and through one process of enregisterment to another. In another study, Goebel (2009) focuses on the recontextualization of local and permanent signs of personhood in situated talk in order to find out how non-present people are socially identified as deviant and Chinese by participants in interaction by means of signs from different time and space scales. This is carried out for example through naming activities and associating a deviant aspect with a certain personhood (i.e. characterizations). In the empirical analysis, Goebel (2009) examines how enregistered semiotic registers associated with Chineseness are appropriated in face-to-face interaction by the individual speakers.

Goebel's (2007, 2009, 2010, 2011) research demonstrates, very importantly, that through participation in communities' social practices people associate particular spaces with persons, activities, social relations and so forth. These processes constitute different patterns of local-level processes of enregisterment (Goebel 2010: 42–43). In fact, Goebel (2007: 511–512) notes that enregisterment is ultimately about associating context with language. It is also important to note Goebel's (2010: 76) discussion about the existence of registers: in order for a semiotic register to exist, "signs only become signs if those used by a sender are recognized by the receiver", but if they are not, there can be stops in ongoing talk, requests for clarification as well as talk that positions the other party in a negative way, for example as deviant. Goebel's (2007, 2009, 2010, 2011) work highlights the nature of enregisterment as a group level process, which provides a link between the individual-level process of repertoire construction studied here and the social world, i.e. the macro level.

Furthermore, Goebel's (2007) study suggests that enregisterment should be treated as a '2nd order' concept which as such is not visible in grassroots performance (parallel to Rampton's 2007: 2 views on identity). However, there are practices which Goebel (2007: 528) considers as possibly leading to enregisterment, such as portrayals of language in different settings. Being more concrete, portrayals are empirically analyzable. Also in this study, enregisterment is not employed as an a priori category but rather as a theoretical framework with which to interpret the findings in the articles. As in Goebel (2007, 2009, 2010, 2011), portrayals, recognition and identification work are analyzed in this study.

Some other studies are worth mentioning which apply enregisterment in a similar way as the present study. For instance, Squires (2010) studies the enregisterment of internet discourse through such metadiscourses as academic scholarship about computer-mediated communication, uses of the metalinguistic terms 'netspeak' and 'chatspeak' in print media, and online comment threads about language and the internet. In a similar way, this study looks at discourses about language use within which different enregisterment processes operate. Henry (2010) is also interested in metadiscourses in his study of enregisterment of 'Chinglish' as a stigmatized linguistic variety by various social groups in China. Henry (2010: 672) provides a valuable point with respect to the present study by arguing that the standardization of an international variety of English informs the process of enregistering Chinglish and, furthermore, that English in China is mediated by power relations through which certain people (such as teachers and language experts) have the authority to judge the speech of others. In his analysis, Henry (2010) not only distinguishes utterances enregistered as Chinglish, but he also differentiates the interpretation of those particular utterances by the social group in question. For example, inappropriate translation and word choice were interpreted as humorous by foreign visitors and teachers and any perceived deviation from a Standard English accent by Chinese foreign language students as evidence of low personal quality (Henry 2010: 681). Similar types of typifications of particular ways of speaking can be identified in two of the present articles (1 and 2) which analyze discourses of language use. Dong (2010) also studies language in the context of China by focusing on the Chinese standard language, Putonghua. After discussing the history of Putonghua's institutional standardization in her paper, Dong (2010) analyzes the enregisterment of Putonghua from a historical and processual perspective in such metapragmatic activities as public sphere metadiscourse (a cartoon and a short article about the importance of Putonghua in rural residents' job hunting), classroom metadiscourse of correctness (audio-recorded interview) and metadiscourse from the periphery (interview with a person from an ethnic minority community). Dong (2010: 274) considers all these examples as a "blending of institutional mechanisms and ideological processes" which one is able to grasp through microscopic observations of metadiscursive practices on a grassroots level.

Enregisterment has also been applied to study 'diversity' (Cole 2010; Urciuoli 2010) and 'American Speech' (Beal 2009). Furthermore, Wilce (2008: 92) combined textual, video-recorded, historical and ethnographic data to describe the 'Bangladeshi psychiatric register' and its enregisterment, Remlinger (2009) studied 'Copper Country English' in Michigan, Williams (2012) the enregisterment of English in rap performance in English-Afrikaans bilingualism, and Møller & Jørgensen (2012) the enregisterment of features associated with ways of speaking Copenhagen among adolescents in the same city. In general, studies on enregisterment have been interested in both how individuals recognize the relationship between linguistic features and social values and their use of particular ways of speaking in talk. On the basis of the survey of the earlier research, the concept has been applied to the study of relatively widely established and stable registers in society, whereas this study is interested in the enregisterment of ways of speaking that emerge in individuals' talk about repertoires and repertoires-in-use, i.e. those that are linked to their own repertoire construction. The body of research on enregisterment processes is growing fast and the present study also aims to contribute to this discussion.

3.5.3 Summary

Agha's (1998, 2003, 2005, 2007) framework and its applications surveyed above establish the ground for applying enregisterment to interpret the findings of individual articles and to understand the processes and practices through which individuals construct their repertoires in different sociolinguistic conditions. The following Figure (4) is a synopsis of relevant earlier research applying enregisterment and illustrates its' process-like nature: first, enregisterment processes transpire in individuals' actions of identification in practices (on the left); second, they are seen in talk about repertoires and in repertoires-in-use (in the middle); and third, they have an outcome (on the right).

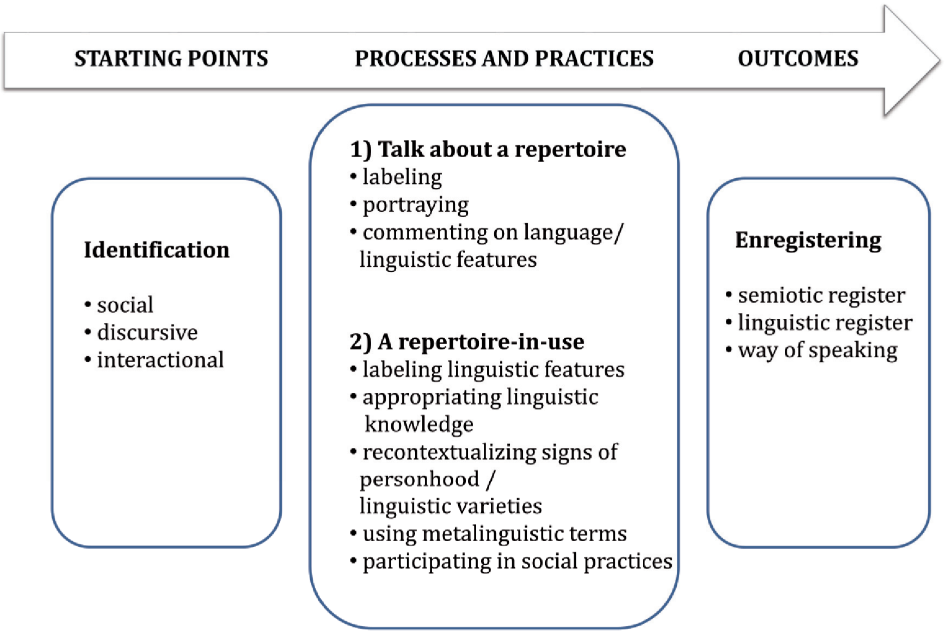
STARTING POINTS
PROCESSES AND PRACTICES
OUTCOMES
Identification
• social
• discursive
• interactional
1) Talk about a repertoire
• labeling
• portraying
• commenting on language/ linguistic features
2) A repertoire-in-use
• labeling linguistic features
• appropriating linguistic knowledge
• recontextualizing signs of personhood / linguistic varieties
• using metalinguistic terms
• participating in social practices
Enregistering
• semiotic register
• linguistic register
• way of speaking

FIGURE 4 Synopsis of earlier research applying enregisterment

Figure 4 illustrates how individuals can be seen as social beings engaging in social identification processes, discursive identity construction and interactional role alignment in multisemiotic practices or semiotic encounters (cf. Goebel 2010). In those processes individuals are involved in metapragmatic activities such as labeling linguistic features as belonging to certain ways of speaking (Madsen 2011), portraying and commenting on language (Goebel 2007, 2008, 2010; Squires 2010), participating in communities' social practices, appropriating linguistic knowledge in interaction (e.g. Goebel 2007), using linguistic forms appropriately (Johnstone et al. 2006), recontextualizing signs of personhood (Goebel 2009) and linguistic varieties in talk (Lytra 2010), and using metalinguistic terms in a variety of contexts, e.g. on the internet (Squires 2010).[45]

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[45] Implicit labeling of ways of speaking can also be seen in such activities as crossing and stylization (Rampton 1995), and mockery (Kytölä 2013).

These activities can be summarized as associations of language with people, social roles and cultural values in explicit metapragmatic activities in talk about repertoires and often in more implicit metapragmatic activities in repertoires-in-use. Lastly, depending on the focus of study, the outcome of enregisterment can be called a linguistic register, semiotic register, or a way of speaking (such as 'street language' or 'integrated language', see Møller & Jørgensen 2012). These issues as part of enregisterment are considered in this study in which interpretation begins with the findings of the four articles.

By drawing on discourses, participating in interactions and through identity work, individuals are seen to simultaneously recognize linguistic features as belonging to certain ways of speaking and contexts, assign values to them and appropriate linguistic knowledge in interaction. In enregisterment processes individual repertoires merge as competences "cluster around particular social arenas and become generative in those arenas" (Blommaert & Backus 2011: 19, 2013: 25). This means that by using our repertoires, we use our competences for enregistering different ways of speaking. Hence enregisterment processes are conditioned by our competences and the resources available to us in the environment. Discourse thus functions as one type of resource with which individuals engage in enregistering ways of speaking.

That specific resources are used and focused upon are implicit commentaries of their value as relevant and appropriate (cf. Rymes 2010). Enregisterment indexes situational requirements on the one hand and the value of specific ways of speaking for an individual on the other that are related to the individual's job task or desires, for instance. Hence, only those resources are used in each situation which are meaningful for the individual at that point, in one way or another. Blommaert & Backus (2011: 22) put it well: "the resources that enter into a repertoire are indexical resources, language materials that enable us to produce more than just linguistic meaning but to produce social and cultural images of ourselves, pointing interlocutors towards the frames in which we want our meanings to be put" (see also Blommaert & Backus 2013: 28). As "any [...] encounter is mediated by institutional processes that influence its social domain" (Agha 2005: 56), our repertoire construction is influenced by both micro- and macro-level processes which determine the kinds of ways of speaking that are needed, used and valued. Hence, individual repertoires always manifest themselves uniquely in each situation (see Figure 2 in Section 3.3.1) because of enregisterment processes, which thus explains why certain resources and ways of speaking are part of individuals' repertoires. Furthermore, enregisterment processes also enable new resources to join our repertoires.

As each article approaches individual repertoires from a particular perspective, covers a specific dimension of repertoire construction (see Figure 3 in Section 3.4.5) and uses different types of data, enregisterment is a unifying concept for establishing links between individuals' social actions and micro-level analyses and macro-sociological and sociolinguistic phenomena, processes and practices, and the use, development and circulation of ways of speaking across timescales and contexts. Thus, enregisterment theory enables a more holistic account to be gained of 1) what kinds of resources are part of professional repertoires and 2) how (through what kinds of processes and practices) they enter and inform professional repertoires. With an interpretation of multiple findings within a theoretical frame, it is possible to trace the recurring processes and practices which influence repertoire construction on the long timescale.

It is also worthy of mention that the aim with enregisterment is not to produce a deterministic view of resources or ways of speaking, since the participants also use other communicative resources that reach beyond the scope of this study. Furthermore, rather than classifying ways of speaking structurally as outcomes of enregisterment and describing their overall characteristics (for example linguistic, phonetic and grammatical features), this study is interested in how ways of speaking and resources emerge as meaningful in social action in the analyzed speech events (cf. Møller & Jørgensen 2012: 3) and relate to the individual professional repertoires. It is necessary, nevertheless, to use labels for ways of speaking in order to distinguish them from each other.

4 METHODOLOGY

4.1 Overview

This study is a multi-methodological undertaking as it exploits various methods of data collection and analysis in the four case studies and uses enregisterment theory as a tool to interpret the findings. The main aim is to find out what kinds of professional communicative repertoires are constructed across timescales and contexts and how. In order to achieve this aim, the study seeks to find out what kind of identity work and enregisterment processes are involved in repertoire construction and what kinds of trajectories emerge.

Different analytic strategies are combined. First, the theoretical orientation (see Chapter 3) guides the focus on individuals' communicative repertoires as involving different resources (see Figure 2 in Section 3.3.1) from a dual perspective. Second, a particular dimension of repertoire construction is addressed in the four articles: trajectories of socialization, memberships in communities, identity work, and participation in interaction (see Figure 3 in Section 3.4.5). Third, all the findings are interpreted with enregisterment theory in this Overview.

This chapter discusses the methodology used in this study, both in the individual articles and in this Overview. First, the case study methodology is discussed, after which the relevant timescales are described. Next, the data selection procedure for the individual articles is explicated. Next, the methods of analysis used in the articles are introduced as analyses of discourses and interaction which utilize discourse analysis, interactional sociolinguistics and multimodality. Finally, the application of enregisterment as an interpretative tool is presented.

4.2 Case studies

Each of the individual articles presents a *case study*. Case studies are used to shed light on phenomena in real-life contexts and to research questions which typically seek answers to "how" and "why" (Yin 1994). They can be explanatory, exploratory and descriptive, and designs can be single- or multiple-case studies with either qualitative or quantitative methods, or both. Case studies are typically criticized for their unsystematic handling of data and lacking a basis for scientific generalization. Despite this criticism, case studies have become more common in the social sciences (e.g. Duff 2008b). To justify the use of case studies, I draw on Rampton (2006: 387) who argues that

> Indeed, case studies seek generality by speaking more directly to existing theories and ideas, and they use their detailed analyses of particular circumstances to probe at the general principles, processes and relationships that these theories and ideas normally see at work in the worlds they refer to.

Case studies allow the use of different theories and methods to carefully analyze the chosen phenomenon. They are applicable in many domains and their focus is always contingent on the interest of the researcher and of the chosen discipline (Duff 2008b), as in ethnographic studies in general (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 16). In this study, each of the case studies scrutinizes a particular dimension of repertoire construction, collectively contributing to the methodological triangulation typical of case studies (e.g. Yin 1994). Combining different types of data is an advantage, since data of one type can illuminate data of another type (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 131). By analyzing individuals' own descriptions of their repertoires and repertoires in use in interaction, it is possible to probe into complex sociolinguistic processes that reach beyond the interactional events analyzed and index wider social phenomena.

Interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz 1977, 1982a, 1982b, 1992a, 1999), which combines sociolinguistic and ethnographic approaches, is well suited to case studies. This research orientation emphasizes the strong link between language and the social as noted by Blommaert & Rampton (2011: 13, 2012: 11), who draw on Giddens (1984)

> If the social world is produced in ordinary activity, and if social realities get produced, ratified, resisted and reworked in everyday interaction, then the tools of linguistic, semiotic and discourse analysis can help us understand about a great deal more than communication alone.

Furthermore, interactional sociolinguistics provides useful tools for finding out how situated interactions index, construct and influence the participants' positions in larger and extended social processes, for instance their biographies and trajectories of socialization, and reproduction, contestation and change in their longer timescale identities in interaction (Rampton 2006: 24). Interactional sociolinguistics focuses on the details of signs in their context and how language is used and constitutes social life (e.g. Gumperz 1999). It allows viewing a repertoire as a collection of communicative resources. Furthermore, with indexicality as a central notion, interactional sociolinguistics sits well with enregisterment theory.[46]

4.3 Selection of data: interviews and interactions

While the data archive includes a wide range of material, as illustrated in Chapter 2, the data in the four articles constitute theme interviews with seven participants conducted over a period of five years (2003–2008) and audio and video recordings of spoken interaction collected at two participants' workplaces (2008–2009). Two types of data serve as the most useful sources for the study of individuals' repertoire construction and their associated identity work, enregisterment and trajectories. Altogether seven participants were investigated, two of them in more detail.

While all the data were read, listened to and watched several times, for each of the articles a specific data set was selected to illustrate the chosen phenomenon. The interviews analyzed in Articles 1 and 2 were transcribed, also taking into account the dominant role in the interactions played by the interviewer (Briggs 1986: 120; Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 182) as well as the interactional nature of the event. Instances of workplace interaction in English in Articles 3 and 4 were transcribed in more micro detail, drawing on several transcription conventions (Silverman 2006; Jefferson 2004) to suit the focus of each article and to represent the social actions in as detailed manner as possible. The embodied actions[47] (gaze, gestures) were transcribed verbally and, similar to Kääntä (2010: 100), only those actions were transcribed that seemed to be meaningful for the participants and important in supporting the arguments in the articles. Gestural timing relative to speech was transcribed and the onset and offset of gesture determined on the basis of repeated viewings of and listening to the recordings. Here is a brief illustration of a transcription:

Extract 2 (excerpt from Article 3, Extract 3)[48]

81 Tero so: I I I suggest that you buy own hardness tester if it is six
hundred euros. (0.8)
((*T smiling, gaze at desk → M → V → J, tapping on the table with a pen*))
82 [because you may-]
83 James [six ↑hundred] no six euro
((*J head nods on 1st syllables*))
((M's phone ringing))

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[46] Interactional sociolinguistics method is discussed further in Section 4.5.2.1.

[47] The notion of embodied action will be elaborated more in Section 4.5.2.2.

[48] This is a short fragment of Extract 3 analyzed in Article 3. 'M' refers to Mikko, 'V' refers to Ville and 'J' refers to James.

Extract 2 is part of a discussion in which the participants are trying to achieve mutual understanding on what is a needed action on the one hand and what they are actually talking about on the other hand (the action, i.e. hardness testing, or a tool, i.e. testing device). This example illustrates the transcription method and choices. It is important to note that transcripts are already interpretations and they show the analyst's research focus (Gumperz & Berenz 1993). They also always contain the researcher's preferences and biases, which cannot be overcome (Bucholtz 2000: 1463). As this study focuses on selected participants, their embodied actions in the interaction data were transcribed in the most detail, although the other participants' actions were also taken into account in the data analyses. The articles themselves include only translated interview examples in English due to the journals' and publishers' conventions, readership and limitations of space. The transcription conventions are presented in Appendix 1. Pictures were omitted from the transcripts included in the articles for reasons of confidentiality. However, the interpretation and analysis were based not only on the transcripts, but also on careful listening to and viewing of the data and ethnographic fieldwork and notes. Table 5 presents the data analyzed in the articles in the chronological order of their collection.

TABLE 5 An overview of the data in each article

ARTICLE	TIME OF COLLECTION	PARTICIPANT AT FOCUS	DATA TYPE	SETTING
1) (all participants) **2) (Oskari)**	May 2003	Tero, Oskari, Simo, Pete, Risto, Lauri, Joel	Individual interview in Finnish	Student flat, Germany
1) (all participants) **2) (Oskari)**	August 2003	Tero, Oskari, Simo, Pete, Risto, Lauri, Joel	Individual interview in Finnish	Student flat, Germany / Home, Finland
2)	April 2008	Oskari	Individual interview in Finnish	Office, Finland
4)	August 2008	Tero	Audio-self-recordings of workplace interaction	Office, China
3)	February 2009	Tero	Video-recordings of workplace interaction	Office, Finland

In addition to the data sets used in the individual articles, the discussion of the findings in Chapter 5 also includes some additional data samples to further illustrate the phenomenon in question.

4.4 Trajectories, stages and timescales

The research and data collection processes themselves already illustrate the participants' trajectories from their educational through stay abroad contexts to those of professional life. The trajectories of the key participants, Tero and Oskari, consist of four *stages* which illustrate different points in their socialization into working life. These four stages also illustrate professional repertoire construction, since in each of these stages a repertoire emerges in a unique way. Interviews were conducted in all four stages and interaction data collected in the last two stages. The stages, therefore, highlight different aspects of the participants' biographies: repertoire construction, mobility, age and professional career. That is to say, they are involved in diverse types of trajectories. Figure 5 demonstrates the key participants' biographies, and stages and the data collected in those stages.

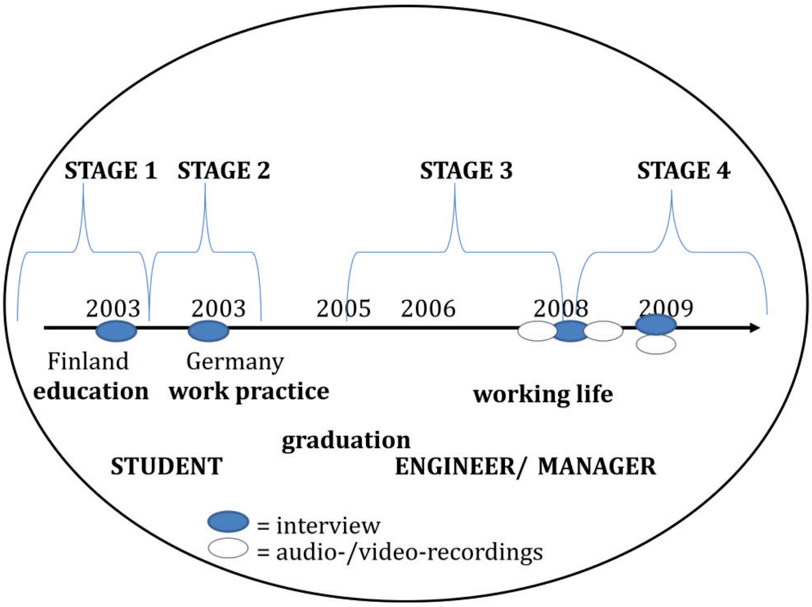
STAGE 1
STAGE 2
STAGE 3
STAGE 4
2003
2003
2005
2006
2008
2009
Finland
education
Germany
work practice
working life
graduation
STUDENT
ENGINEER/ MANAGER
= interview
= audio-/video-recordings

FIGURE 5 Key participants' biographies, stages and data

The first stage corresponds to the participants' education and their lives in Finland as the starting points in their professional lives. When talking about themselves and their language use in the first interviews, the participants draw on their first-stage experiences. The second stage is the stay abroad period in Germany, during which the participants gained more experience in using their repertoires and which influenced their self-descriptions and language use. The third stage illustrates the initial phases of the five participants' working lives and most of their first jobs as project engineers. Finally, the fourth stage refers to the second phases of the working lives of the two key participants, Tero and Oskari, as managers (Global Business Developer and R&D manager and Project Manager).

Following Wenger (1998: 154), I use trajectory to connote "continuous motion", that "has coherence through time that connects the past, the present and the future", and thus it does not imply a fixed course or destination. While trajectory is used as a metaphor of movement in this study, timescale captures spatiotemporal aspects (Wortham 2005, 2006, 2008; see also Heller 2011; Martin-Jones & Gardner 2012: 10, drawing on Heller 2011 and Duchêne & Heller 2011[49]). Pennycook (2010: 7, 141) argues that human life is categorized by movement in time or space and all understanding of language is tightly located in time and place. In this study, timescale is taken as an a priori category in line with Wortham (2005, 2006), who used the concept in his study of pupils' trajectories of socialization in the schooling and classroom contexts. While timescale can be seen to range from a microscopic level of nanoseconds to a macro level of centuries (Lemke 2000a), Wortham (2005: 99) distinguishes *sociohistorical*, *ontogenetic*, *local* and *microgenetic* timescales, which form a continuum of timescales relevant to describing processes in the human world. By sociohistorical timescale Wortham refers to processes occurring in society over several years and decades. The ontogenetic timescale refers to individual patterns and it is influenced by socio-historical, local and microgenetic timescales. Local and microgenetic timescales provide information on how particular events unfold. (Wortham 2005: 99.) All of these timescales are equally relevant in this study.

To use timescales as a research category is to adopt a view of development (Wortham 2006), or construction, as in this study. Furthermore, the use of timescale helps to establish links between widely circulating discourses about language and the actual use of language within single events (cf. Wortham 2006: 8). Analyzing the construction of professional repertoires and emerging trajectories requires a consideration of phenomena occurring on different timescales because "processes relevant to understanding meaningful human action take place across various characteristic time intervals" (ibid.). In line with Wortham (2008: 295), it is difficult to understand what happens in the here-and-now in an event without information on what has happened in the past; in order to understand the present, it is important to know its history (cf. Agha 2007: 71).

Moreover, in order to learn about trajectories, one should attend to different events which collectively constitute a set from which a trajectory emerges (e.g. Martin-Jones & Gardner 2012: 10). It is worth noting that each individual develops across different timescales, which is why in each study the researcher should determine the relevant timescales to be considered (Wortham 2005: 100, 2006: 43–45; Kramsch 2002: 19). To follow Kramsch (2002: 19), people do not develop

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[49] Compared to the present study, Martin-Jones & Gardner (2012: 10), drawing on Heller (2011) and Duchêne & Heller (2011), use trajectory to capture "the flows of people, resources (linguistic and material), texts and discourses that traverse today's world and as a means of capturing the intersecting dimensions of time and space".

> […] by clock time, but by many different timescales cycling at various rates [….] on the immediately present timescale of an unfolding conversational interaction, people display their affective sensibility to language use. On the longer-term timescale of their professional or social life, they display their ability to deal with language in multilingual and multi-idiolectal situations, […] On the longest timescale of their entire lifetime, they show evidence of multilingualism, linguistic diversity, and style.

Along the lines of ethnography, short timescale events are seen in this study as organizing and indexing longer timescale processes. Such long timescale processes as becoming a professional and constructing a professional repertoire are mediated through processes across short timescales. In this study the ontogenetic timescale refers to the participants' professional biographies, beginning from their education and continuing into working life. Within ontogenetic timescales there are local timescales. A local timescale denotes a site, for instance a community and its practices, which develop and unfold over days, months and years. A participant's employment in a company is a matter of a local timescale.[50] In two articles (1 and 2) the participants attach their repertoires to various timescales: on the ontogenetic timescale they refer to their life experiences in the educational, stay abroad and working life contexts where they have participated in communities' local practices across various timescales. In interviews, they also draw on phenomena on microgenetic (within a speech event) and local timescales (e.g. stay abroad period) to talk about their repertoires. Story telling of past events in particular may serve as a way of imposing meaning on experience, revealing what individuals themselves regard important and how (e.g. echoing widely shared discourses or being idiosyncratic), even if what actually happened in the event may be different. Hence they are discursive constructs produced in and shaped by a particular cultural, historical, political and social context (Pavlenko 2007).

In addition, the two other articles (3 and 4) on local workplace interaction, i.e. speech events, principally reveal micro and local timescale matters. However, phenomena on different timescales have an indexical relationship. As already pointed out, communication on the microgenetic timescale and in local events can be seen as the recontextualizations of widely circulating discourses and ways of speaking on the broader and longer timescales (cf. Wortham 2006: 40; Agha 2007; Bauman & Briggs 1990).

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[50] For Wortham (2006: 44), the local timescale is a "spatiotemporal niche" bounded spatially to the classroom and temporally to the academic year.

4.5 Methods of analysis

4.5.1 Analysis of discourses in Articles 1 and 2

The theoretical framework outlined in Chapter 3 accords well with discourse analysis, which studies meanings as constructed in interaction. Functional understanding of language is the basic premise of discourse studies, which is a term used to refer to the entire field of studying discourse or discourses, whereas discourse analysis is much older and more widely understood (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009). Based on this distinction, discourse studies is concerned with more than the actual analytic scheme, that is, it also incorporates the approach and the framework, and takes the broad view of language as social and discursive (Pietikäinen & Mäntynen 2009; see also Fairclough 2001, 2003; Gee 2005; Blommaert 2005).

Using discourse analysis means studying phenomena in their local context and discovering links between micro-level findings and broader sociolinguistic issues. This also characterizes the ethnographic and sociolinguistic approaches outlined in the previous chapters, and interactional sociolinguistics. The way people use language reveals their perspectives of the world, for example in the form of discourses (Gee 2005). In the interview analyses in two articles (1 and 2), I use discourse analysis to investigate the participants' talk about their language use, their experiences of using English and orientations to the English language by their use of different discursive resources for language use. In the articles, I apply the concepts of *discourse* (Gee 2005, who uses a capital D) and *small stories* (Georgakopoulou 2006) to refer to the participants' ways of talking as representations of ideas and knowledge (see also Section 3.4.3). This method is called *analysis of discourses*. Within discourses and small stories, the participants position themselves (Davies & Harré 1990) in different ways as users of the English language (Article 1), and provide typifications of their own and other people's repertoires (Article 2).

4.5.2 Analysis of interaction in Articles 3 and 4

4.5.2.1 Interactional sociolinguistics

In Articles 3 and 4, I define my method of analyzing interaction as *micro-discourse analysis*, which is based on interactional sociolinguistics. As my analytical focus is on the individual, the aim in the interaction analyses is to investigate the key participant's use of communicative resources in accomplishing his work tasks and role alignment.

Contextualization (Gumperz 1977, 1982b, 1992a, 1996) is a key concept in interactional sociolinguistics, and it is used to analyze how interlocutors make the situation understandable and meaningful. According to Gumperz (1982b), talk contributes to producing context moment by moment. The kinds of meanings that verbal and non-verbal signs convey are based on what precedes and follows in interaction and on the communicative conventions of the participants. This links to the sequential treatment of data examples in conversation analysis and ethnomethodology according to which "the production of some current conversational action proposes a here-and-now definition of the situation to which subsequent talk will be oriented" (Heritage & Atkinson 1984: 5).

Various communicative resources can function as *contextualization cues* for the participants in interaction about

> what is to be expected in the exchange, what should be lexically expressed, what can be conveyed only indirectly, how moves are to be positioned in an exchange, what interpersonal relationships are involved and what rights to speaking apply. (Gumperz 1996: 396–397)

What kinds of contextualization cues people use in interaction depends on their repertoires, trajectories of socialization and learning (cf. Goebel 2010: 109). They are part of people's communicative strategies, of which some are conscious and some operate below the level of consciousness. Knowing how to use contextualization cues is linked to the indexicality of language (Ochs 1996: 410–411): knowledge about language means that people are able to point to what linguistic features belong to particular shared ways of speaking and that they are also able to use them in interaction to enact and enregister such ways of speaking. Indexicality is how participants in interaction can find a common ground: they rely on "[c]ontext-invoking meta-messages [that] provide a powerful… system governing the inferences that constitute language understanding" (Gumperz 1996: 364). In a way, then, indexicality is also "central to strategic, performative language use" (Collins 2007: 4).

Contextualization cues range from lexical, grammatical, prosody cues to paralinguistic and non-linguistic signs (Gumperz 1977: 199–200). Codeswitching is one type of contextualization cue. It is important to note that contextualization cues have meaning only in their context, which relates to linguistic and cultural relativity. Contextualization cues function as constructing the context for situated interpretation with other signs (Gumperz 1996: 366). An analysis of how the participants use contextualization cues gives insights into their repertoires and the kinds of ways of speaking that are being enregistered. As the analysis in this study considers the indexicality of resources used in interaction, the method differs from conversation analysis.

Contextualization cues often occur at moments of shifts (e.g. closings and openings of talk, see Gumperz 1977: 199; Goffman 1981, 1979): they can, for example, mark a change in way of speaking. Contextualization cues are important in analyzing the participants' footings and role alignment which are also significant in understanding repertoires: the kinds of roles people can take in interaction reveals the kinds of repertoires they have and the conditions under which they can be used. This can also work the other way around: interactants' alignment with a certain role can invoke a particular way of speaking which is simultaneously being enregistered. Behind individuals' use of ways of speaking is a meta-level process of recognizing the relationship between linguistic features and associated values according to which people appropriate certain features in their talk. If speakers have access to particular ways of speaking, they can align with roles linked to that way of speaking. For instance, if a person knows a managerial way of speaking English, he or she can align with a manager role by giving orders. Conversely, without having access to that way of speaking, a person's role repertoire would be different.

4.5.2.2 Multimodality

To include and exclude certain modes in analysis has epistemological implications (Bezemer & Mavers 2011). My knowledge accumulation process was reflected on in Chapter 2 and in the focus of the individual articles, which show a move from an interest in language use only to a focus on the participants' communicative repertoires, including their embodiment and use of tools in interaction. With the notion of *embodied action*, I draw on Goodwin (2000) to refer to the participants' use of a range of semiotic resources such as body movements, gaze, head nods, and facial expressions, all of which have different functions in interaction. As professionals communicate by means of various resources, a multisemiotic approach to interaction helps understanding individuals' repertoires and their possibilities and constraints in a more holistic way. For example, one can gain information on how meanings converge and diverge on the basis of configuration of participation through multisemiotic resources. In general, such an approach realizes the simultaneous operation of different practices and how people do different things at the same time.

In two articles (3 and 4), the participants' embodied actions are taken into account in the analysis of participation because they reveal issues that a linguistic analysis would miss. Embodied actions add to the researcher's interpretation of what the speakers infer with their actions and provide information about contextualization. As Scollon & Wong Scollon (2003: 51, 58) point out, bodies always communicate meanings regardless of individual's intentions; for example, moving one's body rapidly can symbolize haste; tapping fingers nervously or changing body position rapidly can embody impatience. Embodied actions also serve important interactional functions. For example, gaze and body position function as devices for conversational alignment (Scollon 2001: 92).

Gestures work in concert with speech, with which they are temporally, semantically and pragmatically coordinated (Kendon 1997; McNeill 1992; Gullberg, de Bot & Volterra 2008; Gullberg 2010). As important resources for speakers, they can complement the shortcomings of a linguistic message and, for instance, express the speed and direction of an action or the size and shape of an entity being talked about (Beattie & Shovelton 2002; Kendon 2004; see the discussion in Gullberg 2009). For speakers who communicate in a foreign language, gestures can be valuable and even replace language by providing referential content to deictic expressions (see Gullberg et al. 2008: 151; Streeck 1993). It has been proposed that gestures typically convey closely related meanings with speech (albeit not necessarily identical information, see Kendon 2004). According to Gullberg (2010: 77), "there is general agreement that gestures are multi-functional and serve both addressee-directed, communicative and speaker-directed, internal functions". Although it is not certain whether the present participants' use of gestures is part of their everyday communicative behavior, means complementing linguistic inadequacies or the fact that English is the shared language, these factors are important to bear in mind (cf. Gullberg 2010: 81). In addition, the role of gestures in communication can be seen as either auxiliary to speech or as equal partners with speech (Gullberg et al. 2008). In fact, Gullberg et al. (2008: 11) point out that gesture should be seen "as a component of language proficiency in its own right". This idea supports the repertoire-based view of individuals' communicative practices adopted in this study. As with any other communicative resources in a repertoire, the use of gestures is influenced by culturally and linguistically determined repertoires (also social, psychological and contextual factors influence gestures) (Gullberg 2010: 77–78). Speakers are able to use a mixture of resources to convey their intended meaning, depending on their interlocutors' access and locations.

Gestures from within a pragmatic perspective reveal how they can make meaning more precise or provide a context for how a verbal expression should be interpreted, or can add meaning to what has been said (Kendon 1997, 2000). Gestures can also express speaker's attitudes toward what has been said, reveal a speaker's intended expectations regarding how his/her speech should be interpreted or express the intention of the spoken utterance (Kendon 2000: 56). With gestures, the interlocutors can also regulate co-participants' patterns of attention (Goodwin & Goodwin 1986). In addition, gaze has diverse, complex and culture-specific functions in interaction (Rossano, Brown & Levinson 2009). It affects the organization of the participation framework, for example through participants' gaze directed to co-participants (Rossano et al. 2009), since most often the speaker looks at the recipient and vice versa (Goodwin 1980). Participants can also monitor each others' behavior through gaze (Goodwin 1980, 1981) or use it to shift recipients' attention in desired ways (e.g. Streeck 1993).

In this study embodied actions are seen as valuable resources in linguistically and culturally heterogeneous and diverse environments, in particular because of their capability to convey more precise meaning when linguistic explanations are inadequate (cf. Olsher 2004). In addition to embodiment, the material environment in the form of objects and artifacts serves important functions in interaction for conveying intended meaning and making sense of the actions of others (Heath & Hindmarsh 2000; Hindmarsh & Heath 2000). This is particularly applicable to engineering the functions of which are centered upon objects, tools and artifacts (see Sales 2006).

To summarize the methods of interaction analysis in two articles (3 and 4), I investigate the participants' repertoires in use at the micro-level of interaction and business activities. The focus of the articles is on what kinds of linguistic and other semiotic resources the participants have at their disposal when participating in multicultural business settings with English used as the shared language. The approach to interaction is called micro-discourse analysis, and it draws on interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz 1982b, 1992a, 1999) and multimodality (Goodwin 1994, 2000). Moreover, the concepts of footing (Goffman 1981), contextualization cue (Gumperz 1982b, 1992a) and participation framework (Goodwin 2000) serve as analytic tools to study repertoires. The events analyzed illustrate micro-level repertoire construction along with a person's biography and socialization, and contribute to understanding its longitudinal aspects.

4.5.3 Enregisterment as an analytic tool to interpret the findings

As already pointed out earlier, the findings of the individual articles are conflated and interpreted with enregisterment theory in the findings section (5.2). The aim is not to re-analyze all the data, but interpret what kinds of processes and practices are involved in the enregisterment of different ways of speaking. However, in order to clarify various points about enregisterment, additional illustrative examples from the data are provided and discussed.

Enregisterment processes are identifiable in interview data (Articles 1 and 2) in explicit metapragmatic typifications (see Section 3.5), where the participants provide accounts of language users, describe appropriate linguistic behavior, label ways of speaking and judge their own and others' language use. The participants attach social values to different ways of speaking by drawing on discourses and positioning themselves. Discourses and small stories condition and influence enregisterment by providing a frame for recognizing the relationship between certain linguistic features and cultural values. Implicit metapragmatic activities can be identified in participants' establishing of participation frameworks, aligning with roles and footings and using ways of speaking and semiotic resources (cf. Agha 2007: 17). They show how linguistic varieties are accepted, reproduced, recontextualized and associated with particular cultural values (cf. Lytra 2010). Articles 3 and 4 identify individuals' response behavior to turns by interlocutors which can be seen as contextualization cues for the participants in interaction as to what way of speaking is being used. Moreover, in interpretations attention is paid to patterns of ratified and unratified use of linguistic resources in the speech community. For instance, repeatedly used resources could be seen as ratified and valued as such, especially if they are not contested in any way (Goebel 2011: 302) whereas unratified resources would be contested, disputed and negotiated (Goebel 2009: 516). As Goebel (2010: 14) formulates, "in cases where the usage of signs is not ratified such disjunctures are often seen through stops in ongoing talk, requests for clarification, and so on."

Wortham (2006) notes how the process of recognizing signs has similarities with Gumperz's (1982b) notion of contextualization cues (in Goebel 2010: 14).[51]

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[51] Interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz 1977, 1982a, 1982b, 1992a, 1999) steers attention to points which are important in interpreting enregisterment processes.

For instance, names of machines in engineering communities are appropriated resources functioning as contextualization cues to highlight what way of speaking is used and valued. If participants do not share contextualization cues, problems and misunderstandings can arise (Gumperz 1982), as in the case of unratified resources. They can signal a shift in way of speaking or that they are not, but should be, shared in the speech community, as is the case of data in Article 4. Moreover, in the data used in Article 3, the participants do not orient to particular linguistic items as explicitly as they do in the data in Article 4. Instead, their roles related to their profession and language proficiency implicitly infer what ways of speaking are recognized and valued and how professional repertoires feature in those processes. Enregisterment is thus applied in different ways to interpret the findings on the values of ways of speaking uncovered with the help of an ethnographic approach. Interactional data alone do not always suffice for establishing these links, and thus interview analysis and participant perspectives complement the interpretation. Enregisterment thus facilitates identifying ways of speaking as well as individuals' repertoires and their desires and needs as professionals.

Figure 6 illustrates how enregisterment is applied in this study and sheds light on the interpretation processes. First, the big diagram represents the dimensions of repertoire construction (equivalent to Figure 3 in Section 3.4.5). Second, the little black circles represent the data analyzed in the articles: the black circle on the dark grey area represents the analysis of participation in interaction (and a repertoire-in-use, Articles 3 and 4), whereas the other black circle represents the analysis of discourses in interviews (and talk about a repertoire, Articles 1 and 2). In both types of speech events, the participants are seen as engaging in micro-level, short timescale enregisterment processes; and when this takes place, the momentary activity establishes an indexical link to a macro level, to the ways of speaking being used and developed in the speech communities of which the participants are members. Lastly, the dashed lines illustrate the interpretative level and draw boundaries to demonstrate the interpretation as a "snapshot of a phase of enregisterment" (Agha 2007: 170) for the individuals studied. Within these boundaries this study is able to describe enregisterment processes.

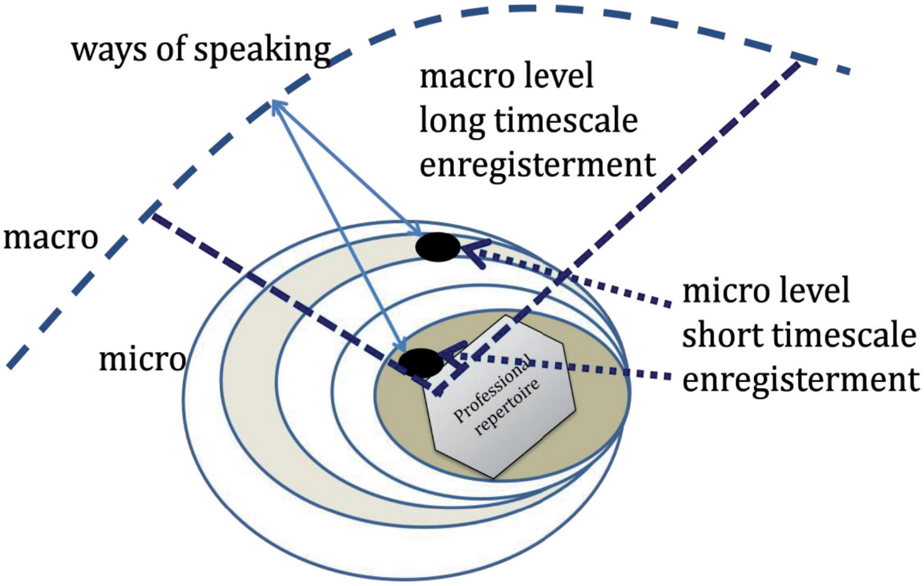
ways of speaking
macro level
long timescale
enregisterment
macro
micro
micro level
short timescale
enregisterment
Professional
repertoire

FIGURE 6 Repertoire construction and enregisterment

5 FINDINGS

5.1 Summary of findings

This chapter presents the findings of this study. After a brief summary of the aims, each article is discussed in turn focusing on the questions addressed, methodological choices, analyses and findings. In addition, the findings are merged and explored from within a larger perspective regarding their contribution to the aims of this study (Sections 5.2 and 5.3.). Section 5.2 discusses what the findings suggest from the point of view of enregisterment, summarizing what a single finding from a particular time of a person' professional biography in an individual paper reveals about longer timescale processes and how it contributes to our understanding of professionals' repertoire construction and of the enregisterment processes involved. Thus, cross-timescale relations between findings and enregisterment processes are sought. Lastly, Section 5.3 discusses emerging professional repertoires and trajectories.

The main aim of this study is to study what kinds of professional communicative repertoires are constructed across timescales and contexts and how. In addition, this study investigates what types of resources, identity work and enregisterment processes are involved in repertoire construction and what kinds of trajectories emerge. Four individual articles address the main aim and each of them explores a specific dimension of repertoire construction. The order of presentation of the articles in this study is based on the gradual development of the theoretical framework. This is why the order is not entirely chronological. Article 1 addresses repertoire construction and changes therein by examining seven participants' discursive identity work as users of English at the beginning and at the end of or after their work practice in Germany. Article 2 adopts a discursive approach to investigating problematic and endangering aspects of English for one participant in the educational, stay abroad and working life contexts. The first two articles are based on longitudinal interview data and address long timescale trajectories in repertoire construction. Article 3 addresses the main aim by investigating an individual's participation and interactional identity work in a workplace meeting. Article 4 also examines participation with one's professional repertoire in a meeting and repertoire development by focusing on the denotational enregisterment of business English in interaction.

5.1.1 Article 1 – Identity construction in ELF contexts

Virkkula, Tiina & Tarja Nikula (2010). Identity construction in ELF contexts: a case study of Finnish engineering students working in Germany. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 20(2), 251–273.

The first step of the project was to investigate individuals' discursive identity construction as users of English. Article 1 explores connections between the use of English and identity work with reference to the educational and stay abroad contexts as revealed in seven participants' interviews conducted both at the beginning and at the end of, or after, their 4-6 months' work practice period in Germany as part of their engineering studies. With a longitudinal perspective, it is possible to identify the changes experienced by individuals during their stay abroad. Trajectories can be traced by means of a focus on discourses which capture both individuals' views on the world and ways of speaking. Moreover, findings on the available identity options across contexts provide information on the participants' possibilities and difficulties with English, and thus on their repertoire construction as well. The study of engineering students' identities before they enter working life is a good point of departure for investigating their professional repertoire construction, since being a student and conducting work practice are central stages of individuals' socialization into professional and working life – they are stages when you learn to think like a professional (cf. Mertz 2007). Understanding professionals' histories as users of English is important in comprehending their repertoires and identities in working life later. Discursive identity work also reveals individuals' positions in enregisterment processes and in using ways of speaking.

The analytical task is to find out what kinds of discourses the participants draw on in interviews in constructing their identities as users of English. The discursive approach draws on poststructuralist theories (e.g. Hall 1996; Woodward 1997; Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004), which see identities as fluid and people with multiple identity options across contexts (Norton & Toohey 2002: 116; Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004). Moreover, Article 1 draws on research on identity issues in contexts where English is used as a foreign or second language (Norton 2000; Block 2006, 2007; Jackson 2008; Kinginger 2004; Polanyi 1995) and as a lingua franca (Jenkins 2000, 2007; Pölzl 2003). In particular, studies of foreign language users' identities have stressed the idea of ownership, which foreign language users either have or do not have; if not, they do not feel like legitimate speakers of the language (Norton 2000), which influences their abilities for repertoire construction. Lingua franca studies, on the other hand, view ELF identities as attached to speakers' own native cultures (cf. Jenkins 2007: 43; Seidlhofer 2006: 43), and hence entirely free from the cultures in which

English is used as a mother tongue (Pölzl 2003: 4–5) and deliberately disassociated from the native speaker model (Jenkins 2007). Article 1 examines whether these identity issues apply to the Finnish engineering students' identity construction in different contexts.

Article 1 shows that when talking about themselves as language users, the individuals draw on discourses, which are ways of representing ideas and knowledge (Hall 1996; Weedon 1997[1987]; Ivanič 1998; Fairclough 2001, 2003), affording particular subject positions as possibilities for defining oneself or attaching oneself to socially recognizable ways of being. A discursive approach enables investigating the linkages between identities and contexts, their associated discourses and norms about language use. Seven participants' (see Table 5 in Section 4.3) interviews were analyzed using discourse analytic methods focusing on the content of the talk and word choices relating to how the participants talk about themselves as users of English and see their use of English in general before and after stay abroad. The analysis is divided into two parts according to the data collection. The first part focuses on identity construction, as the participants draw on discourses in identifying themselves in very similar ways: all of them perceive themselves as having rather poor skills in English in educational discourses, which emphasize correctness and native speaker norms. Extract 3 illustrates this.

Extract 3 (excerpt from Article 1, Extract 1)[52]

Tiina	do you think you are good at English
Pete	no not at all
Tiina	why do you say that
Pete	I've never been a star at school

Here Pete's response to the question about whether he thinks he is good at English demonstrates his firm opinion: he is not good, "no not at all", because he has not been "a star at school". Pete's and other participants' talk echo schooling discourses in which the participants attach themselves to subject positions characterized by deficiency, insufficiency and inadequacy and thus activate language learner identities. The second part of the analysis focuses on the post-stay interviews. The findings show how the participants' views about their own language use and competence change during the stay abroad, and along with the discourses they draw on when talking about them. Their discursive choices shift from concerns about deficiencies to descriptions of survival in English in their daily lives. Extract 4 is an example from the article.

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[52] The extracts and related examples in this Overview are displayed as they appear in the corresponding articles.

Extract 4 (excerpt from Article 1, Extract 23)

Oskari	there surely was an obstacle at the beginning [in speaking] but it has been getting easier all the time and surely will continue to do so

In this example, Oskari contrasts the situation of speaking English before the stay abroad and at the time of the interview (two weeks after arrival). According to him, there had been an obstacle, meaning that Oskari has had difficulties in speaking. His choice of the word "obstacle" (in Finnish "kynnys") reveals that speaking English before had aroused negative feelings. However, as the example shows, a change in how it feels to speak English has clearly occurred already during the first two weeks. As Article 1 focuses on two different stages, my hypothesis that individuals' talk about their use of English would change during the stay abroad was confirmed. In fact, already after a few weeks some participants had experienced changes, most of which, however, were observed in the longer timescale of months in all the participants' talk. A more positive feeling when speaking English is a common finding in the article, as illustrated in Extract 5 from Tero.

Extract 5 (excerpt from Article 1, Extract 27)

Tiina	so how did it make you feel when you were able to say what you really wanted?
Tero	well yes it felt quite good and there was a sort of a feeling of success

This example demonstrates how being able to use English in a desired way creates a feeling of success and contributes to positive self. Such a finding is linked to distancing oneself from educational discourses in which the participants position themselves as learners and incompetent users of English. Extract 6 by Oskari also shows the impact of change.

Extract 6 (excerpt from Article 1, Extract 28)

Oskari	so so (.) it doesn't sort of anymore (.) make me feel annoyed if it doesn't come out exactly as it should be

There are three important points in this example. First, Oskari, makes a contrast between the situation before when he felt annoyed about not being able to speak in a desired way and the situation after when he no longer felt the same. Second, a powerful discourse of speaking English in a correct way seems to exist, which can be inferred from Oskari's reference about "it not coming out exactly as it should be", that is, he does not speak or pronounce English the way he thinks he should. Such a correctness discourse clearly influences Oskari's position, bearing traces of his earlier experiences of using English at school. Evidently, there is a norm which should be followed and if not, negative feelings emerge. Third, a change of view has occurred from seeing language as form to seeing it as meaning: getting the message across gains more importance than getting it correct. This contributes to our understanding of differences in repertoire construction across timescales, which can be projected to individuals' socialization into new discourses of proficiency and appropriateness. Differences between the discourses drawn on are also visible in Extract 7.

Extract 7 (excerpt from Article 1, Extract 29)

Tero	well yes maybe of course the fact that you noticed how your vocabulary could be larger but anyway at the end I could say that now now I've courage to go anywhere in the world (.) perhaps I no longer think that I'm so bad at English that I wouldn't be able even to cope in it (.) now I've noticed that I can get along

Here Tero discusses his vocabulary knowledge and, like Oskari earlier, draws on a discourse of using English in a correct way with an element of having a larger vocabulary. Not having such a feature influences Tero to construct an identity of a 'bad' speaker of English ("I'm so bad at English"), from which he clearly begins to distance himself, as seen in the example ("I no longer think that"). Hence also Tero's example indicates a change during the stay abroad, growing self-esteem and the courage to use the language and with it, to explore the world.

The participants' talk about their language use in Article 1 can be seen as metapragmatic typifications, which lie at the core of the enregisterment processes. For our understanding of professional repertoires, it is important to note how, through evaluations and characterizations of their ways of speaking, the participants engage in enregistering 'Finnish English' as distinct from other people's ways of speaking and part of the their own repertoires. Metapragmatic typifications of Finnish English concentrate on assigning both negative and positive value to it, depending on the discourse drawn on. Moreover, it is associated either with one's own individual way of using language, and when the point of comparison is native speakers' English, with a more negative orientation (deficiency), both explicitly and implicitly, or with Finns' skillful and legitimate way of using English in general when the point of comparison is another speaker of English as a foreign language, or as a lingua franca. Extract 8 exemplifies the first option.

Extract 8 (excerpt from Article 1, Extract 21)

Simo	well I'd say it's [my speaking] (.) basic Finnish [---] well the way Häkkinen also speaks (.) pronunciation is probably not (.) that (.) it isn't nice to hear (.) when (.) if an English person hears it or (.) people from any country for that matter (.) it really is distinguishable (.) if you have ever heard a Finn speak English before I don't know (.) maybe it's like childish for Finns to pronounce it in a fancy way or something like that

In this example Simo evaluates his pronunciation as “basic Finnish” which resembles that of a former Finnish Formula 1 driver Mika Häkkinen. Furthermore, he contrasts Finnish and native speaker ways of pronouncing English by valuing the latter more and assigning authority to English speakers to judge his speech (“it isn’t nice to hear, if an English person hears it”). Interestingly, Simo seems to evaluate non-native speakers’ native speaker way of pronouncing as “childish” and “fancy” which he assumes to be the reasons why Finnish people do not use it. Hence, Simo’s talk suggests that rather than being unable to pronounce English correctly, Finns possess agency to select their own way of speaking. By drawing on a discourse of pronouncing English correctly in a native-speaker way, Simo constructs an identity as a Finnish speaker of English, distinguishes different ways of speaking English and assigns values to them. Mika Häkkinen’s way of speaking is a valuable resource for recognizing both Finnish and one’s own way of speaking. This finding is supported by Goebel’s (2010: 172) remark according to which in processes of enregisterment it is common to find “an imagined standard of linguistic conduct which through various processes becomes tied to particular personas across time and space”.

In another type of characterization of Finnish English, the participants assign positive value to it by comparing Finns’ and other non-native speakers’ communication. A positive value ascribed to a Finnish way of speaking is based on different issues: 1) on the Finnish educational system, praised by the participants for its emphasis on foreign language studies (Pete in Article 1, Extract 30); 2) on one’s own Finnish way of pronouncing English seen as clearer compared to, for example, Indians (Joel in Article 1, Extract 33); or 3) on the simple notion that other people, particularly Germans, are not terribly good at English either (Risto and Simo in Article 1, Extracts 31 and 32). Such positive features linked to language competence in general and pronunciation in particular characterize Finnish English enregistered as a result of stay abroad. Evaluating oneself as better than one’s interlocutor suggests the presence of asymmetrical power relations among ELF speakers (see Jenkins 2007: 201). A more positive self-evaluation also suggests a change in values of ways of speaking and socialization into new discourses of proficiency and appropriateness. Enregisterment of Finnish English can be identified in both stages in the data, but its nature transforms along with changes in identity options.

The findings of Article 1 demonstrate individuals’ construction of multiple identities across timescales and contexts. An important trajectory of identity work is visible when the participants initially construct identities as language learners, while ELF user identities are constructed after the stay. Language learner identity is characterized by evaluations of oneself as not a good enough speaker with obstacles to opening one’s mouth in interactions and with elements traceable to experiences in education and to norms of using English correctly in a native-speaker way in terms of grammar, pronunciation and vocabulary. ELF user identity, by contrast, is free from such evaluations as the participants no longer worry about making mistakes, but instead stress their ability to communicate. This trajectory in identity work coexists with a change of view of English as a means of communication rather than a compartmentalized system.

These results contribute to our understanding of the discursive resources available for repertoire construction with such metapragmatic activities as evaluating one's own and others' repertoire in either positive or negative terms which reveal the construction of an evaluator identity. Furthermore, by assuming learner identities the participants orient to learner repertoires the construction of which is dominated by educational norms and single linguistic resources as the building blocks of a repertoire. This suggests that along with a shift in identity work, a trajectory of repertoire construction coexists from a focus on linguistic resources and repertoires of inadequacy to focus on interactional resources and ELF user repertoires with communicative abilities in ELF interactions. It can be argued that the discursive construction of a language user identity influences one's repertoire construction and when identity is constructed in positive terms, a repertoire also obtains value. Even if the participants' actual repertoires may not have changed much during their stay abroad, the way they construct, evaluate and assign value to them have. One can thus conclude that a shift from educational to out-of-school contexts and the possibility to engage in identity work in ELF contexts, where the participants no longer worry about making mistakes, could be seen as important in the participants' trajectories of socialization into global working life and to using English as a lingua franca. The participants' move to new contexts contributes to changing the values attributed to one's repertoire, as will be shown in the subsequent articles as well. Their discursive identity work at the preliminary stage of socialization into working life provides valuable information on the kinds of possibilities available for them as future professionals. Evidently, work practice abroad manifests itself as invaluable for such, yet peripheral, working life members, because of its many empowering effects.

These findings indicate the importance of identity work in the study of repertoire construction. Moreover, individuals' own descriptions and evaluations of their repertoires provide a useful point of departure for the study of interactions and enregisterment processes. Although only Article 1 features identity as the main object of analysis, all the remaining four articles touch upon identity issues. However, as a repertoire is a multi-dimensional construct, a focus exclusively on identity throughout the articles would fail to notice other important phenomena related to repertoire construction, such as how a repertoire emerges in interaction, what resources it includes, how individuals problematize possibilities and challenges in the use of a repertoire and what kind of enregisterment processes are involved. These are the themes of the other articles discussed next.

5.1.2 Article 2 - Discourses of proficiency and normality

Räisänen, Tiina (2012). Discourses of proficiency and normality – endangering aspects of English in an individual's biography of language use. In Jan Blommaert, Sirpa Leppänen, Päivi Pahta & Tiina Räisänen (eds.) *Dangerous multilingualism: northern perspectives on order, purity and normality*. Basingstoke: Palgrave McMillan, 207–227.

Article 2 focuses on the other key participant, Oskari, in the educational, stay abroad and working life contexts, and the kinds of challenges, difficulties and restraints he faces with the English language and his own repertoire. A focus on problems reveals how English in the conditions of globalization is not accompanied solely by positive effects for the individual since, for example, it can be oppressive, prevent a person from reaching desired functions in social life and even be a factor behind individuals' marginalization from certain spheres of society (e.g. Higgins 2009; Blommaert, Spotti & Leppänen 2012; Kytölä 2012; Pitkänen-Huhta & Hujo 2012). These are, in other words, negative and endangering aspects of English for an individual, and form the focus of Article 2. While Article 1 contributes to the study of repertoire construction with reference to the educational and stay abroad contexts, Article 2 has a stronger orientation to working life repertoires and discourses.

The approach to English as dangerous and problematic adopted in the article is in line with the focus of the edited volume of which it is a part (i.e. titled *Dangerous multilingualism*; Blommaert et al. 2012a), draws on different perspectives on power relations and the idea of unevenly distributed and mobile resources (Hymes 1996; Blommaert 2005; see also Blackledge & Creese 2012: 90). First, English can be problematic if a person possesses an inadequate repertoire by lacking a needed resource in a certain situation, such as technical English, and consequently the person may be incapable of handling his job and have a low self-esteem (i.e. resources are power-oriented and affect individuals' possibilities for participation, cf. Heller 2001; Blommaert 2010). Second, language has a social discriminatory potential, for example in conversations if a person cannot speak a language known to the other interlocutors (Bourdieu 1977: 648, 1991, i.e. power relations are visible in interaction). Third, language can be dangerous if an individual is unable to comply with norms determined by institutional policies such as education (i.e. in terms of using a required way of speaking). These are examples of how one may lack voice in society (Hymes 1996; Blommaert 2005).

The aim of the study reported in the article was to find out what is problematic and dangerous about English for Oskari and how and what social functions cannot be attained because of English. In addition to Article 1, the primary data used are interviews which were conducted at the beginning and end of Oskari's four months' stay in Germany in 2003 and at the time of his employment as a Project Manager in 2008, when he was engaged in projects in China. The analysis focuses on discourses of using English and proficiency, and perceptions of normal and abnormal (Foucault 2003) linguistic behavior. In particular, the analysis traces Oskari's discursive strategies: positionings (Davies & Harré 1990) and metapragmatic typifications (Agha 2003, 2007) in discourses and small stories (Georgakopoulou 2007) about using English in different contexts. While drawing on discourses, people exercise power by positioning themselves and others as certain kinds of people using a particular kind of language (cf. Gal 1989). Furthermore, metapragmatic typifications, as produced in discourses and arising from individuals' conceptions and attitudes, are explored in the content of Oskari's talk, paying attention to emerging problems and Oskari's word choices in talking about them. Furthermore, also the interviewer's questions are considered in the analysis, as naturally influencing the interviewee's responses in focusing on certain topics (cf. Briggs 1986: 120).

The emerging problematic aspects of English can be divided into two main types, relating either to Oskari himself in that he claims not to be able to speak the way he wishes (see Extract 6 above) or to other people whom he either cannot understand or with whom he cannot use English in the desired way. The article is arranged into three sections according to the three stages of Oskari's professional biography. First, the focus is on Oskari's problems with his own repertoire in the Finnish, schooling and stay abroad contexts, which center on language skills, as the findings from Article 1 already showed. Importantly, Oskari seems to 'blame' education for not providing enough opportunities and guidance in speaking which, for him, is the most valuable element of language competence. This contributes to his self-positioning as 'speechless' in Finland. As the findings of Article 1 demonstrated, the participants' identity construction shifted from a negative and somewhat problematic learner identity to a positive user identity during their stay abroad, thus also changing the value assigned to one's own repertoire. It is suggested in Article 2 that these changes can be explained by the operation of different regimes of normativity in social life. Although the effects of the stay abroad emerge as positive in Article 1, new kinds of problems arise in Article 2: in the local German town where the participants lived, people did not speak very advanced English and thus Oskari was not able to speak "anything else except this basic stuff" (quote from Article 2, Extract 4). Thus, encountering new ways of speaking contributes to different kinds of problems, both in Germany and later in working life, as illustrated in Extract 9 from working life:

Extract 9 (excerpt from Article 2, Extract 9)

Oskari but otherwise I don't know (1.0)
in China it feels like (.) in contrast it regresses
well language proficiency (.) occasionally
because it (.)
I don't know if I have mentioned it to you earlier
but sometimes you have to go with the kind of
very basic (.) basic words and kind of

8 that it's just putting words after one another and
9 and the guy either understands or not
10 that sometimes they have even said (.)
11 well that that you should use kind of simpler words
12 and this (.) manager of our China office
13 once told me among other things that
14 @noh you shouldn't use too fa-@fancy@ words@
15 sort of in quotation marks that they aren't
16 and yes I kind of noticed it too
17 but then you would like to diversify your own (.) language proficiency
18 kind of in some level

This example highlights the clash between Oskari's own desires in language use and his actual needs: he needs a simple lexical register at work in communicating with his Chinese colleagues, which is characterized by references to "basic words" (line 7), "simpler words" *(*line 11) and "you shouldn't use too fancy words" (line 14), whereas he is inclined to use more versatile language and develop (line 17). Such evaluations are important, since in the earlier stage Oskari describes his repertoire of words as in fact restricted and simple, but now in working life a repertoire of such kind is required. Paradoxically, the only kind of resource he once 'had' is now valuable in the workplace community whereas his full repertoire is not. The uneven value of resources is well demonstrated in the above example where the significance of the same type of resource alters dramatically when transferred to another context, thereby also manifesting as different the nature of the problem related to English. Moreover, the value of one's repertoire and the options for constructing it shift, because few opportunities exist to use and develop complex ways of speaking in working life. Tero also discusses a similar problem in speaking with his Chinese colleagues, particularly at work, as can be seen in Extract 10 below which is not part of Article 2 but exemplifies the phenomenon well.

Extract 10 (interview, autumn 2008)
1 Tero the simpler the better meaning that you don't
2 even though you know fancier words you don't chuck them in
3 you try to keep your English as simple as possible […]
4 especially when talking about business

The main topic of the example is the following: keep it simple with Chinese colleagues. Both Oskari's and Tero's examples suggest the development of a professional way of speaking with the Chinese which has simplicity as a primary characteristic, one which is needed at work but which has impeded the use of a more versatile ways of speaking and repertoire construction in the desired direction. In addition to actual communicative needs, lack of opportunity to use English in working life in general creates problems. This phenomenon is not dealt with in Article 2, but it is worth elaborating here. For example, Tero explains how he feels that his repertoire development also goes “backwards” (“menee takapakkiaki” in Finnish) in working life if he does not get to use English for a long time. Furthermore, Simo, who experienced the recession in his work the most (explaining in an interview how there was little work to do), described how “even the last bit of the foundation [language proficiency] vanishes when you don’t need it [English] for a long time” (in Finnish “viimenenki pohjan ripe lähtee kun sitä ei oo pitkään aikaan tarvinu käyttää”), which illustrates the problem of insufficient opportunities for use. Furthermore, this contributes to a feeling of lowering self-esteem as Simo reported that “you begin to kind of distrust yourself” (in Finnish “tulee epäluottamus itteä kohtaan”), and influences repertoire development: “if there is any direction, then it is downwards” (in Finnish “jos joku suunta niin alaspäin”). It thus seems that Simo’s low self-esteem as a user of English is due to the lack of personal ties with English-speaking people and his professional position in which he did not need to speak English (cf. Goldstein 1997).

A notable change in Oskari’s talk (as with all the other participants, in fact) about his repertoire occurs between the first and the subsequent stages, when he evaluates his own repertoire in more positive terms. This suggests that in his ongoing socialization into working life and to new ways of speaking Oskari has had opportunities to develop and acquire positive experiences. Extract 11 below is not part of the article, since it deals with positive experiences with English, but it serves as background information for the discussion that follows. From within the position illustrated in the example Oskari experiences problems with his repertoire in working life.

Extract 11 (interview, spring 2008)

1 Oskari I perhaps (.)
2 can sort of present issues in more ways
3 use synonyms and suchlike perhaps in a somewhat more versatile way

This self-evaluation followed Oskari’s assessment that Finns' knowledge of speaking and of English in general is better than that of many others in the world, features he had noticed in working life. Evaluations of his own and other Finns’ competence probably trigger Oskari’s evaluation of other people’s repertoires as more deficient. Thus, whereas the native-speaker norm and a grammatically correct way of speaking were powerful in Oskari’s negatively oriented discursive position in the first stage, in working life Oskari sees his new resources as part of his repertoire. Positioning oneself discursively as more favorably than others functions as a tool for the exercise of power (cf. Gal 1989), which also emerged in the interviews on working life with the other participants. For example, in Extract 12 below, Simo positions himself as a more skilled user of English in comparison to people he had met in a training session in Germany (despite his descriptions of his own lack of competence illustrated above), whereas in relation to other Finns he evaluated his competence as below average.

Extract 12 (interview, autumn 2008)

1 Simo I think that Finns speak English pretty well
2 at least those I've met
3 there were again a few guys in the training
4 and I see myself at least as on a better level
5 but in relation to other Finns my level is lower than average
6 to be honest

These findings contribute to our understanding of how encounters with others' ways of speaking are important resources in the construction of a repertoire, but are not part of the actual repertoire. A particular enregisterment process related to such a phenomenon is briefly considered in Article 2. Oskari is seen to recognize Chinese English as a distinct way of speaking and a phonolexical register (Agha 2007) which is strange for Oskari at first due to some of its peculiar accentual features. Furthermore, the findings reveal that a professional way of speaking with his Chinese colleagues is being enregistered through typifications of the language needed at work (Extract 9), which is characterized by simplicity in vocabulary and grammar. Interestingly, the ways of speaking associated with the Chinese that Oskari focuses on are assigned a negative value, yet they are what he needs to know in working life. Extract 13 below illustrates a small story of Oskari's first arrival in China and the enregisterment of a Chinese way of speaking:

Extract 13 (excerpt from Article 2, Extract 7)

1 Oskari I remember when going to Shanghai for the first time
2 this Chen picked me up with the taxi driver
3 it took me at least the first half an hour
4 or half the trip that we drove
5 I didn't understand a word he said
6 before I grasped the sort of accent and tone
7 I was like no way
8 and I had been told that much that
9 @yes yes he speaks very good English@
10 and that he's just excellent ((laughter))
11 I was totally astonished and thought what is going on here that heheh
12 this guy doesn't speak **any** language

Oskari's first encounter with Chinese English is demonstrated in this example (13): "I didn't understand a word he said" (line 5) "I was totally astonished and thought what is going on here, this guy doesn't speak any language" (lines 11–12). The interlocutor's way of speaking English is labeled as 'no language at all' which is a judgment based on Oskari's unfamiliarity with "the sort of accent and tone" (line 6, "aksentti ja nootti" in Finnish). References to those two phonological features index Oskari's familiarity with a general Chinese way of speaking (e.g. the term 'tone' is a distinctive characteristics of the Chinese language which Oskari attaches to the Chinese way of speaking English; see also Jenkins 2007: 173). Based on this, it seems that Oskari not only characterizes Chen's way of speaking but also a widely enregistered Chinese way of speaking English.[53] This interpretation is based on the interview as a whole in which Oskari talked a great deal about communicating with Chinese colleagues on his own initiative.[54] In light of Oskari's biography, making a claim that something is not language at all is revealing of the macro sociolinguistic conditions of past and current uses of English and encounters with different 'Englishes'. First, Oskari clearly has not encountered such a way of speaking before and he has been socialized into an ideological scheme of distinguishing normal, or privileged, and abnormal ways of speaking (cf. Duff 2010: 434). Obviously, Chinese English falls into the category of an abnormal way of speaking. At the point of his arrival in China, Oskari could not understand anything the interlocutor said and thus he felt 'out of place' and 'communicatively incapacitated' (cf. Blommaert et al. 2005: 198). Over time, however, such a Chinese way of speaking becomes more familiar to Oskari as he socializes into the Chinese workplace and develops a professional way of speaking with his colleagues, as illustrated in Extract 14 below.

Extract 14 (excerpt from Article 2, Extract 8)

1 Oskari and in general it took some time to (.)
2 our Chinese workers
3 that you learned to listen to them
4 and sort of understood some of the words they said
5 because some words are not bent in their mouths at all
6 or they pronounce English in a very different way from Finns

Becoming acquainted with the different ways of speaking in working life is a central aspect of Oskari's socialization, as is demonstrated in the last two lines of the extract: first, Oskari evaluates a Chinese way of speaking with "words are not bent in their mouths at all" (line 5, in Finnish "sanat ei taivu niiden suussa ollenkaan"). However, he then contrasts Chinese English with a Finnish way of speaking as being very different (line 6). Oskari's ability to establish such a distinction reveals his acknowledgment of differences between ways of speaking. Furthermore, this is a more positive evaluation of Chinese English than the argument about Chinese people not being able to pronounce English words 'at all'. Hence there are clearly two distinct ways to evaluate Chinese English, the latter giving evidence of learning about variation in speaking habits. Drawing on Henry (2010), the existence of standards seems to inform Oskari's role in the process of enregistering ways of speaking. Based on this, the enregisterment of a Finnish way of speaking visible in Article 1 (i.e. characterized by adherence to native speaker norms and ELF norms, respectively) seems to function as a resource for enregistering a Chinese way of speaking. Such enregisterment work emerged as rather prominent in the interviews with the other study participants as well, in which challenges in lingua franca situations were mostly projected as problems of understanding accents (cf. Derwing 2003: 559; Jenkins 2007: 184–186). Tero explicitly mentions in Extract 15 that at first it took some time to “learn to listen to Chinese” (line 4):

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[53] See Henry's (2010) discussion on the enregisterment of 'Chinglish'.

[54] After I had finished asking my questions and asked whether Oskari had anything to add, he began to describe his experiences in communicating with Chinese colleagues.

Extract 15 (interview, autumn 2008)
1 Tiina what was it like when you spoke to Susan for the first time
2 Tero for the first time I really had to focus on understanding
3 it was my first time ever speaking English with a Chinese person
4 it took some time for me to learn to listen to Chinese
5 in a cor- heh correct way
6 I really had to concentrate but it has become easier now
7 and now I immediately understand the pronunciation

The example reveals Tero’s initial unfamiliarity with Chinese English (similar to Oskari) and how he gradually came to understand it in terms of pronunciation (line 4 refers to learning, line 7 to the outcome of learning). Apart from pronunciation, developing a shared professional way of speaking English is about learning to communicate in a particular manner, as specified by both Oskari and Tero. Extracts 16 and 17 below are not part of Article 2, but provide support for understanding enregisterment processes of professional ways of speaking with the Chinese.

Extract 16 (interview, autumn 2008)
1 Tiina I can hear from this audio recording that you understand each other very well
2 was it like that in the beginning
3 Tero no definitely not
4 we really had to keep saying it again and again
5 and work hard at making things clear

Tero’s example (16) suggests how communication was at first about saying it again and again (“jankata” in Finnish, line 4) and work hard in order to make things clear (“tankata” in Finnish, line 5). Oskari’s description of communicating with the Chinese also involves similar attributes such as “relentless repetition, they just keep banging on and on” (“perusjankkausta, ne vaan hokee” in Finnish), illustrating the need to continue discussing the same topic for a long time. However, unlike Tero’s example, Oskari’s illustration below (Extract 17) suggests that, even though the interlocutors know each other, speaking with the Chinese is about repeating things.

Extract 17 (interview, spring 2010)
1 Oskari yeah you always have to keep on and on about something
2 Tiina right (.) what kinds of issues are those where you have to keep on and on
3 Oskari well nothing specifically but just that you that they understand it

4 when they say @yes yes yes@ you still need to make sure that they
5 that they really have understood your point of view and are not just (.) saying so
6 it's a bit (.) difficult at times
7 but then again you can see by looking at them if they are baffled
8 Tiina yes
9 Oskari and have not got the message
10 Tiina from their faces
11 Oskari yes and they kind of hesitate

This illustration reveals the existence of a particular way of speaking at work, which seems to be challenging for Oskari (line 6 "it's a bit difficult at times"). Despite the interlocutors saying 'yes' in a workplace interaction, it is not certain whether understanding has been achieved and thus Oskari is used to checking understanding explicitly (lines 4–5 "you still need to make sure that they really have understood your point of view").[55] Kankaanranta & Lu (2013: 296–297) reported similar findings on Finnish professionals' conceptions of Chinese BELF communication in that their Chinese colleagues' message is difficult to catch and their understanding is seldom directly apparent. Moreover, Oskari has learned to interpret from the interlocutors' physical appearance whether they have comprehended his message. Clearly over time communication becomes easier, and for example Tero describes in an interview how he has seen Chinese colleagues on the one hand gradually learn and develop their language proficiency and on the other hand become acquainted with the technical products and so develop their vocabulary. Hence, communication difficulties are greater when individuals start working with each other, but over time they establish shared ways of speaking.

These findings show that enregistering ways of speaking in interviews is carried out by means of typifications of and contrasts between one's own and other people's repertoires and shared ways of speaking. Such characterizations are possible because they are linked with "an ideological scheme that can be used to evaluate […] in contrast to another variant" (Johnstone 2009b: 160). Oskari's orientation to a powerful evaluator identity suggests the existence of a scheme of power relations which grants Oskari the authority to judge the speech of others (cf. Henry 2010; Johnstone 2009a) with varying values: the Chinese way of speaking English is not language at all (negative value); a professional way of speaking at the workplace means being simple and very basic (rather negative value to him personally), in contrast to his own versatile way of speaking (positive value); and that Finns' way of speaking is better than that of many others (positive value). Evaluator identity is a result of socialization into discourses based on which such judgments can be made.

Furthermore, a trajectory of values regarding one's repertoire emerges: at times one's repertoire has more value than at other times, depending on the context and situational requirements. In Article 2, the contrastive values relate to Oskari's orientations to two ways of speaking: his desired professional way of speaking and the required one. The trajectory of values interlinks with the changing meanings of resources, such as a simple way of speaking, when connected to new contexts. As a consequence, one's repertoire in working life is restricted by being useful only in certain functions but not in others, and sometimes unusable in desired ways. Notwithstanding, in working life the participants are able to do the most important thing: their job, which makes their repertoires valuable as such. During socialization a professional repertoire is constructed more in relation to the actual work tasks and their communicative requirements.

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[55] The practice of checking understanding can be seen in the interactional data analyzed in Article 3, see Section 5.1.3.

From the individual's point of view, the use and development of a professional repertoire in different stages can be problematic in many ways: in the first two stages the individual's own deficiencies created problems, whereas in working life the contextual demands of appropriateness were problematic, with possibly limited opportunities for development for an enthusiastic learner. Importantly, this is how the individual himself perceives the state of affairs, whereas from a sociolinguist's point of view, in both situations, it is what the environment enables and disables that affects an individual's repertoire and identity (cf. Blommaert et al. 2005: 197). First, Oskari's feeling of a lack of competence was a problem caused by the Finnish and schooling contexts in which there were not enough opportunities to practice and develop and where discourses about valuable and adequate kinds of repertoires were powerful. Second, in the later stages context also determined Oskari's inability to use his repertoire, as few opportunities existed to put one's repertoire into 'full use'.

The findings demonstrate that the different problems and dangers of English for an individual are based on roles and values of resources. Norms about 'good' and 'bad' ways of speaking affect repertoire construction. Evidently, high-modern values regarding proper linguistic conduct influence the discourses of normal language use that individuals draw on (see also Blommaert et al. 2012b). Over time, new norms are produced, conceptualized and enforced in discourses, contributing to struggles between earlier and current notions of normality and abnormality and to new kinds of problems for individual subjectivity and ability to have a voice (Blommaert 2010). The findings therefore suggest that one's experience of repertoire development does not always move towards *progression*, but can also suffer *regression*, which points to a *truncated repertoire*[56]. By implication, trajectories of repertoire construction are not necessarily linear, but rather flexuous. By focusing on individuals' problems and discursive positions across their trajectories of socialization, an understanding can be achieved of the sociolinguistic conditions of repertoire construction based on individuals' background, trajectories, power structures, environments of language use and situational factors. Furthermore, with that understanding one is encouraged to investigate the actual practices of repertoires-in-use and if and how discourses of proficiency, appropriateness, normality, abnormality and discursive identities (i.e. the findings of Articles 1 and 2) emerge in interactions. These questions were addressed in the next two articles.

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[56] The notion of 'truncated repertoire' will be elaborated further in the discussion section (5.3.2).

5.1.3 Article 3 - Linguistic repertoires and semiotic resources in interaction

Virkkula-Räisänen, Tiina (2010). Linguistic repertoires and semiotic resources in interaction: a Finnish manager as a mediator in a multilingual meeting. *Journal of Business Communication*, Special issue of Language Matters, part 2, 47(4), 505–531.

Article 3 illustrates the third and the fourth phases in the research process (see 2.3.3 and 2.3.4) and a shift of focus from the participants' talk about their language practices to their actual interactional practices, which marks a turning point in the development of the theoretical framework. Whereas Articles 1 and 2 contribute to the study of repertoire as constructed in and through discourses and across long timescales, Article 3 contributes to the investigation of how a repertoire is used in participation in interaction. Its focus is on a key participant's role alignment and management of interpersonal relationships through his resources in his workplace activities. The findings therefore illuminate a new dimension in the professional repertoire and the identity work this involves. By investigating a meeting between Tero and his Finnish and Chinese colleagues, the analysis tackles how shared meaning is negotiated and business relationships managed through the collective use of various resources. The background to the choices made in Article 3 is outlined first before discussing the article itself and its findings.

Prior to turning to the study of semiotic resources as part of a professional repertoire, I was first interested in the participants' use of English. By English I meant words, grammar, pronunciation and discourses about English, as the participants focused on these issues in the interviews and considered language as a rather bounded system, separate from their mother tongue or any other foreign language. The first two interviews (Stages 1 and 2) focused on English. However, as the research process evolved and I investigated participants' interactions, a revision of focus was necessary. First, I observed the participants using the features (e.g. words and grammar) they talked about, which led to such questions as what kind of English, which English variety and whose English they used, since each participant used the language in a unique way. At this point my interest was not to structurally define their language by means of, for instance, word lists of their workplace language or its grammatical structures in a corpus form. Rather, I was more drawn to find out what they *do* in interaction with what they had: what are the meaning-making devices with which they operate that reach beyond the notion of the English language as a set of lexico-grammatical features, and whether the participants paid attention to using the 'correct' words and structures in their talk, as they did in the interviews. In general, I was interested in whether they performed in the way they claimed to. The concept of repertoire allowed me to investigate precisely the kinds of resources at the individuals' disposal when they do what they do and the kind of meaning-making potential they have in social action. At this point, my focus shifted to the communicative aspects of repertoires and to a study of repertoires-in-use in the social life of a global workplace: its practices, norms and ways of handling job tasks. Such a study enabled delving into the repercussions of globalization processes on the grassroots level of work practices on which professional repertoires are constructed.

Against this background, Article 3 investigates Tero's repertoire use during a meeting at his workplace in Finland. The participants present in the meeting were Tero, the general manager Matti (Finnish L1 speaker), a Finnish engineer Ville (Finnish L1 speaker), the manager of the Chinese subsidiary Susan (Chinese L1 speaker) and its quality manager James (Chinese L1 speaker, both of these pseudonyms resemble the original English ones). The language of interaction was mostly English, but Finnish and Chinese were also used among the Finns and the Chinese, respectively. The analytical framework builds on business communication research (e.g. Charles 2007; Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005; Nickerson 2005), interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz 1982b, 1992a, 1999; Goffman 1959, 1974, 1981), research on the sociolinguistics of globalization (Blommaert 2005, 2010; Rampton 2006), multimodality (Goodwin 1980, 2000; Kendon 2000; Rossano et al. 2009) and interpersonal relations in intercultural communication (Spencer-Oatey 2000). Article 3 also draws on earlier research on meetings (e.g. Fletcher 1999; Spencer-Oatey 2000; Holmes & Stubbe 2003; Drew & Heritage 1992; Sarangi & Roberts 1999; Gunnarsson 2009). In addition to examining how interpersonal relations are managed in the meeting, the article investigates what kinds of resources are required by an individual in business communication with English used as the shared language.

The micro-discourse analysis focuses on Tero's functions in multiple roles and choices in using his repertoire as a key participant in the meeting both due to his mid-level manager position in the company and linguistic competence. As the general manager claims not to know English (he mentioned this at the beginning of the meeting), Tero is basically running the meeting. Tero's shifts in footing (Goffman 1981) at the points where he is interpreting to the general manager and to the Chinese are of special interest. In addition, the analysis considers nonverbal activities, as these emerged as important during fieldwork at the key participants' workplaces in Finland and China. For example, when explaining machine-related issues to the Chinese, Tero and Oskari gesticulated a great deal, as illustrated in Extracts 18 and 19 which do not feature in Article 3, but which demonstrate the phenomenon briefly.

Extract 18 (video-recording, Finland, spring 2009)

19 Tero .hhh difficult to explain hhh. when you cut this (.) aa-
((*shift gaze to shelf, moving to shelf*))
20 (3.0)
((*moves next to shelf, grabs a tool with his hand*))
((*moves back to the desk*))
((Susan gaze at Tero))

21 Tero we need harden- <hardness> tes:t for example this area
((*moves to desk, pointing at tool with both hands at 'this area'*))
22 Susan yeah
((*gaze at tool*))
23 Tero inside
((*hands on the tool, gaze at tool*))
24 Tero so first you have to cut (1.0) cut this (.)
((*moving one hand on tool at 'cut', other hand at 'cut this'*))
25 Tero this (.) [>two piec]es<
((*sliding hands on the tool twice*))
26 Susan [yeah] yeah
((*nodding twice, gaze at Tero*))
27 Tero take one slide out of this
((*finger pointing to the tool at 'this'*))
28 Susan yeah
((*gaze at tool & Tero*))

Extract 19 (video-recording, China, spring 2009)

382 Oskari this aa: ↑sheet you know (its) blowing from the up
((*hand moves from up → down, gaze at hand*))
383 Kevin mm
((*gaze at Oskari*))
384 Oskari maybe there is s- a small duct
((*hand up: rolling hand*))
385 and then there is just the:
((*sliding hand down*))
386 ((*sliding hands on the air twice like on a surface*))
387 aa: cover sheet there with a:
((*pointing 3 times to the air*))
388 or sheet with a lot of holes
((*hands indicate a circle, pointing 4 times to the air*))
389 Kevin aa aa yes
((*gaze at Oskari, nodding*))

Both of these extracts provide evidence for the need to look at multimodal aspects of communication in order to understand what happens in interaction, how the participants negotiate meaning and aim at achieving shared understanding. In Extract 18, Tero explicitly describes the difficulty he has in explaining what he wants (a metalinguistic act, line 19) after which he takes a tool (a special type of hook) in his hand. Holding the tool in his hands, Tero explains with language and embodiment a sequence of machining actions to be performed by the Chinese subsidiary workers. Gestures carry deictic reference (line 21 "this area"), the action of cutting (line 24 "cut this") and the number of necessary cuts (line 25 "two pieces"). In a similar way, in Extract 19, Oskari explains to Kevin (a Chinese L1 speaker) the structure of a sheet with language and gesture. In both of these extracts a trajectory of explanation is visible. First, in line 382, Oskari uses gesture to show movement in combination with a linguistic resource carrying the same meaning ("from the up"). Second, in line 386, gestures emerge before language: Oskari makes a sliding movement in the air with his hands twice, as if on a surface, and then says "cover sheet" in line 387. Third, in line 387, three pointing gestures are used along with the words "cover sheet" – already indicated by gestures in the previous turn (line 386) before the accompanying, semantically-equivalent linguistic expression in line 388 "sheet with a lot of holes", which in turn is accompanied by four pointing gestures, as if to stress the meaning of his message. Gestures are useful at work and when 'uttered' before speech, they help the interlocutor to gradually build an understanding of the message (Streeck 1993: 281). The analysis in Article 3 pays attention to the kinds of micro-level aspects of communication in which semiotic resources serve the important function of contextualization cues, playing a part in helping the interlocutors to infer the meaning of the message and allowing the interaction to continue smoothly. Extract 20 is from Article 3.

Extract 20 (excerpt from Article 3, Extract 2)

43 Tero so we make a ↑pressure
((*T both hands on air, twisting move*))
44 <not going> through (0.8)
((*T left hand sliding from back and forth*))
45 pressure (.) both sides.
((*T both hands in air, twisting move twice, gaze at J, S nodding*))
46 Susan mm
47 (0.6)
48 James yeah
49 Tero you you understand the process now.
((*T gaze and hand pointing at J*))
50 James yes
51 (0.5)
52 Tero ok
((*T head nod, gaze at V → desk*))

In this example Tero instructs James to manufacture a part by gesticulating and explaining the actions linguistically. In line 43 he says "so we make a pressure" and gestures a twisting movement. Hence a gesture is accompanied with the linguistic expression "pressure". Moreover, a sliding gesture is used to symbolize the expression "not going through" (line 44). Then in line 45 Tero adds that pressure has to be made on "both sides", an action signaled with a double twisting movement. Although Susan and James provide feedback (line 46 and 48), Tero confirms understanding from James by stating "you understand the process now" (line 49). Although Tero uses various resources to communicate his message, he still confirms understanding linguistically. After this, Tero proposes in Finnish that they could send a photo or something to further explain the manufacturing procedure (continuation of Extract 2 in the article). In many other cases Tero and Oskari engage in longish explanations of necessary actions required by the Chinese engineers, which is supported by their typifications of their shared professional way of speaking (see Extracts 16 and 17 earlier on the need to keep on and on and check understanding). The above example reveals that using a professional repertoire in a multilingual meeting means exploiting one's entire meaning-making potential in situated practice for compiling an effective message. Not only language but also gestures and visuals appear as valuable communicative resources. Moreover, in the above example Tero aligns with a teacher's and a manager's roles. The participants' relations are predominantly asymmetrical partly because of their positions in the company hierarchy - Tero works in the head company while Susan and James work in the subsidiary - while Tero needs to instruct the Chinese about the operations. Similarly, Kleifgen (2001) has observed how both symmetrical and hierarchical social roles are negotiated through a constitution of workers' talk, gestures, and actions on a machine. In the findings of Article 3, a professional repertoire appears as multisemiotic notably consisting of linguistic, interactional, cultural and semiotic resources in the workplace.

Representation of knowledge of what to say and to whom is portrayed in Tero's choices of translation and presentation of issues in English as opposed to the way issues have been discussed in Finnish earlier. In addition, Tero's selection of particular linguistic features indexes his competence to recognize contextually appropriate resources. This is illustrated in Extract 21 where Matti, the Finnish general manager, and Tero discuss the requirements of the new factory premises in China in Finnish. First they have agreed on a stable rent payable on a monthly basis. After that, the following occurs:

Extract 21 (excerpt from Article 3, Extract 1)

1 Matti ei sitte mitään hirveetä murjua
(and then it shouldn't be an awful dump)
((*T and S gaze at M*))
2 (1.2) ((*T gaze at M*))
3 Tero yeah and (1.0)
((*T shifting gaze: M → S*))
4 heh (.) hhh£it has to be£ (1.0)
((*S & J gaze at M, M glances at V*))
5 [£ nice views and good looks£]
((*T hands widening apart twice, smiling, S smiling*))
6 Matti [heheheh]
((*M leans backwards*))
7 ((everyone laughs))

With the general manager's authority, Matti states the physical requirements for the subsidiary premises: "it shouldn't be an awful dump" (line 1). Tero, importantly, instead of translating Matti's linguistic expression literally, produces a description of the requirements: "nice views and good looks" (line 5). He thus aligns with a mediator role instead of a translator and thereby changes his footing from an animator to an author. An animator would have translated Matti's expression literally, which Tero seemed to be aiming at first, while an author claims authority over his own expressions. It is not, however, certain whether Tero's mediation is due to his deliberate choice to use a more positive term and thus reluctance to translate literally or his linguistic inability to provide the exact translation (the Finnish word "murju" in line 1 is a colloquial word and not very easy to translate into English). Nevertheless, the example reveals how Tero's professional repertoire requires an ability to shift roles, make fast decisions on the spot and manage interpersonal relationships. Evidently, the context, participants and job task determine the kinds of resources needed for him to function appropriately. Moreover, his ability to use engineering vocabulary proves his prior socialization into those linguistic resources. While Article 4 provides insights on the process of learning an expression ("China central people bank") in a meeting, which had occurred before the one analyzed here, in this meeting Tero's abilities to use such appropriated knowledge are important: he can align with various expert roles, manage interpersonal relations and, hence, do his job.

When interpreting the above observations from the perspective of enregisterment, the participants in the meeting enregister specific professional ways of speaking. First, enregisterment work is identifiable in instances in which Tero aligns with a mediator role and instead of providing an exact translation of his boss' talk, he mediates the message in a more positive tone, possibly recognizing the appropriateness of a more positive term. Tero's linguistic choice and author footing point to a particular way of speaking being enregistered: Tero enacts a powerful role by using a certain, obviously valuable, linguistic resource. Second, enregisterment is recognizable in the participants' orientation to machining in the earlier extract (20) in which Tero aligns with a teacher's role, emphasizing the value of the machining practice and associated linguistic features with both language and embodiment. In a third example from Article 3 (Extract 22 below), the participants discuss buying machines for the Chinese factory. Through negotiation about whether they are talking about hardness testing or a harder tester machine, the participants eventually mutually recognize that a machine is needed and is being actually talked about, after which they orient to a list of items that should be bought: "that kind of saw", "hardness tester" and "grinding machine".

Extract 22 (excerpt from Article 3, Extract 4)[57]

95 Tero [>£yes yes] yes< ↑that's we are trying to explain that£
((T tapping table with an eraser, nodding, gaze shift: n → desk))
((S begins to smile))
96 Tero you have to buy (.) <that kind of saw for aa: (2.8) ↑bars>
((T gaze shift: S → brochure, pointing to brochure, during pause shift gaze to piece of paper))
((S smiling, gaze at T))

---

[57] The first seven lines are omitted from the original extract in Article 3.

97 Susan yeah
((S leans forward, gaze at T))
98 James yes
99 Ville (xxx)
100 Tero ↑plus (.) hardness tester
((T gaze at S, left hand with two fingers stretched apart, right hand touching them))
101 Susan [yeah]
102 Tero [↑plus] [grinding machine]
((T gaze at S, right hand still touching the two fingers))
103 Susan [grinding machine]
((gaze at T))
104 James yes
((J gaze at T, S nodding 3 times))
105 Susan yeah.
((S gaze at T))
106 (0.5) ((*T nodding 3 times))*
107 Tero yes

In this extract Tero's turn in line 95 shows the need to stress and renegotiate the kinds of necessary business practices in the subsidiary. Tero's "that's we are trying to explain that" uttered with a smile is a metalinguistic act explicitly describing the aim of the previous discussion. Moreover, the act is accompanied with a tapping gesture as a further signal of Tero's orientation. After that Tero runs through a list of items to be purchased by the Chinese subsidiary. Turn by turn, each item is mentioned with accompanying gestures: in line 96 Tero points to a brochure with a picture of the saw being talked about and in line 100 and 102 he uses symbolic gestures (two fingers stretched apart and right hand touching them) with the items "hardness tester" and "grinding machine". Finally, lines 104–107 close the activity.

The above instance is interesting in light of the enregisterment of a professional way of speaking, Tero's repertoire and his manager identity. First, the participants seem to recognize and assign value to particular machines and machine parts in their interaction. The words saw, hardness tester and grinding machine appear as ratified, and therefore belonging to the participants' shared way of speaking. Interestingly, here the characterization of specific items (i.e. that kind of saw) is performed with Tero as the leading figure and the principal speaking in the voice of the company and listing the items to be bought. Hence, local business practices (machining, buying) establish the direction for enregisterment processes. This and the earlier extracts indicate the emergence of a pattern of interaction with Tero as manager, teacher and, most often, principal turn by turn instructing or telling his Chinese colleagues what they and the subsidiary company are required to do. On the basis of this, then, it could be argued further that a particular way of speaking exists in this speech community with its specific constellation of participants, social relations, resources, and with Tero in the leading role as manager and linguistically proficient.

A very similar way of speaking can be identified in Oskari's workplace in China, in which he takes author and principal footings, aligns with a manager's role and instructs the Chinese workers by stressing and renegotiating necessary business practices in the company. In Extract 23, Oskari, with a loud tapping gesture (audible in the audio-recording alone), stresses his orientation and assigns value to a particular standard required by their most important Chinese customer. The discussion starts when a project assistant and buyer, called Hua, with two documents in her hand approaches Oskari and Mikko, who are having coffee in the recreation room of the China office during my fieldwork in 2009. Kevin, a Chinese engineer, is also present. Hua inquires about the possibility to use a Chinese standard for the concentration of chrome in stainless steel instead of an American standard, because of the better availability of the Chinese standard. After Hua's inquiries and Oskari's negative response, the interaction proceeds as follows:

Extract 23 (audio-recording, China, spring 2009)

110 Oskari [↑BUT] for ↑(Chn customer) [(.)] generally I will give [instructions]
111 Hua [mm]
112 Hua [heheh]
113 Kevin [(xx yes)]
114 Hua [heheh]
115 Oskari [for ↑(Chn] customer) for (Chn customer) we will use only this
116 Hua mm
117 Oskari according to this standard (.) even if we have to (.) import it
118 but we will use only (name of standard)
(*tapping on the table*)
119 Hua mm
120 Oskari because I (2.0) we have to: allow this (.) or (1.0)
121 you remember this problem we had with them in Guangzhou[58]
122 Hua mm
123 Oskari so I don't want to see that again
124 so that's why we must use [only] this (name of standard)
125 Kevin [yes]

Oskari expresses his opinion, implying the company policy, explicitly in line 110 by stressing with loud and rising voice ("but") his instructions concerning production for their biggest customer and that they are to use only the American standard (lines 115, 117, 124) due to an operational problem that had occurred earlier in the company (referred to in line 121). Even after this instance they continue discussing the same matter, with Oskari repeating the need to follow the contract which specifies the American standard. His final words close the discussion: "I just like to underline it one more time that we always must look the contract what the customer wants", thus demonstrating similarities with Tero in the professional way of speaking with the Chinese employees – the need to be explicit, stress, repeat and confirm understanding. Here again business practices are important since, as Oskari explains in an interview in spring 2010, different standards can be used for the concentration of chrome. In the above instance there was a question of the possibility to use a Chinese standard instead of an American one. Moreover, from a buyer's (Hue's) point of view and for financial reasons the use of a cheaper standard would be justified, but, as seen in the extract, it is essential to follow specifications in the contract.

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[58] Due to confidentiality reasons, the original location of the customer is not revealed.

As a continuation of the discussion in Articles 1 and 2, the results of Article 3 and related analyses provide an alternative picture of a professional repertoire: in working life, this now appears as multisemiotic, a characteristics not foregrounded in the first two stages. This finding can partly be explained by the nature of the data, since the first two stages focus on the participants' own views and the third and fourth ones on what is actually done in a repertoire. If interaction were studied in the stay abroad context, repertoires would most likely have appeared as multisemiotic there as well. Analyses of repertoires-in-use reveal individuals' abilities with a repertoire, providing a more holistic picture of them compared to analyses of talk about a repertoire alone. Regardless of the differences in data and analytical frameworks, the three articles show a trajectory in professional repertoire construction in various respects: 1) identity work, shown in the shift from language learner and user identities to professional ones; 2) a valuable broadening of repertoire from a largely linguistic inventory to one that is increasingly communicative and multisemiotic; and 3) the growing need of semiotic resources in the use of a professional repertoire. Each of these aspects is addressed in Article 4.

5.1.4 Article 4 - Processes and practices of enregisterment of business English

Räisänen, Tiina (2012). Processes and practices of enregisterment of business English, participation and power in a multilingual workplace. *Sociolinguistic Studies* 6(2), 309–331.

A significant contribution of Article 4 to the study is contained in the discussion on the enregisterment processes involved in professional repertoire construction. Enregisterment theory is utilized to investigate how new linguistic resources, and the business practices related to them, enter an individual's professional repertoire and become part of a shared way of speaking. Consequently, Article 4 analyzes micro-level processes of the enregisterment of business English as this evolves turn by turn in a workplace meeting between two professionals. In particular, the focus is on how the participants negotiate an appropriate professional vocabulary, business knowledge and practices through denotational enregisterment, which refers to a process whereby a referent becomes socially recognizable as belonging to a distinct way of speaking by a group of people and linked to different speaker roles (Agha 2007: 81, 88–89, 142; see also Section 3.5.1).

The article builds on sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropology to highlight the nature of language as a repertoire of resources with social force and power, and as a fluid commodity which people can unevenly use across contexts (Agha 2007; Blommaert 2005, 2010; Hymes 1996; Heller 2003). In particular, English is seen as a resource in globalized working life and register is conceptualized in a broad way, exhibiting similar characteristics as Hymes's (1986[1972]) concept of way of speaking. In the meeting, two professionals need to balance their unequal register competence in order to do business together. This requires that the key participant learns from the other in a joint negotiation over what constitutes relevant language and business practices. On the micro-level of social action, the participants engage in enregistering a professional way of speaking, called 'Business English' in the article, by orienting to certain lexical fragments of language, aligning with teacher and learner roles, and establishing footings (Goffman 1981). The article also investigates judgments and assessments of linguistic behavior, utterances which implicitly evaluate the indexical effects of forms without describing what they evaluate, and non-linguistic activity in response to language use (cf. Agha 2005: 45, 2007). The study is the first to apply enregisterment in analyzing the use of English in business contexts.

As in Article 3, Article 4 focuses on Tero's repertoire in working life. The analyzed audio data were recorded by Tero in China in 2008 in a meeting between him and Susan on ways of carrying out business activities in China in a particular stage of operational development. A short instance of their talk concerning foreign money transfers is analyzed at the level of sequential organization and linguistic choices to find out how the participants establish understanding through various contextualization cues (Gumperz 1982), align with roles and reorganize their participation (Goffman 1981; Goodwin 2000). Although the data is audio-recorded, some multimodal aspects of communication are also investigated, as they were evidently important in reaching mutual understanding.

In the instance, enregisterment of a shared way of speaking unfolds gradually as a linguistic item, "China central people bank", and its associated business practices become part of Tero's repertoire in the discussion of Chinese financial practices. Extract 24 below, from the middle of the article, shows how the participants gain understanding of how money is transferred in China. Here Tero's actions are particularly important.

Extract 24 (excerpt from Article 4, Extract 2)[59]

50 T so (.) now we paid your invoice (.)
51 two thousand eight hundred something
52 S yeah
53 T and that money goes to >where.<

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[59] In the example, (FinC) refers to the Finnish company (Tero's employer) and (ChnC) to the Chinese subsidiary.

54 S goes to the aa: China central >people bank<
55 T China central p- people bank [>o↑k<]
56 S [yeah]
57 T and you have to make (.) some (.)
58 you have- what what you have to make
59 that you can get that money out of there
60 S omm: and oo: hmh (.)
61 let me see (.) a way ((*sounds as if she stands up, walks to her desk, gets a piece of paper*))
62 (8.0)
63 T I just try to get a picture how this (.)
64 £your government works£
65 S ok
66 T because I £have to£ explain this to Kaisa
67 and it's will be £very difficult£ hmh
68 (.)
69 S o:k: mm
((*sounds as if Susan returns to sit next to Tero*))
70 (I need some space) (.)
71 th- here if here is abroad aboard
72 (1.0)
73 T o↑kei
74 (0.5)
75 S you transfer money to (3.0)
76 bank (2.5) of (FinC-) (ChnC)
77 T yeah
78 (.)
79 S mm: and (2.0)
80 there there is another (department)
81 is Chi- China (.) people bank China central- Zhong Zhongguó Rénmín Yínháng (2.0)
82 people >people bank<
83 T yeah
84 (1.5)
85 S and here is (ChnC) (1.5)
86 this is (FinC)
87 T yes
88 (1.7)
89 S when (FinC) transfer money to the bank of (ChnC)
90 T yeah-
91 S aa: the bank first (0.8)
92 th- <first (.) bank (0.8) inform> (1.4)
93 a- China people bank
94 T [yeah]
95 S [↑CHI]na <people bank> control all banks in China
96 T ↑ok >ok<
97 S China <peo:ple> (.) bank (1.2)
98 ↑then China people bank will control this part of (.) money
99 T ok
100 S second (.) the bank (.) bank of (ChnC) (1.5)

101 this bank (2.8)
102 will (3.0)
103 keep the money (4.0)
104 in a special account (3.0)
105 aa-count
106 T °ok°
107 S this special account (.) is waiting for confirmed
108 T confirmed from china people bank.
109 S yeah
110 T ok
111 S so waiting (3.0)
112 for China people bank's confirmation confirm
113 T °okei°

The main aspects of the analysis can be identified in a few lines which point to the accumulation of Tero's linguistic, sociocultural and business knowledge in the process of enregisterment progression. First, the participants' learner, teacher and professional roles emerge: Tero's questions in lines 53 and 58–59 signal his lack of knowledge of what happens to foreign money in China and his need for Susan's help. Tero's and Susan's interactional identities (Zimmerman 1998) imply that Tero is orienting to Susan as the more knowledgeable (cf. Vygotsky 1978). Susan provides the answers first linguistically. However, line 61 marks a turning point in the interaction as Susan, judged by the sounds in the audio data (and our discussion on the situation with Tero later), stands up to get a piece of paper to which she begins to draw boxes to explain to Tero what happens to foreign exchange in China. Tero aligns with a learner role by listening to Susan's instruction and providing feedback for her as she explains how money is transferred to the China central people bank. Susan's and Tero's speaking turns function locally as part of a search for knowledge and the achievement of mutual understanding. Tero's repetition of a part of Susan's turn "China central people bank" (line 55) signals the construction of understanding.

Tero's speaking turns also index his stage of socialization into Chinese business practices and professional and mid-manager roles with which he aligns simultaneously, and which point to the macro context beyond the situated event. Lines 63–67 ("I just try to get a picture…because I have to explain to Kaisa") indicate Tero's socialization into a professional way of speaking and lack of sociocultural knowledge. In addition to interactional asymmetry, the speaking turns show inequality in the participants' register competence involving linguistic, business and sociocultural knowledge. Local practice of socialization (De Fina 2007: 63), gaining understanding and incorporating new resources into a repertoire are crystallized in Tero's repetition plus insertion of Susan's turn "confirmed from China people bank" (line 108).

Susan's teaching sequence, Tero's feedback and repetition as a learner and the gradual incorporation of linguistic and semiotic resources (language, paper, drawing) constitute a trajectory of gradually unfolding denotational enregisterment of the term China central people bank and its associated business practices as these are linked to Chinese financial practices. Such a constellation of resources cluster in a professional way of speaking which is multisemiotic. The linguistic term being enregistered obtains cultural value in the workplace along with other practices through the participants' utilization of semiotic resources in interaction. Importantly, the value of resources and the way of speaking are determined by the needs of business. Drawing on Agha's (2007: 231) views on expansionist phases of enregisterment, the interaction can be seen as 'a phase of a micro-level expansion of a business way of speaking' and 'a progressive phase of enregisterment' in the workplace context. A progressive phase of enregisterment refers to micro-level development of a way of speaking in interaction with individuals active in that process.

The findings of Article 4 contribute to understanding micro-level practices and processes of professionals' repertoire construction involving socialization in interactional participation with more knowledgeable others (see also Cole 1996; Lave & Wenger 1991). Furthermore, individuals' socialization is essential not only for the professional but also for the overall business to succeed. Moreover, linguistic, semiotic, cultural, business and field-specific aspects are important in professional ways of speaking English, the learning of which is intrinsically linked to ways of doing business. While ways of speaking visible in Article 3 were marked by technical matters, machinery, machine operations, structures and management, Article 4 points towards the need for Tero to learn a different way of speaking (i.e. a 'business way of speaking'), characterized by Chinese business practices and financial matters. Oskari as a Project Manager in charge of various China-based projects has also had to socialize into a similar way of speaking, explained by the macro context of the company's business operations and its phase of globalization into Chinese markets.

The results reveal a new viewpoint on professional repertoire construction. Articles 3 and 4 collectively illustrate that professional repertoire in workplace use is a complex matter of shifts in roles and footings and of resource use for achieving both one's own goals and those of the business organization. Furthermore, the findings reveal flexuous trajectories of identity construction: even as professionals, individuals are learners, learning from each other, which makes learning constantly present in the workplace (see Billett 2004). Other participants' workplace practices also demonstrate opportunities for learning from each other. For instance, Risto and his Finnish colleague Jere, in the middle of a meeting with a Swedish colleague, engage in a side sequence in Finnish to discuss what a technical term is in English:

Extract 25 (self-recording, Sweden, spring 2009)

569 Jere mikä on terä
(what is blade)
570 Risto [blade]
571 Jere [tommonen] koneistusterä
(a kind of machining tool)
572 Jere siis sei oo blade
(I mean it's not blade)
573 Risto tool
574 Jere machining [tool]
575 Risto   [tool]
576 Jere @alrighty then@

Here Jere first asks "mikä on terä" (what is blade) and simultaneously as Risto provides the term "blade", Jere specifies that he is seeking the word equivalent to "koneistusterä" (machining tool) (line 571) and rejects the term blade offered by Risto (line 572). In line 573 Risto offers an alternative term "tool". Then Jere finds the correct word "machining tool" and Risto echoes the word tool here. Such a side sequence from the main business of the meeting presents itself as an opportunity for negotiating vocabulary and could be seen as part of enregisterment of a shared engineering way of speaking.

The findings of Article 4 illuminate the major themes introduced in the discussion of Articles 1–3: individuals continuously construct their repertoires, engage in identity work, move between learner and professional identities and roles, socialize into new ways of speaking, business contexts and speech communities. As a result, professional repertoires manifest themselves as complex and multi-dimensional.

5.1.5 Summary

The foregoing discussion of the articles has illustrated a theoretical journey with a shift of focus from identity and language to repertoire of resources and enregisterment processes. To summarize the findings, each of the four articles provides a unique contribution to the main aim (what kinds of professional communicative repertoires are constructed across timescales and contexts and how) in terms of data, methods, analysis and findings (see Table 6 below), collectively indicating the use of various resources in displaying, constructing and making sense of repertoires, which in turn influence the identity options available as these are linked to language, profession, stage of socialization, workplace contexts, discourses and forms of participation in social practices. Table 6 sums up the findings of the articles, including their starting points, data, methods and analysis.

TABLE 6 An overview of the contribution of each article to the main aim

ARTICLE	STARTING POINT	DATA	METHODS &ANALYSIS	FINDINGS
1) Identity construction in ELF contexts	Discursive identity construction as a user of English Long timescale changes	Theme interviews Spring 2003, autumn 2003	Analysis of discourses and positionings	Changes: deficient vs. adequate repertoire, language as form vs. meaning, Learner vs. ELF user identity
2) Discourses of proficiency and normality	Problems and dangers of English across contexts Long timescale changes	Theme interviews Spring 2003, autumn 2003, spring 2008	Analysis of discourses and metapragmatic typifications	Changes: problems due to one's own vs. others' repertoire, Learner, ELF user, professional identities
3) Linguistic repertoires and semiotic resources in interaction	A repertoire-in-use at work Role alignment	Video-recorded meeting at work Spring 2009	Micro-discourse analysis	The importance of interactional and semiotic resources Mediator role
4) Processes of enregisterment of business English	Using and learning resources Role alignment	Audio-recorded meeting at work Autumn 2008	Micro-discourse analysis	Enregistering Business English Socialization Learner role

Next, the findings of the four articles are merged and discussed in light of the processes of enregisterment as part of repertoire construction, emerging trajectories and professional repertoires.

5.2 Enregisterment processes in repertoire construction

The previous discussion illustrated several outcomes of the research process: the participants' major trajectory from engineering students to professionals in global industries and the evolving multidimensional nature of professional repertoire construction. One more outcome was the discovery and application of enregisterment as an interpretative analytic tool to gain a more holistic an understanding of the processes and practices through which repertoires are constructed. The findings point to the participants' engagement in the enregisterment of specific ways of speaking, the use of which is dependent on their meaning and function in social action (cf. Hymes 1972). In addition to earlier discussions addressing emerging ways of speaking, these are further elaborated and described below as resources can be seen to cluster in the participants' talk about repertoires and repertoires-in-use as particular ways of speaking (cf. Møller & Jørgensen 2012: 3).

Based on the findings, the processes and practices involved in enregisterment can be traced to both the micro and macro levels along which enregisterment can be seen to operate and vary (cf. Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 237). These levels are interlinked: the macro level can be witnessed in the micro level and vice versa (Blommaert & Dong 2010: 17). Drawing on Agha (2007), Wortham (2005, 2006, 2008) and Goebel (2010), long-term processes of enregisterment must be studied by attending to links among events across timescales. It is from within this perspective that the findings of the four case studies collectively contribute to establishing links between enregisterment processes in the studied speech events. Therefore, the interpretation here moves between micro and macro.

At this point, it is necessary to remind ourselves what is meant by 'micro' and 'macro'.[60] Firstly, 'micro' refers to the individual level, the level of situated interaction and interactional contexts which are more or less changeable. Specifically, micro involves small timescale instances, in single speech events, of participants' talk about repertoires, and of their positionings within discourses, and their repertoires-in-use and alignments with roles in interaction (cf. Hammersley & Atkinson 1995.) Each of the article focuses on one or more of these micro issues. The findings indicate micro-level short timescale enregisterment in both the interviews and interactions, and when this takes place, the situated, momentary activity is indexically lifted to a macro level. Secondly, 'macro' points to the wider social contexts and speech communities (e.g. workplace) beyond the micro, as well as the sociohistorical and societal contexts (e.g. Finland, Germany, China), which are more or less stable and unchangeable (cf. Hammersley & Atkinson 1995.) Discourses and ways of speaking traceable to contexts beyond the speech events themselves are examples of macro-level matters, but they can be drawn on and used (as well as contested and reconstructed) by the individual on the micro level. In this way there is a dialectic between macro and micro, with both levels affecting enregisterment processes: for example, widely circulating discourses about language proficiency interconnect with individuals' engagement in enregistering ways of speaking in talk. Macro also refers to enregisterment across long timescales, which are observed in Articles 1 and 2 and explored more fully here by discussing the articles collectively. Figure 6 (in Section 4.5.3) illustrated the frames within which these kinds of interpretations of long timescale enregisterment processes are possible.

Five main themes can be identified in the present participants' enregisterment processes and practices. First, the findings show how the participants draw on and orient to *norms and discourses of proficiency and*

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[60] The concept of micro and macro were introduced in Sections 3.4.3 and 4.5.3.

appropriateness that are linked to different speech communities and contexts both in their interviews and interactions. Second, the findings provide insights on individuals' engagement in *learning* and *teaching* resources and *socializing* into new ways of speaking. Third, the participants construct multiple discursive *identities* and align with various *roles* in interaction. Fourth, *asymmetrical* forms of participation on the micro-level of interaction and *inequalities* in competences between the participants on the macro level interact with enregisterment processes. Here inequality refers to inequality between individuals beyond the situated interaction in, for example, access to particular positions in social life in general or in working life in particular (cf. Gal 1989; Heller 2002; Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005: 417; Leppänen et al. 2009: 151–156, 2011: 164–167; Blommaert et al. 2012a; Leppänen & Pahta 2012: 159–160; Pitkänen-Huhta & Hujo 2012) and to repertoire-building resources, whereas asymmetry indicates interactional asymmetries (Drew & Heritage 1992). Fifth, enregisterment processes of ways of speaking are embedded in and involve *professional practices*. Each of these themes are discussed in turn.

5.2.1 Norms and discourses of proficiency and appropriateness

Enregisterment of ways of speaking is subjected to norms and discourses of proficiency and appropriateness. Fluidity in values attributed to ways of speaking was identified owing to the fact that new norms are created continuously to meet local demands (Makoni & Pennycook 2007; Higgins 2009; Pennycook 2010). The findings indicate the persistence of some norms and variability in others, both of which affect individuals' abilities to construct their professional repertoires. As an individual cannot necessarily anticipate the governing norms in each situation, encounters with new ways of speaking may clash with the individual's expectations of norms (cf. Maryns 2006; Artemeva 2005).

The findings of the interview analyses indicated that the participants drew on discourses of appropriate linguistic behavior, proficiency and normality in strikingly corresponding ways. During the first stage discourses of schooling and the appropriateness of a native way of speaking were dominant, and it was according to these that the participants judged their own and Finns' language use, thus enregistering a Finnish way of speaking English which could be linked to larger, societal level enregisterment processes and typifications of a particular kind of 'Finnish English' circulating beyond this study. An explicit example is "the way Häkkinen speaks" (Extract 8), illustrated with Finnish-accented pronunciation by Simo, which is a typification that also crops up frequently in internet discussion forums on Finns' use of English. For instance, during the Eurovision Song Contest in Finland in 2008, many online discussions focused on Finnish English as somewhat problematic, especially when spoken with a Finnish accent. In enregisterment processes, people typically comment on the accents of public figures, actors, program presenters, and other television personalities (cf. Honey 1989: 10 as cited in Agha 2003: 237; see also Cavanaugh 2005: 131). For example, athletes and politicians are an 'easy' target of commentary, because of their international career and need to use English in the media. Hence, a standard or a yardstick exists against which comments and judgments about linguistic behavior are made (Goebel 2010; Henry 2010), and these "standard models" seem to "filter down" (Wortham 2006: 39) to individuals who apply them to themselves. Interestingly, on the societal level, such a metapragmatic model of a Finnish way of speaking not only covers Finns' speaking characteristics (notably accent), but is also connected to male public figures in particular. In addition to Mika Häkkinen, other Formula 1 and rally drivers represent such a Finnish way of speaking in the public arena. The English skills of public figures have triggered critical commentary in discussion forums on the internet (Kytölä 2013) which often focus on Finnish-accented English and non-standardness (cf. Kytölä 2012: 236; see also Leppänen & Pahta 2012: 152–154). However, Finns' use of English is also admired, respected and found appealing (Leppänen et al. 2009, 2011). In general, Finnish English triggers metapragmatic reflexivity in different ways. Typifications derive from people's attitudes and conceptualizations of ways of speaking and their associated discourses of proficiency and appropriateness in different ways at different biographical stages, as shown in this study.

Evidently, various Finnish ways of speaking English exist, characterized by accent (Finnish, British, American, etc.) or some other feature (grammar, lexical choice, etc.). In this study, using English in a Finnish way initially manifested as a devalued option, not pretty, distinctive and funny-sounding – in many ways problematic (see also Pihko 1997; Leppänen et al. 2011: 73, 89; Leppänen & Pahta 2012: 152–154). By implication, such a problematic Finnish way of speaking is evaluated against a perceived dominant native speaker English standard (i.e. schooling discourse), any other deviation from it being deemed non-standard.[61] However, as Wortham (2006: 39) importantly notes, "a dominant model may be more likely to frame an individual's identity" but "despite the power of widely circulating models of identity, in most contexts several models are available to identify a given individual". Regardless of public discourses imposing values and normativity from above, individuals can enforce normativity themselves and engage in language policing (Leppänen & Piirainen-Marsh 2009). Moreover, irrespective of the strong presence of schooling discourses in their before-the-stay enregisterment, over time, after the participants had gained experience of using English with other non-native speakers, counter discourses emerged, giving rise to the emergence of a trajectory of values assigned to a Finnish way of speaking. Interestingly, Finnish English increased in value during individuals' socialization into working life with the emergence of accounts along the lines of "as long as the message comes across it doesn't really matter how you speak" and "Finns actually speak English pretty well" and "do not need to feel humble about it" (in Finnish: "ei oo mitään syytä nöyristellä siinä"), as described by Oskari in an interview in spring 2008. At all stages, a Finnish way of speaking featured as a crucial resource in repertoire construction, which suggests the importance of Finnishness in defining oneself as a speaker of English (see also Tergujeff 2013: 51).

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[61] Leppänen et al. (2011: 162–163) argue that many Finns consider English as belonging mainly to native speakers who are admired and whose English is set as the goal in language learning.

The norm of language use defining an appropriate way of speaking and communicating emerged as depending on the context and speech event. Blommaert et al. (2005) and Blommaert (2007a, 2010) suggest that when a norm exists about 'good' and 'bad' language use, an *indexical order* determines the situation. Hence, even if the individual has a wide repertoire, the indexical order determines the range of resources available for use, roles to be aligned with and forms of participation possible (Blommaert et al. 2005: 214). In this way, resources are hierarchically stratified and in changes of function, structure and meaning a different indexical order is established (Blommaert et al. 2005: 200). As the participants sometimes encountered unexpected norms and valuable ways of speaking, different indexical orders could be seen to compete. This resulted individuals constructing 'good' language user identities in one context but 'bad' user identities in another based on either limited availability of ways of speaking or limited ability to using ways of speaking. As Blommaert et al. (2005: 198, 213) argue, this shows how communicative inability is a problem for the individual, not of the individual, and one that exists in the link between the communicative potential of the individual and the requirements of the environment.

The notion of hierarchically layered resources is important for our understanding of enregisterment processes: a principle exists according to which a certain way of speaking is used in a particular context, in professional contexts this strongly relates to the business domain (cf. Rymes 2010: 531). On the one hand, the co-existence of the business context and cordial relationships between the business partners played a role in defining what was appropriate language. On the other hand, an individual could wield power by engaging in "the micro-management and policing of norms" (Leppänen & Piirainen-Marsh 2009: 261) and impose a local norm of appropriateness, within the boundaries of his own repertoire and competence. What ways of speaking were enregistered therefore depended on multiple factors, and the indexical order was always different when the situation and the participants changed. Moreover, the idea and meaning of a norm for the individuals was transformed over time. Depending on the kind of norm operating in individuals' self-descriptions, a repertoire was constructed either in a negative or in a positive way. Whereas the participants first principally relied on *norms from above*, local norms and *norms from below* emerged subsequently in both their discursive work and social actions. As suggested by Duff (2010: 436), who refers to the study by Vickers (2007), norms of interaction and of language use do not need to be 'codified' in any way, but they could be described as 'conventionalized practice' guiding the interlocutors' participation and role alignment (see also Canagarajah 2007b: 927).

5.2.2 Socialization, learning and teaching

Language and professional socialization manifested itself as a long timescale process with learning and teaching as its important elements. Learning, or the accumulation of knowledge (Blommaert & Backus 2011, 2012, 2013) related to language and business practices was identifiable in situated interaction. Teacher and learner roles were determined by the way of speaking being enregistered, the participants' repertoires, competences and socialization trajectories and the indexical order of the social situation. For the key participants as employees of globalizing companies establishing operations in China, it was necessary to learn Chinese business practices and teach business, professional and engineering practices to colleagues. For similar reasons, the participants also talked about learning machining vocabulary and acquiring business knowledge of the special field in interviews, and associated these with engineering and managerial ways of speaking in particular, all of which indicate socialization.

The participants socialized into both global and local ways of speaking. While the former relates to using English as a lingua franca in general and for work purposes in particular as English used as a business lingua franca, the latter refers to language use in specific situations and sometimes with specific interlocutors. In the enregisterment of different ways of speaking in interviews, a Finnish way of speaking appears to function as an informing resource. To illustrate, the participants socialized into ELF ways of speaking which they were able to recognize after having learned about how other non-native speakers, apart from Finns, use English. This socialization process involved distancing oneself from a negatively valued Finnish way of speaking typified against native-speaker norms. The emerging and valuable ELF way of speaking contributed to the recognition of more positive elements in a Finnish way of speaking. Moreover, compared to the first interview, in the later ones the participants identified more ways of speaking associated with different cultures, mostly devaluing those they found incomprehensible (e.g. Indian English, Article 2, Extract 6, see also Jenkins 2007: 164), the learning of which nevertheless constituted an important part of their socialization and repertoire construction.

The data, such as Oskari's story about his first arrival in China, in which he encountered an unusual and problematic way of speaking and which ran counter to his personal expectations (cf. Ochs & Capps 2001; Goebel 2010: 77), showed the enregisterment of unfamiliar ways of speaking and illustrated the first stages of socialization into new local ways of speaking. Later on, the socialization process involved, among other things, learning the kinds of linguistic and cultural resources, such as Chinese people's accents, word choices and indirect style of communication (cf. Kankaanranta & Lu 2013), needed in workplace communication. The enregisterment of a professional way of speaking with the Chinese in interviews involved typifying it as simple in grammar, word choices and sentence structure and as "endless repetition". In the actual interactions, however, such a way of speaking appeared as a multisemiotic way of communicating, involving various communicative resources beyond language which the participants had successfully learned to use in business situations. Although the way of speaking was typified as ‘basic’ and below the level possessed by the key participants, it empowered them in interaction.

The findings amply show how socialization occurs in participation in speech communities, or communities of practice (Lave & Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998). In the process of enregistering a professional way of speaking, an individual learns in practice and in participation with a differently-knowledgeable other (cf. Cole 1996; Lave & Wenger 1991). Only certain ways of speaking had to be learned. Clearly, “learning language as a linguistic *and* a sociolinguistic system is not a cumulative process; it is rather a process of growth, of sequential learning of certain registers, styles, genres and linguistic varieties while shedding or altering previously existing ones” (Blommaert & Backus 2013: 15, italics in original).

5.2.3 Multiple identities and shifting roles

In using their repertoires people act as agents and project identities for themselves and others. Identity work mattered in enregisterment processes in which individuals recognized resources and their social values by positioning themselves and others within discourses as certain types of people using a certain way of speaking (Articles 1 and 2) and by performing social roles in interaction (Articles 3 and 4) which were temporary and necessary since “speakers opt[ed] to operate communicatively within normative bounds” (Coupland 2001: 200). As ways of speaking are used for different purposes, shifts between their uses are bound to occur. A shift in way of speaking could either indicate a situational change or it could itself change the situation. One could shift by aligning with the addressee, which involves either accommodating one’s speech to that of one’s interlocutor or, by contrast, to mark difference, which indicates participants’ asymmetrical relations vis-à-vis one another (cf. Ervin-Tripp 2001: 47).

The participants’ identity work revealed possibilities and challenges in using a repertoire and in enregisterment processes. Multiple identities were constructed: micro-level situated identities existed for a while whereas some macro-level transportable identities (Zimmerman 1998) persisted through time. Intersections can be seen between micro- and macro-level identities as the latter types can contribute to the interpretation of the former (cf. De Fina et al. 2006) and vice versa: local interactional roles can function as windows on larger extra-situational resources and identities (Georgakopoulou 2006: 96, 100). For instance, learner, teacher and mediator roles point to temporary identities in the micro-level of interaction through which macro and longer timescale level professional identities (e.g. manager identity) develop and emerge (cf. Wortham 2005; De Fina et al. 2006). For example, in order to develop as professionals, individuals need to learn and use ways of speaking and socialize into working life identities in situated interaction (Duff 2010: 433).

Identity work should be understood as an indicator of individuals' need to perform in a certain way: it is important to look "what matters in *the particular situation* in which *the particular business professional* has to act" (Louhiala-Salminen 1999: 15, italics in original). When unable to act in a desired way, individuals are at risk of losing their own voice and lacking confidence in their repertoire use (cf. Higgins 2010: 376). Duff et al. (2000) also reported similar findings in the linguistic socialization of adult immigrants training to become long-term resident care aides who were forced to simplify their language, reduce the rate of speech, avoid technical language, and communicate using a variety of nonverbal strategies in their work. Although the contexts of the present study and that of Duff et al. (2000) are dissimilar, both findings suggest the need and ability of newcomers to accommodate to the needs of the local context where they work (see also Rymes 2010). The enregisterment of a simple way of speaking at work was in conflict with the key participants' own needs and desires for more complex professional repertoire construction, giving rise to a negatively-oriented identity (cf. Lam 2000). Hymes's (1996: 51) verbal passing points to such a situation where an individual employs a style constrained by a job or a group and is unable to satisfy felt needs to use language in other ways. In this way individuals can experience themselves as "powerless in specific zones of register-mediated social life" and "located in recessive phases of enregisterment" and, as a result, forced to "accommodate their behavior 'downwards'" in order to retain power (Agha 2007: 231). In summary, enregistering ways of speaking appears as the ability, possibility and need to shift identities and roles on multiple timescales, which are not always concurrent.

5.2.4 Inequalities and asymmetries in knowledge

Differences between repertoires and competences point to asymmetries in knowledge and inequalities in social relations (Agha 2007; Blommaert & Backus 2011, 2012, 2013), and to enregisterment processes: access to ways of speaking relies on individuals' possibilities to engage in enregisterment work (cf. Møller & Jørgensen 2012). Thus, every way of speaking, as well as enregisterment, is "susceptible to a politics of access" (Blommaert 2010: 38; see also Johnstone 2000, 2009b). Social boundaries in society are created through the existence of registers to which individuals have differential access and to the social practices they mediate (Agha 2007: 157). Drawing on Agha (2007), one could argue that once the studied participants had engaged in enregisterment of their requisite professional ways of speaking and become socialized into their use, they gained access to gatekeeping roles (cf. Vaara, Tienari, Piekkari & Säntti 2005). A managerial way of speaking can confer prestige, particularly if its use results in asymmetries in interaction and inequalities in social relations (cf. Wilce 2008). Individuals also occupy less knowledgeable roles when learning from others and when experiencing that they lack power.

Asymmetrical roles relate intrinsically to the nature of workplace interaction (Gunnarsson 2009) in terms of the differential distribution of knowledge, rights to knowledge, and access to conversational resources and to participation in interaction (Drew & Heritage 1992: 47, 49). Asymmetries found in the data can partly be explained by their nature as workplace interaction and the participants' roles and relationships in the company hierarchy: general manager, mid-manager and employee roles were determined by the individuals' positions at head office and in the subsidiary. However, these were often insignificant in interactions where roles were established on the basis of knowledge, where the important distinction was between knowing and less knowing participants due to individuals' unequal competence in ways of speaking and business practices. For example, an individual's possession of power in a mediator role enabled that individual to make choices from among alternative resources. In this way, the formal organizational structure of the company can be temporarily superseded by a linguistically determined 'shadow structure' (Marschan-Piekkari, Welch & Welch 1999).

Aspects of inequality that have to do with repertoires, competence and access to enregisterment were observed throughout the findings. Resource limitations versus excess created hierarchies between individuals (cf. Kytölä 2012), which is a kind of inequality that characterizes multilingual and multicultural communities in general and workplaces in particular, where the workers come from different cultural and linguistic backgrounds with their distinctive biographies, socialization trajectories and repertoires (cf. Heller 2002). As all human beings have identical repertoires, inequality, asymmetries of knowledge and power are intrinsic features in every social event, manifested in particular in 'scale-jumping' (Uitemark 2002 as cited in Blommaert 2007b: 5) and thus intrinsic to enregisterment processes. For instance, having a tool to implement power enabled the participants' 'jumps' to alternative scale levels with access to valuable resources allowing them to construct evaluator identities and judge other people's ways of speaking, typifying them as worse than their own. Choosing to use certain ways of speaking to exclude other interlocutors from participating also displays such jumping behavior. In particular, the Finnish language occupied the role of a secret code among the Finns in the meeting (Article 3).

In order to understand enregisterment processes the participants' cultural backgrounds should also be considered (cf. Widdowson 1998: 8), as linguistic and interactional norms and interpretative procedures vary across cultures (Gumperz 1992b) and affect individuals' use of English as a business lingua franca (e.g. Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005). The notion of culture was not used to interpret the findings, but the participants oriented to cultural differences in language use and business practices in the interviews. For example, each of them considered Finns to have a direct and straight-to-the-point communicative style. Such aspects have been listed under Finns' cultural traits (Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005), particularly when contrasted to an indirect, Chinese way of speaking English which is closely tied to the Chinese culture (Kankaanranta

& Lu 2013). Such differences may influence a manager's interactional role as the person in charge and the one who has to use various resources in aiming at getting the message across. However, as Kankaanranta & Lu (2013: 303) note, culture is only one factor affecting how BELF interactions among Finnish and Chinese business professionals are carried out.

In sum, a person's ability to recognize or use specific ways of speaking or resources associated with these has consequences for one's ability to do enregisterment work. The present individuals were acquainted with certain ways of speaking, but did not have the same degree of competence in their use (cf. Agha 2007: 157; see also Hymes 1972: 283). On the one hand, the Finns' discursive position vis-à-vis a native-like way of speaking was inferior, whereas on the other hand by adapting a certain way of speaking individuals could hold power. Therefore, the participants experienced power at different times both as the weaker and the stronger party. This interpretation is of course influenced by whether the data analyzed are interviews or interactions.

5.2.5 Professional practices

The enregisterment of professional ways of speaking in workplace interaction was centered on professional practices related to engineering and business operations such as machining, invoicing, production, showing and instructing machining procedures, and machine designs in a clear and efficient manner. Furthermore, they involved such social skills as management of interpersonal relationships, being patient, learning about business practices and cultures, problem-solving, performing in different roles, and cultural skills – in all a rich set of practices and competences. Vickers (2007: 628) reported similar findings: in performing the role of a competent engineer, efficiency, engagement and clarity were manifested as important.

The findings on practices link to Goebel's (2010: 55–57) notion of *locally emerging semiotic registers* through a process of "enregistering local practices and local spaces" (Goebel 2010: 42–56). Goebel (2010: 55) found that individuals' different trajectories produce different communities, and are accompanied by individuals' access to different resources "figured in the formation of locally emerging semiotic registers". For Goebel (2010: 106–107), a locally emerging semiotic register among a specific set of people is composed of certain activity types, social spaces, affective stance, social and interpersonal relationships, categories of personhood, persons and embodied signs. These signs "can mutually implicate each other when used individually" (Goebel 2008: 148, drawing on Agha 2007) which suggests that once various signs become clustered and co-occurring, the occurrence of a single sign (e.g. social relationship) can hint at the existence of an entire register. For example, Goebel's (2010) findings can be applied to the present study in which certain people, activity types, relationships, roles and embodied signs can be seen to cluster in the use of ways of speaking identified in interactions. Fieldwork at Tero's workplace indicated that he, Matti, Ville, Susan and James attended meetings in different constellations, talked about matters concerning the

Chinese subsidiary, machinery and machine operations, and financial practices in China. Tero also taught and showed machining and machine structures to his Chinese colleagues. The participants' relationships were both hierarchical and collegial and their roles ranged between manager, engineer, teacher and learner, depending on the activity type. For instance, machining terminology, repetition and pointing had a central place in Tero's manager and mediator roles (Article 3) in which Tero's affective stance with respect to the matters concerning the subsidiary and interpersonal relationships was visible. Fieldwork at Oskari's workplace and his repertoire use indicated very similar results. Thus, practices in the workplace reveal the components that constitute professional ways of speaking.

5.2.6 Summary

This section merges the findings in a description of the enregisterment processes and practices as part of repertoire construction. Figure 7 below illustrates the interpretation process, its findings and outcomes in terms of the identified ways of speaking in the studies. The diagram on the left illustrates the application of enregisterment as in Figure 6 (in Section 4.5.3). The two thin arrows coming from the left and pointing to the short timescale issues in the middle indicate how the interpretation is based on the findings of the discourse and interaction analyses (talk about a repertoire and a repertoire-in-use). The thick arrow at the top coming from the left and pointing to the long timescales indicates that all the findings contribute to the interpretation of the macro and long timescale issues. In the centre, the processes and practices of enregisterment discussed earlier in this section are listed. On the right are the objects of enregisterment: ways of speaking, including the resources which individuals have and learn, and which inform their professional repertoires.

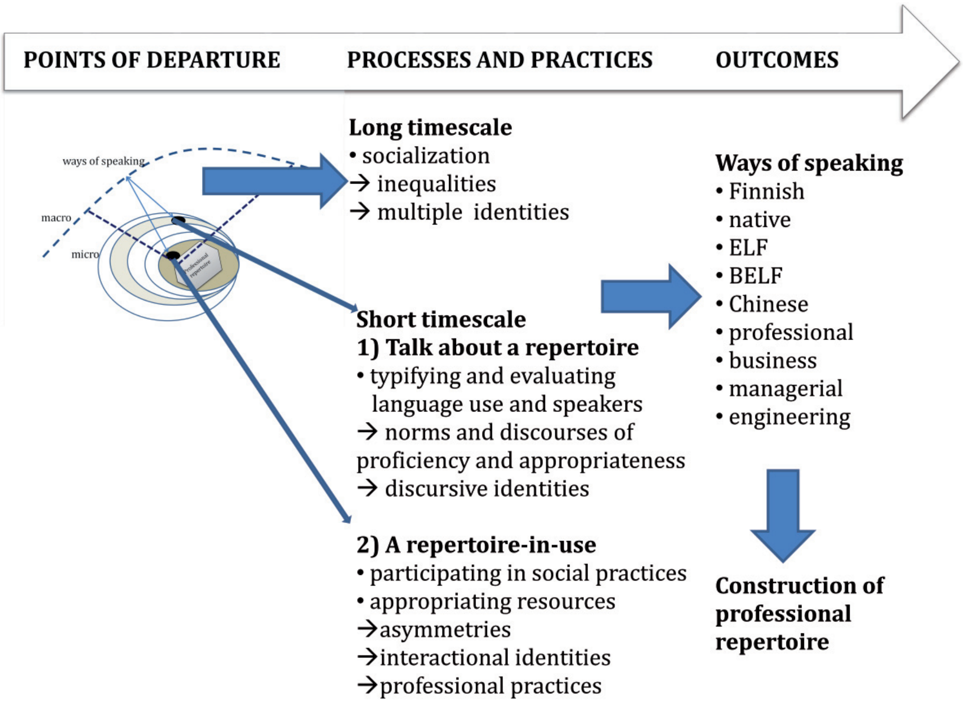
POINTS OF DEPARTURE
PROCESSES AND PRACTICES
OUTCOMES
ways of speaking
macro
micro
Long timescale
• socialization
→ inequalities
→ multiple identities
Short timescale
1) Talk about a repertoire
• typifying and evaluating language use and speakers
→ norms and discourses of proficiency and appropriateness
→ discursive identities
2) A repertoire-in-use
• participating in social practices
• appropriating resources
→asymmetries
→interactional identities
→professional practices
Ways of speaking
• Finnish
• native
• ELF
• BELF
• Chinese
• professional
• business
• managerial
• engineering
Construction of professional repertoire

FIGURE 7 Enregisterment processes and their outcomes

Enregisterment processes were traced to macro and long timescales transpiring across events and micro and short timescales within speech events. First, on the micro level, individuals produced and drew on norms and discourses of proficiency, correctness, appropriateness and normality (Section 5.2.1) linked to phenomena in various speech communities and contexts (education, stay abroad, work) and constructed multiple identities as language learners, ELF users, and professionals (Section 5.2.3). By means of participating in workplace interaction, individuals enacted and reinforced asymmetries (Section 5.2.4), shifted between various roles and footings (Sections 5.2.2 and 5.2.3) and engaged in specific practices characterizing their professional field (Section 5.2.5). Second, on the long timescale, individuals socialized into working life, ways of speaking and professional practices (Section 5.2.2) and constructed their repertoires as having either a positive or a negative orientation, contributing to the existence of inequalities and asymmetries between repertoires. All of these processes and practices were involved in the construction of professional repertoires, as resources belonging to different ways of speaking could be seen as being a component of, entering into and informing individuals' repertoires. In particular, Finnish, native, ELF, BELF, Chinese, professional, managerial, business, and engineering ways of speaking were identified, which is an alternative set compared to that reported by Yli-

Jokipii (1994: 36), for example, who distinguished corporate language, organizational language, managerial language, administrative or governmental language and technical language in her study of professional discourse. Such variation can be explained by differences in research focus and approach; if the focus is on linguistic variation in a particular type of language use (e.g. requestive messages as in Yli-Jokipii 1994), it is important to identify areas of language use in the data, whereas in an investigation of individuals' enregisterment of ways of speaking at selected stages of their lives, the range of ways of speaking identified will be different.

The findings contribute insights into the constant unfolding of enregisterment processes, since ways of speaking undergo various forms of revalorization, retypification and change (Agha 2007; Goebel 2009). In fact, "we never see or hear a finished register, we can only observe processes and practices of enregisterment" (Blommaert 2012b: 4). Moreover, Kress (2009: 34) argues that "social interaction via semiotic means produces always new meanings, hence semiotic work in social interaction is always socially productive". Kress' (ibid.) notion supports the idea of new ways of speaking being created through enregisterment (cf. Blommaert & Backus 2011; Bailey 2009: 343) and is well in line with the idea that English used as a lingua franca is by its nature fluid and constantly evolving (e.g. Jenkins et al. 2011). Different ways of speaking emerged in interaction as enregisterment progressed and a professional repertoire developed through mutual negotiation and the individuals' appropriation of resources. Similarly, in the process of aiming at achieving mutual understanding of a professional activity, a (set of) machine item and its associated machining practices were enregistered as part of a shared professional way of speaking not only among the interlocutors but also among the wider workplace community. The findings showed how competences merge into clusters in interactions and develop in them (cf. Blommaert & Backus 2011: 19): with their resources individuals construct knowledge. Judged by the key participants' routine moves in conversation and their interaction rituals, they had good referential knowledge of what they were talking about, which in turn made them confident about their language use, suggesting successful socialization into global working life. To conclude, enregisterment processes and ways of speaking developed regardless of individuals' level of English skills but because of shared professional competence (cf. Louhiala-Salminen 1999) and communicative resources.

5.3 Professional repertoires emerging across linear and flexuous trajectories

Individual professional repertoires emerged in this study as a result of an investigation of a connected series of events in which individuals participated (cf. Wortham 2006) and out of which trajectories evolved. In this section I first focus on the two most prominent trajectories in repertoire construction: the trajectory of repertoire manifestation and the trajectory of identity work. In addition, I explore the notion of *truncated professional communicative repertoire*.

5.3.1 Interplay between learner and professional repertoires

Trajectories emerged across four main stages of the participants' socialization into working life: Stage 1) education and Finland in spring 2003; Stage 2) stay abroad and Germany in autumn 2003; Stage 3) initial phases of the participants' working lives in 2008 and; Stage 4) the second phases of the key participants' working lives in 2009 (see also Figure 5 in Section 4.4). In each of these four stages repertoires manifest themselves in unique ways, partly because of the actual variation observed in them and partly because of the nature of the data. Through individuals' talk about their repertoires, changes were observed from Stage 1 to 4, whereas through repertoires-in-use changed were observed from Stage 3 to 4.

A *linear trajectory* of repertoire construction emerges when the findings are considered collectively. While in Stage 1 the participants' learner linguistic repertoires were ascribed with rather negative values, in later stages a multi-dimensional professional communicative repertoire emerged as usable in general and valuable in interaction, particularly with the Chinese colleagues, allowing the participants to engage in various social actions. Importantly, interview data was only available for the first two stages, and thus the interpretation of this trajectory is based on different types of data. Nevertheless, while for instance in Stages 3 and 4 the participants talked about the use of semiotic resources in workplace communication, the Stage 1 interviews concentrated on the use (or better: the lack) of single linguistic resources, indicating a compartmentalized view of language. Moreover, the timespan between the stages is several years, during which time the participants socialized into working life, became legitimate members of their workplace communities, and two of them managers with subordinates. In this socialization trajectory, the function and meaning of English for these individuals changed from a relatively insignificant language to an essential tool needed at work, an observation on the role of English at work that has also been foregrounded in several earlier studies (e.g. Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005; Kankaanranta & Louhiala-Salminen 2007, 2010; Gerritsen & Nickerson 2009). Therefore, various issues support the notion of a linear trajectory of repertoire construction as movement from constructing a learner repertoire to constructing a professional communicative repertoire, alongside which a trajectory of identity work was also observed.

The linear trajectory captures a notable shift in repertoire construction in the interviews, which was first informed by native-like ways of speaking English, with a vast vocabulary and grammatical skills as a yardstick. Despite being ascribed high value, a special technical vocabulary did not yet feature prominently in the participants' own repertoires. As students they were in the process of learning engineering ways of speaking. Thus, in the participants' initial stage of socialization into working life (Stage 1), a professional repertoire appeared as a learner linguistic repertoire, with associated identity work, concentrating on linguistic proficiency and lack of success in English studies at school and with a language learner and a 'bad' language user as the most available discursive identities. In Stage 2, new experiences in lingua franca encounters and ways of speaking with which one can 'get by' were appreciated, rather than ones demanding a large vocabulary. Thus, ELF ways of speaking featured as valuable resources in a more positively-oriented repertoire construction with identities related to communicative abilities and surviving. Interestingly, despite limited opportunities to use English in the German workplace, repertoires developed towards ELF user repertoires. Thus, the stay abroad period marked a turning point in repertoire construction and functioned as an empowering stage in the participants' socialization into working life.

Development, more versatile and demanding uses of repertoires and new types of identity work were further possible and available in working life. This could be explained by the expanding research focus towards repertoires-in-use. Nevertheless, compared to the earlier stages, in global working life the intertwining of repertoires and identities with both language competence and doing the job was evident, as in the manifestation of a Finnish manager's learner identity during a workplace meeting. Interestingly, a multi-competent language user identity emerged as a favorable, but largely inaccessible identity option in the participants' own talk about using repertoires with their Chinese colleagues. However, multi-competence was observable and the participants' professional communicative repertoire in fact allowed for the construction of such identities as evaluator, professional and manager in both the interviews and the interactions. Thus, in working life, the participants' language user and professional identities became more intertwined, with blurred boundaries. Moreover, the multi-dimensional, professional communicative repertoires embodied characteristics of the learner and ELF user repertoires that had been constructed in the earlier stages. Although the participants pointed to the existence of linguistic inadequacies, they stressed the (B)ELF features and communicative resources which helped to get the job done.[62] Figure 8 illustrates the major trajectory of repertoire construction involving a move from constructing a learner and a general ELF user repertoire to constructing a professional communicative repertoire.

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[62] These features are discussed more in the following section (5.3.2).

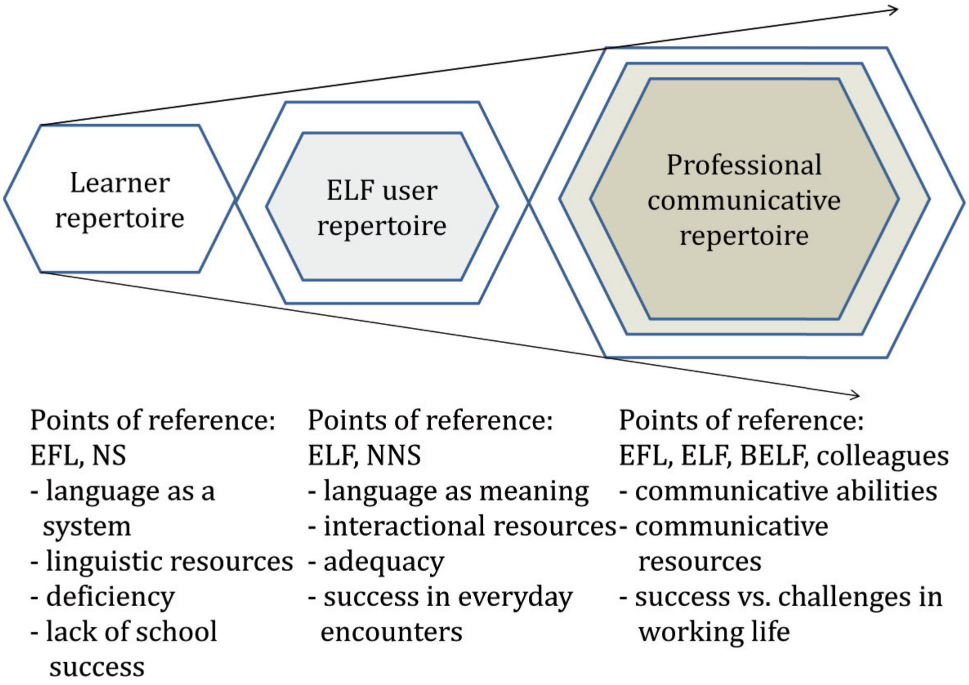
Learner repertoire
ELF user repertoire
Professional communicative repertoire
Points of reference:
EFL, NS
- language as a system
- linguistic resources
- deficiency
- lack of school success
Points of reference:
ELF, NNS
- language as meaning
- interactional resources
- adequacy
- success in everyday encounters
Points of reference:
EFL, ELF, BELF, colleagues
- communicative abilities
- communicative resources
- success vs. challenges in working life

FIGURE 8 A major trajectory of repertoire construction

In addition to the linear trajectory, repertoire construction constituted *flexuous trajectories*. Although the move from constructing a learner linguistic repertoire to constructing a professional communicative repertoire established a major trajectory, a flexuous trajectory illustrates non-linear repertoire development and movement in different directions. For example, the individuals experienced both gains and losses of competence during different stages of their socialization, and the value of their own repertoire fluctuated between low and high. Lack of access to English equaled undesired repertoire development, which contributed to an experience of repertoire regression. By contrast, socialization into working life and demanding workplace situations gave rise to a need for the development and learning of new ways of speaking. Moreover, desirable and successful enregisterment processes, good referential knowledge in the job and development into multi-register users (cf. Blommaert & Backus 2011) led to an experience of repertoire progression and feelings of confidence.

To conclude, a professional repertoire does not develop "along a linear path of ever-increasing size" (Blommaert & Backus 2011: 10, see also 2013). Moreover, the boundaries between the stages of repertoire construction are not clear-cut (one stage about learning, another about using), which points to its multi-dimensional nature, which is well illustrated in the way a repertoire is put to use in actual workplace interactions. As the sum of all the issues discussed above, a professional repertoire constituted various ways of speaking as resources in different roles, situations and contexts. The configuration of resources required always emerged as situated and unique, depending on the activity one engaged in or talked about, and the norms that governed that activity.

5.3.2 Truncated professional communicative repertoire

All of the findings point to the existence of indexical links between resources, for instance between the discourses of appropriateness drawn on at the beginning and end of the participants' socialization trajectories and at different phases of the enregisterment of a Finnish way of speaking. As a result of mobility, 'old' resources transform and contribute to the emergence of new resources and enregisterment processes, leading to dynamicity in repertoire construction, including the truncation of a repertoire.

Different factors illuminate the truncated nature of a professional communicative repertoire (cf. Blommaert et al. 2005). First, it always emerged in a unique way, being organized on the basis of particular resources and ways of speaking enregistered in specific speech events in which the participants brought their "biographically specific discursive histories" (Agha 2007: 70). Although truncatedness characterizes each of our repertoires, it applies to professional repertoires particularly well, because professionals possess unique job tasks, operate in specific environments with certain people, engage in specific types of activities, and thus need a rather limited set of communicative resources. Second, a repertoire was 'placed' in the sense that it enabled an individual to move around, participate in certain spheres of social life while not in others (cf. Blommaert et al. 2005: 205). As suggested by the linear and flexuous trajectories, some resources travelled along with individuals whereas others were replaced over time according to use and context (cf. Rymes 2010: 353). Third, a professional repertoire included various communicative resources (see Figure 2 in Section 3.3.1). On the one hand, this relates to the notion of a "'polyglot repertoire' within *one* language (Silverstein 1996) […] an agglomerate of different varieties that operate and can be deployed as a repertoire" (Dong & Blommaert 2009: 2, italics in original). On the other hand, the concept of *heteroglossic repertoire* (Busch 2012) refers to the co-existence of different discourses, codes and voices, suggesting a presence of imaginations and desires, contestations, and struggles within a repertoire. Busch's (2012) ideas are useful in arguing for the strong biographical dimension of the studied individuals' repertoires, coming into being through individuals' desires, challenges, possibilities, struggles, wins and losses. The dual perspective enabled disclosure of the biographical and interactional dimensions, both of which proved essential for understanding repertoires.

Repertoires embodied both similar and idiosyncratic resources: the discourses of proficiency were extremely alike, whereas the working life resources were idiosyncratic, which is explained by the participants' different career paths, professional experiences and access to resources. As Johnstone (1995: 198) notes, "not all speakers are […] resourceful" to the same degree in that "for some, limited education or limited contacts outside a small, tight community mean that fewer choices are available; for other, the aptitide [sic] or motivation to choose effectively is lacking" (see also Bergroth 2008). The ability to speak English and the frequency and type of contacts with people influenced repertoire construction. Thus placing a repertoire in context and in specific situations is important in order to understand its characteristics. Despite individuals' feelings of struggle, loss or repertoire regression and regardless of the type of communicative resources needed and verbal passing (Hymes 1996: 51), everyone had an appropriate and valuable repertoire for getting their jobs done. Needless to say, movement from educational contexts to global ones enabled individuals to become more empowered with their repertoires.

Various ways of speaking served as influential resources in repertoire construction over time, while more specific professional ways of speaking featured prominently in the individuals' repertoires in working life. The specific ways of speaking can be captured with the notion of BELF: related to none of the speakers' mother tongue per se, but shared for conducting business (cf. Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005: 403–404). From the participant perspective they appeared culture-bound to some extent due to Finns' preference for directness and straightness over the indirectness they attributed to the communicative style of other cultures (see also Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005), notably the Chinese. The main purpose of BELF ways of speaking is doing business, but they also allowed for learning (cf. Firth 1996: 247): the learning of language and learning of business.

First, with their engineering ways of speaking the participants talked about machines and related practices and, judged by the ease with which the employees discussed them, they were shared by the workplace community. The ability to display technical content knowledge is obviously an important element of communicative competence in the engineering speech community (see also Vickers 2007: 630). Explicitness was important in displaying such knowledge. In addition to technical vocabulary and content, artifacts and pictures representing core items (e.g. saw, hardness tester and grinding machine) visually functioned as essential resources in engineering ways of speaking, as they facilitated mutual understanding and helped inferring the meaning of the message when other shared resources were lacking. Visuality in the form of artifacts and drawings also play a vital role next to language in the compilation of user manuals (Iedema 2003: 33–37). The participants described how the message often came across more efficiently if communicated with linguistic and visual resources (also videos), rather than with language only. Second, a specific kind of managerial way of speaking was needed for project management and business development in China. Specific linguistic and semiotic resources functioned as important means in communicating orders, guidelines and procedures to subordinates. Gestures in particular were relevant in bringing up an important aspect of the idea being conveyed, sometimes connoting a slightly different meaning than language and thus they collectively constituted an effective message (cf. McNeill 1992: 13) - both of them had communicative power (cf. Beattie & Shovelton 2002 on the communicative power of gestures). In summary, both engineering and managerial ways of speaking appeared as *multisemiotic ways of communicating* in interaction. Studies of language learning (Gullberg et al. 2008; Gullberg 2009) have also shown how gestures, embodied action, or non-verbal behavior in general, physical surroundings and proxemics (e.g. sitting arrangements) have particular significance for aiming at achieving understanding in situations where participants do not share resources or share them only little (see also Goodwin 2004).

Thus, the manifestation of a truncated professional communicative repertoire observed in this study can be viewed from various perspectives. Such a repertoire is a result of the individual's socialization into global working life, participation in various communities and interactions, identity work and enregisterment processes. Most of all, the manifestation of a repertoire, and the "actual knowledge of language, like any aspect of human development, is dependent on biography" (Blommaert & Backus 2011: 9, 2013: 15). All participants socialized into ways of speaking English as a lingua franca and also succeeded in professional register socialization, albeit in varying degrees. With their learned ways of speaking they were able to recontextualize (Bauman & Briggs 1990: 74–78) an ongoing interaction (cf. Goebel 2007: 526, 2010: 14; see also Johnstone 2010) as part of their work. If recursively used and deployed, a way of speaking can become an index of identity, as in the case of stylization as discussed by Rampton (1995). Over time people's use of stylized forms of speech have become enregistered, for example, as indexes of an urban identity (cf. Rampton 1995; see also Agha 2003; Johnstone et al. 2006). In a similar way, in this study the enregistered professional ways of speaking and constructed repertoires index the participants' global professional identities, their needs as professionals and their socialization trajectories.

6 CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Discussion

This study has addressed the question of individuals' professional repertoire construction across their trajectories of socialization into global working life from multiple perspectives. The findings of four research articles and associated analyses have been merged to discuss the dimensions, processes and practices involved in repertoire construction through which professional repertoires emerge.

This study has drawn on both the Hymesian (1964, 1971, 1972, 1974a, 1974b, 1986[1972], 1992, 1996, 2009) and Gumperzian (1964, 1972, 1986[1972]: 16, 1992a, 1992b, 2009) sociolinguistic tradition and the sociolinguistics of globalization (Blommaert 2005, 2010; Rampton 2006; Pennycook 2007b, 2010; Agha 2007; Higgins 2009; Heller 2007, 2010; Blackledge & Creese 2010), and thereby adopted a modern approach to repertoire with a combination of ethnography and discourse analysis. The study has benefited from taking repertoire as its core concept since it has enabled to open up various new perspectives on individuals' lives with the English language and their trajectories of socialization into global working life. The focus on the construction of professional repertoires has brought with it both challenges and possibilities, both theoretically and methodologically. While the concept of repertoire was originally used in sociolinguistics mainly to describe communities' ways of speaking in interaction (Gumperz 1964), in more recent discussions the biographical dimension has gained more ground (Blommaert 2010; Blommaert & Backus 2011, 2012, 2013; Busch 2012). Given the broad definitions of repertoire and resource and the growing interest in repertoire-based studies in the field, already existing frameworks could be drawn on in this study in the conceptualization of a repertoire as biographically organized and comprising various resources. The lack of earlier longitudinal research on the topic, however, was a challenge and required turning to existing studies on related areas such as language socialization (Ochs 1993, 2002; Duff et al. 2000;

Roberts 2010) and English as a business lingua franca (e.g Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005; Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta 2011). Navigating this plethora of research in order to find a suitable approach to repertoire construction resulted in a study which, by focusing on a small group of participants and the use of various methodologies, investigated different dimensions of repertoire construction at four stages of socialization. Collectively, the four articles and this Overview illustrate my journey in acquiring knowledge about specific professional repertoires, and their development, and in developing an adequate theoretical framework for understanding them.

In this Overview, I have presented just such a theoretical framework by drawing on language and professional socialization research, theories of individuals' memberships in communities, participation in interaction, identity work and enregisterment. The framework consist of the following complementary perspectives on repertoire construction necessary for understanding individuals' communicative practices in today's globalized world (cf. Makoni & Pennycook 2007): biographical and interactional perspectives on repertoire, and repertoire construction as a short timescale phenomenon in speech events and as a long timescale phenomenon allowing the identification of change. The socialization dimension was relevant for capturing repertoire construction as a longitudinal process, including individuals' trajectories from student to professional and their socialization into using English and, through English, into ways of speaking in working life (cf. Ochs 2002: 106). Theories of participation and membership from the community of practice theory (Lave & Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998) complemented the socialization perspective. Identity work is important in the framework, as it relates closely to who people are, and how they relate to the world and participate in interactions as professionals and language users. Enregisterment as an integral, interpretative tool for understanding repertoire construction enabled the values attached to resources and their interconnectedness to macro-level phenomena reaching beyond the studied speech events to be revealed. Choosing to focus on repertoire-in-use in speaking was motivated by the participants' own descriptions of their repertoires and the great value they placed on speaking. In addition to this use of a repertoire, it became clear during the research process that repertoires were used in many more ways in working life than was visible in the analyzed data. Alongside ways of speaking face-to-face, professional goals were achieved with written, computer-mediated and visual modalities. As a result of the methodological choices made in this study, the repertoires that emerged are an outcome of a study of individuals' interpretations and interactions, i.e. of viewing repertoires from the dual perspective of long and short timescales.

This study addressed the following research questions:

1) What kinds of professional communicative repertoires are constructed within situated events and across timescales and contexts, how, and with what kinds of resources?

2) What kind of identity work is involved in the construction of professional communicative repertoires?
3) What kinds of trajectories emerge in the construction of professional communicative repertoires?
4) What enregisterment processes are involved in the construction of professional communicative repertoires?

Each of the articles and their findings contribute to these aims individually and collectively.

Analysis of discourses, which was essential in addressing the above aims, enabled identification of the participants' linguistic learner repertoires as informed with schooling and proficiency discourses and Finnish and native-like ways of speaking. Such a learner repertoire of education appeared as a problematic repertoire of inadequacy, preventing the individuals from participating in some spheres of social life and constructing desirable identities. The stay abroad, in turn, constituted a positive stage in professional and repertoire development with discourses of everyday life and ELF ways of speaking as important resources. Such a change in discursive and enregisterment work contributed to the emergence of an ELF user repertoire with which to communicate and survive in lingua franca situations abroad, and later in working life. During work practice abroad the problematic aspects of other people's repertoires hindered desirable repertoire construction but gave rise to powerful evaluator identities.

In working life, repertoire construction appeared as more multi-dimensional, partly because of the availability and use of more data and methods of analysis. Analysis of both discourses and workplace interactions were central in achieving the above-mentioned aims, also revealing the existence of more identity options and enregisterment processes. In their discursive work, the individuals constructed multiple identities attached to specific communicative tasks in the workplace. In particular, access to speaking influenced individuals' repertoire construction: with little or the 'wrong' type of access they experienced repertoire regression, whereas with more and the 'right' type of access their repertoires could progress. However, even the 'wrong' type of access and repertoire-in-use at work allowed the kinds of multiple role alignments necessary for doing business, as revealed through a close and micro-discourse analytic investigation of workplace speech events. The participants' orientation to business practices illuminated the enregisterment of professional ways of speaking, showing alignment with managerial and engineering expert roles as well as with learner roles. Alongside linguistic resources, and if they did not suffice, semiotic resources acquired an integral role in their professional ways of speaking (cf. Gullberg et al. 2008; Streeck 1993: 281, 297). An assemblage of enregisterment processes and practices emerged through which a number of resources from various ways of speaking were identified as being, entering or informing the professional repertoires. While Finnish ways of speaking were attached to schooling, and to everyday and working life, ELF and BELF ways of speaking were attached to the latter two. The socialization stage and the regimes of normativity (cf. Moyer 2012: 40) operating in each context interacted with individuals' abilities and possibilities for repertoire construction, speaking for the labeling of one kind of repertoire as 'good' and another as 'bad'. As a result, their professional communicative repertoires appeared as truncated, as configurations of communicative resources, biographically organized, connected to particular timescales and contexts, developing in participation and intertwining with enregisterment processes and business operations. Different resources, processes and practices proved necessary to professional repertoire construction and individuals' socialization into global working life.

Investigating trajectories was the fourth aim of this study. Throughout the four stages, a linear trajectory from a learner to a professional repertoire emerged. Flexuous trajectories of repertoire construction emerged as a result of individuals' experiences of both repertoire progression and regression through socialization. Moreover, particularly the repertoire-in-use perspective revealed a trajectory of repertoire construction involving an interesting interplay between the learner and professional repertoires: as users of English and as professionals, individuals get the job done, sometimes learning the language, at other times the profession, or doing both at the same time.

6.2 Evaluation

In this section I evaluate the research by looking at issues of quality and the choices that have been made. This involves a critical assessment of the validity, reliability and credibility of the study. The research is evaluated by applying the criteria discussed in Silverman (2006: 276): appropriateness of methods; connection to existing research and theory; criteria used for case selection; data collection and analysis; systematicity in data collection; record and analysis; references made to accepted procedures and analysis; adequateness in discussion of themes; concepts and categories as derived from data; evidence to support or argue against one's own arguments, and a distinction made between data and interpretation.

In evaluating this study, its ethnographic nature, in which both the process and the product are important, has to be acknowledged first (cf. Agar 1980). Thus, this research is ethnographic in being the outcome of a journey towards acquiring knowledge, as depicted in the four articles, and in the processes of developing the theoretical framework and using different concepts on the way. Explaining one's involvement and journey in gaining knowledge are central characteristics of an ethnographic study (Blommaert & Dong 2010) and thus important for assessing its quality. Awareness of my own position as a researcher in all phases of this ethnographic study has been vital for its development and implementation. My own biography has shaped this research, influenced the questions I have asked and the ways in which I have sought answers to them (cf. Agar 1980; Cameron, Frazer, Harvey, Rampton &

Richardson 1992: 5; Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 16). A description of my own experiences and understanding of the field during the research process has illustrated the journey.

During the research process both the data archive and my knowledge of the participants' professional lives with English have expanded. At the start of the project in 2003, I did not know the participants very well, but during the stay abroad period we became closer and provided mutual peer support in acculturating to Germany. Established contact facilitated the following phases, as all the participants were willing to cooperate in the working lives and help my entry into their fields. During the fieldwork, data analysis and making interpretations I have been aware of the observer's paradox, as the researcher always affects the situations she encounters. Although the participants allowed me to study them and provided me with research material, obstacles arose in the data collection because of the long distances between myself and some participants, their pace of work and busy working lives, and technical difficulties. It became, therefore, necessary, and challenging, to modify the research aims. Together with the participants, the process could be adjusted to find alternative methods of data collection than traditional fieldwork. Self-recordings were a successful solution to the problem of collecting valuable research data.

Deciding to finish the fieldwork also proved challenging since my interest in the participants' lives grew and their repertoires continued to grow in complexity. After I had gathered a data archive across a six-year time span and constructed a view of the participants' working lives with English, it was time to focus on the material available and narrow the focus down to two key individuals, which was one of the tricky exercises in the project (see Agar 1980: 119). At this point I considered that I had learned a great deal and had overcome the biggest challenge of conducting a longitudinal study in the first place, a type of research which in general is difficult to conduct, particularly in working life contexts (see Roberts 2010: 213). Although the active data collection process has now been at a halt for a while, I still consider myself as studying the participants by being part of their lives. For this reason, the boundary between the role of a researcher and a friend has been blurred at times, but it has not disturbed the research; on the contrary, it has been easier for me to ask questions and discuss matters of interest with the participants at all phases of the project. In the overall process, the participants have acted as important co-researchers by explaining issues, clarifying details and checking transcripts and article drafts. This method has been vital to ensure that I have understood things correctly and to guarantee reliability and credibility (cf. Duff 2006: 81). Checking inferences and interpretations from informants, or respondent validation, serves as one kind of triangulation (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995: 230; Duff 2006: 81). After ten years of following the individuals, I consider myself as both a learned and a learning insider (in much the same way as the participants are professionals), having developed from being a researcher of English language users' discursive identity construction (Virkkula 2006;

Virkkula & Nikula 2010) to a researcher of individuals' professional repertoires (this study). This journey represents my ongoing learning process.

The description of the research and data collection processes leading to the present study has been a way of making the choices of this study visible and a means to meet the quality criteria of a qualitative study. First, the development of the theoretical framework is illustrated in the four articles, each of them addressing a specific dimension of repertoire construction. Second, arriving at the concept of enregisterment and developing the framework has required the adoption of various concepts along the way. Third, the research questions have evolved during the process from the study of discursive identity construction (Article 1) to an investigation of roles, semiotic resources and professional practices (Articles 3 and 4). Throughout this process, identity work has remained an important dimension of repertoire construction.

Becoming acquainted with and using various methods of analysis has required a great deal of learning. When applying different methods, there is always a risk of not knowing everything about a single method. Multimethodology has been necessary to gain a holistic picture of repertoires, even at the risk of only scratching the surface. Methodological triangulation is a strategy to add "rigor, breadth, complexity, richness and depth" to an inquiry (Denzin & Lincoln 2003: 8). In the present analysis I have focused on what occurs in the situation. I have kept the interview and interaction analyses separate and acknowledged the differences between the types of data and the kinds of interpretations and conclusions that can be arrived at on the basis of them. As is not unusual in an ethnographic endeavor, however, some interpretations have had to be made on the basis of my knowledge of the participants and contexts, and not just on what is directly visible in the data examples. As Hammersley & Atkinson (1995: 232) rightfully argue, data must never be taken at face value, meaning that one kind of data should not be regarded as true and another false. Rather, different types of data complement each other.

A biographical approach has been useful because how repertoires actually emerge and become manifest is a matter of biography: biographies, like repertoires, are constituted by what is available. This is also true of the data archive, which turned out to be noticeably different from my initial expectations. First, for various reasons related to their lives and the global economic situation, which affected the individuals' work in many ways, I was not able to follow all five participants in their work in a similar way. Second, I was not able to collect similar types and the same amounts of data from each participant. Instead, I ended up following two participants more intensively. In addition, instead of investigating all five participants in the individual articles, I focused on just two, with the exception of the first article. However, what first appeared as a drawback in compiling the data archive eventually turned into an opportunity, because with a focus on key individuals it was possible to dig deeper into the issues and from diverse perspectives (cf. Duff 2006: 86). Furthermore, a biographical approach enabled individuals to be given a voice.

The analyzed data have been handled objectively and critically and were transcribed following the conventions of discourse analysis. The transcripts represent my point of view, and as such are interpretations, since another researcher with a different point of view would not have written them in exactly the same manner. Nevertheless, the transcripts were written to meet the aims of the individual articles and to support their arguments. The data examples analyzed in each of the articles were chosen to illustrate the phenomena under scrutiny in the articles and in this study. With the application of enregisterment theory in interpreting the findings, the analysis has become multi-layered: in the findings section of this study the results of the articles themselves have been presented as such as well as interpreted through the theory of enregisterment. Although the analyses in the articles and in this Overview are different and separate, the discussion of the original findings and the enregisterment processes visible in them have inevitably run in parallel. By means of this two-layer analysis-interpretation process, the aim has been to provide a persuasive, plausible, reasonable and convincing interpretation of the data (Riessman 1993: 65). Moreover, to meet the criteria of persuasiveness, the theoretical claims have been supported with evidence from four case studies and additional data excerpts, including alternative interpretations (cf. ibid.). The aim has been to render visible the fact that the themes, conceptualizations and categories have been derived from the data and from the interpretation process. For example, the characterization of a repertoire of communicative resources (see Figure 2 in Section 3.3.1) has been motivated by what emerged in the data – in another study and framework the separation of the different components would be different. Supporting and diverging evidence for and against the arguments have been given, but as has been pointed out, the present study is in many ways a novel undertaking that combines various approaches, methodologies and concepts. For this reason, it has at times been difficult to compare the findings to those of earlier research. However, the novel approach underpins the originality of this study and has brought new insights to bear both on the earlier research and on the ongoing discussion concerning language in the context of globalization.

In order to test the credibility of the research (e.g. Denzin & Lincoln 2005; Hornberger 2006), the articles and their drafts have been discussed with various people from different disciplinary backgrounds. Whether the findings are valid depends on "the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomena to which it refers" (Hammersley 1990: 57 as cited in Silverman 2005: 210, 380). Although this has been the objective, there are limitations in this study as it represents a peek into selected stages in the construction of professional repertoires. Despite the limitations to what can be achieved, such a situated enquiry is typical of ethnography (Blommaert & Dong 2010). Professional repertoires surely involve more than it has been possible to reveal within the scope of this study: other languages, modalities, resources and ways of speaking. Nevertheless, this study has demonstrated some shared and enduring aspects of individuals' professional repertoires, including resources that were important for the participants in performing some of their most typical work-related tasks at that time. Nevertheless, a fuller and more thorough discussion and analysis of professional repertoires would have documented the individuals' working lives more fully. The following section discusses these and other implications and directions for future research.

6.3 Implications and directions for future research

This study has implications for various fields of theory, research and practice and for discussions on the nature of language, identity, competence and professional communication. The study has shown the usefulness of conceptualizing a professional repertoire as biographically organized and as a constellation of communicative resources with varying values. Studying such a repertoire requires a dual perspective with an orientation to both individuals' talk about their repertoires and repertoires in use. Moreover, an investigation of professional repertoire construction requires adopting a multidimensional approach and attention to micro and macro contexts, and the resources, identities, enregisterment processes, and trajectories that are involved. This study thus contributes to our understanding of the construction and the characteristics of a professional repertoire as dynamic and changing. It has filled a gap in research, which to date has not yet focused on professional repertoire construction and its trajectories in lingua franca contexts and in the conditions of globalization.

With respect to different fields of inquiry, this study contributes to language socialization research which focuses both on the processes and the outcomes of socialization (Duff 2010: 441). Language and professional socialization in this study were shown to be interlinked (cf. Duff et al. 2000; Li 2000; Vickers 2007, 2008). Socialization into both the profession and language practices in English used as a business lingua franca can explain the multiple, blurred and co-occurring identities of individuals in working life contexts (cf. Roberts 2010). With a micro-discourse analytic approach to interaction and participation, the nature of this socialization can be revealed to involve, most of all, learning appropriate ways of speaking, and of doing the job and its interconnected business practices. Thus, the traditional novice-expert framework is inadequate to explain professional socialization (Roberts 2010: 215), which should be approached holistically and critically, involving such aspects as profession, speech communities, ways of speaking, values, norms, discourses, global working life, business conduct in different cultures and lingua franca contexts, in all their complexity.

The present study also contributes to the debate on enregisterment and on its intrinsic role in individuals' everyday practices. Individuals' socialization trajectories can be seen as interconnected with their engagement in enregisterment processes, ability to recognize and assign value to ways of speaking, and to different regimes of normativity. Echoing individuals' stages of socialization, enregisterment processes emerged jointly with identification and social categorization (cf. Wortham 2006; Goebel 2010). Although a limited number of ways of speaking were identified in this study, the findings have implications for our understanding of enregisterment as unfolding in one speech event at a time, as part of individuals' reflexive activities and intertwined with socialization. That is, the results contribute to viewing a communicative repertoire as employed and developing in participation, being dependent on values existing about language-mediated practices and on the kinds of ways of speaking enregistered in which business practices, professional orientation, social, cultural and interactional know-how play an important role. Enregisterment thus emerged as a useful concept to investigate processes and practices involved in the present engineers' repertoire construction, first as students and later as workers, as well as professional development.

The heterogeneous character of socialization, multisemiotic ways of communicating and repertoire construction witnessed in this study can be attributed to the nature of today's workplaces as new global economies where individual workers are subjected to the discourses of the new work order (Sarangi & Roberts 1999; see also Gunnarsson 2009: 250–251; Roberts 2010: 222): they need to be mobile, engage in global assignments, take responsibility for their own work and find communicative ways to best achieve their business goals. An apparent tension exists between 'local' and 'global' resources and associated identities, since under the influence of global discourses individuals need to manage heterogeneity and create local ways of speaking. There are also implications for learning. Because global working life is driven by innovation, everyone, including the most experienced workers, has to be an 'expert learner' and learn constantly (Farrell 2001: 59; see also Ehrenreich 2009: 146). In fact, Gee et al. (1996: 165) consider 'learning a job' and 'doing a job' as synonymous. In the fast-paced working life of today individuals need to rely on their own language proficiency, since there is no time, nor the need, for English language experts (Kankaanranta 2008[63]): in fact, when needed, those who know the most will become such. Hence, through socialization, individuals gain different types of expertise linked to language and profession. Moreover, as expertise emerged as relative in the workplace contexts studied here, it deserves to be studied in a holistic way in the future (cf. Blommaert 2007a; see also Iedema & Scheeres 2003). For example, it is important to ask what kind of expertise is needed in specific contexts and by whom. Is it necessary for every worker to know English in global business? Furthermore, in order to understand expertise it is essential to note that it will most likely appear as even more multifaceted had other types of discourse than the spoken been investigated, such as written, computer-mediated (e.g. skype chat, messenger, email communication) and visual discourse (drawings and pictures) and their characteristic ways of speaking.

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[63] No page numbering.

With its focus on English, professionals and workplace communication, this study has implications for our understanding of the role of English in working life, professional discourse, business English as a lingua franca (BELF) and their users. The findings revealed that English gradually develops into an intrinsic part of global professionals' work. Moreover, the results lend support to the widely acknowledged establishment of English as an international language and as a lingua franca in global working life (e.g. Gerritsen & Nickerson 2009; Seidlhofer, Breitender & Pitzl 2006). However, in this study the English language manifested itself as not only a *language of international communication* (Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta 2012: 267[64]) but also as a *language embedded in processes of globalization* (Pennycook 2007b: 100), processes which are complex. To illustrate, rather than holding out promise of social and economic development to anyone who has learned English, English emerged as a language tied to particular professional positions and possibilities of development; moreover, rather than being a language of equal opportunity, English clearly created barriers as much as it presented possibilities (cf. Pennycook 2007b: 102; see also Park & Wee 2011: 368; Heller 2002). The present study has shown how language is part of multiple globalization processes affecting the individual: while for one individual English represents a factor for professional development, it does not function in the same way for another, and, moreover, it is a language that represents both a possibility and a problem for individuals in ways that only a multidimensional, longitudinal approach can capture. Moreover, this study has illustrated that the way people perceive English emerges in complex ways out of both situated practices and out of the linguistic system, instead of only out of the former (cf. Park & Wee 2011 as cited by Blommaert 2012a: 5). There are thus implications for how people, educators, researchers, learners and laymen alike, conceptualize the English language.

Having narrowed the focus from the role of English in working life in general to the grassroots level and individuals' professional biographies, this study has shown what counts as English, particularly in business communication, for the individuals studied, and what the possibilities are for repertoire construction and identity-making in those contexts, i.e. what the reality is in linguistically, socially and culturally heterogeneous global working life. What counts as English and communication for the participants was explored by means of enregisterment, a relatively new concept in professional discourse research. The enregisterment processes and repertoires identified and constructed reflected the sociolinguistic conditions of individual lives: the demands of the global working life on the one hand and regimes of normativity and ideologies of language proficiency on the other. These demands and regimes can be captured in the interplay, or rather tension, between the two ways of speaking English as established in the introduction of this study and as enregistered by the studied participants: the local English used in real practices and English on the ideological level (Blommaert 2010: 100). Two poles seem to exist, as suggested by Higgins (2009: 5–6, see also 2011): the existence of dominant ideologies of modernity (creating inequality) and the practice of localizing English (enhancing equality) in late modernity. The enregisterment of these two ways of speaking English have implications for our discussion of what kind of English exactly is being used and referred to in global business communication (cf. Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta 2012; Blommaert 2012a). Although discourses and ideologies about English on the metalevel are 'invented' (i.e. English on the ideological level), they are real for the people affected by them (cf. Makoni & Pennycook 2007; Pennycook 2007b). In the first stages of their repertoire construction the studied individuals drew heavily on discourses of correctness and an ideology of proper English, but once they moved to global working life, they encountered noticeably different norms and ways of using language that had little resemblance with the discourses drawn on earlier. Consequently, they gradually socialized into new normativity regimes than those powerful in their schooling contexts and, by adopting these new norms, they succeeded in their daily tasks and in their career development in contexts where English was needed daily. Hence, over time, a native-like way of speaking English as a dominant ideology was replaced by local norms and ways of speaking, i.e. the English used in real practices.

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[64] According to Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta (2012: 267), "BELF performs its task as an *enabler of communication*" (italics in original).

The findings on English used in real practices contribute to the discussion of global communicative competence (Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta 2011), since, unsurprisingly, being competent in English at work appeared not to be a matter of mastering a fixed set of rules of English, but rather as a matter of having a special kind of communicative competence (cf. Hymes 1972), a view guiding current English language teaching (Leung 2005). Competence and appropriateness were shown to be extremely context- and individual-sensitive: the meaning of appropriateness in one speech community and for one individual may signal inappropriateness in another community and for another individual. According to Canale & Swain (1980) and Canale (1983), communicative competence comprises four areas of knowledge and skills: grammatical competence (words, rules, pronunciation), sociolinguistic competence (appropriateness), strategic competence (appropriate use of communication strategies, including verbal and non-verbal) and discourse competence (knowledge about how to achieve cohesion in form and coherence in meaning). As Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta (2011: 258–259) suggest, Canale & Swain's (1980) conceptualization and compartmentalization of skills may be inadequate to explain global professionals' communicative competence: a fuller explanation should consider the BELF nature of the actual language used that arises in the actual context of global business communication and professional needs, which is different from the "natural" (Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta 2011: 259, quotation marks in original) language spoken by its native speakers. Despite the fact that various ways of using English exist in the world, with the majority using it as a lingua franca rather than a mother tongue (see Graddol 2006), discourses about appropriate language use continue to stress the mastery of certain pre-determined rules in order for a learner to be qualified as a competent language user. If one is critical to analyze the spoken discourse studied here in terms of appropriateness as understood in traditional, ‘rule-based’ language pedagogy, the participants’ language use would be termed inappropriate, against the rules and even incomprehensible. In fact, when I showed the workplace interaction data to students in an English philology master class, they looked rather surprised at the kind of English the participants used, perhaps because they have socialized into language ideologies which privilege very academic and native speaker-like use of English (cf. Jenkins 2007: 188; Duff 2010: 434). Although the interactions had typical ELF characteristics and involved many “language errors” (Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta 2011: 259, quotation marks in original), they revealed how individuals aim at achieving understanding by using particular, context-specific bits of their communicative repertoires which consisted of various communicative resources in addition to, as Hymes (1972: 64) argues with reference to Goffman (1967: 218–226), “capacities of interaction”, such as courage. These issues were important for getting the job done, regardless of the number of mistakes made in speaking and thus of deviation from native-speaker norms (Kankaanranta & Louhiala-Salminen 2007, 2010; Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta 2012). Hence, the compartmentalized, ‘top-down’, perspective on competence as in Canale & Swain’s (1980) theoretical framework fails to account for the complex ways in which different competences interact in actual communication; for such an account a revised description of communicative competence is called for (Canale 1983: 6) in which the actual resources utilized by speakers and the reality of English used as a lingua franca are respected (see discussion on global communicative competence in Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta 2011). It is thus necessary to investigate actual language use by actual language users, that is, English used as a business lingua franca which provides a ‘bottom-up’ perspective on competence.

A repertoire-based view of language and communication and a discussion of communicative resources and truncated repertoires contribute to rethinking competence from a ‘bottom-up’ perspective. Different communicative resources cluster in local, BELF ways of speaking in working life, which, to a certain degree, could be seen as simplified and highly dynamic codes (cf. Kankaanranta & Planken 2010: 381). Rather than classifying BELF ways of speaking as belonging to a certain structurally defined variety, they could be characterized as local, interactional constructions (cf. Mondada 2004) that are “complex, multiple, and intricately connected to experience of participating in linguistically mediated activities” (Vickers 2008: 239), which determine how people master only certain ways of speaking as part of their truncated repertoires (Blommaert et al. 2005; Blommaert 2010: 103–106). This study has highlighted that local practices are important in understanding competence since “what counts as legitimate language is always contingent” (Higgins 2009: 149). Moreover, the issue of the socioeconomic class of BELF speakers – their age, education, background, area of employment - has important implications for describing BELF ways of speaking. For example, the enregisterment work by an older generation with a different educational background (e.g. less language learning) and working life experiences may be different from the present group of young professionals whose communicative resources highlight their educational and experiential background (cf. Ehrenreich 2009: 129; Kankaanranta & Lu 2013). Furthermore, the length and type of contacts between BELF users, their employer company's size, location, culture and stage of globalization also have implications for describing BELF. For example, the key participants' scope of repertoire use can be explained by their work in relatively 'small' companies as managers compared to the other three who worked in multinationals with a narrower range of work tasks. Hence, BELF ways of speaking evolve through the convergence of various factors and clearly need to be tackled more in the future.

The findings support the argument that defining the kind of English being taught, and language and communicative competence being talked about, in professional language education is important. First of all, there is no such thing as 'one' English language (Pennycook 2007a, 2007b). Therefore, rather than naming for instance 'English for technical fields', it would be more fruitful to talk about *ways of speaking English for technical fields* with reference to different workplace contexts, activities, professional positions and constellations of participants and types of repertoires (from different hierarchical levels and cultures, for example). Certain ways of speaking could be points of reference within which it is possible and desirable to maneuver (cf. Widdowson 1998: 10). Furthermore, it is essential to take into account the fluid nature of ways of speaking – they change continuously as professional cultures change (Widdowson 1998: 11; Louhiala-Salminen 1999: 169; Agha 2007). How to negotiate shared understanding at work with the 'full semiotic potential'[65] of one's repertoire should be a central focus of business English teaching today which should also consider the multimodal nature of contemporary communication (cf. Royce 2002; Zheng 2012 as cited in Bargiela-Chiappini & Zhang 2013: 194). Moreover, dealing with various types of problems and misunderstandings related to language and content should be rehearsed with an aim to mirror real-life practices as closely as possible. As pointed out here and by Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta (2011: 259), in those practices it is vital to ask questions, repeat utterances and take advantage of various channels to achieve shared understanding. Furthermore, the findings suggest that engineers' professional communicative competence goes hand in hand with cultural, social and business knowledge (cf. Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta 2011) and (the ability to display) technical content knowledge (Vickers 2007: 630), in which 'simplified English' can be useful (cf. Sales 2006: 32–35). As Kankaanranta & Louhiala-Salminen (2010: 208) note, teaching of business communication requires a reform to take into account business knowledge and awareness of the business context as much as possible. For the teacher, this requires learning from the learners (Ehrenreich 2009: 147). Moreover, learners should be trained to "see themselves as communicators, with real jobs to perform and needs to fulfill" and not over-emphasize "the language they use to carry them [job tasks] out" (Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005: 419). They should also be equipped to understand the social practices surrounding the highly context-specific use of language (Duff 2005: 358). Such knowledge is also relevant for stay abroad, sojourner and expatriate trainees who need to be able to accommodate to new contexts and deal with often unfamiliar ways of speaking.

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[65] This notion is adapted from Van Leeuwen (2005: 3-6) to whom it means 'potential for making meaning'.

The results of this study have implications for discussing the notion of 'awareness of appropriateness' as part of language users' metalinguistic awareness. Importantly, an adjusted view on appropriateness has been projected in applied linguistics (e.g. Crystal 2002: 293–297; Canagarajah 2007a: 235). Canagarajah (2007a: 238) notes that we need to increase our understanding of local ways of speaking and to promote an idea of metalinguistic awareness and sensitivity so as to identify differences in them across communities (see also Park & Wee 2011: 371; Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005: 419). Moreover, a focus on communicative repertoires rather than on correctness "entails a new approach to pedagogy" (Rymes 2010: 536; see also Blommaert & Backus 2011: 24). This does not necessarily mean a new curriculum, but "a change in culture and attitude – a change that recognizes teaching with a commitment to build knowledge *of* our students as much as to build knowledge *in* our students" (Rymes 2010: 539, italics in original). As Rymes (2010: 532) rightfully argues, constructing metalinguistic awareness of communicative repertoires is a longitudinal, life-long process. It requires socialization into new ways of speaking, which enhances the construction of one's own repertoire, recognition of its value and tolerance of linguistic inadequacies. To see oneself as using appropriate language and as a multicompetent user (cf. Cook 1994: 204; Hall et al. 2006) requires the kind of reflexive, discursive, interactional and semiotic work performed by the participants in this study rather than reference to an essentialist notion of language as a well-defined, bounded entity. In the classroom, teachers should develop their understandings of these different types of communicative repertoires and aide students in maneuvering within various communicative practices (Rymes 2010: 543). Metalinguistic awareness also relates to contextual sensitivity, accommodation and tolerance of *communicative incompetence* (Saville-Troike 2003: 22–23) according to which in some situations it is appropriate or advantageous to appear as 'not fully competent'. One is sometimes forced to be a 'bad speaker' purposefully and exploit a noticeable simplified, non-standard, language with its own local norms. This shows how even so-called 'privileged resources' can occupy a marginal role in a repertoire (cf. Blommaert & Backus 2011, 2012, 2013).

This study has also implications for the discussion of identity in general and identity as a Finnish speaker of English in particular. The findings reveal how identity construction is conditioned by individuals' access to particular identity-building resources (Blommaert 2005) and identity options (Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004). They also lend support to a shared and assumed identity

(Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004) as a Finnish speaker of English (cf. Leppänen et al. 2009: 148–150, 2011: 163; Leppänen & Pahta 2012) which at first did not allow for making mistakes. First, having a Finnish identity as a user of English was perceived as something of a constraint by the participants, but once 'located' outside national boundaries it became an essential resource for establishing boundaries between the self and the other. Entering into lingua franca contexts of using English contributed to raising self-awareness and pride as a Finnish speaker of English which were absent earlier. Moreover, confidence as a Finnish speaker interacted with feelings of legitimacy as ELF users. The Finnish identity not only persisted, but gained new meanings as a result of the participants' navigation between cultures, contexts, communities and ways of speaking to which they affiliated in different ways (cf. Higgins 2011: 8). Furthermore, maintaining a Finnish speaker identity has not been harmful to individuals' economic and linguistic success; on the contrary, it has had social benefits for them (cf. Jenkins 2006: 88).

With its interest in repertoires and metapragmatic activities and processes, this study also contributes to sociolinguistics and linguistic anthropological insights on *superdiversity* (Vertovec 2007; see the journal *Diversities* 2011, vol. 13, number 2). As Blommaert & Rampton (2011b: 8) note, metapragmatic processes have begun to attract interest in the field because "shared knowledge is problematized and creativity and incomprehension are both at issue, people reflect on their own and others' communication, assessing the manner and extent to which this matches established standards and scripts for 'normal' and expected expression". This relates to the tension emerging in the globalized new economy between standardization and authenticity, the former of which relates to modern ideas about normality whereas the latter is linked to late modernity and the legitimization of local forms of language varieties, individuals' agency and power and resistance to centralized norms (Heller 2010: 350, 359). Evidently, the existence of different ways of speaking both allow for multiple identity work and agency of choice and create challenges and restrictions.

As the data archive is large, it offers a number of possibilities to conduct future research. As has been pointed out, the role of different modalities and modes in communication could be incorporated in a repertoire study to stress all the resources in use and as part of and entering a repertoire (cf. Blommaert & Backus 2011, 2013). In particular, it would be interesting to explore how a professional communicative repertoire is used in computer-mediated communication and whether there are similarities or differences between such a repertoire and repertoires used in speaking. Furthermore, enregisterment processes and practices in the different contexts could be investigated and compared to the present findings. Future research could thus aim at a more holistic understanding of professional repertoires, investigating how they associate with locally emerging semiotic registers (cf. Goebel 2010) and address specific professional fields such as engineering (cf. Trevelyan 2009; Suchman 2000) and management. For instance, the key participants' managerial ways of speaking consisted of such linguistic resources as modal auxiliaries, repetition and emphasis, all of which were necessary for conveying an effective message to subordinates. With such resources they were clearly ‘doing being bosses’. A closer analysis of such dimensions would add an important angle to what constitutes a manager’s professional repertoire and BELF ways of speaking, and how they develop over time, in global business and the field of engineering.

Moreover, the participants’ multilingual repertoires could be looked at and the kinds of resources that are attached to different languages, and not just to English in a similar way as in Blommaert & Backus (2011, 2012, 2013; see also Blommaert 2012a). For instance, the key participants possessed linguistic resources from the Chinese language, such as greetings, which they used on the phone and in computer-mediated communication in sophisticated ways. Possession of such linguistic fragments would further shed light on individuals’ biographies not only as global professionals but also as mobile individuals who encounter and acquire various resources during their lives. Furthermore, the role of their L1, Finnish, could provide important insights on the mechanisms of repertoire development and enregisterment. In the first stage of socialization many of the participants indicated the influence of L1 in their use of English. Risto, for instance, claimed how he was forced to “translate sentences in his head” from Finnish to English before speaking English, which he saw as a problem. Expanding the study of a repertoire to include more modalities and languages could be intertwined with a further theoretical exploration of the concept of repertoire and its various dimensions (see Duranti 1997: 71–72; Busch 2012; Blommaert & Backus 2013).

6.4 Concluding remarks

This ethnographic study explored language and communicative practices of a group of people with a focus on professional repertoires and trajectories of socialization into global working life. The conclusions and generalizations that are drawn from this study draw on the principles of ethnography. The end result of an ethnographic study is “a theory of the group grown from the ethnographic data gathered during a study of x” (Agar 1995: 589). This means that ethnographic research produces theory which is valid for the case(s) studied, and, on the basis of this, the findings are generalizable to similar cases. As Blommaert (2008: 12) argues with reference to Hymes (1986[1972]), in the description of a case, a specific conceptual framework is deployed and designed “so as to allow comparison and generalization across cases” (see also Duff 2006; Yin 2003: 5 as cited by Duff 2008b: 50). In this study, a conceptual and methodological framework covering different dimensions of repertoire construction was developed. Such a framework is applicable to other cases and thus provides the possibility of analytic generalizability and transferability (Duff 2006: 75, 88–89). Based on this study, one could generalize that each individual engages in similar processes of repertoire construction by drawing on discourses, participating in interactions and engaging in identity work and enregisterment processes. Even with a higher number of participants the following conclusion would have been the same: a repertoire is biographical, as people's use of resources is representative of their trajectories during which those resources entered their repertoires. The ways of speaking that are learned and enregistered differ between individuals, and the same applies to identities.

Multi-site ethnography and a collection of case studies can provide insights on resources that are common, shared and persistent over time on the one hand and those that are unique and specific for each individual on the other. Even one and the same resource can mean different things for two individuals, and for an individual the same resource can change its value as a result of mobility. Therefore, understanding the complexity of professional repertoires and their construction means paying attention to the value of resources in the different stages and contexts of a biography. The distribution of the value of resources contributes to capturing the possibilities and limitations in the use of a repertoire, which in turn helps in comprehending people's lives in which they encounter problems, face and are given opportunities, and gain and are denied access to contexts, situations and domains. The people studied are "living testimon[y]ies to others of what is possible, expected and desirable" (Wenger 1998: 156). Here lie the benefits of a sociolinguistic perspective: in the possibility of understanding how individuals can act within the social forces which shape their experience, discovering how resources are used creatively and under certain norms, how and why people do things the way they do, how interactions connect with each other, and what consequences these have for individual's opportunities and obstacles in the social world (Heller 1999: 274). Individuals' repertoire construction is closely linked to social life, structures and contexts, in which ideologies and discourses about language proficiency and professional conduct operate.

This study has shown how individuals function with language, what they do to language and what language does to them in the context of globalization and the global new economy. In a way, globalization represents a success story for the individual, but is not without difficulties and problems. Language both enables and restricts participation in certain social functions. Language presents itself as a positive factor for professional development since it partly enables gaining access to demanding jobs – it is a central, work-related competence, a technical and valuable skill (Heller 2005, 2010). But such success is not self-evident for individuals who may lack opportunities and instead possess feelings of incompetence (cf. Johnstone 1995). In the course of their biographies and through mobile trajectories people experience gains and losses of competence. Despite such feelings, individuals can be empowered by their communicative repertoires, as through these they can pursue their main goals at work and get their jobs done. For these reasons it is important to explore a repertoire from within a dual perspective and determine the kind of a repertoire being talked about, since individuals may view a repertoire linguistically and as something that develops in terms of vocabulary, but in practice it may emerge as a multi-dimensional communicative repertoire to be exploited in multilingual and multicultural contexts. Both aspects are important, because they reveal that in the communicative environment different regimes of language exist which either "incapacitate[s] individuals" (Blommaert et al. 2005: 198) or capacitate them. Workplaces should thus be seen, on the one hand, as 'sites of struggle' where new meanings of authentic and legitimate competencies and identities rise and where demands and pressures of globalization and the commodification of languages clash (Heller 2002; Duff 2008a: 268). On the other hand, they are also empowering sites for the individual and for the construction of local forms and ways of speaking opened up by globalization (Heller 2003: 474).

This study has shed light on individuals' lives with English over a 6–year period and some of the key challenges, struggles, successes and learning moments they faced and changes that they experienced in educational, work practice and professional contexts both at home and abroad. This study has hopefully given new insights on how individuals are able to function in social life with their communicative repertoires. Repertoires are the baggage we take on board; they are ours, and thus require our continuous attention.

YHTEENVETO

Ammatilliset viestintärepertuaarit ja sosiaalistumispolut globaaliin työelämään

Tässä pitkäaikaistutkimuksessa tarkastellaan suomalaisten insinöörien ammatillisten viestintärepertuaarien rakentumista ja sosiaalistumispolkuja koulutuksesta ulkomaan työharjoitteluun ja globaaliin työelämään. Tutkimuksen keskeisen kontekstin muodostaa työelämä, jossa moni suomalainen toimii englannin kielellä, tai vähintäänkin joutuu sen kanssa tekemisiin tavalla tai toisella, ja jossa viestintätaito on yksi tärkeimmistä osaamisalueista (esim. Roberts 2010). Väitöskirjani on etnografinen tutkimus, jossa olen seurannut viittä 1977–1981 syntynyttä suomalaista konealan insinööriä vuosien 2003–2009 aikana, haastatellut heitä työelämän eri vaiheissa ja tallentanut sekä kasvokkais- että tietokonevälitteistä viestintää heidän työtilanteistaan Suomessa ja ulkomailla. Tutkin repertuaarin rakentumista kahdesta toisiaan täydentävästä näkökulmasta (kaksitahoinen näkökulma): sitä, millaisia repertuaareja rakentuu, kun niistä puhutaan haastatteluissa ja sitä, miten repertuaareja käytetään vuorovaikutustilanteissa, joissa englanti toimii lingua francana eli ei kenenkään puhujan äidinkielenä. Lisäksi olen kiinnostunut siitä, millaisia polkuja repertuaarien rakentumisessa muodostuu pitkillä aikaväleillä.

Tutkimukseni on luonteeltaan kuvaileva ja laadullinen ja sen teoreettinen viitekehys rakentuu sosiolingvistiikasta, diskurssintutkimuksesta ja etnografiasta. Kuten etnografiselle tutkimukselle on tyypillistä, teoreettinen viitekehys on kehittynyt ja muotoutunut tutkimusprosessin aikana (Hammersley & Atkinson 1995; Blommaert 2004; Blommaert & Dong 2010). Lähtökohtaisesti kiinnostuksen kohteeni on ollut yksilöiden englannin käyttö ensin yleisesti ja sitten työelämässä ja kielitaitoon liittyvät näkemykset. Tutkittavat suomalaiset insinöörit ovat opiskelleet englantia 3. vuosiluokalta lähtien aina lukio- tai ammatilliseen ja korkeakoulutukseen saakka. Vuonna 2003 he suorittivat neljän–kuuden kuukauden ulkomaan työharjoittelujakson Saksassa osana ammattikorkeakouluopintojaan. Tutkittavat haastateltiin työharjoittelun alussa ja jälkeen (tutkimusprosessin 1. ja 2. vaihe) keskittymällä heidän kokemuksiinsa englannin käytöstä Suomessa, koulutuksessa ja ulkomailla. Valmistuttuaan 2005–2007 tutkittavat siirtyivät työelämään konealan globaaleihin ja globalisoituviin yrityksiin pääasiassa projektityyppisiin insinööritehtäviin. Aineistonkeruu jatkui vuonna 2008 tutkittavien työelämän kielenkäyttötilanteiden tarkastelulla haastatteluin, havainnoiden ja tutkittavien itse tekemien ääninauhoitusten avulla (tutkimusprosessin 3. vaihe). Tämän jälkeen kaksi johtotason tehtävissä toimivaa tutkittavaa, Oskari ja Tero, valittiin tarkempaan tarkasteluun, sillä keskittyminen kahteen tutkittavaan antoi mahdollisuuden syventää näkökulmaa yksilöiden repertuaareihin. Lisäksi molempien työhön kuului runsaasti matkustelua ja englannin käyttöä, joten heiltä oli mahdollista saada paljon puheaineistoa. Heidän kasvokkaisviestintäänsä seurattiin vuonna 2008–2009 sekä

Suomessa että Kiinassa, missä molempien työnantajayritykset toimivat ja kehittivät liiketoimintaansa. Lisäksi heidät haastateltiin uudelleen (tutkimusprosessin 4. vaihe).

Tutkimusprosessin myötä olen alkanut nähdä kielen erilaisia resursseja sisältävänä repertuaarina, jolla on sekä vuorovaikutuksellinen (Gumperz 1964, 1971; Hymes 1974a) että biografinen ulottuvuus (Blommaert 2010; Blommaert & Backus 2011, 2012, 2013; Busch 2012). Repertuaaria käytetään yhtäältä vuorovaikutuksessa ja toisaalta se heijastaa yksilön sosiaalistumispolkuja, haasteita ja onnistumisia. Resursseja hyödynnämme viestinnässä ja vuorovaikutuksessa taitojemme ja tilannekohtaisten normien rajoissa. Nämä viestinnälliset resurssit näyttäytyvät yksilöiden repertuaareissa kielellisinä, diskursiivisina, vuorovaikutuksellisina, kulttuurisina, sosiolingvistisinä ja semioottisina ilmiöinä, jotka jokaisessa vuorovaikutustilanteessa rekisteröintiprosessien (*enregisterment*; Agha 2003, 2005, 2007) kautta rykelmöityvät puhetavoiksi (*ways of speaking*; Hymes 1974b, 1986 [1972], 1996, 2009). Rekisteröinnillä tarkoitetaan sellaista prosessia, jossa puhetapojen muodot ja arvot tunnistetaan erillisiksi muusta kielestä (Agha 2007). Lingvistisen antropologian piirissä kehitetty rekisteröinnin käsite viittaa metapragmaattiseen refleksiivisyyteen eli kielenkäytön arviointiin ja arvottamiseen, jota tapahtuu jokaisessa vuorovaikutuksessa sekä eksplisiittisellä (avoimella) että implisiittisellä (epäsuoralla) tasolla, riippuen siitä millaiset puhetavat juuri silloin ja siinä tilanteessa ovat keskeisiä, tarpeellisia ja neuvottelun kohteena (Verschueren 2012: 183; vrt. myös Blommaert et al. 2005: 212). Kun repertuaarien rakentumista tutkitaan sekä yksittäisissä vuorovaikutustilanteissa että biografisena ja pitkäaikaisesti, on tarpeen huomioida mikro- ja makrotason ulottuvuudet, jotka tässä työssä ankkuroituvat yksilöiden kielellis-ammatillisiin sosiaalistumispolkuihin, puheyhteisöjen jäsenyyksiin, identiteettityöhön diskursseissa ja vuorovaikutuksessa sekä puhetapojen rekisteröintiprosesseihin.

Erityisesti viestintärepertuaarien monimetodista ja yksilön polkujen tutkimusta on peräänkuulutettu sosiolingvistiikan piirissä (Heller 2011: 5–8, 10–11; Martin-Jones & Gardner 2012: 10; Blackledge & Creese 2012; Duff 2010; Roberts 2010). Tutkimukseni onkin ensimmäinen usean vuoden kattava pitkäaikaistutkimus, jossa seurataan englannin kielen oppijoiden sosiaalistumista globaaliin työelämään ja englannin käyttöön lingua francana. Työn teoreettinen viitekehys on innovatiivinen ja siinä yhdistyy kielellistä sosialisaatiotutkimusta (Ochs 2002) mukaileva käsitys repertuaarien rakentumisesta yhtäältä puheyhteisöissä ja vuorovaikutuksessa osallistumisen ja roolien ottamisen kautta (Goffman 1979, 1981; Goodwin 1986, 2000) sekä toisaalta pitkäaikaisena prosessina (Wortham 2005, 2006). Repertuaarien rakentumisen nähdään ulottuvan yksittäisten puhetilanteiden yli aina laajalle levinneiden englannin kielen käyttöön ja kielitaitoon liittyviin diskursseihin (Gee 1990, 2005) ja puhetapojen rekisteröintiprosesseihin (Agha 2007). Rekisteröintiprosessit puolestaan linkittyvät englannin erilaisiin rooleihin mm. kouluaineena, vieraana kielenä, viestintävälineenä ja lingua francana, erityisesti työelämässä (Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005, Seidlhofer 2011; Jenkins et al. 2011; Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta 2011). Tutkimuskysymykseni ovat: 1) Millaisia ammatillisia viestintärepertuaareja rakennetaan yksittäisissä tilanteissa ja pitkällä aikavälillä ja eri konteksteissa, miten ja millaisten resurssien avulla? 2) Millaista identiteettityötä liittyy ammatillisten viestintärepertuaarien rakentumiseen? 3) Millaisia polkuja muodostuu ammatillisten viestintärepertuaarien rakentumisessa? 4) Millaisia rekisteröintiprosesseja liittyy ammatillisten viestintärepertuaarien rakentumiseen?

Väitöskirja koostuu neljästä artikkelista ja kokoavasta yhteenveto-osasta. Yhteenvedon luvussa 1 esittelen tutkimuksen taustatekijät, työelämän globalisaation, josta on esimerkkinä yritysten globalisoituminen Kiinaan, ja viestinnän ja englannin kielen roolin siinä, käsitteellisen ja metodologisen viitekehyksen sekä tavoitteet. Luku 2 kuvaa tutkimuksen biografisen (Blommaert & Backus 2011, 2012, 2013; Busch 2006; Roberts 2002; Rustin 2000) ja etnografisen (Agar 1995; Blommaert & Dong 2010; Hymes 1990; Marcus 1995) lähestymistavan, esittelee tutkittavat ja erittelee tutkimusprosessin kulun ja aineistonkeruun vaihe vaiheelta. Luvun lopussa pohdin tutkimukseen liittyviä eettisiä kysymyksiä.

Luku 3 sisältää työn teoreettisen viitekehyksen esittelyn. Luvun alussa eritellään sosiolingvististä käsitystä kielestä sosiaalisena, indeksikaalisena ja refleksiivisenä, johon kiteytyy ajatus kielestä ympäröivän sosiaalisen todellisuuden ilmiöitä heijastelevana yksilön resurssina (alaluku 3.1). Tämän jälkeen luonnehdin sitä, millaisina englannin käyttäjinä tutkittavat näyttäytyvät tutkimusprosessin eri vaiheissa (alaluku 3.2). Alaluku 3.3 käsittelee repertuaarien, resurssien ja puhetapojen käsitteitä, ja alaluvussa 3.4 eritellään repertuaarin rakentumisen ulottuvuuksia seuraavien tutkimusalojen ja lähestymistapojen pohjalta: kielellinen ja ammatillinen sosialisaatiotutkimus (Schieffelin & Ochs 1986; Ochs 2002; Li 2000; Vickers 2007; Roberts 2010; Wortham 2005), Hymesin (1974a, 1974b, 1986[1972], 1992, 1996) ja Gumperzin (1964, 1972, 1986[1972]) näkökulmia yhdistävä käsitys puheyhteisöistä, Laven & Wengerin (1991; Wenger 1998) teorioita hyödyntävä näkemys toimintayhteisöistä, diskursiivinen identiteettitutkimus (Davies & Harré 1990; Zimmerman 1998; Pavlenko & Blackledge 1998; Norton 2010; Higgins 2011) ja identiteettityö vuorovaikutukseen osallistumisen näkökulmasta (Goffman 1981; Goodwin 2000). Aghan (2003, 2005, 2007) rekisteröinnin käsite esitellään alaluvussa 3.5, jossa myös vedetään yhteen synopsiksen muodossa sellaiset aiemmat käsitteen sovellukset, jotka ovat relevantteja tälle tutkimukselle (mm. Johnstone et al. 2006; Goebel 2007, 2009, 2010). Lopuksi esittelen käsitettä tämän tutkimuksen tulosten tulkintatyökaluna, sillä rekisteröintiprosessien kautta voidaan nähdä miten ja miksi tietyt puhetavat ja resurssit ovat osana, siirtyvät tai vaikuttavat yksilön repertuaariin. Repertuaarin voidaan nimittäin nähdä rakentuvan tietynlaiseksi erilaisten rekisteröintiprosessien myötä.

Luvussa 4 pohdin työni metodologisia ratkaisuja. Ensiksi esittelen tapaustutkimuksen (Yin 1994; Duff 2008b; Rampton 2006) mahdollisuudet ja rajoitteet, sitten perustelen haastattelu- ja puhuttujen vuorovaikutusaineistojen valinnat tutkimuksen keskiöön. Tämän jälkeen erittelen polun (*trajectory*; Wenger 1998), vaiheen (*stage*) ja ajanjakson (*timescale*; Lemke 2000a; Wortham 2005) käsitteitä. Alaluku 4.5 keskittyy analyysimetodeihin, joista ensiksi esittelen artikkeleissa 1 ja 2 käytetyn haastatteluaineistojen diskurssien analyysin (Gee 2005; Davies &

Harré 1990) ja tämän jälkeen artikkeleissa 3 ja 4 sovelletun vuorovaikutusaineiston mikro-diskurssianalyysin, joka yhdistää vuorovaikutuksen sosiolingvistiikan (Gumperz 1977, 1982b, 1992a, 1996) ja multimodaalisuustutkimuksen (Goodwin 2000; Kendon 1997; Gullberg 2010; Rossano et al. 2009) periaatteita. Alaluvussa 4.5.3 kuvaan sitä, miten rekisteröintiprosesseja voi havaita sekä eksplisiittisellä tasolla diskursseissa puhetapojen metapragmaattisten tyypittelyjen kautta että vuorovaikutuskäytänteissä implisiittisellä tasolla resurssien valintojen ja roolien ottamisen myötä.

Luku 5 sisältää yhteenvedot väitöskirjan neljästä artikkelista, aineistoesimerkkejä myös artikkeleiden ulkopuolelle jääneestä aineistosta, tulosten tulkintaa rekisteröintiprosessien valossa ja lopuksi repertuaarien rakentumisessa havaittavien polkujen erittelyä ja typistyneen (*truncated*; Blommaert et al. 2005) repertuaarin käsitettä tutkimustuloksina. Luku 6 on päätäntöluku, jossa palataan tutkimuksen tavoitteisiin, tiivistetään väitöskirjan keskeisimmät tulokset ja arvioidaan tutkimusta. Lisäksi esitellään tutkimuksen implikaatiot eri tutkimusaloille, kuten sosiolingvistiikalle, työelämän sosialisaatiotutkimukselle ja englanti työelämän lingua francana (*BELF, English as a business lingua franca*) -tutkimukselle. Luvussa pohditaan myös kieli- ja viestintätaidon käsitettä, työn sovellettavuutta ja jatkotutkimusmahdollisuuksia.

Kaikki väitöskirjan neljä artikkelia on julkaistu kansainvälisillä foorumeilla vuosina 2010–2012; kolme kansainvälisissä aikakausjulkaisuissa ja yksi kansainvälisessä kokoomateoksessa. Artikkelit itsessään kuvastavat tutkimusprosessin eri vaiheita. Jokainen artikkeli tarttuu päätutkimuskysymykseen (1) ja käsittelee yhtä tai useampaa repertuaarin rakentumisen ulottuvuutta. Artikkelissa 1 (Virkkula & Nikula 2010) tarkastellaan tutkittavien englannin kielen käyttöön liittyviä diskursiivisia identiteettejä. Vuonna 2003 haastattelin seitsemää insinööriopiskelijaa heidän Saksassa tapahtuneen työharjoittelunsa alussa ja sen jälkeen neljän–kuuden kuukauden kuluttua. Halusin haastatteluilla selvittää, tapahtuiko heidän käsityksissään englannin kielestä ja sen käytöstä muutoksia ulkomailla olon seurauksena varsinkin kun kenelläkään heistä ei ollut aikaisempaa pitkäaikaista ulkomaankokemusta. Artikkelissa analysoidaan opiskelijoiden asemoitumista (Davies & Harré 1990) englannin käyttöön liittyvissä diskursseissa, jotka nähdään erilaisina tapoina representoida ideoita ja tietoa (Gee 1990, 2005) ja näiden asemoitumisprosessien kautta tapahtuvaa identiteettityötä. Artikkelissa osoitamme, kuinka englannin käyttäjäidentiteetit sosiaalistumisprosessin alkuvaiheessa rakentuvat vahvasti koulutuksen diskursseissa, joissa orientoidutaan hyvin perinteiseen näkemykseen kielitaidosta ja natiivikielenpuhujien käyttämistä normeista. Vaikka tutkittavat korostavatkin selviytymistä ja viestintäkykyä hyvän kielitaidon mittareina, ulkomaillaolon alussa negatiivissävytteiset koulukokemukset korostuvat kaikkien tutkittavien haastatteluissa, joissa heijastuu arvioinnin vaikutus ja näkemykset oman kielitaidon puutteista erityisesti kieliopissa, sanastossa ja ääntämisessä. Ensimmäisen vaiheen haastatteluissa korostuu kielenoppijaidentiteetin rakentuminen ja natiivinkaltaisten puhetapojen tärkeä rooli oman repertuaarin rakentamisen välineinä. Ulkomaillaolon seurauksena tapahtuu huomattava muutos. Erityisesti englannin käyttökokemusten lisääntyminen muiden sitä ei-äidinkielenä puhuvien kanssa näkyy muuttuneissa asemoitusprosesseissa, jotka keskittyvät selviytymiseen ja kommunikointikykyyn jokapäiväisissä viestintätilanteissa ja joissa korostuu olemassa olevien viestinnällisten resurssien hyödyntäminen eikä niinkään kielelliset puutteet, kuten ulkomailla oleskelun alussa. Identiteetit lingua franca –englannin (*ELF, English as a lingua franca*) käyttäjinä rakentuivat sekä yksilöllisellä että kollektiivisella tasolla, kun tutkittavat alkoivat nähdä itsensä paitsi selviytyjinä myös taitavina suomalaisina englannin käyttäjinä, kun he vertasivat itseään muihin englantia ei-äidinkielenä puhuviin. Artikkelin myötä saadaan uutta tietoa identiteettien rakentumisesta ja tässä tapahtuvista muutoksista konteksteissa, joissa englantia käytetään lingua francana.

Vaikka monikielisyyttä on totuttu ajattelemaan etuna, siihen voi liittyä myös vaara- ja uhkanäkökulmia. Artikkelissa 2 (Räisänen 2012a) tarkastelen globalisaation sosiolingvistiikan (Heller 2001; Blommaert 2010; Blommaert et al. 2012a) viitekehyksessä niitä vaaratekijöitä, jotka aiheutuvat englannin kielestä ja sen käytöstä ja jotka vaikuttavat yksilön toimintamahdollisuuksiin koulutuksen, ulkomaan työharjoittelun ja globaalin työelämän konteksteissa. Keskityn Oskariin, joka pian valmistumisensa jälkeen siirtyi projektipäälliköksi konealan yritykseen sen laajentuessa Kiinan markkinoilla. Artikkelissa kuvaan miten englannin kielen vaarat liittyvät erilaisiin resursseihin, yksilöön itseensä, muihin ihmisiin ja kielenkäyttötilanteissa vallitseviin normeihin, jotka puolestaan linkittyvät laajempiin diskursseihin normaalista ja epänormaalista (Foucault 2003) kielenkäytöstä ja vaikuttavat yksilön toimintamahdollisuuksiin ja kykyyn saada oma äänensä kuuluviin. Teoreettisesti kytken englannin kielen vaarat vallan käsitteeseen ja valtasuhteisiin, joita on eritelty aikaisemmassa tutkimuksessa. Esimerkiksi joillakin resursseilla on tietyissä tilanteissa enemmän valtaa kuin toisilla (Hymes 1996; Blommaert 2005a) ja työmarkkinoilla voi pärjätä paremmin, jos tietty resurssi, vaikkapa tekninen englanti, kuuluu yksilön repertuaariin. Tällaisen resurssin puuttumisella voi puolestaan olla negatiivinen vaikutus itsetuntoon ja näin rajoittaa yksilön identiteettimahdollisuuksia, jolloin joko repertuaarin vajavaisuus tai kontekstin määräämä resurssien tarve voivat vaarantaa yksilön toimintaa. Kielellä on myös valtaa vuorovaikutustilanteissa, sillä tietyn resurssin valinnalla voidaan rajata keskustelukumppanin osallistumismahdollisuuksia (Bourdieu 1977: 648). Instituutioilla puolestaan on valtaa kielipolitiikan säätelijöinä, koska ne voivat määrätä esimerkiksi standardienglannin käytöstä (Agha 2003, 2007). Artikkelissa analysoin tällaisia englannin kieleen liittyviä ongelmia diskursseissa, joista ammentamalla Oskari tuottaa metapragmaattisia tyypittelyjä (Agha 2003, 2007) ihmisistä ja normaalista ja epänormaalista kielellisestä toiminnasta, jotka kumpuavat asenteista ja käsityksistä englannista vieraana kielenä, lingua francana ja työkielenä. Artikkelin 1 tuloksia tukien osoitan analyysissä natiivikielen normien ongelmallisuuden yksilön toiminnalle koulutuksen konteksteissa. Liian vähäiset tai vääränlaiset mahdollisuudet puhua englantia korostuvat Oskarin kertomuksissa, joissa hän myös rakentaa kielen arvioijaidentiteettiä, jonka on mahdollistanut kokemusten karttuminen muiden englantia lingua francana puhuvien kanssa. Sosialisaatioprosessien alussa oudot ja uudet puhetavat, kuten esimerkiksi kiinalaisten puhetapa, ovat epänormaaleja vaarantaen Oskarin toimintamahdollisuuksia ja selviytymistä, mutta ajan myötä muuttuvat normaalimmiksi ja tärkeiksi resursseiksi työtehtävien suorittamisen kannalta. Artikkeli osoittaa, kuinka erilaisiin puhetapoihin ja resursseihin liittyvät asenteet ja arvolataukset muuttuvat yksilön liikkuvuuden ansiosta. Näin artikkeli tuo uudenlaista tietoa siitä, kuinka englanti voi olla paitsi positiivinen resurssi, myös ongelma.

Artikkeli 3 (Virkkula-Räisänen 2010) on esimerkki tutkimusprosessin 3. vaiheesta, jossa tarkastelin tutkittavien repertuaarien käyttöä työelämässä sekä 4. vaiheesta, jolloin keskityin kahteen avaintutkittavaan, Oskariin ja Teroon. Artikkeli osoittaa vuorovaikutusanalyysin avulla, miten Tero tutkimus- ja kehityspäällikkönä ja kansainvälisten liiketoimintojen kehittäjänä suomalaisessa konepajassa hoitaa ihmistenvälisiä suhteita asettumalla erilaisiin sosiaalisiin rooleihin ja puhujapositioihin (*footing*; Goffman 1981) kokoustilanteessa, jossa on läsnä sekä suomalaisia että kiinalaisia. Tero toimii kokouksessa tiedon ja viestin välittäjänä. Analysoin artikkelissa erityisesti sitä, millaista kielellistä ja kehollista toimintaa (*embodied action*; Goodwin 2000), kuten eleitä ja katsetta (Scollon & Wong Scollon 2003; Kendon 1997; Gullberg 2010) liittyy Teron välittäjäroolissa toimimiseen. Kehollinen viestintä nähdään olennaisena osana etenkin heterogeenisten yhteisöjen toimintaa tilanteissa, joissa yksilöiden repertuaarien välillä on suurta vaihtelua (ks. esim. Gullberg 2009; Goodwin 2004). Esimerkiksi eleillä voidaan selittää ja havainnoida koneen toimintaa tavoin, johon kieli yksistään ei pysty (vrt. Olsher 2004). Artikkeli osoittaa, miten kielellisistä resursseista esimerkiksi positiivissävytteisemmän termin käyttö negatiivisen sijaan tai suomen kielen valinta englannin sijasta voidaan nähdä suhteiden ylläpidon kannalta suotuisina keinoina, sillä negatiivissävytteisen ja englannin valinta kyseisissä tilanteissa olisi voinut vaikuttaa haitallisesti suhteisiin. Teron toiminta tällaisessa välittäjäroolissa sisältää dynaamista roolien ja puhujaposition vaihtoja, kuten puhumista omalla, toimitusjohtajan tai yrityksen äänellä. Puhujapositiot vaihtelevat riippuen siitä, mitä tietoa välitetään ja miksi. Eleet ja ilmeet toimivat kielen ohella olennaisina resursseina tehokkaan viestin perille saamisessa ja yhteisymmärryksen luomisessa. Se, millaisia puhetapoja puolestaan rekisteröidään, riippuu sekä liiketoimintakäytänteistä että yksilön repertuaarista ja tekemistä valinnoista. Suomalaisten ja kiinalaisten kollegojen välille näkyy kehittyneen sellainen teknillinen ja ammatillinen puhetapa, jossa kielellisistä resursseista korostuvat erityisesti tekninen sanasto, oman sanoman vahvistaminen, toisto ja yhteisymmärryksen tarkistaminen ja semioottisista resursseista eleet ja työkalujen käyttö. Jäsenyys ja asema ammatillisessa puheyhteisössä vaikuttaa keskeisesti siihen, että Teron repertuaari näyttäytyy monisemioottisena johtajan ja opettajan roolissa. On myös huomattava, että vuorovaikutusaineistosta on mahdollista tarkastella moniulotteisempaa repertuaaria kuin ainoastaan haastatteluaineistosta, jota tarkasteltiin erityisesti tutkimusprosessin alkuvaiheessa.

Artikkeli 4 (Räisänen 2012b) on esimerkki siitä, miten mikrotason vuorovaikutusanalyysillä voidaan havaita sekä repertuaarin että yhteisen puhetavan rakentumista ja yksilöiden roolien ottamista oppijana ja opettajana, joihin vaikuttaa suomalaisen yrityksen globalisoitumisvaihe Kiinassa. Rekisteröintiteoriaa hyödynnetään artikkelissa sen tutkimiseen, miten uudet kielelliset resurssit tulevat osaksi yksilön repertuaaria vuoro vuorolta rakentuvassa tunnistamisprosessissa ja miten tähän kietoutuvat erilaiset viestinnälliset resurssit. Artikkelin keskiössä on Tero, joka eräällä Kiinan työmatkallaan itse nauhoitti useita tytäryhtiön työntekijöiden kanssa käymiään keskusteluja. Eräs keskustelu Teron ja tytäryhtiön johtajan, Susanin, kanssa valikoitui yksityiskohtaiseen tarkasteluun, koska siinä voidaan havaita paikallista sosiaalistumista (De Fina 2007: 63) enemmän tietävän kanssa (ks. myös Cole 1996; Lave & Wenger 1991).

Analysoidussa vuorovaikutustilanteessa Tero ja Susan rakentavat peräkkäisten vuorojen ja kontekstualisointivihjeiden (Gumperz 1977, 1996) avulla yhteistä ymmärrystä ilmaisusta *China central people bank* (Kiinan keskuspankki tai Kiinan kansanpankki) ja Kiinan valuuttapolitiikkaan ja rahansiirtokäytänteisiin liittyvästä liiketoiminnasta. Analyysissä keskityn denotationaaliseen rekisteröintiprosessiin (*denotational enregisterment*; Agha 2007), joka nähdään sellaisena sosiaalisena tunnistamisprosessina, jossa tietty referentti erotetaan osaksi tiettyä puhetapaa, arvotetaan ja liitetään määrättyihin puhujarooleihin. Analyysi osoittaa osallistujien kielellisen ja ammatillisen kompetenssin ja vuorovaikutusroolit, sillä Susan toimii kiinalaisen systeemin tuntevana opettajana ja Tero suomalaisen yrityksen edustajana oppilaana. Pitkähkö esimerkkikatkelma osoittaa, kuinka Susan opettajan roolissa hyödyntää kieltä ja fyysistä ympäristöä piirtäen paperille laatikoita ja selittämällä miten raha siirtyy Kiinassa kiinalaisen ja suomalaisen yrityksen välillä. Erityisesti näiden kohtien analyysissä hyödynnetään myös Teron kanssa käytyjä retrospektiivejä keskusteluja. Analyysi korostaa niitä kohtia, joissa yhteisymmärrys saavutetaan: aineistoesimerkin loppupuolella Tero täydentää Susanin aloittaman vuoron antamalla Susanin aiemmin esittelemän ilmaisun samassa muodossa (*China people bank*). Tämä nähdään osoituksena Teron termin omaksi ottamisesta ja yhteisen puhetavan rakentumisprosessista, joka kietoutuu kielellisten resurssien ja ammatillisten käytänteiden ympäriltä ja jonka ymmärtämiseksi sekä mikrotason vuorovaikutus, repertuaarit ja sosiaalistumispolut että makrotason kontekstit (yritysmaailma, Kiina, Suomi) on otettava huomioon.

Tämä tutkimus on ensimmäinen työelämäaiheinen tutkimus, jossa sovelletaan rekisteröinnin käsitettä kuvaamaan yksityiskohtaisesti rekisteröintiprosessin etenemistä kontekstissa, jossa englantia käytetään lingua francana. Englannin käyttöä globaalissa liike-elämässä on tutkittu paljon ja erityisesti BELF-tutkimus on tuonut tietoa siitä, kuinka työntekijät näkevät englannin luonnollisena valintana yhteiseksi yritysmaailman kieleksi (Louhiala-Salminen et al. 2005; Rogerson-Revell 2007; Gerritsen & Nickerson 2009; Ehrenreich 2010). Aiempi tutkimus on valottanut vuorovaikutuksen idiosynkraattisuutta ja dynaamisuutta (Kankaanranta & Planken 2010: 402) ja keskustelijoiden jaetun tiedon, jaettujen arvojen ja odotusten suurta merkitystä tehokkaan viestin perille menemisessä ja yhteisymmärryksen luomisessa (esim. Ehrenreich 2010: 411, 422). Tämän ja 3. artikkelin tulokset vievät eteenpäin BELF -aiheista tutkimusta. Ne tukevat aikaisempia havaintoja siitä, että työelämässä on tärkeintä saada työ tehdyksi kielivirheistä huolimatta ja lisäävät ymmärrystämme siitä, miten erilaisia viestinnällisiä resursseja hyödynnetään tavoitteiden saavuttamiseksi. Työelämän vuorovaikutuksessa nousee tärkeäksi kyky kysyä, esittää asiat yksiselitteisesti, toistaa ja varmistaa yhteisymmärryksen saavuttaminen esimerkiksi semioottisia resursseja (eleitä, valokuvia, työkaluja) hyödyntämällä (vrt. Louhiala-Salminen & Kankaanranta 2011: 259).

Kaiken kaikkiaan tämän väitöskirjan artikkelit ja yhteenveto-osa tuovat esiin sen, että repertuaarien rakentumisessa vaikuttavat erilaisten puhetapojen rekisteröintiprosessit. Siihen, millaisiin rekisteröintiprosesseihin yksilöt osallistuvat ja niin ikään millaisia repertuaareja rakennetaan, vaikuttavat useat seikat. Tässä tutkimuksessa keskeisiksi nousivat mikro- ja makrotason vallitsevat normit ja diskurssit taitoihin ja sopivaan kielenkäyttöön liittyen, yksilöiden sosiaalistumispolut, oppimisprosessit vuorovaikutuksessa ja mahdollisuudet erilaisten identiteettien rakentamiseen, sosiaalisen eriarvoisuuden ja vuorovaikutuksellisen epäsymmetrian olemassaolo sekä ammatilliset käytänteet. Pitkäaikaistutkimuksen avulla voidaan nähdä lineaarinen polku repertuaarien rakentumisessa, sillä ensiksi rakentui oppijarepertuaari, sitten ELF-käyttäjän ja myöhemmin työelämässä ammatillinen viestintärepertuaari, joissa näkyy sekä oppijan että ELF-käyttäjän repertuaarin piirteitä. Ajan ja yksilön liikkuvuuden myötä repertuaari siis kehittyy ja saa uusia resursseja, jolloin jotkin resurssit siirtyvät taka-alalle, menettävät tai muuttavat merkitystään (vrt. Blommaert & Backus 2011, 2012, 2013). Tästä on esimerkkinä suomalainen puhetapa, joka ensiksi oli ongelmallinen resurssi, mutta josta tuli arvokas globaalissa työelämässä. Repertuaari ei kuitenkaan kehity yksinomaan lineaarisesti, vaan sen rakentumisessa on pikemminkin ailahtelevia kaaria ja repertuaari voi myös kärsiä taantumista, kun sitä ei esimerkiksi voi käyttää monipuolisesti tai toivotulla tavalla. Typistynyt repertuaari (*truncated repertoire*) kuvaakin tätä asiantilaa parhaiten, ja se kuvastaa nykyistä sosiolingvististä käsitystä monikielisyydestä ja siitä, ettei kukaan hallitse kieltä täydellisesti vaan pikemminkin kielen palasia, tiettyjä puhetapoja (Blommaert et al. 2005; Pennycook 2007; Blommaert 2010).

Tutkimukseni jatkaa sosiolingvististä etnografista tutkimusta repertuaarista biografisena ja yksilöiden sosiaalistumispolkuja heijastavana kokonaisuutena ja korostaa pitkäaikaisnäkökulman ja kaksitahoisen perspektiivin tärkeyttä. Lisäksi tutkimukseni osallistuu sekä tieteelliseen että yhteiskunnalliseen keskusteluun siitä, että kieli- tai pikemminkin viestintätaito tarkoittaa globaalissa työelämässä sitä, että pystyy käyttämään sopivia resursseja tilanteen vaatimalla tavalla, rakentamaan yhteisymmärrystä, sopeutumaan keskustelutoverin repertuaariin esimerkiksi yksinkertaistamalla omaa kielellistä sanomaansa sitä eleillä täydentäen ja näin saavuttamaan tavoitteensa. Tutkimus tuo uuden näkökulman suomalaisten elämään englannin kanssa ja täydentää aiempaa tutkimusta aiheesta (esim. Leppänen & Nikula 2007; Leppänen et al. 2009, 2011). Tutkimuksen tärkein kontribuutio globalisaation sosiolingvistiikkaan on yhtäältä se teoreettinen viitekehys, jonka avulla repertuaarin rakentumista on hyödyllistä tutkia, ja toisaalta tulokset, jotka tällaisella tutkimuksella voidaan saavuttaa.

Yksilön repertuaari voidaan siis nähdä dynaamisena ja jatkuvasti muuttuvana, johon vaikuttavat sekä yksilön oma toiminta että vallitsevat normit ja tilannekohtaiset käytänteet. Repertuaarin muuttuva luonne tutkimustuloksena ei sinänsä yllätä, sillä jälkimodernia aikaamme kuvastavat juuri liikkuvuus ja jatkuva muutoksen tila, yksilöiden moninaiset identiteetit, roolit ja asemat erilaisissa todellisissa ja virtuaalisissa ympäristöissä. Tässä tutkimuksessa olen tarkastellut repertuaaria kahdesta toisiaan täydentävästä näkökulmasta; yksilön omien käsitysten ja asenteiden kautta sekä repertuaarin käyttöä viestintätilanteissa. Tällaisella kaksitahoisella näkökulmalla olen pyrkinyt saavuttamaan kokonaisvaltaisen näkemyksen repertuaarista ja analyysi onkin perustunut siihen ajatukseen, että sekä repertuaarin biografinen että vuorovaikutuksellinen ulottuvuus tarvitaan. Tutkimuksessani olen tuonut esille yksilöiden sosiaalistumispolut ja repertuaarit seuraamalla heitä usean vuoden ajan, haastattelemalla ja tarkastelemalla heitä erilaisissa viestintätilanteissa. Tutkimukseni valottaa repertuaarin yksityiskohtia ja niitä yksilöllisiä tarinoita, joita sen rakentamiseen liittyy globalisaation ajan ympäristöissä. Olen myös tuonut näkyväksi repertuaarien yhteydet laajempiin makrotason ilmiöihin, konteksteihin, diskursseihin ja puhetapoihin, sen miten repertuaari yhtäältä heijastaa sosiaalisen ympäristön tilaa, vallitsevia asenteita, arvoja, käsityksiä ja englannin kielen erilaisia rooleja, toisaalta kertoen yksilön kyvystä valita resursseja, muuttaa repertuaaria ja vaikuttaa siihen. Vaikka polut ovatkin yksilöllisiä, tässä tutkimuksessa on tarkasteltu niitä tyypillisiä konteksteja, joissa moni suomalainen tänä päivänä toimii: koulutus, ulkomaan työharjoittelu ja globaali työelämä. Näin tutkimuksen toivotaan puhuttelevan monia tahoja ja herättävän keskustelua muun muassa koulutus- ja yritysmaailman piirissä, missä englannin kielen merkitys ja englannilla toimiminen puhuttavat ja ovat jatkuvasti esillä.

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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Transcription conventions

[	the point of overlap onset
]	the point at which the overlap terminates
=	latching utterances, no break/gap between two adjacent utterances
-	cut-off word
@	animated voice
(.)	a micro pause
.	falling intonation
↑	rising intonation
:	lengthening of the sound
.hhh	inhaling
hhh.	exhaling
(xxx)	unclear speech/transcriber's interpretation/comments
>text<	faster speech
<text>	slower speech
£text£	smiling voice
TEXT	louder speech
text	stress
text	emphasis
◦text◦	silent speech
(1.0)	silence marked in tenths of seconds
((*drawing*))	transcriber's interpretation of embodied action

II

DISCOURSES OF PROFICIENCY AND NORMALITY – ENDANGERING ASPECTS OF ENGLISH IN AN INDIVIDUAL'S BIOGRAPHY OF LANGUAGE USE

by

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10

Discourses of Proficiency and Normality – Endangering Aspects of English in an Individual's Biography of Language Use

Tiina Räisänen

Introduction

Background

Individuals' life-worlds and their experiences with languages are important in sociolinguistic analyses of multilingualism. Studies of the possibilities and constraints caused by languages shed light on the sociolinguistic realities of people's lives today (Heller, 2001; Pietikäinen et al., 2008). Dealing with individual multilingualism (Blommaert et al., this volume), this chapter focuses on an individual's biography of language use in the context of globalized Finland. From within an ethnographic, discourse analytic and sociolinguistic framework[1] it looks at the problems and dangers that language causes to a person's life. As part of a larger study[2] of five Finnish engineers' trajectories from educational and stay abroad contexts to globalized working life, this chapter explores three interviews with an individual who has learned English as a foreign language at school, has his first daily experiences in using it during a four-month stay abroad period in Germany as a student, and to whom the language finally becomes a routine tool in doing business with the Chinese.

The interview data analysed in this chapter were gathered in three different stages: before and after the participant's stay in Germany in 2003 and in 2008 when he was employed full-time in an international company. The theme interviews were conducted in Finnish and they resembled casual conversations, focusing on the interviewee's uses of English in different contexts, his feelings about using English, his perceptions of himself as a language user and self-evaluations of his language proficiency. The analysis of the interviews aims at answering the following questions: What is problematic and dangerous about English for the individual and how? What social functions cannot be reached because of English? In order to answer these questions, particular attention will be paid to discourses emergent in the data which focus on the use of English and the proficiency in it, and their relation to language and linguistic behaviour as problematic.

In this study, problematic aspects of English manifest, in particular, in the individual's positions within discourses of using English. In his discursive orientations to language proficiency, conceptualizations of norms, of normality and abnormality (Foucault, 2003) come to the fore. More specifically, by investigating the individual's trajectories of socialization (Wortham, 2005) into globalized working life, the present chapter will discuss what kinds of possibilities for action, social participation and identification with English evolve during these trajectories, and the ways in which language at times prevents the individual from reaching these social functions. The chapter also shows how the individual's linguistic repertoire and the meanings and values of his linguistic resources change over time. These, often unexpected, changes imply trouble and pose him new challenges which he needs to address.

English as a problem

In the globalized Finnish society, Finns have relatively easy access to English. As the most popular foreign language in Finland, English is a valuable resource which Finns acquire from a relatively early age onwards and it can be studied in most educational domains (see e.g. Leppänen and Nikula, 2007; Leppänen et al. 2011; Salo, this volume). At the age of nine, most Finnish pupils begin to learn English and continue doing so throughout their education, at least until coming of age. English is part of the core curriculum and particularly in higher education there are plenty of opportunities to learn English for example through student exchange abroad.[3] In fact, an increasing number of students nowadays enrol in exchange programmes to learn more about foreign cultures and languages (CIMO, accessed 22 June 2009). For many future professionals, the investment in English is crucial, since it functions increasingly as the lingua franca in today's working life (Louhiala-Salminen et al., 2005). In globalized business it is seen as an indispensable asset, although other foreign languages are needed, too.

This image of English may indicate that Finns' relationship with it is an easy and straightforward one. However, when it is investigated from an individual's perspective, problems and dangers often emerge. This is true of our present individual, too: although he has studied English throughout his life and gained access to English, during his trajectory as a learner and user of English, he has also had phases and experiences of regression and failure. Firstly, he feels that he cannot develop his language skills abroad in the way he wants. Secondly, even though he is working in international business with English as the daily working language – which initially represented his dream come true professionally, he needs to use it in ways which he considers problematic. Below, these problematic aspects of his language situation will be investigated in detail. In this analysis, the notion of repertoire involving the collection of different linguistic resources with uneven values provides a useful starting point.

Dangerous resources

For an individual with a long learning trajectory with English, such as the young engineer under investigation in this chapter, the meaning of the language is bound to change over time and across contexts. At this point it is important to understand that when we refer to the English Language here, we are really talking about a collection of various resources – bits of language people use for different purposes. Linguistic resources are unevenly distributed in societies, domains and groups, and their value is determined by their power and currency in different markets. The same resources do not have equal value everywhere. People's individual linguistic repertoires consist of different resource constellations which determine what people can do with language in each situation (Hymes, 1996; Blommaert, 2005; Blommaert and Backus, 2012). For example, if success in the job market is defined by specific language skills, without such resources one is not able to compete in those markets. This is a practical problem for certain people, but the lack of particular resources may also mean that the person lacking a resource can have low self-esteem, and his/her abilities in negotiating desirable identities can be limited. In such cases, the problem is that the person has an inadequate linguistic repertoire: it either cannot be used in a desired way due to for example contextual constraints or the lack of resources needed in a particular space.

Another aspect of the dangerousness of English lies in its power to discriminate between people in social encounters. For example, if two people speak a language that is not known to the third party, the person left out is being discriminated against through the choice of language. In such a situation the resources are thus unevenly distributed, which can also mean that power in the social encounter is uneven (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 648; 1991). Access and ability to use particular resources are thus consequential in terms of the participants' agency and voice (Hymes, 1996).

Power can also be exercised by means of institutions and language policies which can for instance determine what kind of language is required. Institutions thus use power by imposing particular norms and thereby restricting people's access to other resources. They are important sites of socialization into linguistic resources – an example of this is how education socializes students to the use of Standard English (Agha, 2003, 2007). Often this means that individuals tend to see their language use through the lenses of the socializing institution – this will be demonstrated by the case analysed in this chapter, too.

Discourses as a tool in examining the problems of English

Power can also be manifested in people's positions within discourses. An individual can exercise power through discursively positioning him/herself and others as particular kinds of people with particular kinds of linguistic resources. For instance, when interviewees talk about themselves and others as language users and do so by drawing on discourses, they at the same time produce typifications of people and of what is normal or abnormal in their linguistic behaviour, i.e. metapragmatic typifications (e.g. Agha, 2003, 2007). In the case under investigation here, these typifications stem from conceptions of, and attitudes to, the use of English. When people reproduce them in discourses, they also draw on their own earlier experiences in contexts where they have used the language. These discursive strategies are powerful resources which people draw on to make sense of their lives with language. However, a danger encompassed by the potential and power of linguistic resources, represented in discourses, is that they can delimit the particular desired social functions available to individuals, in terms of both their actual behaviour and on the ideological level. Discourses of language and proficiency are hence tools of normalization and abnormalization.

An investigation of discursive practices such as typifications helps explain how language can be dangerous, how resource production and distribution are regulated by people and how these put constraints on people's access to social functions (Heller, 2001; Blommaert, 2010). As will be shown below, who gets access to which resources is a source of problems in social encounters involving English (see also Kytölä, this volume). Linguistic resources have the power to position people in various ways and thereby endanger an individual's opportunities for action, participation and identification in different contexts.

Oskari's journey with English

Analysing the case

The case explored here is Oskari (a pseudonym), a young Finnish engineer. His educational background is very typical: he began school at the age of seven and his English studies at the age of nine. After studying English for seven years at junior and secondary school, he continued to study it for three years in high school and at polytechnic during his studies in machine engineering. At the time of his work practice in Germany in 2003, he was in his early twenties and halfway through his engineering studies. This is when I became acquainted with him and a dozen other Finns who had moved to work in Germany for four to six months. While in Germany, I was able to get to know Oskari, spend time and have informal discussions with him at work and in his free time. Prior to his internship Oskari had not travelled abroad for more than two weeks and had not used English in Finland apart from at school, to which his experience of using English was almost entirely limited. In Germany he worked as an industrial production worker in a factory with mostly German and Portuguese employees and lived in a student dormitory which accommodated people with varied cultural backgrounds (e.g. German, Greek, Chinese and Indian). Except for communicating with other Finns and for work, where all the employees were advised to use German, Oskari used English. He knew very little German. Oskari graduated in 2005. At the time of the third interview, he was working as a project manager in an international engineering company with a global business network in Europe and Asia. In addition, he travelled regularly to China.

Oskari's biography is divided into three different stages which reveal two main types of trajectory. Firstly, there is a trajectory of mobility which became manifest through the data collection and which encompasses the different stages of Oskari's life. Secondly, another trajectory is the analytical observation which distinguished three stages in Oskari's life with English and his repertoire. During the three stages – education, stay abroad and working life – Oskari, in the same way as many other Finns, gradually gains access to English.

In my analysis, I will pay attention to Oskari's *talk about* language and about the problematic aspects of language use by himself and his interactants, particularly in metapragmatic comments and typifications about language use. There are, for instance, evaluations and descriptions of one's own and other people's language in small stories which function as positioning cues (Georgakopoulou, 2007, p. 126). Oskari's orientations to language as a problem with various linguistic choices (e.g. vocabulary, emotion verbs) are investigated micro-discourse analytically in the stories. For instance, instances where he talks about his negative experiences in using the language are seen as an emic (the interviewee's) perspective on the problems of language use. As not all problems are explicitly talked about, my analytic interpretation becomes important when, from an etic (the interviewer's) perspective, I try to identify and make sense of the implicit problems in the interviewee's talk.

By telling small stories and choosing the ways in which he represents his and other people's repertoires, Oskari draws on different discourses of language use and proficiency in the axis of normality–abnormality where he is discursively subjected to and positions himself and other people (Davies and Harré, 1990; Harré and van Langenhove, 1999). Oskari's positions can be characterized as positive or negative (Bucholtz, 1999, pp. 211–12). Over time, Oskari moves across different positions which are invested with different degrees of power. By means of a discursive struggle (Heller, 2001), Oskari either accepts or resists certain discourses and their associated positions. In other words, he struggles to produce particular discourses and to impose them, as well as to deal with discourses produced by others. The ways in which he thus engages with positioning is a dialogical and active process whereby social discourses are drawn on to create one's own position. Through identifying prominent discourses and their associated positioning in his talk, the analyst can also contextualize them to macro issues of language policies, ideologies and issues of globalization from the perspective of the distribution and value of linguistic resources (Heller, 2001). The impact of context is significant: it affects the ways in which an individual views his/her own linguistic repertoire, attaches values to different resources and discursively positions him/herself as a language user. Hence, by looking at contextual differences across timescales, one can begin to understand the value and the politics of access to resources. The following section presents the analysis stage by stage and the problems Oskari has with English.

Stage 1 – stories from home

In the first stage Oskari draws on discourses of using English in Finland and at school. Rather than focusing on the English he knows, Oskari orients to his problems. His talk echoes school values, which is understandable considering his history of ten years of formal school learning. It also reflects what Oskari sees as normal linguistic behaviour and, in contrast, what he views as abnormal. At this stage, Oskari struggles amidst different norms shown on the one hand in the way he evaluates his own language use and, on the other, in how he sees language proficiency in general. Good language proficiency for him means surviving in real life, but he does not relate his own proficiency to that norm at all. Instead, judged by his self-evaluations, he relies on another norm, that of linguistic correctness, which leads him to evaluate his own language as deviant, rudimentary and simple, thus obviously not good. It appears that some norms have more power than others and thus the value Oskari attaches to his own language is low. As Oskari ranks his language as a lower-scale language compared to a norm of linguistic correctness, he is not granted what he desires, such as feelings of competence and courage (see also Virkkula and Nikula, 2010).

Such discourses of proficiency clearly endanger Oskari as a language-using subject, and because of his lack of proficiency he has a *restricted voice*, which means that he is incapable of making himself understood in a desired way and of accomplishing desired functions through language (Hymes, 1996; Blommaert, 2005, p. 68). Further, there is a link between his subjective experience and the Finnish and school contexts. The way in which this link manifests can be explained with reference to the scale hierarchy within which Oskari is positioned. Scale is a sociolinguistic concept for understanding linguistic stratification in society. It is a social phenomenon and a form of power: because of their inadequate repertoires, some people are not entitled to higher scales in a social hierarchy (cf. Silverstein, 2006 as cited in Blommaert, 2007). Oskari is a case in point: due to his limited resources and inadequate repertoire, he is not able to jump to a higher, more desired social scale where linguistic correctness has power because he lacks the resources valued on that scale. In this view, a restricted voice is about not being able to move to a scale where desired functions would be possible. Hence his actual resources fail to fulfil the desired functions. The implicit norm Oskari orients to acts as a powerful tool in regulating Oskari's access to particular social functions. The first example illustrates how Oskari evaluates his own English proficiency. All the examples in this chapter are translations of interviews that were originally conducted in Finnish.

Example 1.[4] Oskari's evaluation of his own language proficiency

1 T well do you think you have good language proficiency in English
2 O well I wouldn't say it's good since speaking really isn't that (2.0)
3 so (.) especially a new and unfamiliar situation (2.0)
4 for example getting the phone extension
5 an odd situation (.) one [that I have] never encountered before
6 then it is totally about searching for words and like that (2.0)
7 so I wouldn't say it's good
[…]
10 T how about speaking English then (.) what kind of sentences you
11 produce and words so how well do you think it works
12 O (3.0) well (2.0) speaking does not work so well (.) I think (3.0)
13 especially if I have to like (3.0) like explain something (.)
14 I don't know (.) if the situation creates a kind of pressure or what (.)
15 you like know it or if you think about it later and you would **have**
16 **known** the **word** (.) but in the situation in which I explain it I use
17 those substitute words (2.0) which kind of do not exactly mean it
18 but something like that (2.0) like (2.0) I can't give you an example
19 now but I have just **noticed** it that it becomes this kind of like
20 **rudimentary** kind of talk
21 I mean **very** simple words
22 T yeah (.) why do you think that is (.) can you say
23 O well I think it's because **I haven't talked**
24 I haven't been in situations in which I would have needed to speak
25 you kind of don't give yourself **enough time** to think about the words
26 and you feel a kind of (2.0) pressure to talk there (.) and mm (.)
27 those those easiest words come out which we have dealt with from the start

Directed by the interviewer's question, Oskari orients to language proficiency through a story of his actual experiences in situations where he needs to speak English. This marks his authentic position as an incompetent speaker. From the beginning on (line 2) he orients to negative aspects of his language skills: *I wouldn't say it's good*. Self-mockery and an orientation to problems are manifested in his word choices such as *rudimentary* and *very simple*. Furthermore, speaking has high value and for him proficiency really is about being proficient in speaking: this comes out in his reference to having to *search for words*, which, in fact, is typical for language learners when they speak a foreign language. Oskari views himself as a bad speaker with attributes such as *speaking does not work so well* (line 12), *rudimentary kind of talk* (line 20), *very simple words* (line 21).

Furthermore, vocabulary is problematic for Oskari and it causes feelings of frustration and pressure. Although it points towards pragmatic proficiency, using substitute words (lines 16–18) does not constitute a skill for him. In his opinion, the reasons behind his lack of proficiency and a restricted voice are not having spoken English (line 24), which could be described as *speechlessness*, and the fact that he has not been in situations where speaking is required (line 26). Restricted voice also speaks of his position in the local context, which he thinks has not provided him with enough opportunities to speak. It is also possible that Oskari himself has not actively sought opportunities to speak English in Finland. Even though he has learned English at school for over ten years, he thus still sees himself as inexperienced in speaking, and stresses the fact that he uses English only seldom in Finland.

In the last lines (26–27), the expression *those easiest words come out that we have dealt with from the start* might refer to the first days of learning English at school which implies that Oskari sees language learning in classrooms (*we* refers to pupils) as something that begins with the easiest words. Using only the easiest words, which practically everyone knows, even at this stage constitutes a problem and something not normal for a language user who should in principle progress with language skills and thus gradually use more complex words. This implicit norm of gradual development from the easiest to advanced words is a yardstick on which Oskari relies when problematizing his own 'abnormal' proficiency. In other words, he is not at all highlighting what he knows, but emphasizing what he does not know. Example 2 illustrates explicitly what Oskari thinks about language learning at school and how problematic he considers what he has got from it.

Example 2. Language learning at school

1 O no you don't achieve good proficiency only at school
2 I think (.)
3 for example in my case (.) I would say that I can read English (.)
4 quite well but compared to speaking it is (.)
5 the gap is big (.)
6 and speaking is not nearly on the level as it should be
7 T why do you think that is
8 O I think it's because maybe (.) it's because of the lack of speaking
9 you don't encounter situations where you would have to speak
10 well at school there's some (.) well we did speak at school
11 but they were always the kind of situations that you basically didn't have to
12 you didn't sort of get enough guidance or
13 or otherwise it was like (.) I think there's little

14 that that (.) maybe it'd be good for everyone to take a language course somewhere
15 or something

Here Oskari explicitly argues how good language skills are not entirely learned at school. He makes a distinction between reading and speaking skills and how there are not enough opportunities to practise speaking at school. Again, he thus refers to the lack of opportunities: speaking should be rehearsed precisely at school, but this is not clearly the case in his opinion. By arguing that there is not enough guidance at school (line 12), Oskari seems to blame it for his poor speaking skills. Interestingly, out-of-school contexts are not mentioned as potential contexts for learning. Hence, the roots of Oskari's discursive position as speechless lie in the school context. In spelling this out, he is drawing on a norm, an ideal way of using language which is defined in terms of speaking. According to this norm, in order to be normal, one should have a particular kind of language proficiency and speak in a certain way.

However, Oskari seems to rely on other norms of speaking as well. In the interview his speech also echoes public discourses about the use of English. For instance, in the press, Finns' skill in speaking English is a frequently discussed topic. As an illustration of a widely typical theme in discussions of accents in mass media (Cavanaugh, 2005, p. 131), these public discussions are marked with evaluations of Finns' speech as diverging from that of natives (see Leppänen and Pahta, this volume). The very same view also surfaces in Oskari's talk. The reliance on institutional norms of this type might be typical of individuals, like Oskari in this stage of his trajectory, who do not have experience in using language outside institutional control.

The discourses characterizing the first stage have a strong individual dimension: Oskari evaluates himself with reference to norms but not to actual communicative situations in which the pragmatic proficiency of being able to use substitute words would count as successful communication. These discourses about normal linguistic behaviour seem to be dangerous for the individual's desired social functions and identity options. In the later stages of Oskari's biography, in contrast, very different discourses and norms become prominent.

Stage 2 – stories from abroad

The second stage in Oskari's biography illustrates his experience of using English in Germany. During his four months' visit there, Oskari was in daily contact with other international students and Germans. Both at work and during free time English was most often used as the language of communication. In this phase, Oskari's repertoire gains new elements, but also new problems emerge. When comparing this stage to the previous one, the assumption that there is a correct way of using a language persists, but also norms about what kind of English is needed in everyday encounters come to the fore. As a result, Oskari begins to dissociate himself from the norm of grammatical correctness. His position is thus changing and he has access to new discursive resources. Importantly, his individual linguistic repertoire has not necessarily changed at all because of the short amount of time spent abroad, but the social meaning of his repertoire and his resources has.

The following extract is from the first interview when Oskari had already stayed for two weeks in Germany. In this extract, he explains how he feels about speaking English and points out that there have already been some significant changes. The norms about using language correctly are losing their power, as norms about speaking in real life begin to take over.

Example 3. Crossing the border – speaking skills in a test

1 T how do you feel now about speaking English more as you haven't
2 used it that much in Finland
3 O well (2.0) it is really (2.0) there was a threshold at the beginning but
4 it does go down all the time and will come down
5 so so (3.0) it doesn't like anymore (2.0) make me feel **annoyed**
6 if it doesn't come out exactly right (.) the threshold has diminished (.)
7 but at the beginning (3.0) it was pretty high
8 T it was at the airport right [when we lost our luggage]
9 O yeah at the airport
10 T how did it make you feel when you weren't really able to [speak]
11 O well it was just that as it came so suddenly the situation (.)
12 must say that (.) I almost **totally** froze (.) I wasn't prepared for that (.)
13 but I managed

Oskari distinguishes the situation before and at present (line 3 *there was a threshold at the beginning*). The term 'threshold' shows his initial feeling when facing the need to speak English. From the first to the second stage a trajectory of feelings emerges: in lines 5–6 Oskari explains how it does not make him annoyed *anymore* if his speech does not come out exactly right (i.e. if he does not speak *correctly*), implying that this is how he felt before when he strived for correctness. Earlier, the demand for correctness triggered in him such negative feelings as anxiety to speak and annoyance about deficient language use; this is illustrated by his anecdote about the airport incident when his luggage was lost. This incident also signals communicative norms of real life where one has to, and eventually can, manage even with what Oskari described as *rudimentary kind of talk* (see Example 1).

As Oskari's experience of using language outside school begins to accumulate, so do his stories about using English with others. The interlocutor and the language used in a more global context begin to gain importance in the discourses Oskari draws on. At the same time, he gains access to new discursive resources also involving a certain power to evaluate other people's language. This, in turn, allows him to jump onto a higher social scale. In fact, access to this new order is being granted to him through the local norms that he has relied on earlier. Norms about what is appropriate still exist, but English begins to have new social functions which, again, contribute to the emergence of new problems. Oskari still continues to have a restricted voice, but at this stage it is mainly due to others' inappropriate language. Thus, normal and acceptable language and abnormal and unacceptable language are being reconceptualized. This shows clearly in Example 4 where the topic is Oskari's adjustment to Germany with the help of his English skills.

Example 4. My language is not worse than the locals' language

1 O well yes it [linguistic proficiency] has helped to some extent
2 [in my adjusting to Germany]
3 since at least it's not worse than the locals' [...]
4 I don't believe that if it were a lot better
5 that it would have helped here (.) in coping
6 because there isn't anyone that you could have
7 talked to anything else except this basic stuff

In line 3 *my language is not worse than the locals'* points towards Oskari's negative evaluation of his language proficiency with reference to others, in other words 'my skills are bad but so are those by the locals'. Oskari seems to downgrade other people's skills as he has not been able to talk *anything else except basic stuff*. The word *basic* denotes something that is viewed as easy. It resembles his earlier views where basic language was seen as abnormal since it was the kind of language he had been dealing with from the beginning. However, not only others' language proficiency, but also Oskari's own language continues to be a problem.

The following extract, Example 5, introduces yet another, and more specific, problem: his accent. This particular aspect of speaking creates problems for Oskari; because of his accent he cannot fully participate in certain situations and gain access to desired social functions. He has to face the situation that there seem to be different *markets of accents* (Blommaert, 2009) where the value of his own accent varies.

Example 5. Problem with my accent

1 O well maybe pronunciation [has made the adjustment more difficult]
2 sometimes the mind moves faster than the mouth
3 and it has caused problems every now and then
4 T has it occurred that the other person has not understood you
5 O yeah the other hasn't understood me or

6 I've had to say it a few times
7 but then again I'm not sure
8 whether the problem is me and my unclear pronunciation
9 or the fact that he doesn't know the word

As part of Oskari's language proficiency, pronunciation is a problem (characterized as *unclear* in line 8) which has caused trouble for him in communication with other people. However, he is not sure where the actual communication problems lie: whether it is his unclear pronunciation or other people's insufficient vocabulary. Oskari not only positions himself with these metapragmatic evaluations, but he also positions others in relation to himself, thus illustrating the fact how metapragmatic typifications are not only statements about language but also, implicitly or explicitly, statements about human beings in the world (e.g. Yngve, 1996 as cited in Makoni and Pennycook, 2007, p. 27; Williams, 1977, p. 21 as cited in Woolard, 1998, p. 3). Such typifications also echo discourses of otherness (see also Kytölä, this volume): this shows, for example, in how Oskari talks about himself in relation to other people. This example also shows how discourses about language use are associated with specific groups and types of situations (e.g. Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). Rather than his own incapacity to understand, it is others' accent which endangers Oskari's social participation. Following Agha (2003), it could be argued that this ideological work by Oskari converts his perceived sound variation into a contrast in language proficiency. He uses accent as a social currency to position himself and others (Cavanaugh, 2005, p. 132). This is particularly visible in the following Example 6 in which Oskari discusses communication with Indians, one of the cultural groups housed in the student dormitory.

Example 6. Their accent is so difficult

1 O well (.) communication has been really difficult at times
2 Indians have a good vocabulary
3 and they don't have to think much about paraphrases or anything
4 but then their accent is so so difficult
5 I've had to ask three times even a basic question like
6 how are you or something (.) @**what** does he say@ […]
7 well some of them have focused on that a little
8 and they focus on their pronunciation a bit more
9 but then I've noticed that when they speak English with each other
10 they don't have to pay attention to their pronunciation
11 practically at all since they speak it with the same style
12 seem to understand it
13 although for a bystander it doesn't sound like English at all

In this example, Oskari positions himself through other-positioning. He focuses on the Indians' extensive vocabulary (lines 2–3), and the way in which they do not have to search for alternative expressions when speaking. Nevertheless, he still sees their accent as a problem (it is defined as *difficult* in line 4). Oskari's position in the actual situation he refers to is notably authentic as he echoes his own words in the situation he is talking about: he cannot understand at all what they are saying. This type of authenticity has a particular structure: 'I was just doing X . . . when Y' (Wooffitt, 1991). Here Oskari uses this recognizable and culturally available resource to make his point. X here refers to a mundane activity, a simple greeting targeted at the Indian interlocutors (*how are you*). Y is an extraordinary event or experience: Oskari not being able to understand a simple greeting. This structure is a positioning clue portraying Oskari as an ordinary person taking part in an ordinary activity interrupted by something extraordinary. Following Wooffitt (1991), portraying a normal event in this way is yet another means of highlighting the contrast between normal and abnormal language use.

The last line in Example 6 is significant in terms of Oskari's view of language: *it* [*Indians' speech*] *doesn't sound like English at all*. His delicate and subtle descriptions of the situation in lines 5–6 and 13–14 could, in fact, be seen as instances of encountering foreignness. Oskari's behaviour here echoes typical reactions by Westerners listening to foreigners whose English sounds odd: they often attribute it to grammatical inadequacies or to phonological characteristics, that is, accent (Young, 1982, p. 73; Pihko, 1997). As Lippi-Green (1997, p. 72) notes, Oskari is here repeating a familiar practice: the accent he hears goes through his own language ideology filters. His talk about language hence reflects language ideologies and norms.

Stage 3 – stories about socialization into the Chinese workplace

After graduating, Oskari has worked in international business as a project engineer and a project manager. His company has a subsidiary in China which was launched after Oskari began working in the company. At the time of writing, Oskari had worked in this company for about a third of his career. Using English with the Chinese is a significant part of his work and, consequently, the third stage in his trajectory highlights the problematic aspects it has given rise to. In Example 7 Oskari tells a story about his first arrival in Shanghai and about an encounter with a Chinese colleague with whom he was about to do business. Once more, he uses the strategy 'I was just doing X when Y', similar to Example 6.

Example 7. Entering China – no language

1 O I remember when going to Shanghai for the first time
2 this Chen picked me up with the taxi driver
3 it took me at least the first half an hour
4 or half the trip that we drove

5 I didn't understand a word he said
6 before I grasped the sort of accent and tone
7 I was like no way
8 and I had been told that much that
9 @yes yes he speaks very good English@
10 and that he's just excellent
((laughter))
11 I was totally astonished and thought what is going on here that heheh
12 this guy doesn't speak **any** language

In this extract there is a clash between what Oskari had heard about the Chinese English skills (*very good*) and what he noticed upon arrival: *I was totally astonished what's going on here, this guy doesn't speak any language* (lines 11–12). Compared to the second stage, when accent was a minor problem in the casual, everyday use of English, it has now become much more serious as it is now used for professional reasons. A closer look at Oskari's evaluations of other people's language reveals, in fact, that he thinks that unfamiliar and incomprehensible accents are not English at all, especially when he encounters them for the first time. It should be noted, however, that such an evaluation focuses on a strange language, and not necessarily on the person speaking. At the same time, this view of his brings in the notion of scales again and the value of resources across them.

Throughout his biography, Oskari, paying attention to accent, ranks many people's languages as lower in scale. By implication, he is thus relying on a norm, a standard which he ranks as higher. However, it is not clear where Oskari situates his own linguistic repertoire and, in particular, his accent in this hierarchy. It is probable that it is somewhere between the highest- and the lowest-scale accents, when scales are seen as a fluid phenomenon which is always defined anew when people interact and use their resources. As Oskari moves across spaces, the value of his resources changes because of the differences between the scales of social structure. In a certain space, at a certain time, one resource is needed more than another to achieve particular social functions. Linguistic resources shift meanings and functions when they are mobile (see Blommaert, 2010) – for example, the value of Oskari's initially insufficient skills is higher when they enter global contexts (see also Virkkula and Nikula, 2010).

Working in a new environment requires socializing into new forms of language, and as Example 7 indicates, into new phonological forms of language. In a sense Oskari's comments about Chinese English can be seen as part of a process of *enregisterment* through which Chinese English, in some similar ways as Standard English in Britain (Agha, 2003), becomes a socially recognized, differentiable phonolexical register for Oskari, a target of metapragmatic typifications and a yardstick for comparison. With time, during the process of settling into the Chinese workplace, Oskari has had to learn to cope with this register, as Example 8 illustrates:

Example 8. On the process of socialization into an unfamiliar register
1 O and in general it took some time to (.)
2 our Chinese workers
3 that you learned to listen to them
4 and to sort of understood some of the words they said
5 because some words are not bent in their mouths at all
6 or they pronounce English in a very different way from Finns

Learning to understand Chinese English has taken time because of its lexical and phonological peculiarities: *words are not bent in their mouths at all* (this is a literal translation of his Finnish expression the meaning of which can be linked to the difficulty in understanding the other party's pronunciation). Although Oskari focuses on others' deficiencies, there still seem to be two different discursive positions for him: one that disqualifies Chinese pronunciation as not being according to norms at all, and another that contrasts the pronunciation of Chinese and Finns. Initially, Oskari's typifications of Chinese English as being 'no language' show his unfamiliarity with it. However, being socialized into the new environment and becoming acquainted with this new register, he begins to acknowledge and understand registers and their differences. But from the point of view of one's own language proficiency, using English with the Chinese continues to create problems:

Example 9. Regressing language skills
1 O but otherwise I don't know (1.0)
2 in China it feels like (.) in contrast it regresses
3 well language proficiency (.) occasionally
4 because it (.)
5 I don't know if I have mentioned it to you earlier
6 but sometimes you have to go with the kind of
7 very basic (.) basic words and kind of
8 that it's just putting words after one another and
9 and the guy either understands or not
10 that sometimes they have even said (.)
11 well that that you should use kind of simpler words
12 and this (.) manager of our China office
13 once told me among other things that
14 @noh you shouldn't use too fa-@fancy@ words@
15 sort of in quotation marks that they aren't
16 and yes I kind of noticed it too

17 but then you would like to diversify your own (.) language proficiency
18 kind of in some level

There is a clash between Oskari's desires and needs in his job: he needs a simple lexical register (*basic words* line 7, *simpler words* line 11, *not too fancy words* line 14), although he would like to use more versatile language (line 17). The use of simple language is beyond his control, since the purpose of communicating in the workplace is to get the job done. As the Chinese workers do not understand too complex language, it cannot be used. When comparing these accounts to those in the first stage during which Oskari's repertoire was restricted to a simple lexical register, because it was all he knew, after socializing into international working life, his repertoire has expanded and gained in value when used in the Chinese context. A simple lexical register still remains in his repertoire, but now it functions on a different scale of social structure where its value is different: he has to simplify his language because of others. A clear distinction exists in the social capital of that language across stages and contexts. Entering into China means entering into new social orders and discourses, which also results in the loss of the value of the resources one already possesses. In other words, in the new order, where Oskari needs to develop a context-appropriate register, his current repertoire is no longer valuable. His metapragmatic typifications show his struggles between different discourses and registers. Without being able to use the language he wants, or failing to use locally appropriate language, he loses authenticity and voice. The difference between *English*$_1$ (English on ideological level) and *English*$_2$ (English used in real practices) (Blommaert, 2010, p. 100) can here explain the clash in Oskari's wants and needs: '*English*$_1$ [is] an ideologically conceived homogeneous and idealized notion of "English-the-language-of-success", and *English*$_2$ [is] a situationally and locally organized pragmatics of using "English" in ways rather distant from English$_1$.'

Oskari's life is about socializing into new language forms, making his repertoire appropriate and fitting it for specific purposes and spaces where he moves. His story shows how one does not necessarily have agency for choosing particular, for himself favourable, language varieties in each situation (Hymes, 1996). Oskari's repertoire is closely tied with his life as an engineer (-to-be) and he seems to have a truncated repertoire, which characterizes his trajectory of language use: his repertoire is restricted to a simple register either because of his own proficiency or because of the register of others. Thus, even if his repertoire did not change much, the contextual constraints determine what kind of effect, meanings and functions particular linguistic resources have. Although linguistic structures may be identical, their functions can differ in accordance with the place of linguistic resources in people's repertoires (Hymes, 1996; Blommaert, 2005, p. 70; 2010). There is thus a trajectory in the value of the resources.

Oskari's story thus shows how through his mobility, resources change their value depending on his location and history. This is also why they represent a problem for Oskari: having too few resources in one space and not being able to use one's full linguistic potential in another. Oskari's trajectories meant that he moved from the *local space*, the educational environment and Finland where he positioned himself as an 'incompetent' user of English without valuable linguistic resources, to *global spaces* where his linguistic resources had value but where problems emerged because he could not use all of his resources in a desired way. Socialization into the global workplace meant that his repertoire gained in value on a global scale, compared to the local one. The values of the resources seemed to be locked into specific scale levels in particular spaces (see Blommaert, 2010) which resulted in a truncated repertoire or a truncated competence and a restricted voice. Repertoire thus indexed changes in time and space.

Discussion

Although Finns have an easy access to English and the language is seen as enabling different functions in social life, it has both potential for, and gives rise to, real problems: what the context defines as appropriate can clash with individual wants, needs, abilities and expectations (see also Pitkänen-Huhta and Hujo, this volume; Kytölä, this volume). In its exploration of problematic and endangering aspects that English can present for an individual, this chapter has shown that there are features of English which are not 'productive, empowering and nice to contemplate' (Blommaert et al., this volume).

With the help of an ethnographically and sociolinguistically informed discourse analysis, the present chapter identified the focal participant's positive and negative self- and other-positioning in discourses which reflected his movement across contexts. His sociolinguistic background, power structures, institutions, environment and situational factors were shown to influence the value of his resources and the discourses that he drew on (e.g. Agha, 2005, 2007). Institutional and contextual factors partly explained the changes in his repertoire. Along the lines of Bourdieu (1977, p. 657), it could be argued that the participant's repertoire depended on the available linguistic resources which, in turn, depended on the relationship between his positions 'in the structure of the distribution of specifically linguistic capital and, even more, the other forms of capital'.

In the analysis of this story of one individual, this chapter has also captured some high-modern values in his production of discourses of language use and proficiency. It showed how while a context is governed by certain specific norms, an individual may not, nevertheless, be able to act according to these norms. The discourses drawn on in making sense and explaining linguistic behaviour displayed the interplay of different institutional actors in what was perceived as normal and abnormal in globalized environments. The participant's attitudes about his own and other people's language proficiency both reflected norms as well as created them (see also Blommaert, 2009).

The discourses which Oskari exemplified showed how norms are developed, conceptualized and enforced in interaction, and how they can also be endangering to people. They can become tools for sanctioning oneself and others. In the process of socialization, the localization of norms can create problems for individual subjectivity and for the ability to have a voice (see Blommaert, 2010). The power to choose what kind of language is and should be used could, in fact, be described in Agha's (2007, p. 166) words, as 'thresholds of fluency depend[ing] on trajectories of extended socialization mediated by access to criterial institutions'. Lack of practice, because of situational factors as well as of socialization into unfamiliar language forms, can result in thresholds and problems. Although one can gain power to evaluate others, one can at the same time struggle with language. Hence language proficiency from the individual perspective can also move towards regression, instead of progressing, or remaining constant. In other words, although proficiency can function as an empowering tool in one context, its value is not the same in another. Blommaert et al. (2005, p. 197) crystallize this view as follows:

> Multilingualism is not what individuals have and don't have, but what the environment, as structured determinations and interactional emergence, enables and disables. Consequently, multilingualism often occurs as truncated competence, which depending on scalar judgments may be declared 'valued assets' or dismissed as 'having no language'.

In Oskari's case, 'valued assets' refer to language which has value for him, such as the more complicated language than what he has to use with the Chinese. Furthermore, Oskari's story shows that although he has a language to communicate with people, in a sense he does *not* have language – he does not have the kind of language he *desires*. Hence 'having no language' is seen from the perspective of the participant's discursive position.

As a concluding remark, it could be argued that a study like the present one, an ethnographic and sociolinguistic study of human life in its complex multilingual contexts, represents not only a way to gain knowledge about the sociolinguistic realities in which people live and the possibilities and constraints in their mobile trajectories, but also a method for giving voice to individual language users to create more complex subject positions than those traditionally created for them in most discourses. In Heller's (2001) words,

> the relationship of language practices to the production and distribution of symbolic and material resources has been shifting because of some

> fundamental political economic transformations which position people differently with respect to the impact on their lives, especially in terms of the changing value of the resources they possess, and their relative ease of access to these and other resources.

The resources that we have change their value in different spaces. Because of different social, historical and economic changes, some resources can become more valuable than others in often unexpected ways. Importantly, however, different resources and their values not only cause problems, but they also provide discursive tools for constructing a sense of oneself, one's identity in the globalized world.

Notes

1. See e.g. Hymes (1996), Blommaert (2005, 2010), Rampton (2006), Wortham (2005), Agha (2003, 2007) and Gee (2005).
2. Working title: 'Language, Identity and Trajectories of Socialization into Globalized Professional Life: a Multidisciplinary Approach to Finnish Engineers' Linguistic and Discursive Repertoires across Multiple Timescales'.
3. On the whole, the Finnish educational system has been praised for its efficiency and high quality (see e.g. PISA studies on 15-year-olds' school performance and comments thereon: www.oecd.org) (OECD, accessed 22 June 2009).
4. Finnish examples are excluded for reasons of space. In the transcript, **bold** is used to mark speaker emphasis, (2.0) length of pause, @ modified speech, dots in square brackets [...] omitted speech that is not relevant for analysis, and words in square brackets [linguistic proficiency] provide additional information for the reader about the topic.

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