

Alicia Copp Jinkerson

Socialization, Language Choice and Belonging

Language Norms in a First and Second Grade English Medium Class



JYVÄSKYLÄ STUDIES IN HUMANITIES 182

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ABSTRACT

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Finnish summary

Diss.

This ethnographic study explores processes of language socialization related to an institutional monolingual norm in an English medium primary class in Finland. In this thesis I investigate how the English language norm is instituted, maintained, monitored, resisted, and subverted by participants in this class. Language socialization research examines the ways individuals are socialized through language, but are also socialized to particular ways of using language. Through language socialization individuals may or may not acquire the linguistic competencies required to participate in the practices and ideologies of a group. Fieldwork spanned eighteen months and data include fieldnotes, audio/audio-video recordings, artefacts and interviews. To examine interaction, I have drawn on methods of discourse analysis and conversation analysis. This thesis is comprised of four articles and a summary. Article 1 investigates how two young newcomers, Ariel and Lucille, navigate an institutional policy of "English only" in a Finnish primary school classroom, and how this policy impacts opportunities for achieving voice. Article 2 examines how the English norm impacts and positions students differently, revealing ways in which students agentively position themselves reinterpreting, reformulating and contesting the norm. Article 3 explores how peers may take up a teacher-like discourse, subteaching, to enforce the institutional monolingual English norm. Article 4 features first grade student Aarto, examining interactions where he struggles linguistically and repair is initiated by other participants in the class, with implications for perceptions of competence and membership. This study shows how students resist and subvert institutional norms for language choice in interaction and how this functions as a resource in social organization of the peer group. Collectively, the articles of the thesis foreground peer-talk among students engaged in a variety of activities, highlighting diverse trajectories of individuals, and giving evidence to the multiple, conflicting, and variable nature of processes of language socialization.

Keywords: ethnography, classroom interaction, language socialization, English medium education.

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LIST OF ORIGINAL ARTICLES

- I Copp Jinkerson, A. (Forthcoming). Newcomers navigating language choice and seeking voice: Peer talk in a multilingual primary school classroom in Finland. *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*.
- II Copp Jinkerson, A. 2011. Interpreting and managing a monolingual norm in an English speaking class in Finland: When first and second graders contest the norm. *Apples - Journal of Applied Language Studies* 5 (1), 27-48.
- III Copp Jinkerson, A. (Forthcoming). Social organization through teacher-talk: Subteaching, socialization and the normative use of language in a multilingual primary class. *Linguistics and Education*.
- IV Copp Jinkerson, A. (Submitted). Positioning through repair in a multilingual primary classroom.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Orientation

This ethnographic study explores processes of language socialization related to language choice and use in daily classroom life. Specifically, I examine the way in which an institutional monolingual norm is produced and oriented to in an English medium first and second grade class in Finland. This class is located in a mainstream Finnish language public school. Thus, it functions as a microcosm of English language expectations, where language choice is institutionally monitored but often contested by students. In this thesis I investigate how the English language norm is instituted, maintained, monitored, resisted, and subverted by participants in this class.

I take language norms to be implicit and/or explicit rules for what and how language is used in the classroom. Norms may be considered “stratified patterns of social meanings” typically associated with certain ways of using language, and can be described as the orders of indexicality to which speakers orient to (Blommaert 2005: 172). All environments are polycentric, with multiple centres or layers, which are in turn associated with competing norms. When norms are resisted, it can also be the case that alternate norms are produced; “a reaction against something is also a marker of adherence to something else” (Blommaert 2005: 78). Linguistic norms are often referred to in linguistic studies of education, but rarely theoretically defined. Often in studies of interaction language norms are discussed in terms of children and youth contending with adult or institutional norms for language use (Cekaite & Evaldsson 2008; Evaldsson & Cekaite 2010; Heller 2006; Jørgensen 1998, 2003; Moller & Jørgensen 2011). The study of language norms can also be articulated as the study of orientations to linguistic ideologies (Evaldsson & Cekaite 2010; Kyratzis 2010). I understand language norms as constructed or invoked through talk, interpreted in a variety of ways and made meaningful in activities. In this setting the institutional norm for English is an integral aspect of learning how to participate and claim membership in daily classroom life. While there is an institutional monolingual norm that is oriented to and resisted, it is also open to

interpretation and reformulation as participants negotiate norms for language use through social activity.

My examination of language norms in the classroom is influenced by studies of language socialization which examine the ways individuals are socialized through language, but are also socialized to particular ways of using language (Ochs & Schieffelin 1984). Language socialization documents the process of acquiring the linguistic competencies required to participate in the practices and ideologies of a group to thereby be considered a member (Garrett & Baquedano-López 2002; Schieffelin & Ochs 1996). Language ideologies are “intrinsicly implicated in all language socialization processes” because such ideologies shape contexts which structure processes of socialization, and further, language ideologies are culturally socialized through language learning (Riley 2012: 493). Language ideologies may include ideologies of language use such as beliefs about multilingualism, mixing or alternating between languages (Zentella 1997). Sometimes ideologies are made explicit “to inculcate community norms in children and other community newcomers” (Riley 2012: 502, see also Friedman 2009; Guardado 2009).

Studies of language socialization utilize ethnography in combination with the microanalysis of interaction (Schieffelin & Ochs 1996). This study takes ethnography as a theoretically grounded approach to research, rather than simply a method of description (Blommaert 2009; Erickson 1984; Hymes 1977). The theorization of ethnography is grounded in the anthropological origins of the tradition and the recursive and reflexive questioning processes of fieldwork. To examine interaction, I have drawn on methods of discourse analysis (Gee 2005) and conversation analysis (Sacks 1992).

Studies of language socialization draw upon a range of data including audio-visual recordings, collected artefacts and ethnographic fieldnotes and interviews (Ochs & Schieffelin 2012). My fieldwork spanned eighteen months and during the school year this entailed weekly or bi-weekly participant observation in the classroom, audio and video-recording, interviewing and collecting artefacts. To convey the complexity of language norms in this fieldsite, it is necessary to reveal something about the make-up of the class. Students remain in this class for two years and thus when the second grade students ‘graduate’ to the next class, a new intake of first grade students enter what is to some degree an already established classroom culture. Students are assessed prior to being admitted to the program and are judged to be capable of working at grade level through English, however fluency in English varies greatly. In some cases English is a home language, or has been learned abroad, and in other cases English has been learned in preschool and is very much an institutional language. With such variation this is a rich site for examining how the use of English is socialized institutionally and among peers.

This process of selection for enrollment in the class and the complete immersion in English makes this class distinct from Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) classes offered within the same school. While CLIL classes have been researched in Finland, few studies have been undertaken of

English medium or immersion classrooms, and none ethnographically. In Finland, Swedish immersion has been studied quantitatively (Björklund & Mård-Miettinen 2011) and from a conversation analytic perspective and narrative approach (Slotte-Lüttge 2004, 2007). What little research has been done on English language classrooms has focused on CLIL settings and even in these cases such studies have rarely examined discourse (however see Nikula 2007, 2008, 2010; Kääntä 2010). Thus, due to the complete absence of studies on language use in English immersion/medium classrooms in Finland, and the limited number of studies on language use in English language CLIL, this study addresses a broad gap in the research. It has also become clear that there is a need for linguistic ethnography in the Finnish context, and particularly in Finnish classrooms. School ethnography appears to be rare, though a few recent studies of youth language practices have been undertaken in Finland, examining multi-ethnic youth in Helsinki high schools (Lehtonen 2011) and youth clubs (Lehtonen & Raevaara 2010). Non-linguistic ethnographic studies of Finnish classrooms have been undertaken to examine constructions of culture, ethnicity, and nationality (see Gordon, Holland & Lahelma 2000; Lappalainen 2006; Rajander 2010). For these reasons the following review of literature on language choice and use in school settings will primarily draw on international research and non-ethnographic research.

Maintaining an institutional linguistic norm has been shown to be easier when there is a unified floor, and thus in some cases there may be a preference for this kind of teaching in immersion settings (Heller 2006). However, primary level students do not often engage in extended teacher-fronted activity. Further, it is when peers have an opportunity to talk that language choice is most often negotiated or contested. As such, the classroom teacher featured in my research had the challenge of instituting and maintaining the English language norm for the class when students were often engaged in group work or seat work and talking amongst peers. Such occasions are the focus of my analysis. The majority of research on classroom interaction has focused on teacher-student interaction, and in those instances where peer interaction has been studied, it has been most often from a pedagogical orientation (Tholander 2002). My work foregrounds peer interactions in class as well as teacher-student interactions, which most often fall outside teacher-fronted instructional time or lessons, thereby allowing fruitful examination of language norms and providing data on classroom activities which are often overlooked in the research.

My analysis of interaction among peers is influenced by linguistic ethnographic and interactional work on peer cultures (Goodwin 1990; 2006; Goodwin & Kyratzis 2012). Peer culture and group interaction should not be considered distinct from classroom interaction; peer talk is interlinked with the classroom context and is a significant source of language learning (Cekaite 2006: 30). For instance, according to Tholander there is a “common misconception that the classroom setting as such [...] constrains the interaction of children more than do, for instance neighbourhood environments” (2002: 25). In a discussion of teasing in peer groups, Lytra observes that peer groups “exist in

relation to other groups and it is via this relationship that groups are constituted" (2007: 24). From this perspective the formation of peer groups in the classroom is relative to other peer groups and the institution. In fact, the way children resist "adult culture" is one way in which peer culture is established (Kyratzis 2004: 625). Within the school setting, peer relations are certainly made more complex, as students engage in a variety of activities with different expectations for participation, requiring varying degrees of interaction (Sieber 1979). Institutional norms can be re-defined in peer groups and teachers expect students to act within the "boundaries set by certain overarching norms the school holds for peer relations" (Sieber 1979: 214). Peer groups are where children acquire "linguistic means that children use only among other children and not in front of adults, such as swearing and code switching" (Jørgensen 2003: 355). In fact, peer groups are powerful sites of socialization for features of monolingual language use as well, such as "epithets, jokes, songs, riddles" (Blum-Kulka & Snow 2004: 295). Children socialize each other through the display of affective stances, alignments and positionings. For example, "children use features of different registers, voices, and genres during play as means to both explore and comment on social roles, categories and relationships from the adult world and to negotiate social order (Goodwin & Kyratzis 2012: 366). Young multilingual children have also been found to be active agents in processes of socialization, drawing on alternate codes according to roles depicted in imaginary play (Paugh 2005; see also Kyratzis, Tang & Koymen 2009). Peer interactions offer a space for re-creating and subverting norms as well as utilizing language choice in identity work and social organization beyond the bounds of institutional authority.

1.2 Finnish educational context

1.2.1 English language education in Finland

While Finland is officially bilingual (Finnish and Swedish) and gives recognition to a number of minority languages, (three Sámi languages, Romani and Finnish sign language), "the linguistic foundation of the country has largely been monolingualism" because of the way in which the majority of Finnish speakers need only to use Finnish in daily life, unlike many other bilingual or multilingual countries (Leppänen et al. 2011: 17). The vast majority, 92% of the population, speaks Finnish as a first language, while 5.5% of the population speaks Swedish as a first language (Tarnanen & Huhta 2008). The use of English in Finland gained popularity in the 1960s when Finland began to orient to Anglo-American politics, lifestyles and popular culture, and by doing so, turned away from the cultural dominance of previous rulers, Russia and Sweden (Leppänen & Nikula 2007). Presently, English is the most widely studied language in Finnish comprehensive education (Education Statistics 2010). Indeed, outside of education English plays a role in the lives of many

Finns, both in the workplace and in recreation. English may be used as a lingua franca or as a corporate language in some cases, and popular media and culture gives widespread exposure to English, most notably through television programs from English speaking countries, which are subtitled rather than dubbed. In fact, more recently, questions have been raised as to whether English may actually be considered a *foreign* language in Finland (Leppänen et al. 2010; Leppänen & Nikula 2007; Pöyhönen 2009).

Since joining the European Union in 1995, language policy has been increasingly influenced by the European framework recommending that all EU citizens speak three European languages (Pöyhönen 2009). In Finland it is mandatory for students to study both a national language (Swedish or Finnish) and a foreign language in school, beginning no later than the third grade (Kantelinen & Pollari 2008; Taavitsainen & Pahta 2003). In 2006, 91% of students were studying English by the third grade (Finnish National School Board, WERA Online Report). Positive attitudes towards language learning in Finland are longstanding and may be linked to the fact that Finnish is not widely spoken internationally, and thus there is both a need for foreign languages and a long history of school instruction of foreign languages (Latomaa & Nuolijärvi 2005; Pöyhönen 2009). In a mainstream classroom, students may expect to spend 45 minutes twice per week from the third to the fifth grade studying a foreign language (Finnish National School Board 2004). But it has been noted that the “demands for foreign language proficiency” are high despite the restricted number of curriculum hours, so one strategy has been to combine subject instruction with language instruction by offering Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) classes (Kantelinen & Pollari 2008: 15).

While the class featured in this study is an English medium classroom with significant differences from Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) which is also offered in the same school, the spread of CLIL does offer some contextualization of the popularity of alternatives to English as a Foreign Language (EFL) instruction in Finland. CLIL classes in Finland gained popularity in the early 1990's as in other parts of Europe and programs were locally developed all over the country at every level of education (Nikula 2010; Nikula & Marsh 1996). In 1998, the National Board of Education created language skill requirements for teachers instructing over four hours per week of CLIL, which when combined with municipal financial constraints may have contributed to a more recent decline in CLIL enrollment (Nikula 2007). In a survey conducted in 2005, 5.7% of Finnish schools at the elementary and high school level reported offering CLIL (Lehti et al. 2006) whereas a survey conducted in 1996 reported that 8% of schools offered CLIL at the elementary level and 24% of schools offered CLIL at the upper high school level (Nikula & Marsh 1996). Participation in CLIL is voluntary when it covers a significant portion of the curriculum, but when a teacher chooses to teach subjects partly through English, all students may need to participate (Nikula 2007). Students enrolled in CLIL are not expected to have any prior knowledge of the language of instruction, which differs from the immersion context featured in this study

(Seikkula-Leino 2007). Furthermore, while CLIL instruction is offered in German, Russian, and French, the majority of programs in Finland utilize English (Nikula 2007). There is such great variation in the implementation of CLIL in the Finnish context that it is difficult to make generalizations about the characteristics of such programs (Nikula 2007).

Another way to increase exposure to foreign language learning is to begin instruction at a younger age. In Finland most students (99.4% in 2009) attend pre-school at the age of six, where instruction is guided by the national core curriculum (Finnish National Board of Education). Compulsory education begins at age seven when children enter the first grade. There is an increasing demand for children to have the option of studying a foreign language beginning in the *first* grade (Finnish National Board of Education, Foreign Language Instruction in Finland). Some students do begin studying a foreign language in the lower grades; in 2006 this was the case for 8.5% of first grade students and 13.6% of second grade students (Finnish National School Board, WERA Online Report). In fact, the findings of the national project on Finnish Language Education Policies (KIEPO) recommend that foreign language education should begin *before the first grade* (Pöyhönen 2009: 160). In some communities this is a realistic possibility. In the community where the present study was conducted there is a private English immersion daycare/preschool but there is also a public daycare centre which offers an introduction to English for 3-5 year olds and a bilingual English-Finnish preschool for six year olds. In terms of English medium education at the elementary and high school level there are approximately a dozen public schools and half-a-dozen private schools in the Helsinki region offering bilingual or English medium education. Outside of the capital region, as in the case of the community where this study is situated, I can discover only a handful of such English medium/immersion programs. At this time there is no national survey or statistical data available on the number of students enrolled in English medium or immersion education in Finland. The background I have provided here however, does illustrate that English is widely studied in Finland and is a part of daily life for many Finns.

1.2.2 The choice of English medium education

A phenomenon I consider to be quite important in considering this context is that children do not choose to enroll in an English medium class, but rather their parents choose it. This choice has been made possible by the basic education reform which transferred responsibility for education to local authorities in the mid-1990's. With this reform it became possible for parents to enroll their children in a school other than the one assigned (Section 6 (2) of the Basic Education Act 628/ 1998) and schools were granted the right to give entrance tests for special programs (Section 28 (2) of the Basic Education Act 628/ 1998). School reform has come under criticism, the option of selecting schools is seen by some as contributing to "growing differences and divisions" in Finnish society (Arnesen & Lundahl 2006: 292). Also, while there is little academic literature on school choice in Finland as of yet (but see Bernelius 2003;

Rajander 2010) media coverage has linked the phenomenon of school choice in urban centres to the distribution of non-Finnish speaking immigrants (Lyytinen 2011). At the start of the millennium, research statistics indicated that 48% of parents in Helsinki were applied to send their child to the seventh grade in a school other than the one in their catchment area and further, that approximately a third of families in other large Finnish cities were also applying to do the same (Seppänen 2003). There is no official data on national scope of languages offered through immersion, however in the capital of Helsinki it is possible to enrol in (public or private) immersion or bilingual elementary school programs in Estonian, French, German and Russian.

1.3 Language choice and use in school

The literature on language choice in school settings is not extensive but has grown recently with greater recognition of the diverse linguistic resources students draw upon in daily life. Despite often having a monolingual language of instruction, classrooms are rarely monolingual sites of learning.

While a number of studies examine code-switching and code-mixing in the classroom, this is not often linked overtly to language norms and policies. Heller's (2006) sociolinguistic ethnography of the language practices of students enrolled in a francophone high school in Toronto in the early 1990's is an exception. Heller examines the creation of a monolingual environment which is intended to produce bilingual students. Heller touches on the issue of linguistic monitoring, noticing that the school authority weakens during certain activities at school, such as when students are outside or on breaks. Further, activities in school are organized to favour surveillance. And yet, regardless of institutional norms for language use, peer norms differ. Linguistic norms are examined among different groups of students who are invested to varying degrees in the school's ideologies of language: comfortable affluent bilinguals, francophone newcomers and working-class speakers of vernacular Canadian French. Heller insightfully draws attention to the ways in which norms for language use in this context impact who has voice and who does not, and who is defined as successful, and in doing so makes connections to the social, historical and political context.

The work of both Heller (2006) and Rampton (2006a) emphasize schools as important sites of linguistic struggle. While Heller has examined the ways in which the linguistic discourses of school positioned students, Rampton has examined how students draw upon stylization and other languages to position themselves in nuanced ways within school. Rampton is well known for his linguistic ethnography of language practices among youth in an urban high school (1995). From this study, the notion of "language crossing," or using languages that are not one's own, was found to be significant to identity work, performance, language play and peer socialization (1995). Rampton's research also introduces the notion of metalinguistic episodes, or "occasions in which

linguistic difference is salient" (2006b: 277). Dispreferring the term error, Rampton instead draws on Ochs's notion of stance to foreground the interactional impact of problems in speech, or more specifically, "how the connotations of a linguistic form modify an act or utterance, communicating a particular perspective on what is being said or done" (2006b: 303). Rampton's work foregrounds stylization and performance through which youth would convey stances and alignments. One may presuppose that such sophisticated interactional moves require both metalinguistic awareness and understanding of normative language use within the institution.

The language norms I explore in this thesis concern language choice and use which include perceptions about the correct use of English in school, including correct pronunciation, grammar and word choice. Code-mixing or code-switching is implicated in both language norms for use and for choice. The literature in the area of code-mixing is extensive, but those studies that foreground the implications of such for social organization and identity work provide context for my study. Further, much of the work on code-mixing and social organization indirectly acknowledges socialization to expected norms and practices of the peer group or classroom community.

In many of the conversation analytic (CA) oriented code-switching studies, language norms are "talked into being" rather than overtly referenced by participants. Such studies of classroom interaction have shown how norms for language choice are oriented to or invoked by students through code-mixing and behaviors surrounding code mixing.

For instance, students are shown to assist in constructing and maintaining the monolingual norm in class by avoiding and marking the use of Finnish in a Swedish immersion setting in Finland (Slotte-Lüttge 2007, 2004). Language choice, knowledge and participation come to the fore even when students orient to the norm: students may demonstrate knowledge of the right answer but in the 'wrong' language by stating for instance, "I know what it is in Finnish" (Slotte-Lüttge 2004: 677). In other studies, students have been shown to achieve communicative aims through polylingualism, while continuing to orient to the preference for the school language (Cekaite & Evaldsson 2008). Students in a Swedish school draw on a normative frame to position themselves or others as either 'good students' or 'bilingual trouble makers' in a multi-ethnic class (Cekaite & Evaldsson 2008: 192). The study illustrates how students borrow from the languages of other students, sometimes using a shared repertoire to trade insults unbeknownst to the teacher, even misrepresenting the actions of peers by giving the teacher incorrect translations and positioning themselves as "good monolinguals" (ibid). Such research illustrates that monolingual institutional norms are drawn upon in social actions among multilingual peers. This is also evident in the work of Cromdal and Aronsson (2000) revealing the power of peer positioning in relation to language norms. Cromdal and Aronsson draw on Goffman's (1981) participation frameworks to examine changes of footing accomplished through code-switching. In one data example, two students are using Swedish when they are given a directive from the

teacher to go outside in English, the instructional language of the class. One student responds in English, and agrees with the teacher's directive. By using English, she positions herself as an overhearer and the other Swedish speaking student as a recipient. The findings of such research show how students may powerfully employ code-switching as a contextualization cue to ultimately realign participation.

Orientation to language norms has also been shown through corrective actions among multilingual preschool and primary school students (Cekaite & Bjørk-Willen, forthcoming). Certain standards for vocabulary, pronunciation, language choice and grammar are indexed and thus students socialize peers, holding each other accountable for knowing local language norms (Cekaite & Bjørk-Willen, forthcoming). Young multilingual students are also shown to orient to an institutional language when engaging in institutional-like play activities during free time at school (Bjørk-Willen & Cromdal 2009). Specifically the study shows an orientation to switching from a shared language to a school language when taking up teacher-student roles. For instance primary school pupils in one extract address the rules of the interaction in Swedish, but perform a game strictly in Spanish.

In sum, language norms have been shown to be invoked and maintained among young students through resistance to switching and through marking preference for monolingual language use in lessons (Slotte-Lüttge 2007, 2004), using language choice to position oneself and others as "good" or "bad" students (Cekaite & Evaldsson 2008; Cromdal & Aronsson 2000), correcting pronunciation, grammar, word and language choice (Cekaite & Bjørk-Willen, forthcoming) and finally by using an institutional language in play activities mirroring instructional activities (Bjørk-Willen & Cromdal 2009). While all of these orientations to a monolingual norm are local, research has also shown how monolingual norms can be invoked among learners in ways which index broader discourses in society. Møller and Jørgensen (2011), for example, reveal ways in which adolescent minority Turkish language users import prevalent Danish monolingual discourses when engaged in activities with their peers.

Language norms and choice may also be oriented to in dispute. Even in a classroom setting, dispute among students provides opportunities for the negotiation of positioning, including subordination and domination (Toohey 2001). Language choice and use within dispute is one tool of many available to peers in the work of social organization. Targeting language knowledge or competence is another way to hierarchically place one another in the peer group (Cekaite & Bjørk-Willen, forthcoming; Evaldsson 2005; Jørgensen 1998, 2003). Indeed, in the present study the analysis shows that mother-tongue expertise at times is drawn upon in dispute between Finnish peers and newcomers. This has also been shown to be the case among immigrant pre-adolescent males in a Swedish school yard (Evaldsson 2005). Evaldsson (2005) employed ethnographic methods, conversation analysis and membership categorization, to link insults to the construction of a gendered identity. Of particular relevance to my own findings are the analyses of interaction where

Swedish proficiency is targeted in terms of pronunciation and word choice and where code-mixing takes place. In the data examined, children repeat mispronunciations and hypothetically question the meaning of a given pronunciation to dominate others and distinguish themselves from the immigrant 'other'. Evaldsson and Cekaite (2010) also find that such minority students on the Swedish playground mimic, tease, and insult one another on the grounds of incorrect Swedish, overtly co-constructing and socializing monolingual ideologies on the playground. In a similar manner, Finnish peers mimic errors and repair the English language usage of another Finnish speaker, Aarto in my own research. Language is one characteristic drawn upon in producing insults and consequently is a tool in the social organization of exclusion and inclusion. Evaldsson notes that through such actions these male students "both produce and resist a language policy" that defines them as having linguistic deficiencies (2005: 784). These studies highlight the power of language in dispute among peers, issues of social reproduction, and the negotiation of identities, and significantly draw our attention to the binary of resistance and reproduction. This parallels the ways in which students resist language norms but in doing so, reveal knowledge of them and to some degree orient to them through this resistance.

Language choice can function as a tool in dispute by creating opposition, showing disaffiliation, or building social asymmetry. A recent study has highlighted how code-mixing in dispute may be used to escalate opposition (Cromdal 2004). The research setting is described as an English language primary school in Sweden which "promoted the use of English" but was in essence a "highly bilingual environment" (Cromdal 2004: 36). Taking a conversation analytic approach to examining interaction, the study shows how students use code-switching as an effective tool in opposition, exploiting preferences for language. Choosing a dispreferred language in dispute limits the oppositional moves of the interlocutor. Also, a code-switch can signal disaffiliation by adding a "layer of contrast" with previous talk, which may also be interpreted as disaffiliation with the previous speaker (Cromdal 2004: 44). This disaffiliation may also be seen as creating competition within the interaction (Bjørk-Willen & Cromdal 2009). Furthermore, when switching in dispute additionally entails minority-majority language switch, it can be loaded with social discourses which lend power to the speaker producing further asymmetries (Jørgensen 1998, 2003). These studies have shown how code-switching can be drawn upon in dispute among peers in a variety of ways. And while not solely concerned with dispute, the data presented in this thesis at times foregrounds how language choice instigates dispute and functions as a tool in conflict.

1.4 Aims

This article-based thesis explores how language norms are invoked and maintained and in doing so touches upon issues of language socialization, peer group social organization, and issues of belonging and membership in a multilingual classroom. I focus on ways in which the monolingual norm for English is handled by participants in the classroom. While the English language is what brings students together in this classroom, this work seeks to acknowledge diversity of linguistic repertoires and experiences that students draw upon. As such, the articles not only foreground topics related to normative language use, but also foreground the experiences of students within the classroom. While the monolingual norm is all encompassing, it means different things to different students.

Traditional studies of language socialization often ask how students learn to participate in the discourses and practices of the classroom; essentially examining how students are socialized to these local ways of acting and speaking. This study explores how students are socialized not only to the use of English in class, but to specific ways of using English in the activities of the class. And yet this work highlights conflicting forces of socialization by examining instances of conflict and dispute and foregrounding conflict between the language norms of the peer group and the institution. While language norms are constituted and reconstituted through interaction, the norm for English is pervasive in this setting. So much so, that the classroom doorway serves as a boundary where expectations for language use abruptly change.

As is typical in ethnographic studies, my research questions have taken shape over time and have been reshaped and refined by the reflexive nature of fieldwork (Blommaert 2005; Erickson 1984). The following aims outline the questions that have arisen from salient features of the fieldwork and have principally guided my analysis of language use in the classroom.

- How is an English monolingual norm invoked, maintained and resisted by classroom participants?
- How are participants socialized to use language(s) in this class?
- What is the role of the institutional monolingual English norm in the social organization of peer groups?

These research questions are taken up in each of the thesis articles. Article 1 considers how two newcomers (immigrants) negotiate voice in relation to the sometimes conflicting norms for language use in school. Article 2 examines how the English language norm of the class positions students differently, as students reinterpret and resist the English language norm. Article 3 addresses norms and processes of socialization through an examination of subteaching, whereby students take up teacher like discourses to enforce the English language norm. In Article 4, the aims of the thesis are addressed by featuring

one student who is often singled out through repair and therefore positioned as incompetent; thus his membership in this class is in question.

The theoretical section which follows outlines my approach to ethnography and the role of the paradigm of language socialization in this study. Next, the methodology section introduces the reader to the setting and context of this study. I will then discuss the contributions different kinds of data make to this study and explicate my methods of analysis. The results section will summarize the findings of each article and the contributions the article makes to the thesis as well as to the research literature. In the concluding discussion I will touch on the ways in which the articles have collectively answered the aims of the thesis and how the findings have contributed to the field before briefly discussing the implications of this study and possible future directions for research in this area.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Overview

The purpose of this section is to situate my work theoretically as an ethnographic study of language choice and use guided by theories of language socialization. I situate the ethnographic nature of my work, and my view of ethnography as a theoretical undertaking before turning to a discussion of classroom ethnography. I will then introduce language socialization and discuss what it means in my research.

As an ethnographic study of language socialization this study is situated in an anthropological linguistic tradition. From the perspective of linguistic anthropology, one begins with an understanding of speech as culturally organized and best studied through linguistic analysis and ethnography (Duranti 2009). However, much of the current research in educational settings which has influenced my work may be characterized as linguistic ethnography (Heller 2006; Lytra 2007, 2011; Rampton 1995, 2000). Like ethnography of communication, linguistic ethnography argues for “a socially constituted linguistics” (Creese 2008: 232) but does *not* trace its roots to anthropology (Maybin & Tusting 2011). Nevertheless, the present study incorporates some features of linguistic ethnography. For example, because linguistic ethnography originates in the United Kingdom, rather than the American anthropological tradition, there is a tendency to take language as a starting point rather than culture (ibid). In narrowing the scope of the focus of this study to language choice and use in the classroom, language is definitively a starting place. Further, linguistic ethnography has a stronger applied linguistics orientation so such studies frequently draw on methods of analysis in interaction beyond discourse analysis, such as conversation analysis (Creese 2008). As I will further elucidate in the methodology section, I draw on both discourse analysis and conversation analysis. In line with the micro-analytical focus on interaction, so often foregrounded in studies of linguistic ethnography, I draw on diverse tool

of analysis “keeping the door open to wider interpretive approaches” (Creese 2008: 229).

2.2 Ethnography as theory

I subscribe to the view of ethnography as a method but moreover as “a theory of speech as a system of cultural behavior” (Hymes 1977: 51). As such, ethnography is characterised as “a deliberate inquiry process guided by a point of view” rather than a set of data collection methods (Erickson 1984: 51). Often ethnography “has been considered ‘mere’ description, not itself a theoretical task, but only fodder for one” (Hymes 1977: 51). Dell Hymes, however, who called for ethnographic attention to language education and inspired a great deal of research in this area (Toohey 2007), understood ethnographic description to be theoretically linked to a perspective of language as sociocultural. Indeed ethnography entails description, but this description is conducted in “specific, methodologically and epistemologically grounded ways” (Blommaert 2009: 262). As such, from this perspective description is thereby analytical in nature and thus the first stage of analysis. This conceptualization of ethnography as theory has been vocally advocated more recently by Blommaert who argues that ethnography has “always has been a theoretical perspective on human behavior” whereby human actions are considered to be situated, where reflexivity is integral to the account, where the complexity of the fieldsite is fully explored rather than simplified, and where detailed analysis is linked to broader social structures (Blommaert 2008b: 13). This notion of fieldwork as a process where analysis begins is rooted in the anthropological origins of ethnography.

To explicate this link to anthropology, I would like to very briefly outline the contributions of early ethnographers, Malinowski and Boas who are described as the “fathers” of British, and of American, social anthropology respectively (Kuper 1973). Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942) was a Polish citizen who studied in Germany before becoming stranded on the British-ruled Trobriand Islands (Papua New Guinea) during World War I while conducting fieldwork (Heath, Street & Mills 2008). At a time when many researchers utilized missionary and traveller accounts as data, or visited white contacts in exotic locales, asking local informants to visit them, situating oneself in the midst of a foreign community was rare (*ibid*). Malinowski’s fieldwork set a new standard. He can be credited with characteristics of fieldwork such as participant observation over an extended period of time, a focus on daily life, and the incorporation of an emic perspective (Blommaert 2006; Erickson 1984). The incorporation of an emic perspective in ethnography even today marks this lineage. According to Hymes, the validity of ethnographic inquiry into the lives of others must rely upon a knowledge of what things mean to participants (Hymes 1996). In fact, the emic perspective is incorporated into the very definition of ethnography as an attempt to place practices within their

sociocultural context and to make sense of them from within (Erickson 1984). The situated study of language use in daily life advocated by Hymes can also be traced to Malinowski. Malinowski viewed understanding the context of interaction as essential to grasping the function of language as social action (Tustin & Maybin 2007: 577).

Franz Boas, (1883-1942) was originally a student of physics, philosophy and geography, however when he embarked on an Arctic expedition, he was inspired to pursue anthropology (Müller-Wille 1994/1998). He conducted his first round of fieldwork with the Inuit of Baffin Island (Nunavut, Canada) from 1883-1884, participating in local life, conducting interviews in every possible setting, recording population distribution, hunting practices and oral traditions (ibid). His letters attested to the Western influences on Inuit life and culture, but his fieldnotes ignored the reality of canneries, trading, farming and the presence of missionaries and his records were instead devoted to documenting the past (Sanjek 1990). During this first extended visit he lived with the Inuit community, shared their diet and cultural practices, however, later on Boas primarily used an informant during shorter trips to the Northwest Coast (Sanjek 1990). The work of Boas is perhaps most noted for the development of linguistic relativism, or the notion that analytical categories cannot be transferred from one language to another and that languages uniquely encode the world (Duranti 2009). Boas can also be credited with our fundamental ethnographic understanding of research as inductive and reflexive, whereby one gathers as much information as possible before theorizing (Boas 1904/1974).

It is these very anthropological roots of ethnography that can be credited with providing a humanistic perspective whereby language is understood as a tool and thus impacts how we define language; as a socially situated resource (Blommaert & Jie 2010). Anthropology has also passed down an epistemology, whereby language cannot be studied apart or isolated from the context in which it is produced (Blommaert & Jie 2010). This ontology and epistemology of ethnography impacts the characteristics of ethnographic work, the data we consider important, and how we conceptualize our own role in the research, forming a theoretical basis for ethnography. It is this theoretical grounding originating in the anthropological origins of ethnography which guides the methods of research: fieldwork is characterized by longitudinal participant observation, data such as fieldnotes are considered integral and valuable, and our own role in the research is revealed and discussed as we acknowledge our part in creating the context.

To sum up, taking ethnography as a “descriptive theory” for the study of language and communication entails an understanding of language as a social resource or tool, language as constituting context and as socially and culturally embedded. A study of language use is therefore a study of society and offers great critical potential for examining language ideologies. This view of language and culture is also theoretically embedded in the perspective of language socialization. Students learn language and how to use language, thus

it is “not just part of social life; language is social life: it helps organize the activities and the roles people are expected to play in them” (Duranti 2009: 293).

2.2.1 The role of the ethnographer

The nature of ethnographic work is both reflexive and recursive. My presence in the classroom makes me a part of this research context and my interests guide how I represent the context and what phenomena I choose to examine. This is constantly re-negotiated as I reformulate my research questions in light of what unfolds in interaction and is made relevant by participants. I will discuss reflexivity in the research further in the methodology, but I address it here as well because it is an aspect of grounding ethnography theoretically. Ethnographic research foregrounds the role of the ethnographer because findings are considered “interpretive” and knowledge is of a “situated nature” and therefore such research highlights subjectivity (Blommaert 2007: 684). Such “fundamental assumptions set ethnography apart from many other social scientific branches and these assumptions are firmly theoretical” (Blommaert 2007: 684).

In all cases, the “ethnographer himself or herself is a factor in the inquiry” and because “partiality cannot be avoided, the only solution is to face up to it, to compensate for it as much as possible, to allow for it in interpretation” (Hymes 1996: 13). As such, I have *not* avoided analyzing data where my presence overtly enters into interaction. For example, in one instance my presence is a tool for the teacher to enforce the English norm when she tells students who are speaking in Finnish that “Alicia won’t be able to understand” (Article 2). Bourdieu also discusses the ethnographer’s “scientific use of a social experience” whereby what we experience legitimately becomes part of the analysis (2004: 438). In ethnographic work we seek fragmented pieces of information others already possess, and further, we ourselves are “instruments of inquiry” gaining access or facing limitations related to our own identities (Hymes 1996: 13). In piecing together what students, teachers, and parents already ‘know’ in order to interpret the norms and practices of a second language classroom, my interpretation is produced from a particular viewpoint but also my access to the field site and to participants has also been influenced by my own characteristics.

From an ethnographic perspective, the heart of the research process is the “ethnographer’s explicit and implicit questioning processes” which are shaped reflexively through fieldwork (Erickson 1984: 51). These questioning processes are interconnected to the negotiation of my role in this class. In other words, what is made visible, as well as what is visible to myself in particular. Ethnographic research is also “open-ended” and “subject to self correction during the process of inquiry itself.” (Hymes 1996: 7). As such, I began this research with a theoretically grounded approach which would allow me to explore issues of language use in a multilingual classroom.

2.2.2 Classroom ethnography

Now I will discuss the implications of applying ethnography to the study of education. Some classroom research considers ethnographically collected data to provide “background” (Wortham 2004) or “context” or even “shared interactional biography” (Cekaite 2007) for the analysis of interaction. However if one considers that such contextual data shapes both data collection and analysis, this cannot be the case. Ethnographic studies in education always involve a great deal of selectivity, we cannot possibly present everything, it is far more complex than we can convey in one study (Erickson 1984). Erickson (1984) compares an ethnographic account of a school setting, to a caricature, where we draw only the most salient features. Thus, what we produce is selective and reflects our own point of view. Because of this it is crucial to disclose research processes and decisions, as well as situating the study and defining the boundaries of the study.

One further challenge to conducting ethnography in a school setting is that it is usually familiar to the ethnographer. Ethnographers are often advised to ‘make the strange familiar,’ a term which dates back to an eighteenth century German poet-philosopher and popularized by Wordsworth, Coleridge and T.S. Eliot (Heath, Street & Mills 2008). And yet for school ethnographers studying a setting “often seen as rather dull” to those outside of education (Rampton 2006b) it is the task of classroom ethnographic inquiry “to make the familiar strange” (Erickson 1984; Gordon, Holland & Lahelma 2001). When one studies a foreign culture, everything is novel and unexpected. However, when the setting is familiar, significant findings can be made when the ethnographer takes on the “critical stance of the philosopher, continually questioning the grounds for the conventional, examining the obvious,” and what is “taken-for-granted” (Erickson 1984: 62).

Two early linguistic ethnographic studies in education highlight the aims of classroom ethnography. Heath conducted fieldwork in two racially distinct communities (1968-1978) discovering that they had “different ways of using language in worship, for social control, and in asserting their sense of identity” which had educational implications for students (1980: 10). Heath strongly advocated that it is “only on the basis of such thorough-going ethnography” that we can come to better understand “patterns of oral and written language uses and paths of development of communicative competence” (1982: 74). Such in-depth ethnography across contexts provided knowledge of differing processes of language and literacy socialization in the two communities. Gaining broad sociocultural knowledge revealed to Heath the ways in which the practices of participating, talking, and learning at school greatly contrasted to those of the home community for many students. Michaels (1986) also examined community and school difference but situated her work in the classroom, examining student narratives. She found that in contrast to the canonical format expected by teachers during sharing time, African-American students often used a “topic-associating schema” where a series of episodes are

linked highlighting people or themes. As the connections between episodes were usually not lexically marked they were therefore misunderstood and not scaffolded appropriately by teachers. Hymes advocated moving away from the abstract study of language to a humanistic orientation in order to address real world situations where one may gain “knowledge of the ways in which language is organized as a human problem and resource” (1996: 60). In keeping with this call and conceptualization of ethnography, these two pivotal ethnographic studies highlight the manner in which ethnographic research in education may tackle problems in interaction and education, and in doing so address significant social issues.

While a great deal of classroom research also utilizes methods of analyzing interaction combined with an ethnographic orientation, my work diverges from an explicit focus on learning or language acquisition (Bloome et al. 2006). This study attempts to honour the original conception of ethnographic research in seeking to examine language use in the classroom with a focus on social issues such as belonging and membership, and also by featuring the individual struggles in this class and the social implications of classroom practices.

Rather than providing an extensive review of ethnographic classroom research I will briefly introduce a few studies that provide a foundation for my approach and also foreground ethnography explicitly. These contemporary studies of multicultural and/or multilingual classroom settings have influenced my perspective on classroom ethnography.

A significant ethnographic study of implicit classroom norms and practices has been undertaken by Duff (1995) with a focus on oral recitation in Hungarian English immersion secondary classrooms. This study documents a shift in teaching practices as Hungarian history teachers in an English immersion program turned from traditional formal and structured practices of oral assessment (*felelés*) in favour of class discussion and student lectures, oral practices shown to be fluid and interactive. Through the methods of ethnography and the discourse analysis of interaction, changing educational practices are linked to educational reforms brought about by a new sociopolitical context.

An ethnographic approach to classroom research is well suited to exploring contradictions between intentions and outcomes, participant beliefs, and engaging with the complexity of social relations. One study which does this effectively examines the contrast between the aims of a teacher to promote inclusivity and the reality of lesson discourse which further alienates newcomers (Duff 2002). Discourse analysis of turn taking in two high school social studies classes reveals the teacher attempting to increase participation from non-native English speakers (NNES) in class discussions by drawing on their cultural backgrounds. However, Duff points out students may not identify with these particular cultural practices, and further may not be comfortable discussing them with the class. Combining an analysis of interaction with interview material and observations allows this study to tease out the

complexity of social networks, as well as some ways in which social difference manifests in school life. Duff is reflexive about her role in this research setting, her relationship with the teacher, and therefore her own position within the research.

Toohey also finds that classroom practices may increase social stratification in the classroom, particularly impacting English language learners. Toohey (1998, but see also Toohey 2000) also discusses her own role within the classroom ethnography she conducts over the course of three years as she follows newcomers from kindergarten to the second grade. Toohey recounts the recursive ethnographic research cycle which led to her interest in the physical organization of the class and the placement of students, student movement around the classroom for the purposes of borrowing school supplies, and the practices surrounding individual oral and written work. Toohey highlights the role of fieldnotes in this process stating:

“I was developing the conviction that the children were isolated from one another, I began to see examples of actions that contradicted this interpretation: It became apparent to me that some children were actively using the act of borrowing to sustain frequent interactions with one another. I also made detailed notes on borrowing excursions (described below). As I observed the borrowing and lending of material goods, I began also to think about the borrowing and lending of intellectual property in the classroom, and this led me to document copying practices in the field observations” (1998: 66).

Willett (1995) in an ethnographic study of language socialization of first grade newcomers focuses on the interactional routines of daily classroom life, foregrounding issues of identity, competence and processes of membership. While Willett foregrounds interactions, the ethnographic orientation is clear in an analysis which draws on “various types of data to construct an integrated interpretation of the ESL children’s participation” which is then “interwoven into the narrative” (1995: 479). Such an integrated approach and acknowledgement of the role of “unseen” data has influenced by collection and analysis of data. Tsai and Garcia (2000) examine a conflict event concerning two Chinese learners in an international preschool where the instruction in English is supported by a bilingual assistant who is also one of the ethnographers. In examining the construction of competence this research draws on a vast array of fieldnotes, artefacts, interviews and observations and incorporates the responses of various participants to the conflict event in class. This novel approach to whereby a focal event for social relations, identity work, or conflict is brought to the fore inspired my approach to Article 2 which leads up to a focal event of conflict, rather than beginning with this event. There are many other significant ethnographic classroom studies which are not explicit about research practices. This brief discussion of classroom ethnography has focused upon studies foregrounding the ethnographic process in approaching the study of multilingual/multicultural classrooms.

2.3 Language socialization

2.3.1 Overview

Language socialization has given me an ethnographic place to situate my study of young learners. In this section I will discuss how language socialization contributes to my analysis of language norms in the classroom. First, however, it is necessary to give a description of what language socialization is. Language socialization originates with the work of Ochs and Schieffelin and dates back to the 1970's building upon notions of communicative competence (Hymes 1972). According to the theoretical paradigm of language socialization, individuals are socialized through language, but are also socialized to certain ways of using language (Ochs & Schieffelin 1984). Studies of language socialization link the acquisition of pragmatic linguistic competence to the social and cultural frameworks, practices, and ideologies which define a particular group (Schieffelin & Ochs 1996). With a focus on "how" or rather processes, language socialization research aims to document the process of learning how to both act as a member and to be seen by others as a member of a community (Garrett & Baquedano-López 2002). Ochs illustrates the complexity of such, in one particularly exceptional ethnographic account of an autistic girl playing softball at school. In order to participate, beyond understanding the rules of a game, the expectations for what to do, the actions and roles of others and their affective stances, this girl must "contextualize actions, stances, and participants in terms of what just occurred and what is anticipated to occur next" in this emergent interaction where many activities occur simultaneously (Ochs 2002: 103). Language socialization entails much more than language; participating effectively in everyday activities requires a great deal of interactional, cultural and ideological knowledge. Processes of socialization necessarily entail accommodating "members' ideologies about communicative resources," along with an understanding of how they are used in identity work and social organization (Ochs & Schieffelin 2012: 7). It is through interaction that children come to understand the norms of communication (ibid). Thus, rather than viewing language as something that can be de-contextualized and broken down into component parts, from the perspective of language socialization, language is defined as a constantly changing social practice (Duff & Talmy 2011).

Studies of language socialization often examine processes rather than outcomes by focusing on how values are transmitted through language and what challenges learners contend with rather than looking for the successful uptake of new practices (Duff & Talmy 2011). It has been suggested that this focus may be attributed to the fact that research in this paradigm was first conducted in monolingual settings (ibid), for instance among caregivers and children whereby the eventual acquisition of practices was assumed inevitable. Language socialization is drawn from a number of disciplines such as sociology, psychology and anthropology (Duff 2012). From linguistic anthropology, the

methods of ethnography provide further support for this focus on processes of socialization observed over time. Following the Hymesian conceptualization of ethnography as a tool to solve real world problems, language socialization research has effectively been applied to the study of participation and membership in studies focusing on social aspects of learning (see Duff 2002; García Sánchez 2012; Rymes & Pash 2001; Toohey 2000; Willet 1995).

It is widely acknowledged that it is the longitudinal nature of fieldwork that allows the researcher to “understand recurring cultural and linguistic patterns of interaction that constitute processes of socialization” (Duff & Talmy 2011: 99). Although I have spent an extended period of time in the class conducting fieldwork, I feel that many processes take place on varying time scales. To elaborate, within a few days a newcomer to this classroom experiences a high degree of socialization to the English language context, learning and reproducing situated practices for using language. Peers also play a significant role in creating and recreating the norms of interaction and thus as the participants in the class change from one year to the next in this mixed level class, so do ways of using language. Time-scales are significant but so are the complexities of considering who is socializing who, and to what, within a situated interaction. In the first year of my fieldwork, one student was a particularly thorough monitor of peer language use, and during the second year of my fieldwork a new student, who was a first grader, quickly took up this role, although the original monitor was still present in the class as a second grader. Becoming a monitor of language use was a role available and sometimes co-constructed in this setting. The changing composition of the class over time and processes of peer socialization prevalent in a multi-grade class however, add further complexity to the study of language use in this context. The intricate nature of acquiring language practices entailed in membership occurs throughout the school day and entails a multitude of factors and influences, and so is difficult to document. It is one thing to show that something is happening and it is another to show *how* it has come to be. In regards to the communicative norms of the classroom, some learners probably acquired certain linguistic pragmatic competences in the course of a week, while other processes take place over years. Language socialization is anything but straightforward and the ethnographic orientation of the paradigm is well-suited to uncovering processes rife with conflict and complex in nature.

In the strictest sense, studies of language socialization should be ethnographic, longitudinal and should “demonstrate the acquisition (or not) of particular linguistic and cultural practices over time and across contexts” (Kulick & Schieffelin 2004: 350). It has been asserted that much of the research claiming to be language socialization is simply the study of language and social interaction (*ibid*). This may very well be an apt description of my own work, which does not focus on the “grammatical, lexical, discursive, and gestural structures” through which these practices are structured (Schieffelin & Ochs 1996: 253). Recently, there have been calls to more narrowly define what counts as language socialization research (Baquedano-Lopez & Kattan 2008; Watson-

Gegeo 2004). Countering this call, however, is the argument that narrowing the definition of language socialization would preclude its further theoretical development as well as the exploration of under-examined sites and practices (Duff & Talmy 2011). While early language socialization work focused on rituals and interactional routines to examine how young children would learn to use language in culturally appropriate ways, the field has broadened to look at practices, discourses, and how sociocultural knowledge is imparted.

2.3.2 Setting the scene: The choice of language socialization

Upon entering the field work classroom, the norms of interaction contrast visibly from other classrooms in the school. This is the case from the very first day of the school year. I was immediately struck by how this difference is instituted and managed by one adult with a group of young learners. During fieldwork, I observed that this very linguistic difference was also a topic of discussion in daily classroom life. The interactional norms of the classroom were also of interest to others. The following excerpt from an interview with a parent illustrates this:

Extract 1

“My-my father took Leevi wee-well he took him to school today. But was a week or two ago for first time and he told that it was funny to see that uh he walked him inside, or Leevi wanted to show him the classroom or something. Leevi, they talk Finnish in the hall but when he stepped over the doorstep to the classroom he swapped to English like that. (*Speaker drops his hand onto the desk with a slap*). He immediately started talking in English when he got to the classroom. That was the border.”

This example illustrates how strongly instituted the norm for language choice is. This father gives an account of how his son switches to English, a language the grandfather does not know, upon entering the classroom. The doorway is emphatically described as a “border”, punctuated with his hand slapping the desk. The class is recognized as a microcosm of English, clearly delineated with boundaries. Thus, from the outset it was clear to me that practices of language choice and use were integral to daily classroom life for this group of learners. This class is defined by the language of instruction and so language use signals membership and therefore is an integral component of how competency is perceived in this setting. But by more closely examining how interaction through English is instituted, maintained, monitored, resisted, and subverted, the very processes whereby a student is socialized to expected ways of using language and participate in the sometimes conflicting worlds of school and peers are revealed.

2.3.3 A critical look at the perspective

In this section I will highlight some of the recent debates within the field of language socialization that I have considered in my own work. First, one requires a concept of the boundaries of the community to which the student is apprenticed in membership to. However, notions of community have a long history of being problematic in anthropological research and other related fields (Garrett & Baquedano-López 2002). A question often asked by researchers, is who is being socialized to what practices and by whom? Students have multiple and overlapping memberships both inside the classroom setting and beyond.

One solution to the problem of defining community is community of practice theory, often combined with language socialization (Lave & Wenger 1991). However, because such research tends to focus on small groups operating within predefined categories, community of practice research has been viewed by some researchers as stagnant, failing to fully account for how “people develop, maintain and change community traditions and identities in social activity” (Rampton 2006b: 15). It has been suggested that community of practice theory as applied to the study of language learners needs to take greater consideration of individuals and their trajectories of learning, the role of power relations in determining what roles and identities are available, and that the conceptualization of “legitimate” and “peripheral” learners needs to be explicated more clearly, particularly in regards to newcomers who may not wish to become “legitimate” learners (Haneda 2006). Haneda calls for a “more sophisticated view of learning through participation in community practices that takes account of the different types of learning associated with different types of practice, as these occur in the real world of schooling” (2006: 815). Recent work, however, acknowledges multiple, hybrid and sometimes conflicting memberships in overlapping communities, examining activities and practices, drawing on the notion of competence which is defined locally and most often is conceived as participation (see Goodwin 1990; Rampton 1995). Rather than defining the classroom as a community of practice, I attempt to acknowledge the pull of various affiliations in the lives of young learners. Practices of group participation are contradictory at times, shifting and temporal, as we see in the case of Minja, who at one moment speaks Finnish, and in the next moment reproaches another student for failing to remember to speak English in “English speaking class.” Although this is a study of a classroom community, social groups within the classroom are stratified and negotiated on an ongoing basis.

A second issue in language socialization research which has come under scrutiny is a possible underlying assumption that learners will take up socialized practices. According to Duff (2003), although the paradigm has accounted for some degree of bidirectional learning, language socialization research has traditionally assumed that learners eventually acquire language, that this process will be short, linear, and monolingual, and that learners will be guided and welcomed by others. Modern contexts throw a number of precepts

into question: such as the stability of the language used among diverse members with varying degrees of expertise and also the level of access or guidance that a newcomer may expect or desire (Duff 2002, 2003, 2004, 2012). In the interactional examples analyzed in this thesis, language choice is negotiated, learners have varied linguistic repertoires, and language is drawn on in constructing alignment and also in dispute. This matches observations that the modern language learner may utilize a variety of languages and associated memberships across a lifespan and the significance of each may vary over time; Duff (2003) points out how problematic it is to view socialization as a process entailing linear and consistent progress and proposes that work in the area of second language socialization to address this. This is particularly true in the study of newcomers (immigrants) where bidirectional processes are often evident as novice and expert roles may be interchangeable, for example in instances where children translate for parents (Baquedano-López & Mangual Figueroa 2012).

Beyond the issue of uptake in modern heterogeneous and multilingual settings, it has in general been argued that most language socialization studies illustrate reproduction rather than resistance (Kulick & Schieffelin 2004; Talmy 2008). This has implications for how we view learners. From the outset, however, children have been viewed as agentive and active in organizing their own social worlds (Schieffelin & Ochs 1986: 165) and language socialization has been conceptualized as “an interactional achievement” (Ochs 2002: 108), a “collaborative enterprise” (Ochs 2000: 230) and one which is inherently multidirectional and contingent, where children are not considered passive but rather active participants (Ochs 1986; Schieffelin 1990). In fact, current research places a greater emphasis on the bidirectional nature of socialization (Jacoby & Ochs 1995) and the contingent, dynamic nature of socialization, taking consideration of individual agency and personal histories (Duff 2002; Talmy 2008; Wortham 2004). However the body of research done in the field of language socialization has often failed to show this. For instance:

“Although language socialization models tend to imply that the appropriation of target culture norms and practices is always desirable, virtuous, inevitable, and complete, a greater range of possible intentions and outcomes actually exists, including non-conformity, partial and multiple community memberships and linguistic repertoires, and social exclusion” (Duff 2002: 291).

One of my central concerns at the beginning of this study was whether I could show uptake of the language practices of the classroom over time. However, the many ways in which students orient to the English norm is illustrative of the agency of individuals manifest in all the complexity of multiple and conflicting norms and groups within the classroom. It has been argued that researchers must “highlight the ‘dynamism’” of language socialization (Talmy 2008) but this remains, however, a challenge because “reactions and responses of the novices” are not always visible (He 2003: 128, 143). One suggestion is that by foregrounding practices it is possible to examine not only how such practices

are taken up but also “how and when they are acquired differently from what was intended, or not acquired at all” (Kulick & Schieffelin 2004: 352). But how does one know when practices are being socialized at all if they are not made visible? One solution is to consider what is made visible in terms of stances within a micro-analysis of interaction. From the perspective of language socialization interaction is viewed as co-constructed, whereby cultural knowledge is produced through “practices as well as through emotions and affective stances” (Schieffelin 1990). Additionally, by focusing on practices and activities, microanalysis can be linked with the sociocultural context, broadening the focus beyond the individual learner or novice, foregrounding the dialectic between the individual and the group (see Garrett & Baquedano-López 2002; Ochs 2000; Talmy 2008; Tsai & Garcia 2000). In the articles of my thesis, practices form a central focus, for instance I examine repair and subteaching as practices which uphold normative standards of language use within the class. It is a primary challenge to move beyond description and attempt to answer questions about why and how learners appropriate or resist particular practices, and how this relates to other learners and the class overall. This work begins to attend to the call for studying the language “practices that individuals and communities engage in and their congruence (or not) with institutionalized language and literacy instruction” (Toohey 2007: 184).

2.3.4 Language socialization and the study of language norms

My research takes a broad sociocultural approach to socialization and fits into the more recent tradition of language socialization research which is termed the *second wave* (Bronson & Watson-Gegeo 2008). Specifically, I draw on the literature from second language socialization, whereby participants contend with the challenges of acquiring and accommodating a new language into their existing repertoire and all that may entail for them (Duff 2007; Duff & Talmy 2011). Processes of second language socialization may be complicated by issues of membership both in terms of a learner’s investment and ability to reconcile multiple memberships, and in terms of opportunities presented by the new community for participation (Duff 2002, 2004; Norton 2001).

The use of “second” in second language socialization may be seen by some as failing to acknowledge the multiplicity of languages and ways of learning and using language in one’s life, for a new language may become one’s primary language with time (Duff 2012). Throughout the lifespan we acquire new languages and linguistic practices whether in our first language or another language in terms of new genres, registers, and repertoires (Blommaert 2005; Duff 2012). While I do not use the term in the articles of the thesis, *second language socialization* recognizes and distinguishes language socialization studies which feature multilingual language learning. Second language socialization particularly acknowledges the complexity of language learning, teasing out the nuances of interconnected social factors in language socialization and testing entrenched understandings. For example, such research has illustrated that novices or newcomers do not necessarily seek full

participation or mastery of additional languages and are not necessarily given access to new communities of practice (Morita 2004; Talmy 2008, 2009).

My work examines the experiences of students with diverse backgrounds in the classroom. Newcomers draw on a home language, a community language (Finnish) and a classroom language (English). Classroom participants play an important role in terms of a newcomer's contact with a new language and culture, students also bring diverse histories and out of school experiences which are manifested in their uptake and response to socializing practices. I do not differentiate between language socialization and peer socialization, although I acknowledge the importance of peer groups. While I agree that children in peer groups can "become agents of their own socialization" and "construct their own ideas of valued behaviors and identities" (Goodwin & Kyratzis 2007: 280), my work illustrates how institutional policies for language use are managed among peers. While students may contest or subvert such policies for language use, peer culture in the classroom is inextricably linked to the institutional setting.

I have applied the precepts of language socialization to the study of a heterogeneous group of students exhibiting shifting alignments along the lines of age, gender, ethnicity, and mother-tongue. Despite data samples presented earlier in this section, showing how the classroom doorway acts as a boundary for a different way of using language, presenting institutional norms as powerful, the analysis of data throughout the thesis shows that it is more complex for learners than this. By focusing on discourse practices relating to language choice in a range of activities within the classroom, I have strived to make visible the reactions and responses of novices to an institutional policy for language use, full of contradictions and at times in conflict with peer practices. I have foregrounded the variety of outcomes and responses to the institutional norm as students have reproduced the monolingual norm, rejected it and even subverted it.

2.4 Membership and belonging

The goal of language socialization research is to shed light on the ways in which individuals come to be considered competent members of social groups (Schieffelin & Ochs 1996). From this perspective, learning language is interconnected with "becoming a competent member of society," an achievement largely realized through language and learning how to use it (ibid: 252). Social factors influencing processes of language socialization can be varied and complex in second language socialization settings which are particularly impacted by what resources made available to learners, levels of learner investment, and the management of multiple roles and affiliations (Duff 2012). In keeping with such theoretical concerns of language socialization, a central theme of the thesis is how students negotiate social positions in the classroom and the role of the institutional norm for English in this. Issues of belonging and

membership are theoretically addressed in several ways, for instance through concepts such as voice, repair, as well as dispute and conflict. This examination of issues of membership has entailed the foregrounding of the individual trajectories and experiences of individuals within the class. Language socialization studies have increasingly looked to the dialectic between the individual and the group in multilingual school settings (Garrett & Baquedano-López 2002; Talmy 2008; Tsai & Garcia 2000). It is this dialectic which produces the resources for identity work and the opportunities for participation in the social life of the classroom. The present study contributes to this literature by tracing interactions where individuals negotiate language norms, thus highlighting practices such as repair and subteaching which operate as resources in the negotiation of social relations among classmates.

The possibilities open to students featured in my study are tied to individual choice as well as what their learning environments offer (Toohey 2000; McDermott 1993; Norton & Toohey 2004). A network of dialectics, between home and school, peer talk and institutional talk, home, school and community languages, and associated affiliations, investments, and affordances result in different constructions of the self, and different manifestations of voice. Voice (Bakhtin 1981) has recently been applied to the study of multilingualism and identity construction in sociolinguistic research (see Blommaert 2008a; Canagarajah 2004; Hornberger 2006; Lähteenmäki 2010). From a Bakhtinian perspective constructing voice entails appropriating the words of others and is a continuous struggle to produce one's own voice, derived "from the individual's unique place in the world" (Lähteenmäki 2010: 25). Following Hymes (1996) Blommaert proposes that voice is obtained when one can "generate an uptake of one's desired contextualization" and thus achieve "desired functions through language" (2005: 68). Individuals draw on "language and other semiotic means in attempts to have voice, to make themselves understood by others" (Blommaert 2008a: 427). Thus, achieving voice, despite the potential for agency, can be constrained by the linguistic and social resources the speaker can draw on. Such a notion links back to consideration of the resources available to learners in not only negotiating voice but in constructing desirable student identities.

Consistent with current research on classroom interaction, this study conceptualizes identity as constructed in interaction, and as situated, multiple and momentary (Holland & Lave 2001). Identity has also been conceptualized as a site of struggle because it is multiple and at times contradictory, and therefore identities can be contested (Norton 2000: 127). Identity construction has been theorized as contingent upon three factors in interaction: the social context, the interactional context, and the agency of an individual (Rymes 2009). The ways in which students orient to institutional norms, the sequential unfolding of interactions concerning language use, and their agentive uptake or resistance to forces of socialization result in different positionings available to different learners. For instance, it has been observed that the identities available to students exhibiting linguistic differences are deeply interconnected to how

they are positioned within interaction (Toohey 2000). Students may also act as gatekeepers, and play a role in the production of competency in the group (Davies & Hunt 1994). Furthermore, evaluative activity, assessments and dispute offer opportunities and resources for organizing participation and doing membership work (Goodwin 2006, 2007; Goodwin & Kyratzis 2012; Møller & Jørgensen, 2011; Maybin, 2008). However, individuals can also resist disempowering positions assigned to them (Martin-Beltrán 2010; Menard-Warwick 2007; Poveda 2003, 2011). Thus positioning and identity work in classrooms is anything but static or predictable, but rather negotiated, variable and deeply contextual (Duff 2002; Menard-Warwick 2007; Talmy 2004; Toohey 2005, 2008). The articles of the thesis foreground theoretical constructs and social processes of positioning, identity construction, constructing moral and social order, and the negotiation of voice. Each of these concepts is significant to social processes of the classroom through which students achieve membership.

3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Overview

In this section I will introduce the ethnographic methods I have employed to investigate how language really functions in this setting and to make connections that would otherwise remain undiscovered. For instance, ethnographic work can allow us to “see how language practices are connected to the very real conditions of people’s lives,” over time (Heller 2008: 250). The ethnographic process of fieldwork allows one to engage with the complexity of social interaction not by examining preconceived notions and selected phenomena, but by reflexively and comprehensively recounting and analyzing natural interaction in a given context (Blommaert 2007). The ethnographer may begin data collection with particular interests in mind but it is the research context which guides inquiry and therefore through fieldwork a recursive cycle of data collection and analysis is initiated.

I have included below a description of the field site in order to give a sense of the atmosphere of the classroom and to convey that ethnographic fieldwork has a theoretical foundation, but one that it is intertwined with method. While the articles featured in the thesis foreground the analysis of interaction, fieldnotes and other data have played an instrumental role in shaping the study. This is a description of the first day of school for a new intake of first grade students, midway through my fieldwork. On this first day of school new students join the old-timers; second graders. The description you find here is based upon my fieldnotes, some of which I wrote up into conceptual memos during my fieldwork (Blommaert & Jie 2010). I have taken some minor liberties in adding, clarifying and contextualizing information for the sake of the reader. But this is my best memory of the classroom activity that day, supported by audio-recordings and fieldnotes:

Extract 2

Three second grade girls settle on the couch at the back of the classroom as other children and parents mill around in the hallway. The teacher tells the girls to find desks to sit at, and asks "Ariel would you like to sit with our new girl?" Ariel hesitates, reluctant to part from her friends and manages to sit as closely as possible to her friend Lucille. As a result the new girl begins to cry a bit. Her mother asks me if she could stay for a while and I refer her to the teacher. Farewells ring out and there is the sound of chairs scraping the floor and banging as children experiment with opening and closing the lids of their new desks. Parents snap pictures of their children from the doorway using their cell phone cameras. Chatter among the children is in Finnish and in English. The teacher uses English except when a parent continues to speak in Finnish with her. "Everybody's here?" she calls out. She stands in the door way, as though blocking parents from re-entering the room. The class becomes quieter and she beams at the students, "All sitting so beautifully, it's wonderful, looks really, really good." A parent leans through the doorway expressing concern about her son sitting at the back but the teacher assures her that these seats are only for today. She turns back to the students and says, "So many new faces, wow" and the first day of school has begun as the children say goodbye one last time. The children shout and call out goodbye in many languages but for the most part begin to follow the teacher's lead, as she finally calls out, "see you later, see you later!" After the parents leave the teacher writes her name on the board for the students and they begin a round of introductions. She proceeds matter-of-factly in English without comment on the language of instruction or the change that has taken place for these children when they walked through the doorway. Occasionally, a first grade student will switch into Finnish during discussion but when this occurs the teacher simply ignores the contribution (11.08.2008).

I did not hear the teacher explicitly invoke the English language norm during the first half of the day on the first day of school. While the second grade students are aware of the English norm, this is a new class and an exciting first day in elementary school for the first grade students. In this instance, my observations allow me capture detail that I may have overlooked with an audio recording alone: most importantly I am able to notice what is *not* said in the first few hours of the first day of school. My audio-recording of this first day of school reveals that the teacher first overtly references the English norm half-an-hour before the end of the day. The students are working on a task at their desks and conversing, while the teacher circulates the room. Aarto is not the only student who begins to use Finnish but he certainly is the loudest. This draws the attention of the teacher.

Extract 3

- 01 Teacher: Aart:o Aarto what is the lan↑guage↓
 02 (2.0)
 03 >Swedish↑<
 04 (2.3)

- 05 >German↑<
 06 (0.7)
 07 >Finnish↑<
 08 (1.8)
 09 we speak E:nglish Aarto
 10 Aarto: (ah)
 11 Teacher: (it's okay) ((chuckles))

When the teacher addresses Aarto, she institutes the English norm. The downward intonation at the end of “language” (line 1) expresses disapproval. The teacher’s suggestions for languages are spoken quickly, with a slight upwards intonation and are followed by pauses (lines 3-8). While there is space for Aarto to reply, the rapid pace of her speech conveys an almost perfunctory tone. This is Aarto’s first day in this class with this teacher, this relationship is a new one, so such factors may play a role in his silence. The teacher does not offer English in the same manner as the other languages she suggests, but states clearly “we speak English Aarto” (line 9). By establishing what “we” do in this setting, the teacher emphasizes the shared nature of this norm and marks shared accountability (Mehan 1979). The classroom teacher also speaks Finnish as a first language, so using “we” in terms of language use marks her own choice as well. This differs from another teacher who participates in English medium instruction who herself speaks English as a first language. Also, it is notable that when instituting the monolingual norm, the teacher does not utilize imperatives. This differs dramatically from how peers are found to institute the monolingual norm throughout the data extracts featured in this study. Regardless of who the teacher addresses, this is the first instance where the first graders hear explicitly that they should speak English in this class. Further, this interaction references the language of peer talk. In sum, the methods of ethnography allow me to make connections between what I observe and what I record, noticing what is *not* said as well as what is made explicit.

3.2 The research setting

3.2.1 Overview

In this chapter I will give a description of the choice of fieldsite and the negotiation of my entry into it. I will introduce the classroom and focal students featured in this study. In my subsequent discussion of the data I will guide the reader through the significance of each kind of data I have collected and discuss my methods of analysis and comment on ethical considerations.

3.2.2 Entering the field and negotiating my role

By discussing three distinct English language programs I visited before choosing the focal classroom, I provide information about how this research was formulated as well as giving an idea of the avenues to English language education locally available. The description of the negotiation of my entry into the research setting is characteristic of an ethnographic account and reveals how I established my role in the class. By giving some detailed information about the members of this class the reader is also made familiar with those students more prominently featured in the articles.

From the outset of this study, I was interested in exploring an aspect of multilingual education. Although I had previously worked with older elementary school students as a classroom teacher, my more recent work as a children's librarian had sparked an interest in the early years. "Ethnography asks that you identify the phenomena you are interested in, and then go about discovering where those phenomena occur and how they are linked," and as such the first stage is to find a research setting and this sometimes means, "finding out that one hadn't got it quite right, and adjusting one's plans" (Heller 2008: 254). Accordingly, finding a field site posed an initial challenge.

It would be up to me to locate a classroom to study and to make contact in order to set up fieldwork. The idea of "cold-calling" schools made me uncomfortable to say the least. It seemed to me to be particularly arrogant to call up strangers and speak in English. The initiation of my fieldwork coincided, and remains intricately connected in my mind, with beginning my life in Finland as an immigrant. For the first time in my life communication became a challenge for me. The irony is not lost on me that I was also beginning to learn about the study of interaction. There was a personal element to making these arrangements that may or may not have influenced how I subsequently conducted my fieldwork. When I finally made the phone calls and wrote the emails and located a few people who were interested in meeting me, I was incredibly grateful, and most definitely willing to do whatever it took to make my presence in the classroom as little of a burden as possible.

I visited three different schools before settling on the one in which I did my fieldwork. The first was a private English language preschool, an immersion setting. I knew immediately, however, that I was much more interested in examining a public institution because this school was run as a business. In fact the owners of the school wished to hire me, rather than allow me to do research. They voiced concerns about video-recording and I began to realize that doing research in a place of business, rather than a publically funded site of education would be a challenge. The second field site I visited was a municipally run daycare and preschool facility which offered an English language program. The staff welcomed me and it soon became apparent to me that this was a very well-run school. I made three visits, taking lengthy field notes, lending a hand with story time, and helping with the challenging task of suiting up the children to go play in the snow. At the time of these visits I was

also setting up fieldwork at an elementary school. It became clear that two field sites would be too much for one person to study in an in-depth and longitudinal manner. And while it would be marvellous to follow preschool English language learners in their progress and at the same time first and second graders, one program did not lead to the other. Children in this preschool were exposed to English songs, stories, and basic oral routines, but this was not an immersion setting. In fact, most of the children who had learned English in preschool and were now enrolled in the English speaking class at the elementary school, had actually attended the private English preschool (the first field site) that I visited.

When I contacted the headmaster of the elementary school, he put me in touch with the appropriate classroom teacher. I met with her soon after to discuss my interests in literacy and language practices and observing the activities of the class. In order to make myself less of a nuisance, and to persuade her to agree to work with me, I thought ahead about what I could offer her in terms of assistance in the classroom. Of course, upon meeting her and finding her to be warm and welcoming, close to my own age and eager to talk, I realized that "convincing her" would not be necessary. She did have reservations initially about recording, and asked that I would not show her the video footage of herself. Instead, whenever I wanted to check anything with her during my fieldwork, I would ask directly after the activity of interest, or look at a transcript with her at a later date. I wanted to be a welcome addition to the classroom so I tried to make myself useful. I did quite a bit more as a participant observer in the first period of fieldwork (spring, 2008) than during the second period. I made photocopies, prepared craft supplies, monitored students during seatwork, conducted individual reading conferences with students and instructed several lessons, at one time acting as a substitute teacher for the morning.

It was easy to fall into this role, but at the same time it presented challenges for the fieldwork. It was a challenge to monitor all of my recording equipment and make fieldnotes while also assisting the teacher. Also, as I began to focus on interactions surrounding the institutional norm for English, it became important for me to step back as an authority figure. I did not want the students to think of me as a teacher or staff member who would monitor their language choices. Despite my concerns, for the most part the students absolutely did not treat me as a teacher. From the beginning I asked the students to call me by my first name and I refrained from correcting or disciplining students unless it was necessary. Classroom management never being my strongest area, combined with the way in which the students did not regard me as a teacher, provided for a very interesting experience when I had to substitute teach that one fateful morning. Regardless, I stepped back for the second part of fieldwork (August 2008-May 2009). A new intake of first grade students into this mixed level class provided an excellent opportunity to establish a slightly different role in the class. I continued to help the teacher in any way possible with materials and lesson preparation, and I certainly still

circulated during seatwork to assist, particularly with arts and crafts activities. The class had doubled in size and the teacher found it challenging to do the kinds of intricate crafts she had done the previous year with only one adult in the room.

Re-negotiating my role in the classroom was one way in which I tried to ensure that I could continue to access the kinds of behavior which interested me. I have no doubt, however, that my presence impacted the negotiation of language norms at times. In ethnographic research “we are present by virtue of the questions we ask and what we attend to, and we are best off taking our participation fully into account, and constructing our ethnographies as the stories we tell about things we want to argue are interesting and important” (Heller 2008: 257). Parallel to my experience of fieldwork was my experience of being a newcomer myself, observing language use in different contexts, gaining a new linguistic repertoire, no matter how limited, drawing on any and all resources at my disposal. These experiences now seem obvious in their impact in guiding my research interests, but initially this was not so apparent. Parallel to my experiences as a newcomer are the experiences of beginning fieldwork where one is “an outsider: someone who is not part of the social environment” and has only some knowledge of the people, the ways of acting and speaking, local understandings and experiences (Blommaert & Jie 2010: 26). At one point I was concerned that my foreign background was a hindrance, particularly in interview settings. Now that I have a better understanding of the subjective nature of what the ethnographic accounts produce, this no longer concerns me. And further, while I may not have recognized this before, I had more in common with the participants than I realized. I shared with most of the students, parents, and even the teacher, the experience of living at one point or another as a foreigner in a new culture.

3.2.3 The classroom of study

The focal classroom was a mixed level first and second grade “English speaking class” (in Finnish: englannin kielen luokka) located in a public primary school in Finland. The school is located several kilometres outside the city centre in a neighbourhood with mixed housing running the gamut from apartment buildings, to row houses, to single-family dwellings. Some of the apartments house university students and as such the area is characterized as “international” and to some degree, lower income.



FIGURE 1 An image of the fieldsite, autumn 2009.

Officially this class is intended for students who “use English at home” and as such students are expected to be capable of working at grade level through English before enrolment. Many of the students from Finnish speaking homes have attended an English language preschool or they have lived abroad for some period of time. Students who are not from Finnish speaking homes are either from English speaking homes, or have also enrolled in preschool education through English. This class is not intended for any student who has not studied English prior to the first grade and thus it is quite different from what we might term an “immersion” or Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), where no prior knowledge is expected from students entering school, nor any expectation of the use of the school language at home (Seikkula-Leino 2007). One further difference is that CLIL classes instruct literacy in the first language (Seikkula-Leino 2007). CLIL classes are offered in the same school, and on one occasion a CLIL teacher spent the day observing this class and remarked upon the difference, specifically that the children so consistently used English in this class. Thus it is the consistent use of English throughout the school day that distinguishes the English medium classes from the CLIL classes in this school. How much English is used by students depends upon the individual teacher, there are no official policy documents guiding their practice. It is not unusual for teachers in Finland to have a great deal of professional freedom, allowing for innovation and diversity of practices (Sahlberg 2007).

Factors which relate to this trust placed in educators are that Finland has a decentralized education system, teachers are highly educated, education is a competitive arena which attracts a high calibre of student, and the teaching profession is well respected by the public (Sahlberg 2007; Simola 2005).

As discussed earlier, education reform in the 1990's made it possible for students to attend schools outside their municipalities and for the development of local programs with entrance testing (Basic Education Act 628/1998). These reforms made the development of the kind of classroom featured in this study, possible. In this local context there are no other English medium classes serving primary aged learners in the municipality or surrounding region, although such programs can be found in other cities in Finland. Thus at certain points in the study there were children who traveled daily by taxi or bus from other municipalities. It is also the case that families relocated during the course of the study in order to be closer to the school. This program developed not because the local community demanded it, but due to a collective of teachers interested in teaching through English. The enrollment and therefore presumed popularity of the program has varied year to year depending on number of new first grade students. There are not enough students in the program to allow for single grade classes and therefore all classes are mixed level (grades 1/2, 3/4, 5/6). The grassroots development of the English medium program has perhaps been encouraged due to the greater international presence of foreign students and researchers in a university town with children eligible and interested in this type of education. The classroom teachers engaged in working with these students spoke of feeling some sense of isolation from the rest of the school. The teachers however also expressed that on the positive side they found fewer behavioral problems with "English speaking class" students and a high level of scholarship. English speaking class sizes were also smaller than mainstream classrooms. At the same time, teachers were quick to point out the program was by no means elitist and that the school as a whole was generally seen as being a bit "rough" and as located in an area which was not considered particularly desirable.

The national core curriculum for basic education guides the aims of teaching in various subject areas and is issued by the Finnish National Board of Education. Local authorities (schools and municipalities) then determine the local curriculum. I observed that the classroom teacher ordered most of the books for subject studies from the United States and United Kingdom for her own class. The students used a Finnish language text for Religion and for Environmental Sciences but the teachers came up with their own learning resources in English to accompany these texts. The situation has since changed because the Environmental Sciences book is presently available in English as the publisher has produced a translation.

Unlike most public school contexts, these students go through a process of assessment and selection. Parents bring their child to the school to meet with the classroom teacher and another teacher to ensure that the students do "have skills in English that are adequate for their age level" (School Document 2009).

The assessment entails an interview in English with a teacher and a drawing task where the student must follow oral directions. Two teachers work together to conduct the interview and give a score. Each year some students are turned away, and sometimes after one or two years in the English program students have had to leave the program because they have not been judged to be keeping up (email communication with the classroom teacher, May 2012). Prospective students are assessed only in English and thus students who do not speak Finnish as a mother tongue may be admitted to the class. This differs from some bilingual programs in Finland where students would be assessed in both English and Finnish precluding the participation of newcomers (Rajander & Lappalainen 2010). However that is not the case in this classroom setting, and in fact it is the diversity of this setting that is particularly novel in the Finnish context. Subsequently this work is able to provide insight on the experiences of students (both local and newcomers) educated through a foreign language which is not a national language but operates as a lingua franca in the classroom among peers.

3.2.4 Members of the class

The classroom teacher is a mother-tongue speaker of Finnish who completed teacher training in the United Kingdom and had several years of teaching experience when this study began. I observed that the teacher always gave very clear and explicit instruction, put a great deal of preparation into her lessons, and exhibited patience and a good sense of humour. During my interviews the parents spoke very highly of her. I noticed that there were many opportunities for informal conversation in the classroom because she had such good rapport with the children. The students often shared with her stories and experiences with her and also felt comfortable asking questions and seeking assistance.

As fieldwork spanned two school years, the composition of students changed somewhat as second graders graduated to the third grade and a new influx of first graders enrolled. Those students, however, who were in the first grade at the outset of fieldwork remained with the class for the second grade, thus providing a longitudinal perspective. Over the course of the study there were a total of 16 participants between the ages of six and eight. From one school year to the next the class membership would change as students moved on to the next grade and new students entered the classroom. During the first school year of fieldwork there were only 7 students in this class, and during the second school year of fieldwork there were 14 students in the class. In regards to multilingual resources, which were varied, it is perhaps easiest for me to express what the primary language(s) used at home for each of the sixteen participants in this study (see Table 1).

TABLE 1 The home language and grade level of the students enrolled in this class during the two phases of fieldwork.

	Pseudonym	Fieldwork Year 1	Fieldwork Year 2	Home Language
1	Aleksi	Grade 1	Grade 2	Finnish
2	Ali	Grade 2	-	Bengali
3	Ariel	Grade 1	Grade 2	Italian
4	Eerik	Grade 1	Grade 2	Finnish
5	Juha	Grade 2	-	Finnish
6	Katri	Grade 1	Grade 2	Finnish
7	Lucille	Grade 1	Grade 2	French
8	Aarto	-	Grade 1	Finnish
9	Andrew	-	Grade 2	English/Finnish
10	Elmo	-	Grade 1	Finnish
11	Elsa	-	Grade 1	English
12	Eliza	-	Grade 1	English/Finnish
13	Kalle	.	Grade 2	Finnish
14	Kuisma	-	Grade 1	Finnish
15	Leevi	-	Grade 1	Finnish
16	Minja	-	Grade 1	Finnish

I will now introduce the focal students featured in this study by starting with the students who speak Finnish as a first language, before moving to a discussion of the newcomers featured in this study and the issues specific to them. By choosing focal students I was able to systematically follow individual trajectories in interaction. Because many activities may simultaneously occur among different peer groups during a period, focusing on specific students ensures that processes unfolding over time, significant to individuals are not overlooked due to an unmanageable amount of data. I chose the following students because they were vocal participants and represented the diversity of experiences that lead students to this classroom. Some focal pupils did not enter the class until the second year of fieldwork, at which point I re-evaluated my focal student choices. The students I discuss are focal students who are featured in the transcripts I analysed for the thesis articles.

Aleksi is featured prominently in all four articles of the thesis. He was in the first grade at the outset of fieldwork and finished the second grade at the close of fieldwork. Aleksi is a Finnish student and first language speaker of Finnish, who lived in Australia from birth until the age of five. Upon his return to Finland he was enrolled in a private English language preschool. Although

Aleksi is perceived by the teacher and other parents of children in the class as possessing strong fluency in English, he uses Finnish whenever possible. As shown throughout the analysis he finds many ways to resist, reformulate and subvert the institutional English norm.

Minja is most visible in the final two articles of the thesis. She entered the first grade during my second year of fieldwork. Minja was a first language speaker of Finnish who had spent several years living in Singapore. There she was enrolled in a preschool which was English immersion half-day and Mandarin immersion half-day. Minja uses English and Finnish comfortably and interchangeably. During the second year of fieldwork several new students with English bilingual or first language backgrounds enrolled in the class. As such, Minja was in a peer group of first grade girls who predominately used English.

Aarto is a Finnish student who entered the first grade during my second year of fieldwork. Because he had not lived abroad and his family was not bilingual, he had learned English exclusively through attending an English language preschool. Aarto took some time to adjust to the norms of the class for behavior in terms of listening to instructions, bidding appropriately, and staying at his own desk. From the very first day of school Aarto was frequently reminded by the teacher to use English. He did not seem to break classroom rules on purpose but rather seemed impulsive and easily caught up in his own activities, frequently humming while he worked to the chagrin of his seatmates. He was usually seated at the front of the classroom where the teacher could keep watch over him.

Ali was in the second grade at the outset of my fieldwork. He was inquisitive and forthright in his questioning of how languages should and could function in school and daily life. He once commented to the teacher that he would prefer to use Finnish more often in class, and indeed he most often used Finnish with peers. Ali was born in Finland to parents who had emigrated from Bangladesh and as such his first language was Bengali and for religious purposes he studied Arabic. It is possible that Ali had some exposure to English through his parents who at times would draw on English as a *lingua franca* in their daily lives in Finland. Ali told me that his father could understand Finnish well but could not speak very much Finnish. As such, Ali's father had trouble finding work and the family moved to London to access the network of contacts they had there and to find better opportunities, however the family returned to Finland. Ali therefore had spent six months enrolled in primary school in East London and when he returned to Finland with a newfound proficiency in English he was enrolled in this class.

Before introducing two focal students from this study that may be considered newcomers, I would like to offer a brief explanation for my choice of terminology. I have used the term newcomer to encompass students who fit into locally defined categories of "foreigner" or "immigrant". Ali, born in Finland to immigrant parents would be locally considered a "New Finn" which is the "favoured term in Finland from the second generation" (Koivunen &

Marsio 2007). The term “immigrant” is in Finland used to describe students who have recently arrived in Finland as well as those who have been born in Finland and have “immigrant backgrounds” (Lappalainen 2006: 34 cited and translated by Rajander 2010: 127). More recent newcomers are usually not citizens because citizenship applications may be made only after 4-7 years of continuous residency and the successful demonstration of language competencies in either Finnish or Swedish (Finnish Immigration Service). Other terms have been suggested to me over the course of this study such as “migrants,” “foreigners,” “sojourners,” or “international students.” Many families who immigrate to Finland are in search of opportunities may not know their future plans, and are even less likely to share this. For myself, I prefer to use the term “newcomer” which indexes their arrival without presupposing the duration of their stay in Finland or the purpose of their immigration.

Newcomers in the classroom were considered by the teacher to be very successful students, even as more successful than their Finnish peers because of their isolation in being unable to speak with anyone in their first language, unlike their peers who often used Finnish in class with peers. At the same time, this relative isolation constructed alliances between newcomers which extended or sprung from family ties in this relatively small community where people generally termed “foreigners” would come together socially across ethnic and national groups.

Lucille was in the first grade at the outset of my fieldwork. She was a newcomer to Finland, who arrived from France one year prior to the first grade and was enrolled in the same private English language preschool as Aleksis. Her parents used English as a lingua franca in the workplace and had not studied Finnish at the time of my fieldwork. The family maintained strong ties to France, visiting frequently and hosting family and friends at their home in Finland. They expressed pleasure in Lucille’s progress in acquiring English language skills to the point of sometimes being embarrassed of them and correcting their errors. Newcomers in this study are in the unique position of being educated through a non-national language and additionally studying Finnish as a foreign language one period per day. Very quickly such students may find their proficiency in the local language of Finnish, and English exceeds that of their parents.

Ariel was also in the first grade at the outset of my fieldwork. She came to Finland from Italy a few years prior to beginning elementary school. Her family had immigrated to Finland for the purpose of a job opportunity given to her father. Ariel’s father spoke enthusiastically about the opportunity for his family to experience a new culture and language, and they had also considered several other possibilities for moving abroad prior to choosing Finland. It was clear that one of the greatest draws for moving to Finland was the widespread use of English. He also explained that moving to Finland provided the opportunity for his children to attend an English medium school, a form of education which would be very expensive in Italy. The family was uncertain of what the future would hold, but hoped to enroll Ariel’s younger siblings into the English

speaking class in time. Both Ariel and Lucille's families attended an English language church service offered for foreigners locally and this provided yet another arena for the use of English. Ariel and Lucille were friends and so the girls shared a particularly close bond at the beginning of my fieldwork.

Newcomers without an English or Finnish language background, contend with the dual demands of a new school language and a new peer or community language. It is fair to observe that such students experience the English language microcosm of the classroom quite differently. To illustrate this I will share an example of interaction. In this extract the teacher encourages Lucille to go to another class to borrow some materials and it appears that language beyond the classroom may be a factor in her initial refusal.

Extract 4

- 01 Teacher: I don't have it here
02 would you like to get it
03 Lucille: where
04 Teacher: it's in Saara's classroom↑
05 first grade classroom
06 you could go >I'm not going to go knock on the door [and ask] <
07 Lucille: [no I don't]
08 Teacher: ↑you can do that
09 you can say in English [could I please] bo:rrro:w
10 Ariel: [I can go with her]
11 Lucille: can Ariel come with me
12 Teacher: -yeah
13 you can explain what you are doing↓

Lucille asks "where" she would have to go (line 3). It is when Lucille is told that she must go to a regular Finnish language classroom, that she responds in the negative (line 7). The teacher however, speaks emphatically with an upward intonation to Lucille stating "you can do that" (line 8). The teacher further explicates "you can say in English" (line 9). Ariel also offers to go with her, and the teacher approves. While it is possible that the opportunity to take a friend is what convinces Lucille to approach a Finnish class when she hesitates to go to another class, I believe that the teacher recognizes an important concern of Lucille's: the language. By telling her that she can use English, and providing the phrase she would need, the teacher is giving direction that she would not give to most other students in the class who have Finnish as a first language and who would naturally speak Finnish in the school hallways and beyond.

In sum, the make-up of this classroom reflects the role of mobility in family life. This notion of mobility is not restricted to where one has lived previously and currently has chosen to live, but also where one expects to live in the future. Choices parents make about the education of their children in this

class sometimes reflect on past experience of living abroad, on which they wish to capitalize or may reflect what these parents envision for the future of the family. Both past mobility, and perceived future mobility emerge ethnographically as crucial factors in parent decisions about education in this research. Because indeed it is parents who make the educational decision for children of this age, and the existence of this English medium class is in part a result of parental interest. While not a central focus of this study, these are contextualizing layers for the micro-level examination of language norms.

3.3 Data

3.3.1 Introduction

This study draws on multiple methods of analysis as well as different kinds of data. This is characteristic of classroom ethnography, which usually “involves a combination of ethnographic description, micro-analysis of events, and discourse analysis” (Duff 2002: 292). Traditionally language socialization research is ethnographic in nature and entails the collection of some or all of the following sources of data: “recorded and transcribed interactions, interviews, and participant observations” (Schieffelin & Ochs 1996: 252). As such, there is a vast body of classroom research utilizing ethnographic methods and analyzing interaction. Many ethnographic studies, like my own, foreground interaction. However, there are few examples of classroom research that present and *analyze* multiple kinds of data in one paper. While the analysis of interaction comprises the majority of data presented in the articles of this thesis, other kinds of data were also drawn upon. I gathered a range of evidence in order to make connections between what I observed, what I was told in interviews, and what I discovered through artefacts, with the purpose of better understanding issues surrounding language choice in this setting.

The data I collected fits into three broad categories. First, I made fieldnotes and collected artefacts which included student work such as journal entries, drawings and assignments, school notices, and written communications between the home and the school. Second, I recorded interviews with the classroom teacher, students, and parents. Third, I made audio and audio-visual recordings in the classroom. I will now elaborate further on the collection of each of these data types.

3.3.2 Fieldnotes and artefacts

Fieldnotes, as a textual representation of the process of fieldwork and a record of my observations are central to this study. Data collection began with fieldnotes as I waited for consent forms in order to record in the classroom. Fieldnotes document my first impressions, observations and meetings.

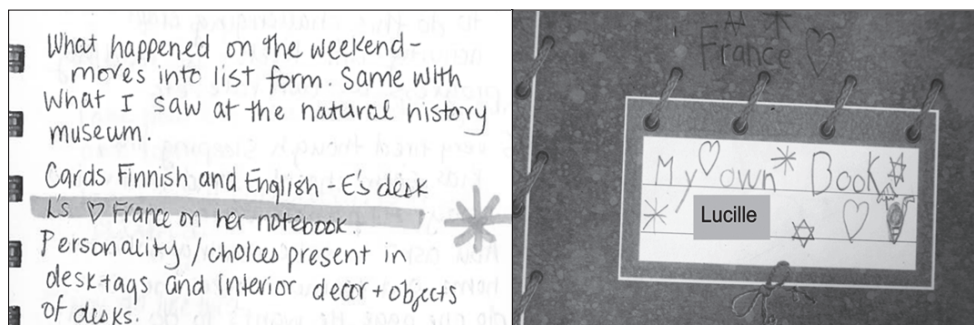


FIGURE 2 On the left, my fieldnotes which record information about Lucille's notebook. On the right, a photograph of Lucille's notebook cover.

Fieldnotes have proven to be a significant resource in managing data. Fieldnotes document my observations, key utterances to look for later on when listening to recordings and provide a record of artefacts. Figure 2 illustrates the role of fieldnotes very well. During my fieldwork, the classroom teacher had given me permission to look into student desks when they were outside on breaks to examine their notebooks and text books. On one occasion I wrote the notes featured in Figure 2 and took photographs. In this instance I was interested in the way the students personalized the interiors of the desks with pictures taped to the inside of the flip-up lid, and the illustrations on their notebook covers. Later when forming an outline for a paper I poured through my notebooks of fieldnotes with a highlighter, looking for comments related to Ariel and Lucille, two newcomers I was focusing on. This fieldnote led me to the photograph. I had already noticed Lucille's frequent references to France and herself as French, but this image provided a visual representation of this. I discuss the image of this notebook inscribed with "France" in relation to Lucille's situated identity in Article 1. Fieldnotes are a record of the process of fieldwork, but because the process of fieldwork is recursive and reflexive and is, in fact, the beginning of analysis, fieldnotes are integral data. While seemingly subjective in nature, they are objective in revealing processes and biases underlying the selection of data and orientation to the topic.

The collection of artefacts was an integral part of my fieldwork, regardless of whether they are featured in analysis presented in an article or not. The collection of artefacts was also part of the process of doing fieldwork, whereby I came to understand the research setting and participants better. By looking at pictures the students drew, reading their journal entries, I was able to better know the students as individuals. For example, when focusing on Aarto for the purpose of my fourth article, I was struck by how he represented himself in a paper plate self-portrait.

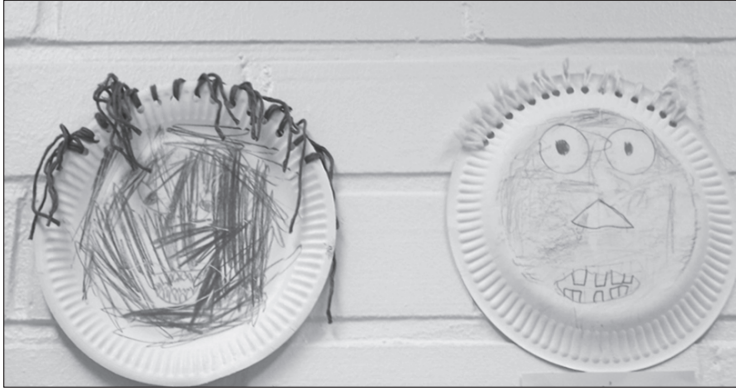


FIGURE 3 On the left, a self-portrait made by Aarto at the beginning of grade 1.

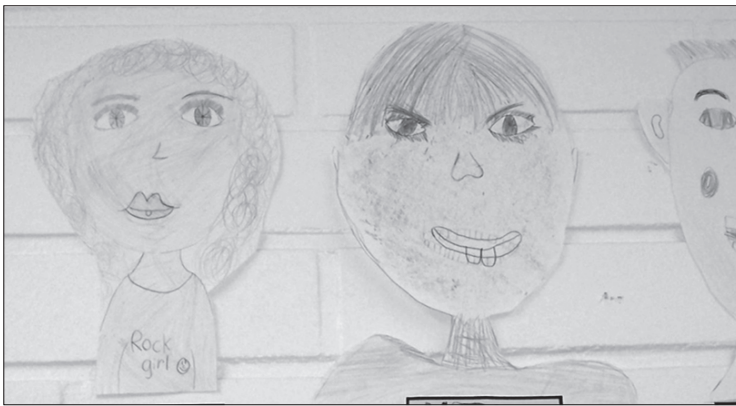


FIGURE 4 At centre, a self-portrait made by Aarto towards the end of grade 1. On the left, a self-portrait made by Minja.

First, it is noticeable that Aarto's fine motor skills are not as developed as other first grade students (Figure 3). When I look at another self-portrait done later in the year, the improvement is astonishing, and the work shows a greater degree of detail and control (Figure 4). But consistent with both portraits is that Aarto portrays himself with dark brown skin, darker than all of the other students. While the tone of his skin is darker than some students, it is not darker than Minja's for example, who has African heritage (in Figure 4). It is a feature that he notes carefully in each rendering, significant to him, and it is a feature which sets him apart from most of the other students. I am also struck by the expression of wicked glee he portrays in these portraits. It may be an accident that the eyebrows shoot upwards, or it may be intentional, but there is something of the trouble-maker represented in these images. Such representations may not enter into the analysis presented in my articles, but did

trigger my interest into particular issues and in this case I began with renewed interest to look for further data on Aarto, a student who was often “in trouble” for using Finnish in class.

3.3.3 Interviews

On many occasions I informally discussed my observations with the teacher during breaks or after school. Such short conversations were insightful in regards to the day-to-day practices of running the classroom. It became almost unnecessary to conduct longer, formal interviews, thus I officially interviewed the classroom teacher only three times over the course of my fieldwork. I also conducted three informal student interviews with second grade students with whom I had become acquainted with over time. I chose five focal families to interview on the basis of how active their child was in the interactional data I was working with at the time. I had met many of the families when I introduced myself and my research interests at the parent night at the beginning of the school year. I also became acquainted with two families at local cultural events conducted in English. In selecting families I also aimed to represent the different kinds of experiences of a variety of students. As such, the families I chose to interview might be characterized as a.) newcomers to Finland, b.) a Finnish family with plans to go abroad in the future, c.) a Finnish family who had lived abroad previously or d.) a Finnish-English bilingual family.

While initially enthusiastic to start asking questions, I also soon discovered that “asking is indeed very often the worst possible way of trying to find out” (Blommaert & Jie 2010: 3). Getting at the underlying ideologies and beliefs that guide the way people use language, inform pedagogy, or guide educational choices is very difficult. The parents I contacted were all eager to speak with me and pleased to share their experiences with English language medium education. I was surprised to discover that they wished to ask me questions as well. And hence, some diplomacy was required on my behalf to avoid being placed into the role of evaluating the progress of students.

Beyond the need to articulate how one understands interviews, for instance navigating the constructivist-positivist dichotomy whereby one theorizes an interview as a methodological tool providing information, or a narrative construction (Milner & Glassner 1997), it has been asserted that interviews are in fact theorized in ways which are frequently not consistent with the overall research frame (Talmy 2010). For instance, it is problematic “when studies that are explicitly formulated with poststructuralist, social constructionist, and/or social practice theoretical frameworks adopt for their theory of interview a research instrument perspective” (ibid: 139). This is a point I agree with and will give more consideration to when utilizing interview data in future. The vast majority of my interview data has not appeared in the thesis articles but as I previously mentioned, has provided experiences and insights that shaped much of my work. Interview data is interspersed in this thesis, and plays a particularly significant role in Articles 1 and 4. For example, through interview data with the classroom teacher my attention was drawn to

the problem of membership in relation to Aarto, a student perceived to be struggling with English. In this regard, I have not theorized interview data as distinct from the work of doing ethnography. Most often the interview data included in the articles serves to highlight contradictions, beliefs, or issues made relevant by participants in this setting.

3.3.4 Classroom interaction: Making recordings

First, I will explain the logistics of collecting recordings. In total I recorded 77 lessons as well as the time in between classes and at the start and end of the school day. I began by audio-recording with the use of two MP3 recorders before bringing video-recording equipment into the classroom. This gave the students time to adjust to my presence and allowed me to pinpoint which lessons to record, and where to position the cameras. I initiated fieldwork in January 2008 and it continued until after the completion of the following school year with a teacher interview in June 2009. In Finland students have summer holidays in June and July. Thus fieldwork spanned 1.5 school years, during which time I made weekly or bi-weekly visits. I made audio-visual recordings of Maths, English, Arts, Environmental Sciences, and Handicrafts lessons. I also occasionally attended other subjects with the students taught by another teacher, such as Religion, Finnish and Music. This other teacher was in her first year working at the school and welcomed me to observe her classes but was not comfortable with participating in this study. As I will discuss in greater detail next, much of my data is drawn from Handicrafts and Arts lessons where students worked independently for much of the time. The school day for first and second grade students would span 3-6 hours per day (this varied from the first to second year of fieldwork) depending on which classes were scheduled for a total of 21 hours in class per week. I did not make recordings in the staff room or on the playground although I spent time in both places.

Timetable EKL 1-2

Time	Monday	Tuesday	Wednesday	Thursday	Friday
8-9			Handicrafts		
9-10	Finnish a + b	R.E.	Handicrafts	Finnish a	ENS
10-11	English	P.E.	Maths	P.E.	English
11-12	Art	Music	English	Maths	RE./ART
12-13	Maths	Finnish a + b	Finnish a	ENS	Finnish b
13-14	Finnish a + b			Finnish b	

FIGURE 5 Image of the timetable posted on the wall inside the classroom during the second year of fieldwork. Finnish group A and B differentiate between “Finnish mother tongue instruction” and “Finnish as an additional language.” Thus students may start or finish the day at different times.

In terms of recording equipment, I often used two video cameras on tripods in the corners of the classroom to capture a view of the class from the front as well as a view of the teacher as she faced the students. Sometimes when video equipment was booked by other researchers, I used only one camera. I also used two MP3 recorders placed strategically to capture peer conversation and ensure quality audio. Even so, it remained a challenge to capture the many overlapping conversations and activities occurring simultaneously in the classroom. And on more than one occasion the students played with the recorders or the batteries ran low so it was always necessary to have at least two recorders.

3.4 Selection of data

There were several phases of data selection. Quite soon after beginning my fieldwork my attention was drawn to the way in which language choice was managed in the classroom. I began to note instances where participants made the English language norm of the class relevant in interaction. I made a rough transcription based on audio and audio-visual recordings of all instances where language choice or use was oriented to by the classroom participants. This transcription occurred on an ongoing basis throughout my fieldwork and well

afterwards. From this broad collection of roughly transcribed examples, I began to note the recurrence of particular kinds of phenomenon related to management of the English language norm, such as resistance to the norm, subteaching actions, and instances of repair. I systematically selected and transcribed in greater detail extracts highlighting the focus of each paper as my thesis work progressed. As discussed earlier, I also chose focal participants to follow more closely. The focal students, as more vocal members of the class were usually featured in the interactions or became focal students during the process of fieldwork. In the case of the final article which offers a case study of Aarto, I selected and compiled a large number of interactions in which he participated.

Keeping in mind that a transcript is an “interpretive record, selected and edited; theoretical descriptions” and not “the events or utterances themselves,” I have made every attempt to accurately represent the elements of speech I selected as necessary to analysis (Schieffelin 1990: 32). Transcription conventions are drawn from Jefferson (2004) but are adapted to the needs of ethnographic micro-analysis. These conventions are illustrated in Appendix 1. English translations for Finnish utterances were done with the assistance of various colleagues on an informal basis, as needed.

While some of the data extracts analysed are drawn from lessons or peer conversations between classes, a great deal of the analysis focuses on interaction that takes place during handicrafts. This is not surprising because handicrafts are a significant component of the primary school curriculum, equivalent in curriculum hours to foreign language (A) instruction from grades 1-6 (Garber 2002) and date back to the origins of the Finnish education as conceptualized by Uno Cygnaeus in the 1860's (Reincke 1995). Handicrafts lessons are distinct from Art lessons and during my fieldwork entailed projects which required the learning of new skills and often the creation of functional objects, generally through work with textiles (such as sewing, needlework, weaving bracelets, working with felt). In one study on handicrafts education in Finland, a researcher interviewed sixteen Finnish teachers of handicrafts and found that among many perceived benefits of such lessons, teachers also reported that handicraft lessons were beneficial in “learning to be a member of a community and learning to work with others” (Garber 2002: 137). This was certainly the case in my field work. Students sat in groups and conversed freely while at the same time they negotiated the sharing, lending and borrowing of materials and supplies, and often relied upon peer assistance with difficult tasks. It is not surprising that such activity provided a rich source of data about the negotiation of language choice in social interaction within the classroom.

3.5 Analysis

3.5.1 Ethnography and interaction

I have used the term microethnographic (Article 1) to describe an approach to discourse analysis that foregrounds “social, cultural and political processes” by drawing on a number of traditions but which is most notably influenced by sociolinguistic ethnography and linguistic anthropology (Bloome et al. 2005, xv). Microethnography was developed by Erickson and colleagues in the 1970’s for the “intensive, repetitive, rigorous and fine-grained micro-analysis of video-recorded data” (Atkinson, Okada & Talmy 2011). In later articles in the thesis, however, I have discussed microanalysis in terms of the methods of discourse analysis and conversation analysis as best suiting the focus of analysis. It is common to ethnographic research, linguistic ethnography in particular, to draw on the analytic resources which best give insight to the “mechanisms and dynamics of social and cultural reproduction of everyday life” (Rampton et al. 2004: 2). Drawing on more than one method of analysis allows me to combine ethnomethodological concerns with how language structures activities and practices in the classroom (ten Have 2004) with discourse analytic concerns about the significance of language to participants (Gee 2005). In this study such approaches are embedded within an ethnographic frame, described to be beneficial to analysis:

“Ethnography’s emphasis on close knowledge through first hand participation allows the researcher to attend to aspects of lived experience that are hard to articulate, merely incipient, or erased within the systems of representation that are most regular and reliably described” (Rampton et al. 2004: 7).

Education is a case in point, as an institution comprised of practices and activities of which most of society is familiar with. Although discourse analysis and conversation analysis are very distinct approaches to the analysis of interaction, both provide a way to systematically uncover processes that constitute daily activities and practice from which the ethnographer may need analytic distance (Rampton 2007; Rampton et al. 2004). A record of interaction as well as ethnographic fieldwork work together to not only document language use, but also uncover how attitudes towards language practices are constructed (Kyratzis, Reynolds & Evaldsson 2010: 460). Further, members of peer groups draw on “immediate and more distant interactional history to make sense of attitudes and ideas conveyed through talk and action” (Schieffelin and Ochs 1996: 253). Longitudinal engagement in the research context provides analytic resources for making sense of situated interaction.

3.5.2 Discourse analysis and conversation analysis

Establishing the relationship between micro-level interactions and broader sociocultural processes is what characterizes language socialization research as anthropological inquiry (Schieffelin & Ochs 1996). As I have articulated in the articles, I draw on discourse analysis as a method for exploring within situated interactions, what language means to participants, how language operates in the classroom and how language is drawn upon in participating and enacting identities (Blommaert 2005; Gee 2005). I follow Gee's approach to discourse analysis which highlights the "movement from context to language and from language to context" (2005: 14). This is perhaps one area where discourse analysis meshes well with a broader ethnographic frame. By acknowledging locally contingent and sequential processes of meaning-making (also inherent to CA and microethnography) a discourse analytic perspective is based on a platform of language use as inseparable from context (Rymes 2009).

At the heart of most approaches of discourse analysis, however, is the study of "language-in-use," which in essence highlights the importance of context (Johnstone 2002; Rymes 2009). The study of language or interaction cannot be separated from the context: the "defining feature of discourse" is the way in which language can "do infinitely different things when being used in different kinds of situations" (Rymes 2009: 7). Discourse analysis offers a perspective whereby a microanalysis of interaction, contextually oriented, can uncover normative expectations and understandings about language. When we communicate "we always use the grammar of our language to take a particular perspective on what the 'world' is like" (Gee 2005: 4). Our language reveals a stance on what is, or is not, normal, appropriate, correct, real and right. These perspectives have implications for what we consider to be a social goods conveying power or prestige, and implications for the distribution of social goods (ibid).

While discourse analysis guides my overall approach to the analysis of interaction, conversation analysis supports my analysis as a way to "describe the procedures used by participants in conversation to produce and understand that behavior" (Goodwin 1990: 5). Goodwin (1990) draws our attention to the compatibility of the underlying goals of conversation analysis to the ethnographic orientation to culture. Goodwin (1990) draws on the claim that the goal of conversation analysis is "the description and explication of the competencies that ordinary speakers use and rely on in participating in intelligible, socially organized interaction" (Heritage & Atkinson 1984: 1). Language socialization takes understanding the organization of such participation one step further, to "understanding how persons are socialized to become competent member of social groups and the role of language in this process" (Schieffelin & Ochs 1996: 252).

Conversation analysis entails attention to turn-taking which focuses analysis on social action. By focusing on social action conversation analysis asks us to consider what talk is doing, rather than considering what it is about

(Schegloff 2007). Further, by examining turn-taking we examine the sequential organization of an interaction as actions are considered relative to other actions (ibid). My analysis has been influenced by a CA informed perspective on turn-taking and therefore the proof procedure. According to Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974):

“Since it is the parties’ understanding of prior turns’ talk that is relevant to their construction of next turns, it is their understandings that are wanted for analysis. The display of those understandings in the talk in subsequent turns affords a resource for the analysis of prior turns” (p. 728-729).

This means examining what is made significant by participants within interaction, as each turn is built upon the last. So when I am uncertain about how an utterance may be understood, I look to how the utterance is responded to by the interlocutor, drawing on this emic perspective as a resource in my analysis. Goodwin (1990) points out that the emic affordance of a conversation analytic approach are in line with the goal of ethnography to move “beyond the analyst’s interpretation of what is happening to capture in some sense how members of the social group themselves interpret and constitute the events being studied” (p. 5-6).

Conversation analysis allows for the “detailed study of small phenomena” (Sacks 1984: 24). At times a fine-grained analysis has been necessary to unravel the complicated nature of multi-party interaction in the classroom. Paying such close attention to elements of speech can provide information about the “stances, actions, activities and social identities of interlocutors” (Schieffelin & Ochs 1996: 253). Drawing on conversation analysis has given access to a concise and explicit terminology to describe other interactional phenomena. I have utilized the research from CA on actions characterized as imitation, mockery, recasts, gendered address, and designedly incomplete utterances. I have borrowed and applied the CA concept of repair, which is a resource in interaction for contending with problems of speaking, hearing or understanding which hinder the establishment of intersubjectivity, or mutual understanding (Schegloff et al. 1977). Repair among peers often builds asymmetrical relations of power through such actions as recasts, prompts, repetition, directives, mimicry and reproach. Thus the notion of repair offers a way to link language use in this setting to social actions through the microanalysis of interaction.

3.6 Ethical considerations

Arrangements for fieldwork were made directly between the classroom teacher and myself. When I met with the teacher I expressed an interest in literacy and language practices of the classroom and emphasized the non-pedagogic focus of my analysis. This is a very general description of my interests, but my

fieldwork arrangements coincided with the beginning of my doctoral study and thus I was open to discovering my focus. As most classroom teachers engage in some form of classroom research to achieve the master's degree necessary for practice, most are familiar with research processes. On a personal note, my feeling was that in a school where previous research has taken place, where there is a doctoral thesis already placed in the staff library, and where there are also members of staff pursuing doctoral degrees, the ways and means of research require less explanation than the Canadian context with which I am familiar.

In order to give something back to the teacher and make my presence a welcome one, I offered to be as useful as possible to her by assisting her in any way possible during my visits. At the beginning of my fieldwork, I collected signed consent forms from the headmaster, the classroom teacher, and the parents of each child in the class. Additionally, if other visitors participated in classroom life on a recording day, they also were asked for written consent. During the course of the study this included visiting international students, another subject teacher, and a student teacher. In the introduction of the consent form I explained my general research interests and my background as a classroom teacher and librarian. In the consent form I offered the parents the right to withdraw from the study at any time and to view any recorded data relating to their child. I also explained that I would make every effort to preserve anonymity by not revealing the name of the school and by using pseudonyms for all participants. I stated that the data would be held in the Department of Languages at the University of Jyväskylä and may be shared only for research purposes such as teaching, publishing, or presenting in conferences. Consent forms were sent out at the start of the second school year of fieldwork as well and all participants gave consent. Additional consent forms were signed by parents when I conducted interviews.

I have not named the geographical area of this study, nor the school in any publications. The pseudonyms I have used for the students are my own creation and when possible reflect their national orientation to a similar degree as their true names. The names are used consistently throughout the thesis so that it is possible to follow one student. Particularly when individual students are prominently featured I have not described their appearance, nor have I revealed any information that would make their identification easy. Three years have now passed since the time of fieldwork, and a recent school visit revealed that several students featured in this study no longer attend this school or live in the country.

In the first year of fieldwork, one family expressed concern about video-recording and in response I created a special consent form where they might select permissible uses for the data. They granted permission to make video-recordings for the purpose of creating transcripts, writing and publishing but forbid the sharing of video-data for any purposes where their child was visible. This was not problematic due to the use of video-editing software. Also, by the

second year of fieldwork their child had moved on to the next grade. No other objections to data collection were raised during the course of my fieldwork.

While no one would argue the importance of video data to analysis, sharing images and video is another matter. I have concluded that sharing this video-data in research settings is crucial because it so richly illustrates classroom life in a way that words alone cannot do. Often it is only through viewing images that one can understand how young these children are and thus how surprising it is that they exhibit such a high level of metalinguistic awareness. I also believe the possibility for recognition is low. This is because the quality of images is relatively poor and thus not very clear, and further the participants may no longer be recognizable to a great degree because several years have passed and the changes in appearance during primary school are significant.

Patterns of language use emerge more clearly through a fine-grained analysis of interaction, patterns of which the participants may not be aware, particularly in the classrooms where many activities take place simultaneously, and interactions are complex multi-party affairs. In fact, “linguistic ethnographers need to take on the epistemic authority to make truth claims which may differ from those of their research participants” and this may be at odds with an ethnographic aim of incorporating participant perspectives (Tusting & Maybin 2007: 579-580). In this regard, it has been useful to draw on methods of analysis that foreground the importance of examining interaction as constructed by participants turn-by-turn. Additionally at times during my fieldwork I discussed my observations with the classroom teacher. For example, on one occasion I described the sequence of interactions that unfolded one day where Aarto (featured in Article 4) was corrected or targeted for incorrect language use, first by her, and subsequently by other students. The teacher was both interested and surprised by my description and we engaged in conversation about this pupil. I did not consult with the teacher regarding my analysis of interaction and later thesis work once the period of fieldwork came to a close. It is my belief that such a consultation, had it been possible, would have proven insightful and may have opened up a different kind of dialogue, producing perhaps a different foci of analysis in some cases. However I believe it is equally valid to proceed without member checking, particularly from a linguistic standpoint.

4 RESULTS

4.1 Overview

In this section I present each of the articles in turn, giving a summary of the results. In the case of Article 1 and Article 4, I have included an additional data extract which is not found in the original articles but which further illustrates my findings. In each summary I note ways in which the articles contribute to the aim of the thesis as well as what the findings contribute to the research literature.

4.2 Article 1

Copp Jinkerson, A. (forthcoming). Newcomers navigating language choice and seeking voice: Peer talk in a multilingual primary school classroom in Finland. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*.

This article investigates how two young newcomers, Ariel and Lucille, navigate an institutional policy of “English only” in a Finnish primary school classroom, and how this policy impacts opportunities for achieving voice. The term “navigate” invokes a metaphor of finding one’s way, contending with possible obstacles, and attempting to traverse a path from one point to another. This term is apt in describing how two students who start in a similar place, come to find distinct ways to participate in classroom life, moving between English and Finnish and the expectations of the teacher and their peers. In considering the diverging paths of the two girls, factors such as friendship, migration, and family discourses on language are drawn upon and this article thereby acknowledges the range of factors that may influence the different ways that newcomers respond to the institutional English language policy. This article contributes to the literature on language policy and multilingual classroom

discourse through a “bottom up” approach to language policy, offering a micro-level analysis of how learners respond to, and enact language norms.

This article presents the broadest range of data types in the thesis by utilizing excerpts of parent, teacher and student interviews and photographs of artefacts in addition to the analysis of transcripts of interaction. Drawing on such a diverse range of data illustrates the full complexity of language norms in the classroom and reveals factors which may otherwise be overlooked. For example, through the interview data the importance of the friendship between the two focal students first becomes apparent, as commented on by both a parent and a teacher.

This article tackles the central theme of the thesis, the way participants contend with the language norms of the classroom, and does so by focusing on newcomers in the classroom contributing a more nuanced understanding of how language norms uniquely impact individuals. The analysis of interaction powerfully reveals how Ariel and Lucille respond to “breaches” in the institutional policy for English; the peer use of Finnish. Findings reveal that these two newcomers find different ways to respond to the language policy of the class over time.

In this article I draw on a dialogic conceptualization of voice as a social process whereby the utterances of others are appropriated and produced as one’s own (Bakhtin 1981). My approach to voice in this article is influenced by contemporary applications of voice as contextually oriented, whereby not all speakers have equal opportunities to be understood by others (Blommaert 2008a). Achieving voice therefore entails acting agentively despite ascribed identities, roles, and positioning in relation to particular discourses. This conceptualization of voice draws our attention to instances where students are not passive, but are active in utilizing available semiotic and linguistic resource in order to express themselves and to be acknowledged by others.

Knowing how and when to appropriately and contextually use English or Finnish is a matter of achieving communicative competence in this setting (Hymes 1966). Language socialization offers a theoretical framework for examining how competency is achieved through language by focusing on interaction between more and less experienced members of a group. The findings of this paper contribute to the more recent focus of language socialization on the importance of multiple affiliations and investments and the impact of such on identity construction.

In the analysis I introduce Ariel and Lucille through a range of data, seeking to reveal something about their personal trajectories and even the intersection of their trajectories. Lucille moved to Finland from France one year prior to fieldwork. Family ties to the homeland remain strong and Lucille displays an orientation to all things French as illustrated in this article through examples of interaction, journal entries, an image of her notebook, and a note sent to school by her mother. Ariel is introduced primarily through a family interview where her father constructs a narrative of hardship, struggle and triumph as the family relocates from Italy to Finland and together tackles language learning.

The next part of the analysis introduces extracts of classroom interaction where I take a microethnographic approach to discourse analysis. Drawing on two different extracts of interaction I illustrate how Ariel and Lucille adopt similar or collusive positions in relation to the use of Finnish in class. In the first example, both girls self-identify as non-speakers of Finnish when the teacher asks if any of the students do not “speak any Finnish” on the first day of the second grade. In this extract, and also in an interview, the teacher expresses the opinion that the girls do indeed understand and speak Finnish. At the same time their friendship is attributed to be an important factor in their rapid acquisition of English by both Ariel’s father and the teacher. In the second example, Lucille directs peers to speak English rather than Finnish and when one student resists, Ariel claims to dislike Finnish. In the analysis of this extract I show how the two girls align by jointly resisting the use of Finnish in the classroom, by rejecting the importance of Finnish in their lives, and indexing their shared experiences as newcomers.

The data extract that follows also concerns an instance when one of the girls problematizes language. This extract is not found in the paper due to constraints of economy and the fact that it concerns Lucille alone. Nevertheless it illustrates an instance when Lucille expresses concerns about Finnish and is positioned as a Finnish speaker by her teacher.

Extract 5

- 21 Teacher: and also I have this booklet (.) to give everyone here
 22 Student: o:h↓
 23 Teacher: this (1.0) has got information about the school
 24 very impo:rtant information
 25 that your pa↓rents would probably like to read (.)
 26 at ↓home so make sure
 27 you take ↑this home to [your mom and dad]
 28 Lucille: [it’s in Finnish] it’s in Finnish
 29 Teacher: it is in Finnish
 30 Lucille: my mom >can’t read it (x)<
 31 Teacher: -well >I ↓will give it< ↓anyway
 32 cause you can help them (to understand)
 33 Lucille: °no°
 34 Teacher: you know Finnish
 ((places her hand on Lucille’s shoulder))
 35 Aleks: Ms S
 36 Teacher: and then you can put the glu:e stick away
 yes ↑Aleksi

This extract highlights Lucille's response to a textual document written in Finnish which therefore falls outside the expected norms for language use in the classroom. When the teacher stresses the importance of this booklet, Lucille asserts twice, overlapping with teacher talk, "it's in Finnish" (line 28) which the teacher affirms (line 29). Lucille has correctly anticipated language trouble and next claims that her mother "can't read it" (line 30). The teacher then characterizes Lucille as someone who can help her parents translate Finnish text (line 32). Lucille quietly rejects this role (line 33) to which the teacher responds in the next turn, placing her hand on her shoulder and stating "you know Finnish." Lucille however, remains silent. This short extract reveals that when positioned as a Finnish speaker Lucille "does not participate in the acts, stances, or activities associated with the production of this student identity" (Talmy 2005: 628). Lucille rejects the role of competent user of Finnish, by rejecting the notion of helping her parents with Finnish language school notices sent home with her. This data also offers a glimpse of how a newcomer deals with contradictions in language policy present in this classroom. While she is expected to use only English in the classroom environment, she is also expected to activate Finnish, a language that is not allowed in class, in order to gain access to the same information as her classmates.

The second part of the article focuses on an instance where Lucille and Ariel respond differently to the illicit use of Finnish by their peers. Ariel participates in a Finnish conversation with her peers, however Lucille reports this breach in the language norm to the teacher. When the teacher addresses the group of boys about their language use, they claim that Ariel has also used Finnish.

Extract 6 (excerpt from Article 1, Extract 3)

58 Teacher: boys↑ did you hear what Ar-what Lucille said to me

59 Aleks: no

60 Teacher: what do you think she said to me

61 Kalle: I ↓don't [↓kno:w]

62 Ariel: [(we know)] (0.5) working >I mean< they were speaking >Finnish<

63 Eerik: you (x)

64 Ariel: no

65 Andrew: [(a little bit)]

66 Teacher: [we have agreed] that we only speak [English here]

67 Aleks: [yes you did]

68 Teacher: [because that's the] only language that we all share

69 Lucille: [(Ariel x)]

70 Kalle: [°Ariel even] did speak°

71 Andrew: -Finnish

72 Aleks: (she won't) lis↓ten

73 Andrew: [you speaks a little]

When Lucille reports the illicit use of Finnish among her peers, the teacher broaches the subject in a manner in which the students are asked to admit their transgression. Ariel voluntarily reports that "they," meaning the boys, "were speaking Finnish" (line 62). The boys insist that Ariel has used Finnish, Aleks stating directly "yes you did" (line 67). In the following turn, Lucille uses Ariel's name but her utterance is unclear. Kalle states "Ariel even did speak" and Andrew completes his turn, stating "Finnish" (lines 70-71). Aleks tells the other boys that Ariel "won't listen" and Andrew and Kalle try once more, stating respectively, "you speaks a little" and "but you did speak" (lines 73 and 75). Ariel remains silent and denies speaking Finnish (line 64) only once. Through her response to the teacher and her denial, Ariel shows alignment to institutional practices for using language when the teacher is present. However, the reaction of her peers makes it clear that she has indeed participated in a peer conversation in Finnish, which contrasts with the monitoring and reporting actions of Lucille.

This final extract shows that while both girls began in a similar place, aligning against the use of Finnish by Finnish speaking peers, upholding the English norm and disassociating themselves with the Finnish language, there has been a shift. Lucille monitors language use in line with the language policy of the class which gives her greater resources for inclusion in peer talk. Ariel orients towards using Finnish, acquiring a voice in peer talk, and is recognized as a participant, even if this is just temporary. This analysis gives evidence to the "variable, contingent, nonlinear" nature of development which language socialization studies seek to further address (Garrett 2008: 200). When examining how they are positioned or socialized to classroom practices immigrant pupils are often taken as a group rather than individuals with diverse trajectories (although see Cekaite 2007; Toohey 2000). The unpredictable nature of socialization stems from the multiplicity of factors influencing learning and also conflicting memberships and alignments which this study has attempted to reveal. Both girls are daily acquiring greater and great proficiency in Finnish and yet this is not solely about the activation of language, but about alignment to classroom practices as well as peer group social norms which may be in conflict.

This work responds to the call for an examination of actual practices and consideration of learner agency in responding to and shaping language policy (Schiffman 1996; Shohamy 2006; Spolsky 2004). Beyond examining how local interpretations of policy and actual practices within institutions emerge, this work shows also how policies may also constrain language choice in a multilingual classroom and have particular social consequences. By investigating the different ways that Lucille and Ariel navigate language policy and choice in the classroom, we gain a better understanding of the ways in which students situate multiple school and community languages in their daily

lives and find their own distinct ways to navigate sometimes contradictory classroom practices.

4.3 Article 2

Copp Jinkerson, A. 2011. Interpreting and managing a monolingual norm in an English-speaking class in Finland: When first and second graders contest the norm. *Apples - Journal of Applied Language Studies* 5(1), 27-48.

This study explores the stances that multilingual learners adopt in the face of a monolingual, “English-only” norm in a primary English medium class in Finland. While English is the language of the classroom and a lingua franca between Finnish speaking students and newcomers, Finnish also plays a crucial part of daily classroom life. This article contributes to the aims of the thesis by showing that the English norm impacts and positions students differently and also reveals the ways in which students agentively respond and position themselves reinterpreting, reformulating and contesting the norm.

This article draws on language socialization in order to foreground the way speaker actions, stances, identities and activities interdependently construct this normative context for language use (Ochs 2002). The language socialization literature has highlighted how processes of language socialization are negotiated and may entail a variety of possible outcomes (Miller 1994: 159). Prior language socialization research has shown that ideologies of language can be resisted and also reproduced through language practices of a social group and taken up in contradictory and momentary ways (Guardado 2009). This work contributes to the literature on socialization of norms for language use in school, and extends it by examining not only instances where students embrace or reject institutional norms, but reinterpret and enforce such norms among peers. As such this article, more than any other in the thesis foregrounds the *variety* of ways that students respond to institutional norms and the articulation of conflicting and multiple language ideologies. This paper draws on the greatest number of interactional examples and in doing so, is able to comprehensively show how students interpret and manage the monolingual norm differently in daily classroom life. I present a microanalysis of seven extracts of classroom interaction. These extracts feature three focal students: Ali, a Finnish speaker with a home language of Bengali, Aleks, who speaks Finnish as a first language, and Lucille, a newcomer to Finland who speaks French as a first language.

The analysis of interaction begins with a focus on teacher mediated interactions with students. The analysis illustrates how the teacher typically maintains the English speaking norm with reminders, and how the teacher draws on an ideology of inclusivity and access for all with the use of English as a shared classroom language. Analysis of data reveals student beliefs that private or peer talk should fall outside the English norm, and that English is

primarily a school or institutional language. The analysis also reveals the remarkable skill of students in subverting and resisting the enforcement of the norm. In one data extract, Aleksi gives a directive to the teacher, telling her to speak English and asks why she is speaking Finnish with another teacher. The student implies a contradiction in the English norm, and thus while it seems like he is complying with the norm and even promoting it, he is actually resisting the English language norm.

The second part of analysis features instances of peer enforcement of the English norm where Lucille monitors language use and gives directives. Students resist Lucille in a number of ways. In one instance, a peer states that the teacher is not present and that they will switch languages when she returns. In another instance, Aleksi questions Lucille's knowledge of Finnish as shown in an excerpt from this data extract below.

Extract 7 (excerpt from Article 2, Extract 6)

- 01 Aleksi: (Juha) ↑tuu↓ ((looking toward Juha))
come
 ((seated on floor, rises slightly))
- 02 Lucille: speak in English (1.0) ((gaze directed at Aleksi))
- 03 Aleksi: (wh-) what is tuu
- 04 Lucille: come
- 05 Aleksi: no (3.0)
 ((shakes head emphatically))
- 06 tu (doesn't) mean anything (.)
- 07 [tuu]
- 08 Lucille: [then] >why do you say that<
- 09 Aleksi: well tuu means come (.) but tu doesn't mean anything
- 10 Lucille: than why do you say
- 11 Aleksi: Juha come (I xx for you)

Lucille recognizes that "tuu" is a Finnish utterance when she gives Aleksi the directive to "speak in English" (line 2). Aleksi resists Lucille asking "what is tuu" challenging her interpretation and forcing her to translate what he has specifically said (line 3) and Lucille provides an accurate answer (line 4). Aleksi however, utilizes vowel length to deny that "tu" means anything. By doing this he asserts a superior understanding of his first language and reduces Lucille's authoritative stance. By drawing on his identity as a first language speaker of Finnish and Lucille's identity as a non-speaker of Finnish, Aleksi resists peer enforcement of the norm. He denies her knowledge of Finnish, despite her well-grounded assumptions. In spoken Finnish "tuu" with a long vowel means come, just as "tule" means come in written Finnish. An interaction surrounding the

enforcement of an English language norm, becomes an interaction about Finnish, and furthermore, an issue of expertise and membership. It is clear that not only do the focal students have different stances on when the English language norm is applicable, but also they may draw on their positions or classroom identities in conflict.

Lucille again gives the directive “speak in English” to Aleksi, who tells her to “be quiet”. Lucille says “you have to” referencing the classroom norm, and Aleksi admits this but continues to resist Lucille by accusing her of speaking Finnish herself and by continuing to speak Finnish. Ali creates an acronym which becomes a contentious topic among several other students, illustrating another instance of mother tongue expertise drawn on in peer dispute, which is resisted.

Extract 8 (excerpt from Article 2, Extract 7)

- 17 Lucille: speak in ↑English Aleksi
 18 this is English (.) s-speaking class
 19 Ali: E S- E S C yes it is E S C (11.0)
 ((teacher-student talk in background))
 20 but in Finnish it is E K ↑L
 21 Eerik: ee koo äI
 22 Ali: yes ee koo äI
 23 Aleksi: ee koo al (3.20)
 24 it’s in English it’s EKL
 25 Ali: ee koo äI it’s englannin kielen luokka
EKL it’s English speaking class
 26 Aleksi: or EKL
 27 Ali: yes EKL means that englannin kielen luokka
English speaking class
 28 Aleksi: no that’s it is just like that EKL (.) it just is

Lucille references the classroom context (line 18) as a reason for speaking English. This is when Ali playfully creates an acronym “ESC” for “English speaking class” which is an alternative to the actual acronym used, “EKL” which stands for “englannin kielen luokka” (line 19-20). However when Ali says “EKL” he pronounces the letters in English, and Eerik, who is a first language speaker of Finnish corrects him, pronouncing the acronym in Finnish (lines 21-22). Ali agrees and repeats the acronym with Finnish pronunciation, and so his display of alignment rejects the correction. Then Aleksi repeats the Finnish pronunciation and after a pause states that “in English it’s EKL” which explicitly corrects Ali’s prior statement that “in Finnish it’s EKL”. While Ali has

referred to the term for the class, Alekski and Eerik are referring to the pronunciation of the acronym. Ali responds with a display of his Finnish knowledge, "ee koo äi it's englannin kielen luokka" embedded in English syntax thus complying with Lucille and displaying movement between codes. He knows both how to pronounce the acronym in Finnish and what it stands for in Finnish. For two more turns, however, Alekski makes corrections. Lines 19 to 28 may be read as a proliferation of language play and polylingual activity or an instance of misunderstanding surrounding ESC and EKL and identifying what is English and what is Finnish. The fact that this is a concern and further, a concern that is held for so many turns, is notable. Whereas Ali views English and Finnish as interchangeable and meaning the same thing, Eerik and Alekski disagree, and draw on their mother tongue expertise in correcting Ali.

Students in this class come into opposition when they interpret and manage the institutional monolingual norm differently. Lucille monitors language use, frequently using directives in an attempt to force her peers to use English. Lucille's role as a language monitor is co-constructed in that it is acknowledged by the teacher but not discouraged. Alekski employs a range of interactional devices to reject peer and teacher monitoring: overt refusal, ignoring directives, reinterpreting the norms for peer talk, denial of speaking Finnish, applying the norms inappropriately, drawing on first language expertise to weaken the position of the other, and making outrageous claims against others such as accusing Lucille of speaking Finnish. Ali on the other hand makes contextual choices and falls between these two polar opposites, expressing interest in these choices, asking about a multilingual teacher, parroting the classroom teacher, and playing with language.

The findings of this study show that the monolingual norm while well-intentioned is problematic on a number of levels. Examples of interaction reveal the effects of language norms on classroom interaction and how they manifest in social relationships. While language norms in immersion settings have been studied (Heller 2006; Cekaite & Aronsson 2004) little attention has been paid to the diverse experience of students from varied linguistic backgrounds enrolled in foreign language medium education and how norms for language use are negotiated among peers. Further, as shown in previous research, the institutional enforcement of a particular code, conceptualizes the "ideal bilingual" as a "double monolingual" (Heller 2006: 83; see also Cummins 2007). Heller (2006) observes that the creation of a monolingual public face to education ignores multilingual spaces and realities in education. The monolingual norm in this research setting reveals an institutional view of languages as distinct, despite the multilingual activity which abounds as students construct their own normative understandings about language choice and use in various activities.

Speaking Finnish in the classroom becomes a subversive act, and this leads to peer monitoring, and the stratification of classroom members. Further, the ways in which students interpret and enforce norms for language use transforms the English monolingual norm. Peer monitoring makes the English

norm more pervasive, expanding it into non-instructional time, such as breaks between classes. Diverse personal trajectories of learning and locality intersect in this setting, producing sometimes conflicting reformulations of institutional ideologies of language use among students, and highlighting the ways that institutional norms exist through continual reproduction in interaction.

4.4 Article 3

Copp Jinkerson, A. (Forthcoming). Social organization through teacher-talk: Subteaching, socialization and the normative use of language in a multilingual primary class. *Linguistics & Education*.

This article takes as a focus peer-centred interactions in a Finnish first and second grade classroom where English is the medium of instruction and the institutional norm for all talk in the classroom. This article offers a fine-grained analysis of one way in which language norms are socialized in this setting and examines how this norm is used in social actions. Specifically, I examine ways in which students work with and against norms for classroom language choice and use through subteaching. Subteaching is the use of teacher-like discourses and practices among peers (Møller & Jørgensen 2011; Tholander & Aronsson 2003) and in this study is taken as a classroom practice which gives students moral and institutional authority to accomplish social actions embedded in processes of socialization to expected ways of using language in the classroom. To the thesis as a whole this paper contributes an examination of a specific classroom practice that assists in perpetuating and maintaining the English language norm.

The role of a subteacher may be taken up, co-constructed, resisted and even subverted by others and entails the display of positionings and alignments. Subteaching actions may draw authority from moral positioning, displayed through evaluative statements, judgments, and even prosody. Subteaching has been utilized in examining the organization of youth peer group activities in school, and in examining how societal discourses about language emerge in small group interactions among minority youth (Møller & Jørgensen 2011; Tholander & Aronsson 2003). This study is the first to explicitly focus on subteaching as it occurs in the routine and daily activities of a classroom, unlike previous studies which have focused on small group activities without the presence of a classroom teacher (Møller & Jørgensen 2011; Tholander & Aronsson 2003). As such, the focus of subteaching shifts to language norms inherent to membership in this classroom and allows for consideration of how subteaching may function as a resource for the classroom teacher.

The analysis of transcripts of interaction reveal dynamic ways in which practices of subteaching are engaged in, resisted, and even subverted as part of processes of socialization in the classroom. In the first two extracts, students take up teacher discourses by drawing on moral and ideological concerns about

learning and participating in classroom life. By taking on a voice of authority, students display alignments among the peer group, maintaining social order and achieving authority by building directives into teacher talk. In the following extract this adjunct participation is even ratified by the teacher.

Extract 9 (excerpt from Article 3, Extract 2)

- 01 Aleksi: my birthday is never from the good year
 02 all the times
 03 sometime they don't come two or one and then no↓body
 04 Teacher: mm (.) well maybe in January when you have your birthday
 05 you can invite your classmates
 06 Aleksi: [yes but then I (x)]
 06 Student: [I'M COming (x)]
 07 Student: mistä sä tiedät (x)
how do you know
 08 Teacher: mm hm
 09 ah boys are you talking Finnish or English
 10 (1.2)
 11 >what's the language<
 → 12 Lucille: and don't speak when someone else is
 13 Teacher: >thank ↑you< and (.) we have Aleksi who is talking here now
 14 °so everybody knows (to) be listening°
 15 Lucille (.) now it's Lucille's turn to speak (.) listen

The teacher invokes the English norm (lines 8-11). Lucille then instructs the boys with a more explicit directive, using an imperative, "and don't speak when someone else is" (line 12). By "and-prefacing" she links her directive to the teacher's and thereby invokes an institutional identity (Heritage & Sorjonen 1994). Lucille's participation is ratified by the teacher who says "thank you and we have Aleksi who is talking now" (line 11). The fact that Lucille's contribution is ratified by the teacher (line 13) places her in quite a powerful role because this manner of ensuring that others accept her version of the rules may be seen as a demonstration of institutional rank or power (Diamond 1996). Lucille's position of moral authority is collaboratively achieved when her directive is accepted. Speaking 'one at a time' also indexes the institutional frame and this is a concern most often taken up by a teacher. In fact, the teacher does take up normative expectations for participation following Lucille's turn; not only should everyone speak one at a time in English, but also "everybody" should be "listening" (line 14). With her contribution sandwiched between

teacher instruction, Lucille has been integrally involved in the work of teaching norms for interaction, specifically structures for participation.

In a subsequent extract, rather than building a subteaching action into teacher talk, another student, Minja, waits until after the teacher has reminded the boys to use English and has walked away, before asking, “what are you talking boys?” This use of gendered address is significant as a recognizable feature of teacher discourse, one which often relates to the maintenance of the English language norm in this classroom. Students also are found to collaborate with one another in subteaching; in one extract a student instigates reproach while another carries out the work of subteaching. This second student both positions herself and is positioned by others as a subteacher. She asks known-answer questions, and when she uses a designedly incomplete utterance other students compete to complete the utterance, and thus the norm for English is collaboratively constructed.

Lastly, the analysis focuses on examples of resistance. First, we examine an instance where a student, Lucille attempts to use the directive “speak in English” but rather than complying, the interlocutor, Alekski questions her knowledge of Finnish. And in the final extract this same student, Alekski, takes up Lucille’s words telling her to “speak in English”. This takes place during a lesson when the teacher has asked for students to give answers in Finnish.

Extract 10 (excerpt from Article 3, Extract 6)

- 08 Lucille: sininen
blue
- 09 Alekski: =kwe:e ((cringes))
- 10 Teacher: we’ll start with that ((smiles and nods at Lucille))
- 11 Ee↓rik
- 12 Lucille: sininen [kukka]
blue flower
- 13 Teacher: [Kati]
- 14 Katri: nhh nii ((lowers hand, shakes head and slumps))
- 15 Alekski: ↓speak ↑Eng↓lish ((sing-song voice, wags finger at Lucille))
- 16 Lucille: (x) ((mouths at Alekski, smiling))
- 17 Teacher: Ali
- 18 Ali: mustikkakukka hahaa
blueberry flower
- 19 Teacher: let me [write it for you]
- 20 Alekski: [> speak English] ((points at Ali)) speak English <
((points at Lucille))
- 21 Ariel: (xx)

- 22 Ali: ↓Aleksi (.) okay I [can see]
 23 Teacher: [shhh] hh here (.) it is called (.) in Finnish
 24 Ali: SIN
 25 Katri: °oh oh oh oh° ((hand up))
 26 Ali: <sinivuokko> sinivuokko
 anemone hepatica (or *liverwort*)
 27 Teacher: very good

Aleksi turns to Lucille who is seated next to him, wags his finger and says in a sing-song voice, “speak English” (line 15). Her response is inaudible but she smiles and mouths something to him. Aleksi turns his gaze back to the teacher and Ali laughingly gives the playful answer of blueberry flower in Finnish (line 18). As the teacher turns to the blackboard, Aleksi speaks quickly pointing to Ali, “speak English” and then turns to Lucille and wags his finger, again stating “speak English” (line 20). When Aleksi appropriates the phrase, “speak in English” we may consider this an instance of imitation and mockery. Imitation may be described as when someone does something they are not “entitled” to do, but are able to do, an action they have “borrowed” (Sacks 1992: 479-481). Imitation becomes mockery when it is not done in a serious manner, and when the imitation is done in a “negative way” (Sacks 1992: 480). Aleksi is appropriating Lucille’s voice in a less than serious manner, and through this mockery of her he uses her utterance for a different purpose. Such double-voiced discourse entails “inserting a new semantic intention into a discourse which already has, and which retains, an intention of its own” (Bakhtin 1984: 189). His utterances function as a commentary on Lucille’s actions when she engages in this kind of language monitoring. By taking up a subteaching voice, Aleksi comments on Lucille’s actions when she engages in subteaching. By appropriating a subteaching voice, one might observe that he is engaged in subversive subteaching because monitoring the use of English among students is still a teacher-like practice regardless of one’s stance, and despite the fact that this may be viewed as an act of resistance.

The findings of this article contribute to the emerging literature on subteaching by supporting previous evidence that subteaching is collaboratively established, but extending our understanding of how subteaching can be resisted and even subversive in nature, and how it may be legitimized by the teacher in order to maintain monolingual language use. Findings are also consistent with previous research indicating that subteaching is often done by female students (Tholander & Aronsson 2003). However, going one step further, the present study notes the use of gendered address in subteaching, mirroring institutional talk and reproducing the social identity of male students as troublesome Finnish speakers. Most significantly, while prior research has shown that subteaching is a resource for membership work (Møller & Jørgensen 2011) this paper shows how subteaching can be used by young multilingual students in nuanced ways to position themselves in relation

to categories such as grade level, gender, and mother tongue in a heterogeneous group. The prevalence of peer monitoring of language use may be seen as a response to the pressures of a monolingual institutional norm, but at the same time, functions as another resource in social interactions among peers. These relationships are the arena in which students are effectively socialized to specific ways of using language, whereby the normative grounds for class membership are continuously established.

4.5 Article 4

Copp Jinkerson, A. (Submitted). Positioning through repair practices in a multilingual first grade classroom.

This article features Aarto, a first grade student enrolled in an English medium classroom in Finland. This study draws on the perspective of language socialization which focuses on the processes through which one acquires the skills necessary to both act as a member, and to be seen by others, as a member of a community (Garrett & Baquedano-López 2002). This particular community is a classroom where the norm for speaking English is strongly socialized and is an important part of displaying membership. Repair is one way through which the norm for using English is maintained. Repair is a practice which contributes to the positioning of Aarto within this context as different, and therefore as a student struggling for linguistic and social competence. By focusing on repair, this paper takes up yet another classroom practice and in doing so sheds light on the ideologies, policies, and norms of the classroom community and how they may impact an individual learner.

The aim of such an ethnographic case study of one pupil is to examine what is considered problematic, or requiring repair, and how it is handled by participants. This in turn reveals the way the institutional frame is drawn on by classroom participants to articulate how language should be used in the classroom. I illustrate how repair contributes to the positioning of an individual within this context as different, and therefore as a student struggling for linguistic and social competence. Further, by drawing on teacher interview data, evidence of positioning through repair is brought into dialogue with underlying ideologies of language learning.

Some of the originality of this paper is found in the application of methodological tools. In this paper I borrow the concept of repair from conversation analysis (CA) to highlight an interactional practice which contributes to Aarto's positioning in the classroom as a sometimes marginal or incompetent member. Instances of repair may be considered metalinguistic events where linguistic difference is made relevant, and offers insight on classroom practices that directly impact membership. Another contribution this paper makes is through the manner in which positioning is utilized. Often studies featuring positioning in the classroom examine positioning in regards to

recognizable categories such as gender or ethnicity, neglecting nuanced positioning which takes place in daily educational discourse. And while much of the positioning literature, and indeed my own work, has focused on the struggles of newcomers in the classroom, in this instance Aarto is a majority language speaker, a Finnish child in Finland.

This article conceptualizes positioning interactional events as instances where one is cast into a particular identity or one takes up that identity oneself. Positioning events have been previously linked to language use through the notion of metalinguistic episodes where linguistic difference is made relevant in interaction (Rampton 2006b). This study more closely focuses on repair events. From a conversation analytic (CA) perspective, repair entails “trouble” hindering communication between interlocutors. I would like to specify that in this article, I take repair to broadly encompass “statements of procedural rules, sanctions of violations of such rules, problems of hearing and understanding the talk, second starts, prompting, cluing and helping, explaining, and correction of errors” (van Lier 1988: 183).

Transcripts of interaction feature diverse classroom activities, ranging from informal lessons to peer-interaction when the teacher is not present. Regardless of the activity, the classroom norm for the use of English is pervasive and problematized in the case of Aarto, by both his teacher and his peers. Longitudinal ethnographic data from field notes and observations, teacher and parent interviews prove integral to contextually determining “trouble” in speech and the subsequent educational consequences for Aarto. During an interview his teacher voices concerns about how much he actually understands in class and the amount of home support he receives, giving an account of her experience using English in communication with his parents. Aarto previously attended an English language preschool and comes from a Finnish speaking home. The teacher questions why families who do not use English want their children enrolled in English medium education as opposed to other English learning options available in the school. Through the interview data it becomes clear that Aarto’s membership is in question, and this notion of membership is linked to perceived linguistic ability. Unlike a regular classroom, Aarto may actually be removed from the English medium program if he does not cope adequately with the language demands.

The analysis of extracts of classroom interaction begins with a look at how repair can function to scaffold Aarto’s participation allowing him to co-construct a narrative with classmates. In the first extract, Aarto is eager to participate despite struggling to express himself and all parties work hard to maintain the English language norm by, for instance, assisting with word searches, recasting, repeating and reformulating utterances. Aarto is positioned as a member of this class who has the right to participate even when he struggles. In one instance Aarto makes a lexical error, asking for a “hood,” rather than a “hook” and other-repair is initiated by the teacher. The teacher makes a clarification request questioning “hood” and then offers the Finnish word for hood: “huppu”. Aarto disagrees, unable to find the word he needs

and uses gesture to indicate the item. The teacher sees the item he is referring to and initiates repair by substituting the correct term, “hook,” but there is no uptake from Aarto so she repeats “hook” a second time, again placing emphasis on the final consonant. What begins as a referential problem, a matter of understanding his request, becomes an opportunity for instruction. Repair extends into explanation and example and this becomes an instructional episode effectively positioning Aarto as a language learner, rather than a member of a class where English is the medium of instruction and students are encouraged to use English freely and comfortably at all times.

In the final two extracts repair becomes reproach, whereby other-initiated repair references the breaking of social norms and can result in referencing moral rules (Günther 1996). The following example is *not* included in the article, but also highlights the way in which repair, and specifically reproach, positions Aarto in the classroom. In this extract Aarto collaborates with a peer to describe the events of a movie to another student and in doing so code-mixes.

Extract 11

- 16 Aarto: [and thEN↑a bird] and a bird come
 17 cars did come and they did push the
 18 uh Make
 19 Kuisma: yes
 20 Aarto: and that the the th:e takakontti did aukea
 and the trunk did open
 ((walking towards group of children))
 21 Kuisma: and [then] (xx)
 22 Teacher: [HEY]
 23 Aleks: (did all of them↓)
 24 Aarto: yes
 25 Teacher: Aarto please don't speak like
 26 takakontti did aukea
 the trunk did open
 27 Lucille: did auk(h)ea
 28 Teacher: you can say open
 ((Aarto measuring an arm's length of yarn with head down))

Aarto inserts two Finnish words into an English language utterance, stating, “the takakontti did aukea” (the trunk did open). He uses “aukea” which is not in the past tense as needed. The correct form for past tense is “aukesi”. Using “did” in English, perhaps functions for the purpose of keeping the past tense. And so English is used to grammatically embrace these Finnish insertions. Aarto could have switched to Finnish as the other participants speak Finnish, but he does maintain the English norm by inserting Finnish words. The teacher initiates reproach by loudly and emphatically exclaiming, “hey” (line 22). When

the students continue talking, the teacher singles out Aarto and very clearly specifies what he has done wrong, stating “please don’t speak like takakontti did aukea” (lines 25-26) and further stating, “you can say open” (line 28). There is no uptake from Aarto, who concentrates on a task and does not make eye contact. While in one case, Aarto is positioned as a learner and repair is offered gently, in this case the teacher states that Aarto “can” use the word open (line 28), thereby expressing that this error is not a matter of ability or knowledge but a matter of following the rules of the classroom and using English. Aarto is publically positioned as breaking the norms for language use and therefore is positioned as incompetent. This extract also supports the findings of the article indicating that Aarto uses language in creative and contingent ways. However conversation among peers can be opened up to the entire class through repair, becoming a public event which positions Aarto in a negative manner.

In the final extract included in the article, Aarto’s peers reproach him for both using Finnish and for using the word “mamma” to describe his mother. “Mamma” is not normally a term used for mother in Finnish (äiti is the Finnish term for mother) but it is comprehensible to most Finns because it is “international”, familiar from English and Swedish. Nevertheless in this data extract peers deem it inappropriate. Peers use repair in the form of reproach as a tool in the midst of dispute, powerfully dominating Aarto.

Extract 12 (excerpt from Article 4, Extract 4)

- 18 Aarto: mamma osti sen mulle (.) [niin se on] tyttö
 mamma bought it for me (.) so it is a girl
- 19 Minja: [↑n:o Finnish]
 ((scolding hand gesture punctuates each word))
- 20 it’s not called a ma ma (.) what’s a mama
- 21 Eliza: mikä on mamma
 what is mamma
- 22 Elsa: [it’s not] a ma ma (it’s a äiti)
 mother
- 23 Aarto: no it’s not
- 24 Elmo: °mama on (joku muu) °
 mama is someone else
- 25 Minja: N:O Finnish (.) this is an English class
- 26 EKL -E (.) K (.) L (.)

First, Aarto has been targeted on the morally loaded grounds that he has claimed an object which is not his, and further he has been taunted for possessing something deemed gender inappropriate by his peers. In the midst

of this dispute Aarto is reproached for language choice. Aarto counters the accusations of his peers in Finnish, justifying his possession of the rubber (eraser) by giving the explanation that his mother purchased it (line 18). Minja, however, emphatically overlaps with the second half of his utterance initiating procedural repair stating “no Finnish”, drawing out the “no” and using a scolding hand gesture to punctuate each word (line 19). Minja is a Finnish speaker who understands Aarto, so her strong stance on code-switching is a manifestation of the classroom norms for language use. Minja targets Aarto’s lexical choice of “mamma,” stating “it’s not called a mamma, what’s a mamma” (line 20). His language choice and use are reproached; both switching to Finnish and using the problematic word “mamma”. Thus, repair as reproach is instigated by peers who align against Aarto, drawing on language as a tool in the midst of dispute to position his actions as inappropriate.

Language socialization research examines how individuals come to acquire the linguistic pragmatic competence required to act as, and to be seen by others, as a member of a particular group. By combining a micro-analysis of interaction with ethnography it is possible to extend the examination of language norms to implications and outcomes for individual learners in relation to group membership. These findings contribute to research in language socialization which only infrequently examined social practices which “render certain groups of novices as ‘outsiders’ and as second class members of the social group” (García-Sánchez 2012: 392). A primary contribution of this work is to examine a practice such as repair and link it with social positioning. The findings of this article show that repair practices during interaction serve to communicate the standards of the group for language use, standard which Aarto is frequently shown to be unable to meet. In all examples, multiple participants assess “trouble” in what Aarto says and target his language use, with consequences for his social positioning as a member of the class.

5 CONCLUDING DISCUSSION

5.1 Discussion

The end result of effective ethnography is an interpretive analysis produced through dialogue between the ethnographer and the participants, which contends with complexity, is insightful, and raises questions for further investigation (Blommaert & Jie 2010). Grounding my work theoretically in ethnography has guided my methods of research, my use of data and my perspective on analysis and my own role in the study. For example, my knowledge of the shared interactional history between Aleksí and Lucille and their respective orientations towards Finnish has given me the tools I need to contextually analyze their interactions. This knowledge allowed me to clearly see in one instance that Aleksí was not monitoring language use by stating "Speak English," but producing an ironic echo of Lucille, drawing on the unusual circumstance of a newcomer using Finnish in class, and in fact by doing so resisting and subverting the English norm. Examining issues of investment and membership require knowing something of the students, their trajectories and the choices their parents have made in regards to their education. In order to examine the institutional norm and notions of competence I have needed to understand how the teacher conceptualized this setting and what her expectations and evaluations of the students were. As such, this study has provided a detailed account of daily classroom life in an English medium classroom in Finland, a previously unexamined setting.

Collectively, the articles of the thesis provide description of the complex management of institutional norms for language use. Conceptualizing norms and normativity has been a work in progress throughout the thesis and has posed some theoretical challenges due to the lack of literature available on the topic. I had considered drawing on language ideologies or language policies but returned time and again to norms. Taking norms as a focus grounds my analysis in interaction. Norms are observably oriented to in interaction whenever invoked or resisted, made meaningful in the activities of class

members. While I recognize that there are many competing norms of interaction, my focus has been upon the management of a monolingual English norm. One may approach such a norm from the bottom up as instituted through the actions of the classroom participants, or from the top down as mandated and prescribed. I have attempted to navigate the line between these two views. The institutional policy is invoked by the teacher, a participant in the classroom, rather than prescribed through policy documents and the like. I discuss how the institutional English language norm is invoked or resisted among peers as a social action with social implications which are varied, contradictory and momentary. This approach where I consider the norm both prescribed and constructed allows me to consider how it is institutionally produced and managed by the teacher for pedagogical purposes, while also considering how such a language norm may play a complex role in social relationships within the class where the norm may be contested, reformulated or drawn upon in contradictory ways.

This study foregrounds peer-talk among students engaged in a variety of activities, usually outside of teacher-fronted lessons or prescribed group work, and thereby addresses the informal life of classroom which is often overlooked in studies of interaction. This fits into the recent trend in linguistic ethnographic research to move beyond a focus on teacher-fronted lessons, to instead foreground peer-interaction in the classroom (Cromdal 2003). This study contributes to a growing body of research on pupil-pupil interaction which centres on social and cultural interests rather than pedagogical aims (Cekaite 2006; Tholander 2002). Examining interactions in a range of activities foregrounds the negotiation and renegotiation of normative expectations for language use that take place throughout the day. This is an area of study missing from earlier work which has had more narrowly defined boundaries of study, for example, focusing on teacher fronted lessons, or peer group tasks (Jørgensen 1998; Møller & Jørgensen 2011; Rampton 2006b).

This study shows how students resist and *subvert* institutional norms for language choice in interaction and how this functions in social activity among peers. This focus on resistance has not been so explicitly addressed in earlier research, as many recent studies of interaction and code-mixing have focused instead on how students orient to institutional languages (Bjørk-Willen & Cromdal 2009; Cekaite & Bjørk-Willen, forthcoming; Cekaite & Evaldsson 2008; Evaldsson & Cekaite 2010; Slotte-Lüttge 2004, 2007). This study extends the findings of research showing how code-mixing functions in dispute (Evaldsson 2005; Cromdal 2004) by examining how language choice may *instigate* dispute. Further, previous research has shown that code-switching may allow students to assume authority and construct asymmetry in social hierarchies in a majority-minority language context, a finding replicated in this study but in contrast, with the use of an *institutional* language within a classroom context (Jørgensen 1998, 2003). Another contribution to this area of research is that the findings of this study extend beyond matters of language alternation or choice. Students in this context are also shown to be socialized to specific ways of using

language. Participants reveal expectations for language use in the classroom that include avoidance of code-mixing and standards for pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary.

The ethnographic grounding of this study provides a vantage point from which to examine language choice which differs from earlier studies which have a stronger conversation analytic orientation. Specifically, the ethnographic orientation is well-suited to considering the diverse linguistic repertoires of participants and the shared interactional histories of students, some of which are newcomers. In fact, it has been observed that we “know little” of interaction between newcomers and locals within institutions, or of the ways in which “children’s lives are shaped by their encounters with family, peers, adults and others expressing various language ideologies, in neighbourhoods, schools and after school” (Goodwin 1997: 4). By combining a micro-analytic examination of interaction with traditional ethnography whereby fieldnotes, artefacts and interview provide a comprehensive understanding of the context, this study is able to examine a wide breadth of factors in language choice and use.

Now I will turn to a discussion of how the articles have collectively addressed the aims of the thesis. The first aim of the thesis is to examine how the norm for English is invoked, maintained and resisted by participants. A detailed analysis of interaction has been integral to uncovering how such actions are managed. It is through interaction that the English norm is constructed and through which language use in the class is negotiated. Language socialization research attempts to connect a micro-level analysis of interaction to broader ethnographic understandings of the beliefs and practices of the group (Schieffelin & Ochs 1986: 169). The English norm is shown to be invoked and maintained through teacher reminders of the shared language of the class, peer directives, peers utilizing teacher talk, evaluation, avoidance of code-mixing or code-switching, scaffolding and assisting with word searches in English, and in one instance, asking another to speak in one’s place. At times, students work together to uphold the English language norm, or do so collaboratively with the teacher. Resistance to the English norm may be grounded in perceived parameters of the norm; for instance, whether or not the norm extends to private conversations or to times when the teacher is not present. Participants are also shown to resist this norm by drawing on Finnish expertise and their shared interactional histories. A significant finding is that resistance of the norm can be accomplished through inappropriate or ironic enforcement of the norm (Articles 2 & 3). In one instance Aleksi tells the teacher to speak English forcing her to explicate why she must speak Finnish with other teachers. In another instance Aleksi appropriates the voice of Lucille, who is a frequent language monitor, to give her a directive to speak English despite the fact that Lucille is appropriately using Finnish in a lesson as required by the teacher. Young learners are thus shown to be engaging in sophisticated discourse practices, employing mimicry and reproach to give implicit commentary on the arbitrary nature of the English norm. This is a significant contribution to the field because not only are young children under-represented

in studies of interaction (Goodwin 1997), but because such findings indicate both a level of metalinguistic awareness and knowledge rarely acknowledged in such young learners and a powerful degree of agency in adapting and shaping institutional norms to social purposes.

The second aim of the thesis is to explore how students are socialized to use language(s) in this class. Uncovering processes of socialization in the classroom is complicated by the competing norms for peer and institutional language use. At the heart of language socialization research is a desire to study how individuals “become competent members of their social groups and the role of language in this process” (Schieffelin 1990: 14). From this perspective, there are indeed multiple and overlapping group memberships, and the appropriate use of language not only mediates interactions but signals and displays membership. One of the most fruitful ways to examine language socialization is to look at “breaches” when participants act or speak in ways that are not expected, the response of others can make tacit understandings explicit (Schieffelin 1990: 20). The articles have foregrounded instances where expectations for language use are made explicit and are overtly referenced by participants through directives, repair, reproach, and dispute. I have also highlighted the role of peers and non-formal instructional time as factors in the socialization of language practices. Norms for peer interaction differ from institutional norms, and vary among peer groups. While code-mixing is the subject of reproach among a mixed language group of first grade students in Article 4, using Finnish is common practice among other groups of students such as the second grade boys featured in Article 1. And yet even in those instances, it can be the case that students remark to each other about who has made the language switch and caused the group to get into trouble. In one case, after a student reports to the teacher that the peer group is using English illicitly, and she reproaches the group, one student remarks to another about who initiated the code-switch: “Aleksi did come here and ble ble bleh ble bleh” (Extract 3, Article 1). Rather than glossing over contradictions in how the English norm is handled, the articles of the thesis reveal the role of peers and the variability in uptake of institutional norms. This study has shed light on micro-processes of language socialization that shape possibilities for membership and competence in this English language classroom. Students reconcile new languages into their existing repertoires in different ways and thus a diversity of language choice patterns emerge; while some students rigorously maintain the institutional norm for English, others reject it, especially in peer talk. What we see are not only different degrees of uptake and investment but different interpretations of norms for language use in school.

In regards to the final aim of the thesis, to explore the role of language norms in social organization among peers, it has been particularly important for me to consider that the institutional monolingual English norm meant different things to different students. While from the outset I suspected that the norm for English would limit opportunities for newcomers to integrate with Finnish peers by using the language through which most student activity in the school

and community takes place, I found it was much more complex than this. The norm for English did indeed impact newcomers differently, but as Article 1 shows, it did not necessarily limit opportunities for voice. One newcomer featured in this article, Ariel, is caught between two normative frames for language use. This is illustrated when she aligns with another student in claiming that “the boys” were using Finnish, despite the fact that she has used Finnish herself, while sitting with “the boys”. The voice of Lucille, another newcomer, is strong in all of the thesis articles, as she monitors language choice and issues directives to “speak in English”. Research with a sociocultural orientation may consider what has “enabled or disabled [...] access to learning” as well as the role of learner agency “in resisting and shaping the access to learning” (Norton & Toohey 2003: 58). While my work is less directly concerned with learning, I think that this is a relevant point particularly in relation to Lucille. She has been successfully socialized as a student who uses English in class, and as the articles of the thesis show, while she demonstrates agency in applying the norm among peers, this role is often co-constructed by others and thus it is a role which is made available to her in this setting.

Another finding which relates to the final aim of exploring the role of the English language norm in social actions and activities is that the norm is frequently drawn upon as a tool in dispute and may even form the grounds for dispute and conflict among peers. Invoking the norm for English or for a certain standard of English can be a way to assert dominance or authority over another student. In fact, it was very rare for the teacher to use directives, and yet the use of directives among peers for the purpose of instituting the English norm is frequent. Directives index and construct asymmetrical power relations (Ervin-Tripp 1976) displaying oneself as competent and the other as incompetent (Goodwin 1990). The implications of the norm for students such as Aarto, featured in Article 4, are profound. The struggles of a student are made visible through public instances of repair and reproach, which is significant in a context where perceived competence is essential for continuing membership and participation in this class.

5.2 Future directions

The institutional monolingual English norm is found to impact students differently and this is true for newcomers such as Lucille and Ariel, and Finnish speakers such as Alekski and Aarto. References to language choice proliferate among peers, and whether this attention is subversive or in line with institutional norms, it may be argued that this results in some degree of social stratification. Due to the way in which some students interpret the English language norm, it is given a broader reach and extends into non-instructional time between lessons. It has been observed that in the primary years students use languages “according to the norms of their (adult) surrounds, but after a few years they use the codes, and switches between them, for a range of

purposes regardless of their status in the surrounding world" (Jørgensen 1998). This point has given me pause and while this study has to some degree shown otherwise, that students in fact use languages for a variety of purposes among peers regardless of the institutional setting, I ponder what the situation will be like further along in their education. Beyond the specifics of my study there is a great need for longitudinal examination of how young people choose and use languages over time in multilingual educational settings.

The class I have studied, like all classrooms, is composed of individuals and groups with overlapping memberships and alignments. In this case gender, grade level, linguistic repertoire, and shared interactional histories are categories referenced and made meaningful by participants in interaction. Many of these categories are worth further investigation in relation to the way language choice is handled in the classroom. For instance, in regards to peer socialization it is worth further considering how students in the second grade convey the pre-existing norms of the class to first grade students. During the first week of school when the students go outside for the break, the teacher assigns a "Godparent" (a second grade student) to each child in the first grade, with the instructions that they should keep an eye on them and guide them in appropriate playground conduct. During the parent night, several parents made positive remarks about this. One way of investigating this "mentorship" into the norms of the classroom would be to use radio-microphones to track that activities and speech of students both on the playground and in the classroom during the first few weeks of school.

Gender is also another factor in language use which is worth further investigation. Gendered address is a recognizable characteristic of teacher talk in this classroom, as illustrated in Article 3. It is utilized by a female student as she takes up a subteaching role in order to remind a group of male students to use English. Gendered address appears in data extracts in the first three articles of the thesis. Through gendered address, the category of "boys" becomes socially meaningful in relation to repeated reproach regarding language choice. Gendered address in this context reproduces a social identity of a Finnish speaking troublemaker. This finding builds on the findings of studies of interaction in Finnish classrooms noting the frequent use of the term "boys" in teacher talk (Gordon 2004; Palmu 2002; Tainio forthcoming). Gender may also play a role in perceptions of language acquisition. For instance, Aarto (Article 4) and another male student Juho, who is discussed in interview data not featured in the thesis articles, are perceived by the teacher to have the most difficulty with using English in school. While it may be simply coincidental that both students are male, it may be fruitful to pursue an examination the construction of learner identities in relation to gender.

This study also points to other factors that are not traditionally investigated. The role of friendship in language learning is touched upon in Article 1 in regards to two newcomers, Ariel and Lucille. As the only two newcomers in the class during the first year of fieldwork, they are the only ones at that time for whom Finnish does not come naturally in peer conversation.

The teacher attributes the rapid growth in their skills in English to this difference from other students, while Ariel's father comments on the commonality of their struggle with language as newcomers. And while these bonds weaken with time and Ariel orients to new activities and friends, at one point friendship is a factor in how they contend with school and peer language norms. Friendship is a challenging concept to tackle in research. Instead it is more common to examine stances and alignments in interaction. However, friendship is a resource for coping with the demands of a new environment, and it is worth considering the impact of a longer trajectory or relationship on language.

5.3 Implications

In discussing the implications of her study of linguist norms in a French language minority school in Canada, Heller (2006) states that she has provided some account of where particular "interests come from, and of how to identify what the consequences are for whom of doing things the way they are done" (p. 222). Highlighting individuals within the class has been one way to identify consequences of classroom practices. Throughout the thesis I note that the monolingual classroom norm does have social implications. The classroom teacher has well-meaning pedagogical reasons for implementing the norm, and as I have not investigated language learning, I will not discuss the educational merits and drawbacks of implementing this norm. Her professional practice was exemplary and she welcomed me into her classroom, making this research possible. However there are social implications to which I have turned my attention. In fact, classroom research may be characterized as often overlooking "the socially constructed nature of learning" (Cekaite 2006: 13-14) and the same is true of researcher and educators. One example is that while English functions as a lingua franca between Finnish students and newcomers, those newcomers are also apprenticed to the Finnish speaking community. The classroom teacher invoked the norms on the ground of English as a shared language, promoting an inclusive social context. And yet, the English norm was often drawn upon in socially divisive ways by peers in conflict, at times creating stratification. My findings concur with recommendations made in previous research, encouraging educators to consider that students who struggle with language "need to be able to claim desirable identities at school, including identities of expertise" (Dagenais, Day & Toohey 2006: 216). While membership in an English medium class was voluntary, the use of English posed a greater challenge for some students. Such students at times could be at risk socially and academically. Opportunities to display other aptitudes were often presented, but rather this is a point to be more generally considered in the application of such monolingual language norms.

Conducting this study revealed to me the disparate views of educators and researchers in regards to conceptualizations of multilingualism. One way of

bringing these views closer together is to raise awareness within pedagogical studies of the value of learner agency and creativity in language learning and use. It is also possible that code-switching does not need to be viewed as a deficiency, but rather as a competency, as a linguistic tool (Arnfast & Jørgensen 2003). In terms of instructing language learners it has been said that “there is no reason to teach them *not* to codeswitch; on the contrary, there is reason to teach them *how* to code-switch and when to use code-switching” (ibid: 49).

To come back to the Finnish context specifically, the emergence of this kind of setting has been made possible through school reform. Due to the decentralization of education programs can be developed at a grassroots level, allowing local needs of communities to be met and giving teachers professional freedom and opportunities for innovation. This may be seen as both a strength and a weakness in Finnish education, depending on one’s perspective (see Rinne, Kivirauma & Simola 2002). My ethnographic observations revealed that at times the teachers in this program felt left out of the wider activities of the school and isolated with the specific concerns of their instructional context. Because many materials were not available in English, teachers were responsible for developing more of their own instructional materials than a mainstream classroom teacher. There is not an official policy, there is also great variation between the way norms for language use are handled by different teachers. It is worth pointing out to policy makers that such programs are well appreciated in their local communities and that teachers who endeavor to do this kind of work require greater support. This echoes the findings of a 2005 survey indicating that Finnish schools offering CLIL intend to continue to do so but desire greater support in policy and teacher education (Lehti et al. 2005).

5.4 Conclusion

In ethnography, conclusions are characterized as “possible” rather than “certain” and it is the goal of ethnography to give “new vantage points for reflection” (Erickson 1984: 66). This study has aimed to shed light on the processes and practices that construct this kind of classroom. Although this class is called an “English speaking class,” it does not follow that everything that occurs in this context is through the medium of English. The normative use of English can be understood as an institutional policy for language use to which students are socialized to varying degrees. I have focused on ways of handling this norm, aware that such a norm is constituted through interaction and also aware that there are also other norms for language use present in the classroom. I have been particularly interested in the social actions surrounding the English language norm and the subsequent ways it may structure participation in a variety of classroom activities. A great deal of interactional work takes place in enforcing and maintaining the use of English. The language of instruction is also supposed to be the language of classroom life and signifies the greatest difference between this learning context and others within the same school,

such as those offered in the Content and Language Integrate Learning (CLIL) program. As such, this setting is particularly well suited to exploring the construction of norms, classroom culture and community because it is set apart as distinct and this distinction is maintained rigorously. In this study individual students have been made visible through analysis of their interactions, examination of their notebooks and belongings, and through the words of parents and teachers. This representation of individuals especially works to highlight the integral role that language plays in daily classroom life.

YHTEENVETO

Sosiaalistuminen, kielen valinta ja jäsenyys: kielelliset normit englanninkielisessä alakoulun ensimmäisen ja toisen luokan opetuksessa Suomessa.

Tämä etnografinen tutkimus käsittelee kielellisen sosiaalistumisen prosesseja sekä niihin liittyviä kielen valinnan käytänteitä ja kielenkäytön tapoja luokkahuoneessa. Tarkastelen erityisesti sitä, miten institutionaalista yksikielisyysnormia (monolingual norm) rakennetaan ja miten siihen suuntaudutaan suomalaisessa ensimmäisen ja toisen luokan oppilaista koostuvassa luokkahuoneessa, jossa opetuskielenä on englanti. Analysoin, miten englannista rakennetaan luokkahuoneen norminmukainen käyttökieli ja miten luokkahuonevuorovaikutuksen osallistujat pitävät yllä, tarkkailevat ja vastustavat tätä vain englannin kielen käytön sallivaa yksikielistä normia. Lähtökohtanani on ajatus siitä, että kielellisiä normeja rakennetaan tai tehdään näkyväksi vuorovaikutuksessa ja merkityksellisessä toiminnassa ja tulkitaan eri tavoin. Tarkasteluni kohteena olevassa luokkahuoneessa ajatus englannista norminmukaisena kielenä on olennaisessa osassa opittaessa, miten osallistua luokkahuoneen vuorovaikutukseen ja toimia luokkayhteisön jäsenenä.

Tarkasteluni kohteena olevan luokan oppilaat on testattu ennen kuin heidät on hyväksytty englanninkieliseen opetusohjelmaan. Heidän on arvioitu pärjäävän englanninkielisessä opetuksessa, mutta siitä huolimatta heidän englannin kielen taidoissaan on suuria eroja. Toisille englanti on kotikieli tai ulkomaila opittu kieli; toiset taas ovat oppineet englantia esikoulussa. Oppilaiden odotetaan käyttävän luokkahuoneen vuorovaikutustilanteissa ainoastaan englantia. Tarkasteleman luokka eroaa vieraskielisestä aineenopetuksesta eli niin sanotuista CLIL-luokista, joita on samassa koulussa, ensinnäkin siksi, että oppilaat on valikoitu opetus-ohjelmaan, jossa englanti on ainoa käytössä oleva kieli, ja toiseksi siksi, että oppilaiden oletetaan osaavan englantia jo silloin, kun he aloittavat opetusohjelman.

Vaikka vieraskielistä aineenopetusta (CLIL-opetus) onkin tutkittu Suomessa, englanninkielisiä tai kielikylpyluokkia on tutkittu vähemmän. Ruotsinkielistä kielikylpyä on tutkittu sekä määrällisin menetelmin (Björklund & Mård-Miettinen 2011) että keskusteluanalyttisin ja narratiivisin ottein (Slotte-Lüttge 2004, 2007). Englanninkielisiä luokkahuoneita koskevaa tutkimusta on sen sijaan vain vähän ja sekin on keskittynyt vieraskieliseen aineenopetukseen (eli CLIL-opetukseen), eikä tutkimuksissa ole juurikaan analysoitu vuorovaikutusta (ks. kuitenkin Nikula 2007, 2008, 2010; Kääntä 2010). Koska kielenkäyttöä englanninkielisissä tai kielikylpyluokissa ei ole aikaisemmin analysoitu Suomessa ja koska myös englanninkielistä CLIL-opetusta koskevaa tutkimusta on suhteellisen vähäistä, tutkimukseni asettuu täyttämään melko isoa aikaisemmassa tutkimuksessa olevaa aukkoa.

Kielellisiä normeja koskeva tarkasteluni on saanut vaikutteita kielellistä sosiaalistumista käsittelevistä tutkimuksista, joissa tarkastellaan sitä, miten yk-

silöt sosiaalistuvat paitsi kielen-käytön kautta myös tiettyihin kielenkäytön tapoihin (Ochs & Schieffelin 1984). Kielellisen sosiaalistumisen prosessin kautta yksilö saavuttaa kompetensseja, jotka mahdollistavat tietyn ryhmän käytänteisiin osallistumisen ja sen ideologioiden jakamisen ja tätä kautta ryhmän jäsenyyden saavuttamisen (Schieffelin & Ochs 1996; Garrett & Baquedano-López 2002). Kielellistä sosiaalistumista käsittelevissä tutkimuksissa yhdistetään etnografiaa vuorovaikutuksen mikrotason analyysiin (Schieffelin & Ochs 1996). Tässä tutkimuksessa pidän etnografiaa teoreettisena lähtökohtana enkä ainoastaan aineiston kuvauksen metodina (Blommaert 2009; Erickson 1984; Hymes 1977). Etnografiaa koskeva teoretisointi pohjautuu tutkimustradition antropologisiin lähtökohtiin ja saa tukea kenttätöille ominaisista refleksiivisistä ja toistuvista kysymyksenasetteluista. Kenttätöni kesti kahdeksantoista kuukautta, ja lukuvuoden aikana olin mukana havainnoimassa luokkahuonetta joko viikoittain tai kahden viikon välein, tein videonauhoituksia, haastattelin ja keräsin artefakteja. Vuorovaikutuksen analysoinnissa olen soveltanut sekä diskursianalyttisiä (Gee 2005) että keskustelunanalyttisiä (Sacks 1992) metodeja. Tutkimustani ohjanneet kysymykset ovat seuraavat: 1) Miten luokkahuoneessa rakennetaan, pidetään yllä ja vastustetaan yksikielistä, vain englannin kielen käytön sallivaa normia? 2) Miten osallistujat sosiaalistuvat käyttämään kieltä/kieliä tässä luokassa? 3) Mikä on institutionaalisen, ainoastaan englannin kielen käytön sallivan normin rooli vertaisryhmien sosiaalisessa järjestyksessä?

Väitöskirja koostuu neljästä artikkelista, joista jokainen keskittyy tiettyyn kielen valintaan ja kielen käyttöä luokkahuoneen arjessa koskevaan teemaan. Artikkelissa 1 analysoin, miten vain englannin kielen salliva kielipolitiikka on yhteydessä kahden uuden oppilaan, Arielin ja Lucillen, toimintaan suomalaisen alakoulun luokkahuoneessa, ja miten tämä kielipolitiikka vaikuttaa oppilaiden mahdollisuuksiin saada äänensä kuuluviin. Näiden kahden tytön erilaisten, yksilöllisten sosiaalistumispolkujen analyysissä nousevat esiin sellaiset tekijät kuin ystävyys, maahanmuutto sekä perheessä käytössä olevat kieliä koskevat puheet. Artikkelit tuo siis esiin koko joukon tekijöitä, jotka voivat vaikuttaa niihin erilaisiin tapoihin, joilla uudet osallistujat reagoivat institutionaaliseen, englantia korostavaan yksikieliseen kielipolitiikkaan. Artikkelit vie eteenpäin aikaisempaa kielipolitiikkaa ja monikielisten luokkahuoneiden diskursseja koskevaa tutkimusta analysoimalla kielipolitiikkaa aineistolähtöisesti ja tarkastelemalla mikroanalyttisesti, miten oppilaat reagoivat kielellisiin normeihin ja toimivat niiden mukaan vuorovaikutuksessaan. Analyysin keskiössä ovat kaksi oppilasta vastustavat ensin yhdessä suomen kielen käyttöä suomenkieltä hallitsevien luokkatovereidensa keskuudessa, mutta heidän välilleen syntyy kuitenkin myöhemmin eroja siinä, miten he ylläpitävät englannin kielen käyttöä korostavaa yksikielistä normia tai erottautuvat suomen kielestä. Lucille jatkaa kielenkäytön tarkkailua luokan kielipolitiikan mukaisesti, mikä vahvistaa hänen resurssiaan osallistua vuorovaikutukseen luokkatovereiden kanssa. Ariel puolestaan suuntautuu käyttämään suomea ja saa äänensä kuuluville keskusteluissa luokkatovereiden kanssa. Analyysissä tulee näkyväksi se kehityksen ”muuttuva, kontingentti ja epälineaarinen luonne”, jota kielellistä sosi-

aalistumista analysoivissa tutkimuksissa on pyritty erittelemään (Garrett 2008: 200). Sosiaalistumisen ja asemoitumisen prosesseja analysoitaessa yksilöiden erilaiset kehityskulut korostuvat. Tämä on huomionarvoista, sillä yksilölliset kehityskulut ovat usein jääneet tarkastelun ulkopuolelle, kun aikaisemmassa tutkimuksessa on analysoitu esimerkiksi uusien tulokkaiden ryhmiä kollektiivisesti (ks. kuitenkin Cekaite 2007; Toohey 2000).

Artikkelissa 2 osoitan, miten englannin kielen käyttöä koskeva normi vaikuttaa oppilaisiin ja asemoi heitä eri tavoin. Kuvaan, miten oppilaat aktiivisesti toiminnassaan reagoivat yksikielisyysnormiin: he tulkitsevat ja muotoilevat normia uudelleen sekä toimivat sen vastaisesti. Samalla he myös asemoivat itsensä suhteessa normiin. Koska oppilaat tulkitsevat ja käsittelevät yksikielisyysnormia eri tavoin, joutuvat he myös ristiriitatilanteisiin.

Kielikylpyluokkien kielellisiin normeihin on kiinnitetty huomiota aikaisemmassa tutkimuksessa (Heller 2006; Cekaite & Aronsson 2004), mutta vain vähän on analysoitu erilaisista kielellistä taustoista tulevien oppilaiden kokemuksia vieraalla kielellä annetussa opetuksessa, tai sitä, miten kielen käyttöä koskevista normeista neuvotellaan vertaisten (eli esimerkiksi oppilaiden) kesken. Tässä tutkimuksessa nimenomaan opettajan toiminnassa korostuu näkemys kielistä toisistaan erillisinä systeemeinä. Hänen yksikielistä normia korostava toimintansa nostaa esiin ajatuksen ihanneoppilaasta ”kaksinkertaisesti yksikielisenä” eli yksilönä, joka puhuu kahta kieltä kuin yksikielinen (Heller 2006: 83; ks. myös Cummins 2007). Artikkelin tulokset osoittavat, että vaikka yksikielisyysnormilla tavoitellaan positiivisia päämääriä, se on kuitenkin samaan aikaan monella tavalla ongelmallinen. Vuorovaikutuksen tarkastelu osoittaa, miten kielelliset normit vaikuttavat luokahuoneen vuorovaikutukseen ja näkyvät osallistujien sosiaalisissa suhteissa. Suomen kielen puhumisesta tulee luokahuoneessa radikaali teko, mikä johtaa siihen, että oppilaat tarkkailevat toistensa kielenkäyttöä ja jakautuvat erilaisiin ryhmiin kielenkäytön suhteen. Erilaiset yksilölliset oppimispolut risteävät monimuotoisessa luokahuoneessa, ja polkujen risteytyminen voi tuoda esiin oppilaiden vastakkaisia ymmärryksiä kielenkäyttöön liittyvistä institutionaalisista ideologioista.

Artikkeli 3 tarjoaa yksityiskohtaisen analyysin tavasta, jolla kielellisiin normeihin sosiaalistetaan luokahuoneessa, ja tuo esiin, miten yksikielisyysnormia käytetään sosiaalisessa toiminnassa. Analysoin artikkelissa erityisesti niitä tapoja, joita oppilaat käyttävät normien toteuttamiseen ja niiden vastustamiseen vertaisopetuksessa (subteaching). Vertaisopetuksella tarkoitetaan vuorovaikutusjaksoja, joissa oppilaat käyttävät keskenään opettajamaista diskurssia ja opettajalle tyypillisiä vuorovaikutuskeinoja (Møller & Jørgensen 2011; Tholander & Aronsson 2003). Tässä tutkimuksessa ymmärrän vertaisopetuksen luokahuonevuorovaikutuksen käytänneeksi, joka antaa oppilaille moraalista ja institutionaalista määräysvaltaa suhteessa kielenkäyttöön ja muuhun sosiaalistumisen kannalta olennaiseen toimintaan luokahuoneessa. Tulokset osoittavat, että oppilaat käyttävät vertaisopetuksen keinoja dynaamisesti ja niitä voidaan myös vastustaa tai pyrkiä kumoamaan.

Tämä tutkimus on ensimmäinen, joka keskittyy vertaisopetukseen luokahuoneen rutiininomaisissa, päivittäisissä aktiviteeteissa. Se eroaa aikaisemmista tutkimuksista, joissa on pääasiassa keskitytty pienryhmäaktiiviteetteihin, joissa opettaja ei ole ollut läsnä (Møller & Jørgensen, 2011; Tholander & Aronson, 2003). Tämän artikkelin tulokset vievät eteenpäin vertaisopetusta koskevaa lisääntyvää tutkimusta. Ne tukevat aikaisempia havaintoja siitä, että vertaisopetusta rakennetaan yhteistoiminnassa, ja lisäävät ymmärrystämme erityisesti siitä, miten vertaisopetusta voidaan vastustaa ja miten sillä voidaan pyrkiä jopa kumoamaan tai ironisoimaan vallalla olevia kielellisiä normeja. Tulokset osoittavat myös sen, että opettaja voi legitimoida vertaisopetuksen pitääkseen yllä luokan yksikielisyysnormia. Se, että oppilaat tarkkailevat luokahuoneessa toistensa kielenkäyttöä, on mahdollista ymmärtää reaktioksi institutionaalisen yksikielisyysnormin vaateisiin. Samaan aikaan kielellinen tarkkailu kuitenkin toimii myös toisenlaisena resurssina oppilaiden välisessä sosiaalisessa vuorovaikutuksessa. Nuoret monikieliset oppilaat voivat käyttää vertaisopetusta hienovaraisilla tavoilla asemoidakseen itseään heterogeenisessä ryhmässä suhteessa sellaisiin kategorioihin kuin luokkataso, sukupuoli ja äidinkieli.

Artikkeli 4 esittelee ensimmäistä luokkaa käyvän Aarton. Aarton luokassa englannin kielen puhumista koskeva normi on hyvin vahva ja englannin kielen puhuminen on olennaista luokkayhteisön jäsenyyden osoittamisen näkökulmasta. Puheen korjaaminen on yksi tapa, jolla englannin kielen käyttöä koskevaa normia pidetään yllä. Korjauksia voidaan pitää metakielellisinä keinoina, joilla osallistujien väliset kielelliset erot tehdään näkyviksi. Korjausten avulla Aarto asemoidaan tässä kontekstissa erilaiseksi – oppilaaksi, jolla on kielellisen ja sosiaalisen kompetenssin saavuttamiseen liittyviä vaikeuksia.

Artikkeli keskittyy korjauksiin ja analysoi sitä, miten korjaukset liittyvät kielivalintaan ja kielenkäyttöä ohjaileviin normeihin luokahuoneessa. Aineistoimerkit osoittavat, että korjausten avulla toiset oppilaat voivat tukea Aarton osallistumista luokkahuonekeskusteluun. Opettajan tekemät korjaukset sen sijaan tapahtuvat yleensä luokan edessä ja vetävät näin ollen huomion Aarton vaikeuksiin englannin kielen käytössä. Analyysi kuvaa myös sitä, miten vertaisen tekemästä korjauksesta tulee moite: toisen aloittama korjaus nostaa esiin sosiaalisen normin rikkomisen ja voi johtaa moraalisten sääntöjen käsittelyyn (Günther 1996). Artikkelin viimeisissä esimerkkikatkelmissa vertaiset aloittavat korjauksia moittimalla yhdessä tapauksessa ääntämisessä kuuluvia ongelmia sekä toisessa tapauksessa sanavalinnan ja koodinvaihdon käytänteitä. Artikkelissa käytetään aineistona myös opettajan haastatteluja, ja haastatteluaineiston avulla korjauksissa esille nousevat positioinnit voidaan asettaa dialogiin kielenoppimiseen liittyvien ideologioiden kanssa.

Suuri osa aikaisempaa kielellistä sosiaalistumista koskevaa tutkimusta on tarkastellut sitä, miten kieliyhteisön jäsenyys saavutetaan, mutta vähemmän tiedetään niistä käytänteistä, jotka rakentavat marginaalista jäsenyyttä (García-Sánchez 2012). Tässä artikkelissa sovelaan keskusteluanalyttistä korjauksen käsitettä yhtä oppilasta koskevassa etnografisessa tapaustutkimuksessa, ja tar-

kastelen kompetenssin ja jäsenyyden käsitteiden näkökulmista niitä keinoja, joilla kielenkäyttöä koskevia normeja rakennetaan.

Kaiken kaikkiaan tämän väitöskirjan artikkelit tuovat esiin oppilaiden välisen vuorovaikutuksen erilaisissa luokkahuoneen aktiviteeteissa – erityisesti sellaisissa, jotka eivät ole opettajajohtoisia. Artikkelit kuvaavat sitä luokkahuoneen epävirallista toimintaa, joka on usein jätetty huomiotta luokkahuoneen vuorovaikutusta käsittelevissä tutkimuksissa. Tutkimus jatkaa viimeaikaista kielitieteellistä etnografista tutkimusta, jossa on yhä enemmän korostettu vertaisten välistä vuorovaikutusta luokkahuonekontekstissa (Cromdal 2003) sekä luokkahuoneen osallistujien sosiaalisia ja kulttuurisia kiinnostuksen kohteita (Cekaite 2006; Tholander 2002). Tutkimukseni nostaa esiin niitä tapoja, joilla oppilaat vastustavat institutionaalisia kielenvalintaan liittyviä normeja vuorovaikutuksessa, ironisoivat ja pyrkivät jopa kumoamaan niitä, ja analysoi sitä, miten tämä näkyy vertaisten välisessä sosiaalisessa vuorovaikutuksessa. Institutionaalisia normeja vastaan suunnattuun oppilaiden toimintaan ei ole aikaisemmassa tutkimuksessa keskitytty yhtä selvästi, sillä monissa viimeaikaisissa monikielisten luokkahuoneiden vuorovaikutusta tarkastelleissa tutkimuksissa on pikemminkin korostettu niitä tapoja, joilla oppilaat suuntautuvat luokkahuoneen virallisiin kieliin (Björk-Willen & Cromdal 2009; Cekaite & Björk-Willen, tulossa; Cekaite & Evaldsson 2008; Slotte-Lüttge 2004; 2007).

Englannin kielen normatiivisuus voidaan nähdä institutionaalisenä kieli-politiikkana, johon oppilaat sosiaalistuvat eriasteisesti. Tässä tutkimuksessa olen keskittynyt niihin tapoihin, joilla tätä institutionaalista normia käsitellään. Analyysi perustuu ajatukseen siitä, että kielellisiä normeja rakennetaan vuorovaikutuksessa ja että vuorovaikutuksessa on olemassa monia kielenkäyttöä samanaikaisesti sääteleviä normeja. Olen tutkimuksessani kiinnittänyt huomiota erityisesti institutionaalsiin normeihin liittyvään sosiaaliseen toimintaan ja niihin tapoihin, joilla tämä jäsentää luokkahuonevuorovaikutukseen osallistumista. Tässä tutkimuksessa yksittäisten oppilaiden yksilölliset polut on tehty näkyväksi analysoimalla heidän vuorovaikutustaan, heidän muistiinpanovihkojaan ja muita artefaktejaan sekä tarkastelemalla sitä, mitä heidän opettajansa ja vanhempansa sanovat. Yksilöllisten sosiaalistumispolkujen analyysissä korostuu kielen erityinen rooli osana oppilaiden elämää luokkahuoneessa.

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