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Hesitant versus confident family language policy: a case of two single-parent families in Finland

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Abstract: During the past decade, the field of family language policy has broadened its scope and turned its attention to diverse family configurations in versatile sociolinguistic contexts. The current study contributes to this endeavor by focusing on two single-parent families who live in Finland and who strive to support Russian as a family language. Applying nexus analysis as an epistemological stance and as an analytical lens, the study takes an emic perspective on family language policy. Furthermore, it examines how family language policy is manifested and negotiated during mother-child play and what discourses shape it. The findings reveal two contrasting ways in which family language policy is manifested and negotiated in the families. Confident family language policy in one of the families is informed by the mother's historical body (i.e., prior experience of raising children bilingually), while in the other family, discourse in place represented by divergent language ideologies plays a significant role in shaping family language policy and is connected with hesitant decisions about language use in the family.

Keywords: family language policy; single-parent families; nexus analysis.

1 Introduction

The field of family multilingualism has considerably expanded in the past decades. As it is developing theoretically and methodologically, the field is also becoming more diverse – it encompasses varied families in multifaceted contexts and critically examines the notions of family, language, and policy (see e.g., Wright and Higgins 2021). As the notion of family is being re-defined by taking a more flexible view and shifting away from the confined implications of home and blood ties to a more open view of the family as a network of significant others, there is a demand for apprehending how public discourses shape family lives in different sociolinguistic contexts (Wright 2020).

The current study aims to contribute to this endeavor by focusing on single-parent families who live in Finland and who strive to maintain Russian as a family language. Even though the Russian-speaking community in Finland is steadily growing, it remains relatively under-researched. A substantial number of studies have been done on the role of the Russian-speaking community in Finland (Pikkarainen and Protassova 2015), the role of Russian as a heritage

language (Protassova 2008), and the attitudes toward Russian-speakers in Finland (Nshom and Croucher 2014), but no studies until now have scrutinized family interactions in this context.

The Russian language in Finland is saturated by conflicting views. On the one hand, it is considered an important language and is largely promoted as one of the foreign languages to learn in schools but on the other hand, Russian speakers often face prejudice. For example, Russian-speaking women may experience difficulties in finding employment due to unreasonably high language expectations from the employer (Tanttu 2008: 34-35). Therefore, it is especially important to explore how this sociopolitical reality is manifested through family language policy (FLP) (i.e., why, and how parents transmit Russian to their children).

Informed by the nexus analytical framework (Scollon and Scollon 2004) the study examines family language policy in two single-parent Russian-speaking families in Finland. Family language policy is understood as explicit (Shohamy 2006) and implicit manifestation of language use among the family members. The study unfolds in three consecutive steps following the nexus analytical approach, namely engaging the nexus, navigating the nexus, and changing the nexus (Scollon and Scollon 2004). By taking this epistemological stance and seeking collaborative data collection and interpretation, the study aims to step away from an etic view and attempts to grasp what meanings the participants imply in the language practices that unfold during the mother-child play.

The study scrutinizes the nexus of mother-child play and family language policy negotiation first by applying interactional discourse analysis (Gumperz 2015) and then zooming out to see what language ideology discourses are manifested in the interactions and how the historical body of the participants informed the decisions about their language use. To achieve this goal the following research questions were formulated:

- 1 How is language policy manifested and negotiated during the mother-child play in the two single-parent families?
- 2 What discourses shape social action (i.e., mother-child play) and how does this process unfold?

The article starts with an overview of research on family multilingualism and proceeds with a discussion on the Russian language in Finland placing it in the context of other minorities in Europe. Next, I will introduce the families, data collection, and data analysis procedures. After this, I will discuss the study results and their implications in light of the family language policy research.

2 Family language policy and discourse strategies

2.1 Family multilingualism and single parenting

Studies that examined family multilingualism date back to the early 20th century works by Ronjat (1913) and Leopold (1939) as they explored their children's bilingual development through diaries. These studies were to a great extent descriptive and aimed to depict how children were acquiring two languages from birth (for a critical account of Leopold's work see Aronsson [2020]). They also gave rise to one of the most well-known discourse strategies, namely 'one-parent-one-language'. Subsequent studies started examining the role of the one-parent-one-language (OPOL) strategy in bilingual families more closely by the use of questionnaires and examining family interactions (see e.g., Döpke 1992; Lanza 2004 [1997]; DeHouwer 2007). These studies were followed by inquiries on family multilingualism that adopted a family language policy lens (see e.g., Schwartz 2008; Bezcioglu-Göktolga and Yagmur 2018; Obojska 2019) focusing on explicit decisions about language use (King, Fogle and Logan-Terry 2008) and unpacking implicit factors that influence family multilingualism such as beliefs about academic excellence which are translated into certain FLPs (Curdt-Christiansen 2009). The current study builds upon the definition of family language policy as explicit (Shohamy 2006) and implicit manifestations of language use among family members. Additionally, the study approaches language policy as a threefold model comprising language ideologies (i.e., what the mothers think about language and language use), language management (i.e., what the mothers do to change language practices), and language practices (i.e., what linguistic repertoire is used in the communication). Language practices are understood as either full or partial reflections of language policies. Numerous studies focused on the above-mentioned aspects of FLP. For instance, language ideologies are proved to be important factors in parental education choices for their children (see e.g. Catedral and Djuraeva 2018). At the same time, family language practices and discourse strategies are often a result of certain ideological workings (Lomeu Gomes 2020).

The field of FLP started exploring new theoretical and contextual directions by addressing the questions of Eurocentrism (see e.g., Lomeu Gomes 2021), exploring language socialization and agency in adoptive families (Fogle 2012), critically examining language and kinship (Wright 2020), analyzing digital families and digitally mediated interaction (see e.g., Palviainen and Kędra 2020; Kędra 2020), and in general, moving towards a more diverse and versatile view of family multilingualism (see e.g., Schalley and Eisenclas 2020; Wright and Higgins 2021). Partially influenced by this shift, the studies that focus on single-parent families started to expand as well.

Single parenting has routinely been associated with negative or deficient perspectives. For example, children raised by single parents often appeared to perform poorly in school (see e.g., Amato et al. 2015; Pong et al. 2003) and to be on the edge of poverty (see e.g., Forssén et al. 2005). Some studies focusing on language socialization and bilingual literacy deny a deficient view on single-parent families by purposefully avoiding comparisons with the two-parent families and normative/non-normative categorizations (i.e., normative referring to the nuclear families and non-normative to the families which do not conform to the nuclear family type) (Obied 2009, Obied 2010, Poveda et. al. 2014). Furthermore, there is evidence that children in single-parent families act as active decision-makers, engaged collaborators, and mediators of the two languages at home (Obied 2009, Obied 2010, Poveda et. al. 2014, Wright, 2020). Recently FLP studies have started questioning how various family constellations serve as a resource for family language policy and how the decisions concerning family language use are often informed by the existing and changing family constellation, which may change across the lifespan (see e.g., Altinkamis 2022; Vorobeva 2021).

2.2 Discourse strategies and language negotiation in the family

Numerous studies have scrutinized family interactions to explore how language policy is negotiated and what strategies are employed by the parents in bi-/multilingual family talk. The groundbreaking study by Lanza (2004) on language mixing in two-year-old children in English-Norwegian bilingual families in Norway examined the discourse strategies utilized by the parents in two families. The analysis revealed that parents in the families deploy discourse strategies in two contrasting ways – while parents in one family tended to adhere to the OPOL principle (although mostly the mother adhered to this rule), parents in the other family tended to negotiate bilingual context with their son through the use of a move-on (i.e., the conversation continues and the parent shows an understanding of the child's utterance in another language) and code-switching strategies (i.e., the parent switches from one language to another) (Lanza 2004: 323).

Subsequent studies shifted the focus from children as objects of FLP to children as active co-constructors of FLP. For example, Palviainen and Boyd (2013) explored how OPOL policy was enacted and negotiated in three Swedish-Finnish bilingual families in Finland by examining in particular how this process was linked to child agency. The study demonstrated how already at the age of 3 a child takes an active role in the co-construction of family language policy and even acts as a 'language police' when the OPOL interaction order was challenged by one of the parents (Palviainen and Boyd 2013: 245).

Gafaranga (2010) in his study on language shift in the Kinyarwanda-French community, yielded four strategies through which the medium repair was accomplished, namely embedded

medium repair (a child and an adult can attend to meaning through different languages), generalized content repair (a child fails to understand and asks for explanation), targeted content repair (a child asks for an explanation of a specific item) and understanding check (a child asks to confirm their understanding). A close analysis of these strategies also revealed that younger members of the community often determined the preferable medium of communication (see however Smith-Christmas [2021] for critique).

Lomeu Gomes (2020) explored the pragmatic functions of parental discourse strategies in conjunction with the OPOLON (one-person-one-language-one-nation) ideology and delineated seven strategies employed by the parents. For example, addressee-bound (i.e., referring to self or a speaker as a determinant of the code), code-bound (i.e., asking for elicitation in a certain code) and code rebuttal strategies (i.e., explicit refutation of the speaker producing an utterance in a certain language) served the same goal – a request to speak Portuguese and not Norwegian. Filling gaps and rephrase strategies served, in both Portuguese and Norwegian, as a confirmation or an indication of mutual understanding. Finally, say ‘x’ and what is-frame were used to elicit specific linguistic items and as an elaboration on certain topics (Lomeu Gomes 2020: 7).

The studies discussed above made a significant contribution to our understanding of family bi-/multilingual interactions and expanded our understanding of the crucial role that children play in the process of language negotiation. Furthermore, the role of OPOL and its practical use has been scrutinized and questioned (see also Grosjean 2010). The current study examines how FLP is co-constructed and negotiated in single-parent families, where the well-known OPOL strategy may be practically impossible to adhere to and where the main caretaker takes the responsibility of promoting family bi-/multilingualism.

3 Russian speakers in Finland

During the 1990s Finland experienced an increase in the flow of immigrants. This was primarily caused by the ratification of the repatriation law which allowed Ingrian Finns to return to Finland after the dissolution of the Soviet Union (Tiaynen-Qadir and Matyska 2020: 89). The more recent growth of Russian speakers is largely driven by immigration for studies, work, and family reunions. Currently, the Russian-speaking community outnumbers other linguistic minorities in Finland. Presently, the number of Russian speakers in Finland surpasses eighty-four thousand (Statistics Finland, 2020).

Due to sociopolitical and economic reasons, Russian is considered as one of the important languages in Finland, and it is taught in schools not only as a foreign but also as a heritage

language (Lähteenmäki and Vanhala-Aniszewski 2012: 122-123)¹, and there are four Finnish-Russian bilingual schools in Helsinki, Imatra, Joensuu, and Lappeenranta. However, such support of the Russian language is not without its caveats for historical reasons (including the 1939 ‘Winter War’ and the following ‘Continuation War’). As a result, Finnish national identity has been largely built upon the juxtaposition to “Russianness” (see Lähteenmäki and Vanhala-Aniszewski 2012 for a detailed account) and to this day Russian remains an ideologically loaded language.

Finland is a bilingual state with Finnish and Swedish as official languages. Despite this fact, it remains rather restrictive concerning the representation of bi-/multilingualism. Statistics Finland allows only one language to be registered, thus limiting the choice for the speakers of several languages. For example, for Russian-speaking families, many children from bi-/multilingual families (predominantly a Russian-speaking woman and a Finnish-speaking man) are registered as speakers of Finnish, so their Russian-speaking proficiency is not reflected in the register (Viimaranta, Protassova, and Mustajoki 2018). This hidden bi-/multilingualism may also indicate that the number of Russian speakers in Finland may well surpass the number provided by Statistics Finland.

All pupils of immigrant background in Finland have the right to study their L1s as heritage languages. The classes are organized by the municipalities and are not part of the official curricula, but are considered optional studies. However, the National Core Curriculum provides some guidelines concerning heritage language teaching (Finnish National Board of Education 2016). Despite significant support for heritage language instruction, its provision remains at risk as this item of expenditure seems to be the first in line for budget cuts. For example, the municipality of Kotka suspended the heritage language classes due to a lack of funding (Viimaranta et. al. 2018: 108). A similar situation unfolded in one of the municipalities in Central Finland, where potential cuts could affect all heritage language tuition, including Russian (Kyckling and Ylönen 2020; Tvaltvadze and Liukkonen 2020). Fortunately, a petition signed by the citizens convinced the municipality to continue organizing the classes. As these examples show, even though heritage language support is provided by the municipalities, it is under constant threat of budget cuts. The main responsibility for maintaining and developing the heritage languages lies therefore with the families. This concerns not only the Russian-speaking families but also other families with immigrant backgrounds. For example, the study by Shahzaman (2011) on family language policy in an Indian family in Finland illustrated that the mother took on the responsibility of providing all the heritage language support, as the instruction

¹ See Palviainen et.al. (2016) for bilingual pre-school teachers' language practices. Bilingual Finnish-Russian teachers were among the participants in the study.

of such languages as Urdu and Hindi was impossible in the municipality where the family lived due to a low number of pupils and difficulties with finding instructors. This resonates (however does not coincide) with the situation of Turkish speakers in the Netherlands, where the families take full responsibility for family language maintenance and development. However, in the Dutch context, the Turkish community does not receive any institutional support despite being rather numerous. Furthermore, the study points out that “the mainstream public discourse in the Netherlands, [...] claims that immigrant parents should speak Dutch with their children so that children can be more successful at school” (Bezioglu-Goktolga and Yagmur 2018: 51). It must be acknowledged that in Finland parents are on the contrary encouraged to speak their L1 with children and *oman äidinkieliopetus/teaching of one’s own mother tongue* is an important discourse that circulates through the Finnish educational system and society.

Studies that focused on Russian-speaking families in Finland explored how parents choose kindergarten and school for their children, how language development is planned in Russian-speaking families, and what the role of Russian as a heritage language is in Finland (e.g., Protassova 2019). Studies that focused on Finnish-Russian bilingual families accentuated families’ multilingual backgrounds (e.g., family members were proficient in five or six languages) and showed that parents see bilingualism as a cultural and linguistic asset, and value institutional support for child’s bilingual development (Protassova 2018, 2019).

The discussed above overview highlights the intricacies and complexities of the conditions in which Russian speakers navigate their lives in Finland. While there is considerable institutional support for heritage language maintenance in Finland, it is nonetheless under pressure as a result of budget cuts in some municipalities, which naturally puts more emphasis on parental active role in minority language maintenance. It is important to note, however, that while the number of heritage languages enjoying institutional support in Finland is limited, Russian, despite sociohistorical and political developments, remains one of them. Russian is therefore in a relatively privileged position in terms of institutional support compared to other minority languages in Europe.

4 Methods and analysis

4.1 Participants and data collection

The recruitment process for the study started in winter 2019. The initial purposeful sampling procedure began by circulating the call in several social media groups aimed at Russian speakers

and/or Russian-speaking mothers living in Finland. The sampling criteria included being the sole or primary caretaker to a child or children and speaking Russian with them. Eight mothers in total took part in interviews during which they were invited to participate in the follow-up stage of the study, where they were asked to record interactions with their children. Three out of eight mothers agreed to participate in this stage. The data collection process was implemented according to ethical principles and the General Data Protection Regulations. Participants had read the privacy notice and signed the consent forms prior to engaging in the study. The names presented in the article are pseudonyms chosen by the participants (TENK 2019).

Striving for collaborative data collection I encouraged the mothers to decide for themselves what routines they would like to record and share with me. The mothers recorded such activities as playing with their children, reading to them, and doing homework. For this article, I analyzed data from two families where mothers play with their children. Recordings of this routine also dominate the data corpus.

Both participants, Anna and Maria, chose to record how they play with their children. Anna also recorded a short video clip where she reads to her daughter. This clip was not included in the analysis. Before the start of the recording, I visited the participants' homes and became acquainted with the children, Sofia, and Oscar. Both families yielded over 400 minutes of data in total: family one 195 minutes of recorded interactions and 106 minutes of interview data, and family two 92 minutes of recorded interactions and 61 minutes of interview data. The table below briefly introduces the families (for detailed accounts of the families see Sections 5 and 6):

Table 1 Families' (linguistic) background and the interaction order scope (see also Vorobeva, 2021)

	F1: Anna (mother) and Sofia (child)	F2: Maria (mother) and Oscar (child)
Age of the mother	34	50
Age of the child	3;2	6;5
Mother's occupation	cleaner	n/a
Mother's linguistic repertoire	English, Finnish, Russian	Finnish, French, Mari, Russian
Years in Finland	7;5	25
Family peripheral participants	Sofia's non-residential father, Sofia's grandmother	Oscar's stepsister and step-brother

I had provided each of the mothers with a camera and a tripod, which they used to make self-recorded video clips. During a close analysis of the interactions, certain moments were ambiguous, and I implemented stimulated recall interviews to resolve these interpretive issues and approach an emic understanding of the data. Almost two years after the interactional data had been collected and coded for analysis, in October 2021, I approached the mothers with an interview to receive their accounts of the family language practices that had been recorded. With this aim in mind, stimulated recall protocols were tailored for each interview (see e.g., Dempsey 2010; Shubert and Meredith 2015). I met with each mother separately and we watched certain data extracts together to understand what these practices meant to them and how they evolved. In nexus analytic terms, this procedure helped to understand "how individual members experience their nexus of practice" (Scollon and Scollon 2004: 158).

When I first met with the mothers, I was transparent about my background as a single Russian-speaking mother. This partially shared experience potentially facilitated building rapport. However, I do acknowledge that my position as a researcher might have created unequal power dynamics during my encounters with the families, especially when I first met them. Furthermore, the current article covers the experiences of single mothers which may contribute to the dominating discourse about women as primary caretakers. It should be acknowledged that among those who responded to the call was one single father, though he did not take part in the interview and the subsequent data collection.

Despite both being single-parent families, they are different in their lived experiences and family ties that they formed throughout their lives. These factors have impacted families' language ideologies, practices, and language management decisions. In the following chapter, I will describe in detail how this interplay comes to life in their family talk.

4.2 Nexus analysis

The study is methodologically framed by nexus analysis (NA) and draws on interactional discourse analysis to scrutinize the video-recorded interactions. Nexus analysis was developed in the late 1990s – the early 2000s, and it stems from an amalgam of disciplines such as anthropological linguistics, interactional sociolinguistics, and critical discourse analysis. Such an alloy makes NA a flexible toolkit that has been used in various fields, such as language learning and teaching (Palviainen and Mård-Miettinen 2015; Kuure et. al. 2018), higher education research (Aarnikoivu 2020), and language shift (Lane 2010).

Researchers began to address the methodological underpinnings of FLP research by applying diverse methodological and analytical methods one of which is nexus analysis. For example,

Palviainen and Boyd (2013) were the first to apply NA to account for FLP beyond parental strategies and take a more holistic and structural approach by integrating the crucial aspects of FLP such as parental personal experiences, language strategies, and societal context (Palviainen and Boyd 2013: 227). Subsequent studies (see e.g., Soler and Roberts 2019, Smith-Christmas et al. 2019, Vorobeva 2021) explored family language policy as dynamic and situated in various sociolinguistic contexts, where family members' lived experiences and expectations about language use played an important role.

NA develops in several consecutive but sometimes overlapping stages: engaging, navigating, and changing the nexus. The current article covers all three stages and is organized accordingly. The engaging stage is implemented through data collection and generation. This stage was followed by the navigating phase when initial interviews and interactions were analyzed. Changing the nexus stage is characterized by re-engagement with the participants to "bring [your] analysis and understanding back into the semiotic ecosystem" (Scollon and Scollon 2004: 177). This stage is represented by the stimulated recall interviews (SRIs) which were implemented after the interactions had been coded and analyzed.

At the center of nexus analysis is a social action or a mediated action which is defined as "any action taken by an individual with reference to a social network" (Scollon and Scollon 2004: 11–12). In the current study, the mother-child play is conceptualized as a social action, and the nexus of the mother-child play and language policy negotiation situated in time and space is explored and concomitantly linked to other spatiotemporally situated events and processes (e.g., previous personal experience as language learners or societal perceptions of a particular marginalized community). In these cases, the identified social action (i.e., mother-child play) transforms into the nexus of practice, as this is a routinely taken social action, which unfolds at a recognizable time and place (Scollon and Scollon 2004, 14) and is rooted in the discourse in place, the historical bodies of the participants and interaction order between them. Figure 1 illustrates the three dimensions of NA in relation to the current study.

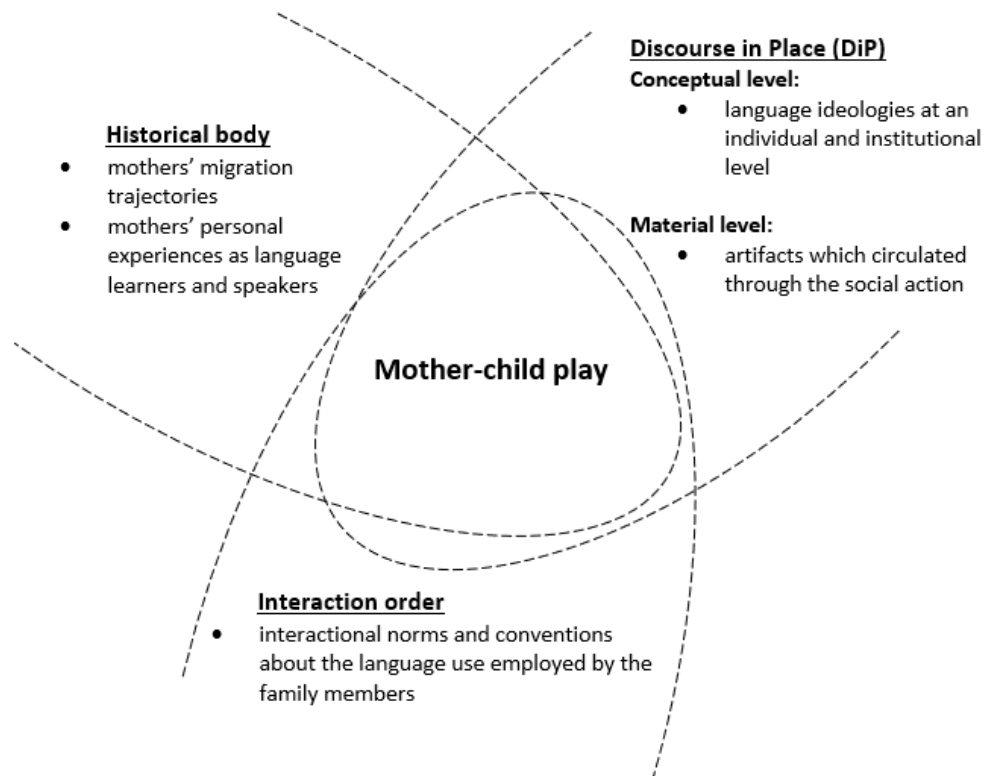


Figure 1: Nexus analytical lens as applied in this study (adapted from Scollon and Scollon [2004])

Taking the social action as an analytical point of departure allows the circumference of discourses to be opened up to see how the discourses concerning child-rearing, language use, and interactional norms inform and shape language policy in the two families. As Figure 1 indicates, discourse in place (DiP) is represented on a conceptual and material level. The conceptual dimension of DiP encompasses language ideologies at an individual (i.e., mothers' language ideologies) as well as an institutional level (language ideologies and practices in schools or daycares as reported by the mothers) (Hult 2015: 224). The material dimension is represented by artifacts that circulated through the social action and served as a means of mediation between the mothers' historical bodies, family discourses, and the children's multilingual repertoires.

The historical body (see Figure 1) is one of the analytical units in this study, which helps to open up the analysis of FLP in the two families, as the mothers largely draw on their prior experiences when they navigate through their family language policies. The historical body in turn builds upon the ideas of embodiment, which accentuates the historical dimension of the lived experience and internalization of certain social and communicative practices (see Blommaert and Huang 2009, Scollon and Scollon 2005). The intersection of space and time or chronotope and enregisterment are also important concepts, which help to understand how linguistic repertoires are invoked in the family interactions with particular family members under certain

circumstances. As will be discussed later, linguistic choices in the families are exercised through certain semiotic practices in certain contexts at a particular time, or in other words, these (linguistic) practices are becoming enregistered in the family talk (see e.g., Karimzad 2021).

To examine the interaction order in detail (i.e., scrutinize mother-child talk) I turn to the interactional sociolinguistic (IS) approach (Gumperz 2015). Its main goal is to explore “how interpretive assessments relate to the linguistic signaling processes through which they are negotiated” (Gumperz 2015: 312). Furthermore, the IS approach in the Gumperzian sense allows the “background assumptions that underlie the negotiation of interpretations” among the communicative act participants to be taken account of (Gumperz 2015: 313). In the current study IS allows analyzing family interactions and observing how language practices are manifested and negotiated in the recorded interactions considering that family members have certain preconceived knowledge (e.g., what linguistic repertoires to speak, with whom, and under what circumstances). The interviews collected for the study enable exploring how discourse in place and historical body informed and shaped language policies in the families. Furthermore, it grants access to normative and non-normative family language practices and gives an account of how they evolved and changed over time.

Analysis of the interactions was carried out in the following manner: first, all recordings were transcribed by the author (see transcription conventions in the endnote). Next, the instances where the mother or the child used more than one named language or employed metalinguistic remarks were identified and coded. In the following step, these instances were grouped into several categories based on their similarities. After the interactional discourse analysis had been carried out, I contacted the mothers for stimulated recall interviews to elucidate family language practices.

NA has proved to be helpful to grasp the dynamic nature of FLP and it accounts for the emergence of several aspects from the families’ nexuses. Furthermore, it enables a critical examination of the unfolding language policies which allows access to a diachronic dimension of families and their corresponding language policies as they are being constructed and chronotopically (re)negotiated.

5 Navigating the nexus: data analysis

Family 1: Anna and Sofia

Anna was among the participants who responded to the call that was circulated in the Facebook groups. She had been living in Finland for 7.5 years and initially moved to Finland to study but left her studies and started working as a cleaner. Anna's daughter, Sofia was 3.2 years

old when the data collection started, and she has been residing in Finland with Anna since birth. Sofia has a non-residential German-speaking father, who visits her about once a month and with whom she keeps in contact via video calls. Sofia's grandmother is a Russian speaker, and she visits Sofia regularly and stays for several weeks at a time, often helping take care of her.

During the father's visits, Anna, Sofia, and the father speak Russian, English, and German (see Vorobeva [2021] for a more detailed account). At the interview, Anna said that supporting both Finnish and Russian was important. She also added that "English is everywhere" nowadays, so English takes a significant role too. Interview analysis indicates that Anna's historical body orients toward a pro-multilingual FLP, but there is a clear indication of a hierarchized position of the named languages (i.e., Russian, Finnish, and English are important while German does not play a significant role).

Anna reported that she speaks predominantly Russian with Sofia because this is her mother tongue, it is the only language she can comfort Sofia in, and it was also recommended by the kindergarten teachers and healthcare workers to speak mother's L1 at home. Sofia attends a Finnish-medium kindergarten, where none of the teachers speaks Russian. However, as Anna explained in the interview, there was one Russian-speaking girl in the kindergarten, and both the girl's parents and Anna asked the teachers to place them in separate groups. Following this explanation, Anna added that she does not prioritize one language over the other. It illustrates how Anna's language ideologies are sometimes incongruent with language management choices. While she genuinely thinks that the two languages are equally important, her ad hoc language management decisions sometimes prioritize one language over the other. It can also be explained by a monolingual mindset (see e.g., Piller and Gerber 2018) when the two named languages (i.e., Russian and Finnish) are kept separate and tied to specific domains (e.g., Finnish in the kindergarten, Russian at home).

Anna seems to be balancing between opposing language ideologies, as she elaborated: "On the one hand it's necessary to guide her [Sofia] with Finnish, it's like a double-edged sword, speaking Finnish isn't recommended but so that she learns it somewhere other than in the kindergarten". Noteworthy, that it is an impersonal statement, which indicates that the decision is enforced from the outside. Furthermore, it illustrates that discourse in place comprises conflicting ideologies – Anna's language ideologies (i.e., "it's necessary to guide her [Sofia] with Finnish") and ideologies from the outside (i.e., "speaking Finnish isn't recommended"). Conflicting family language ideologies were discussed in detail by Curdt-Christiansen (2016), but while in that study conflicting ideologies were rooted within the family, in this case, there is a clear interplay of the mothers' ideologies and the external ideologies permeating the family (i.e., healthcare workers). Interview analysis also shows Anna's impact beliefs which are

manifested through the language management decisions. These decisions are aimed at balancing the two languages (e.g., reading at home in Russian, attending music club in Finnish, attending local theater performances in Russian) by taking an activity-equals-a-language approach.

Interaction order in this family is shaped by several actors, namely Anna, Sofia, Sofia's father, Sofia's grandmother, and healthcare and kindergarten workers. Although the study concentrates on one of the many dimensions within the interaction order (i.e., mother-child interactions), the interviews still provided meaningful albeit limited information on how other actors participated in and shaped the interaction between Anna and Sofia. Analysis of the family interactional data between Anna and Sofia yielded the following strategies implemented by the mother: *vocabulary elicitation* (see also Curdt-Christiansen [2016]) (N=9) aimed at the Finnish language, *say-X strategy* (see also Lomeu Gomes [2020]) (N=10) which was implemented only in Russian, and *insertions* from Finnish (single-word) or English (multiword) into Russian (matrix language) (N=9). Below are the most illustrative examples of these strategies.

Extract 1: *vocabulary elicitation strategy* (A = Anna; S = Sofia; Russian in *italics*; Finnish underlined)

Sofia is putting together a shape puzzle. A puzzle piece with a shape depicted on it (e.g., circle) was placed in the center and puzzle pieces with different items depicted were to be attached to it (e.g., an apple, a pizza slice, etc.). In this extract as in many others, Anna employs a vocabulary elicitation strategy to see if Sofia knows Finnish equivalents of the Russian words.

- 01 A: *а ты знаешь как по-фински а: сумка?*
and do you know what's uhm: bag in Finnish?
- 02 S: м:
um:
- 03 A: laukku
a bag
- 04 S: laukku
a bag
- 05 A: *а это знаешь как?*
and do you know what this is?
- 06 S: м:
um:
- 07 A: laatikko
a box
- 08 S: laatikko
a box

- 09 A: (показывает на картинку) kuva
(points at the picture) a picture
- 10 S: kuva
a picture

Extract 1 exemplifies the deployment of the vocabulary elicitation strategy. In line 01 Anna makes an explicit reference to the Finnish language which becomes omitted starting from line 05, illustrating how the shared understanding and expectation from the situation are being built as the interaction unfolds (see Gumperz 2015). The extract shows that Anna creates language learning moments during playtime. Similarly, a study by Fernandes (2019) on Russian-Swedish talk, which employed conversation analysis and focused on language workouts during mother-child interactions showed that the family talk often included an array of questions directed at the child to render a Russian equivalent of a word. It is noteworthy that Sofia repeats the Finnish word after Anna. A similar tendency is observed in the say-x strategy when Sofia repeats utterances word-by-word after Anna.

The deployment of the vocabulary elicitation strategy also serves as an indicator of partially shared linguistic repertoires (Purkarthofer 2021). Both Anna and Sofia are proficient in Finnish to a varying degree – Anna uses the language at work and Sofia in the kindergarten. However, they rarely speak Finnish together. Furthermore, Anna's and Sofia's junctions of lived experiences and the trajectories through which they have learned or acquired languages are different. Extract 1 shows that Sofia chooses not to make use of the full spectrum of the semiotic resources that she clearly possesses, and this leads Anna to encourage Sofia to use Finnish to make sure that she has some knowledge of the language.

Extract 2 below illustrates another strategy that was repeatedly used by Anna.

Extract 2: *say-X strategy* (A = Anna; S = Sofia)

Anna and Sofia are playing a puzzle game. The game was bought by Anna in a Russian online store and is called "Mom, dad and I: educational game". The game includes many 3-piece-puzzles with different animals which comprise a family. Each completed family puzzle consists of a mother, a father, and a child. In the extract below Sofia took one piece out of the puzzle and Anna needed to guess what puzzle piece was missing.

- 01 S: *не подглядывай*
no peeking!
- 02 A: *(смеётся) не подглядываю готова?*
(laughs) I'm not peeking, ready?
- 03 S: *да*

- yes*
- 04 *мама никого нету?*
mom, isn't there anybody?
- 05 A: (смеётся)
(laughs)
- 06 *надо сказать кого нету*
[you] need to say who isn't here
- 07 S: *мам кого нету?*
mom who isn't here?

In line 04 Sofia intends to ask who is missing. Earlier it was Sofia's turn to guess, and Anna asked the same question. In this instance, Sofia tries to articulate the same utterance but mixes up the words. In line 06 Anna corrects her by suggesting how to structure the utterance that would be appropriate in this context and in line 07 Sofia repeats it without Anna's prompt to do so. The extract illustrates how Anna socializes Sofia into linguistic and pragmatic norms of the minority language. The say-x strategy that was employed by Anna can be divided into two sometimes blended types: the say-x strategies that aimed at the correct pronunciation/articulation/stress of the words, and those that were more situational, with a goal to exemplify situationally appropriate phrases. The use of this strategy illustrates that Russian language norms are indeed important for Anna, and she invests in socializing Sofia into these norms. Say-x-strategy is also the only monolingual strategy that was yielded from the data set. While this strategy does not show language alternation or switching, it illustrates the importance of certain linguistic and pragmatic norms in family talk. It is noteworthy that this extract was recorded when Anna and Sofia were playing the game that was focused on the so-called normative family type comprising a mother, a father, and a child and served as a representation of the norm. It also shows the process of socialization into a "normative" family type, with a help of material resources (i.e., the cards depicting animals that represent certain family members) which can be explained by the dominant discourse on what an exemplary family is, how many people it comprises and what their genders are.

5.1 Changing the nexus: stimulated recall interview with Anna

5.1.1 Vocabulary-elicitation strategy and Anna's impact beliefs

When Anna watched one of the video clips that illustrated the vocabulary-elicitation strategy (see Extract 1), she explained that she was aware of Sofia's fluency in Russian and she wondered whether she speaks Finnish. Anna does not get to hear Sofia speaking Finnish that much, and to prompt her daughter to use some Finnish sometimes even pretends she does not know certain

words. Anna also explained that sometimes they even have short conversations in Finnish, though that did not happen that often when the interactional data was collected. It is important to note that during the stimulated recall interview Anna also stressed the importance of the Finnish language at that moment as Sofia was about to start *esikoulu*, pre-primary school, which starts at the age of 6 in Finland. This shows how the start of formal schooling may potentially alter language management and practices in the family and illustrates that family language policy is chronotopically shaped and spatiotemporally situated. Furthermore, the deployment of the vocabulary elicitation strategy serves as an indication of impact beliefs (DeHouwer 2009) held by Anna, as she clearly affirms that Sofia needs guidance in relation to the Finnish language, and these beliefs become stronger as her school age approaches. As Anna said in the stimulated recall interview "we now put emphasis on Finnish because there's a need for school- school preparation is ongoing".

5.1.2 Family multilingual repertoire

Both Anna and Sofia often embedded Finnish words into Russian speech (such as *pois* = away; *muistipeli* = memory game; *palapeli* = puzzle game; *paikka* = place), and sometimes English multiword utterances and full sentences, which occasionally led to short dialogues in English. For example, in one of the recordings, Anna started counting in English, and Sofia continued when they were opening a new box with games and puzzles. These instances were explained by Anna in the stimulated recall interview. Below is the extract where Anna explains the use of insertions:

Extract 3 (A = Anna; S = Sofia; Russian in *italics*, English in **bold**)

- 01 *но вот очень много с ней конечно слов*
but well, we have lots of words with her
- 02 *вот щас наверно еще больше стало вот у меня в обиходе*
perhaps there are even more of them now in my
everyday life
- 03 *которые вот просто мы говорим на финском*
which we just say in Finnish
- [...]
- 04 *я думаю что это знаешь как это*
I think that it's you know kind of
- 05 *чисто просто на автомате*
merely on autopilot
- 06 *когда сюрпризы делаем*
when we want something to be a surprise
- 07 *мы иногда говорим one two three*
sometimes we say one two three
- [...]

08 *у нас ещё появилась такая штука смешная*
we also have this funny thing

09 *на английском!*
in English!

[...]

10 **hello Sofia**

11 **hello mama**

12 *она мне* **how are you?**
she [says] to me **how are you?**

13 *я ей* **I'm okay and you?**
I [tell] her **I'm okay and you?**

14 **me too**

15 **I love you**

16 **see you!**

17 **bye-bye**

18 *вот наш диалог с ней такой*
here's our kind of a dialogue

In lines 01-03 Anna explains that inserting Finnish words into Russian at home is gradually becoming a more frequent practice. Further in the extract, in lines 04-07, Anna elaborates on how the eventual use of English in their family interactions became a routinely embedded practice, which was developed probably due to the frequent father's visits when English was one of the languages of communication. In lines 08-18 Anna adds that this routine developed further into simple but affective dialogues initiated by Anna. As the extract illustrates, these practices were not planned but sprouted up and developed over time. They show the family's multilingual repertoire (Van Mensel 2018) – the practices informed by their transnational experiences and rooted in the participants' historical bodies which developed in the family over time, and which are tied to specific activities and so are situational (i.e., counting in English when they want to surprise each other) and thus enregistered in the family linguistic repertoire. These examples show that language practices in this case (i.e., the use of Russian, Finnish, and English) transcend ideological boundaries of the named languages and are used as a resource for bonding or doing family (see e.g., Hiratsuka and Pennycook 2020).

5.1.3 Say-X strategy: socialization into linguistic and pragmatic norms

During the SRI Anna stressed that it was important for her to highlight the correct pronunciation instead of focusing Sofia's attention on mistakes. Anna also elaborated that this practice has now developed into a routine when Sofia repeats certain words after her. The words contain sounds which, as Anna observed, are difficult for Sofia to pronounce, for example, /s/ or rolled /r/.

Thus, as discussed earlier, Anna aligns with certain linguistic and pragmatic norms of the Russian language and invests in it by promoting and maintaining certain language practices. It is also striking how meticulous Anna is when correcting Sofia's Russian, and it seems that this dedication to details is becoming stronger as Sofia becomes older and approaches school age.

The findings presented above are interesting in two respects. First, there is evidence of institutional discourse, represented by the healthcare workers' recommendations and kindergarten teachers' assertions about language use. These discourses circulate through the nexus and largely shape the language practices in the family. Anna is torn between maintaining Russian and promoting Finnish. The data illustrates how Anna, who primarily speaks Russian (a minority language in this context) with her daughter, creates space for the majority language use. Secondly, as the SRI shows, the nexus also reflects how the family developed practices that transcend the ideologies linked to the named languages.

6 Navigating the nexus: data analysis

Family 2: Maria and Oscar

I met Maria in one of the Finnish schools where her son Oscar was taking his heritage language classes. Maria has been living in Finland for almost 25 years. She has three children, two of whom are adults raised in wedlock with a Finnish man, but the younger child, Oscar, was raised by Maria as a single parent. Maria's L1 is Mari, a minority language in Russia. As Maria explained, she spoke Mari with her mother and later in school studied in Russian. Maria's linguistic repertoire is vast. It includes Mari, Finnish, Russian and French. All these languages are present in her home and her son Oscar has been in contact with these languages in one way or another. When describing how the existing language policy was established, Maria said that she "decided to give him [Oscar] the opportunity" to learn Russian. This decision was based on Maria's previous experience when she was raising her older children in a nuclear family in a village in Finland. The family did not have a network of Russian speakers and the dominant family language was Finnish at the time. Therefore the present decision concerning the language used with Oscar is grounded in Maria's historical body, her experience as a parent promoting bilingualism in the family. Maria considered Russian as a more practical language than Mari to pass over to her son. This decision was also connected with the fact that Maria was gradually losing her skills in Mari, as her parents passed away a long time ago and like the Mari people she too switched to Russian, a switch unfortunately all too common nowadays for indigenous people in Russia (see e.g., Semenova, Khanolainen and Nesterova [2021]). Maria sees Russian as an

important language for Oscar's future, adding that she would like him to have Russian-speaking friends to support his Russian. It is evident how discourse in place in Maria's case is reinforced by the historical body (i.e., loss of ties to the Mari language and the trajectory of promoting family bilingualism), and how it is oriented towards promoting pro-minority language FLP, while acknowledging the role of the Finnish language.

The norm within the interaction order is manifested by Maria speaking Russian with Oscar either when they are at home or out. Maria reported that whenever she deviates from this norm and addresses Oscar in Finnish, he resists it. As she said, when this happens Oscar exclaims: "Why are you speaking Finnish? Don't speak Finnish!" However, Maria reported that whenever her older children visit her and Oscar, they all speak Finnish together. This indicates that whenever the number of family members involved in communication changes it leads to a shift in language practices and potentially expands opportunities for ratified and non-ratified participation in the family talk (Goffman 1981: 9). In this sense, Maria's case fundamentally contrasts with Anna's – Maria is confident in Russian and Finnish and is well-aware of Oscar's proficiency in them, due to having frequent shifts in their language practices, in which both Maria and Oscar shift towards Finnish. Furthermore, Maria reported Oscar's emerging literacy in English by playing video games.

In addition to Maria's committed decision to speak primarily Russian with Oscar, she also employs *implicit language management* decisions that support Oscar's Russian. For example, Oscar took online classes in math and coding. The decision to take the courses was not motivated, however, by the language in which it is taught but rather by Oscar's personal interest in the topics and his good relationships with the teachers.

Analysis of the interactional data reveals that both Maria and Oscar insert Finnish words into their Russian speech (N=7) and some of these instances have pragmatic functions as they are one-word responses (i.e., attempts to guess a word during an Alias game). Interactions also yielded several instances of meaning negotiation between Maria and Oscar (N=3). Meaning negotiation took place intra-linguistically and cross-linguistically (i.e., within a single named language and across two named languages) and in all cases was initiated by Oscar. Below are the extracts which represent the two types of language practices.

Extract 4: Oscar's alignment with the established FLP (M = Maria; O = Oscar; Russian in *italics*, Finnish underlined)

Maria and Oscar are playing Alias and Oscar is explaining what is depicted on the card.

01 O: он умеет летать и еще он-

- He can fly and also he-
- 02 *и он- такие [неразборчиво] черные*
and he- kind of [incomprehensible] black
- 03 M: *[да*
[yes
- 04 O: *[черные эти такие кругляшки которые были-*
[those black circle-shaped thingies which were
- 05 *у нас было красное и красное такая*
we had it red and red
- 06 M: *жук*
a beetle
- 07 O: *не- не жук но-*
no- not a beetle but-
- 08 M: *божья коровка*
a ladybug
- 09 O: *правда бо- правильно божья коровка*
true la- correct a ladybug
- 10 M: leppäkerttu
a ladybug
- 11 O: *да, божья коровка*
yes, a ladybug
- 12 M: *мхм*
uh-huh

In this extract, in lines 01-05 Oscar explains what is depicted on his card. In line 05 Oscar explicitly refers to the shared knowledge which allows Oscar to be more precise in his explanation (see Gumperz [2015] on communicative inferences). In line 06 Maria renders a wrong reply which is followed by Oscar's explicit negation and an attempt to guide Maria to the correct answer. In line 08 Maria provides a correct answer and in line 09 Oscar accepts it. Further, in line 10 Maria renders the same word but switches the language to Finnish, and in line 11 Oscar agrees with her but does not align with her language choice by rendering the word in Russian. The extract supports what Maria mentioned in the interview, about herself switching into Finnish or inserting Finnish words. She often faces Oscar's resistance, even though in this case resistance is merely implicit, being indicated by the language choice. In this extract, Maria's use of Finnish does not interfere with the flow of the conversation. As she commented in the SRI, she sometimes does not pay attention to what language is being spoken: "Perhaps sometimes I don't notice it, maybe I got used to it myself ". This extract can also be interpreted as an example of a brief language learning episode or language workout (Fernandes [2019]), as first in line 08 Maria renders a response in Russian, and only after Oscar accepts it does she reproduce the word in Finnish.

Extract 5: meaning negotiation (M = Maria; O = Oscar; Russian in *italics*; Finnish underlined)

Maria and Oscar are playing Alias. Maria is explaining what is depicted on her card and Oscar tries to guess.

- 01 M: *все закрывает свое тело вот такое*
[it] covers all your body like this
- 02 O: *это майка*
it's a tank top
- 03 M: *нет*
no
- 04 O: *кофта?*
sweatshirt?
- 05 M: *кофта да*
sweatshirt yes
- 06 O: *это же t-paita!*
but it's a t-shirt!
- 07 *но засчитываем*
but it's a score
- 08 M: *да, засчитываем*
yes, it's a score
- 09 *ну не t-paita, это с пуговицами такими*
well, it's not a t-shirt, it's got buttons
- 10 э: *это футболка-*
uhm: it's a t-shirt-

Extract 5 illustrates how Maria and Oscar use their linguistic repertoire to negotiate the meaning. In line 02 Oscar suggests an answer but it is instantly denied by Maria. On his second attempt in line 04 Oscar articulates a response "*кофта = sweatshirt*", which was accepted as correct by Maria. However, after Maria handed the card with the depicted object to Oscar, he resisted her interpretation and exclaimed that it was a t-shirt, using the Finnish word to refer to it. This was followed by Maria's repair in line 09, and in line 10 with an intention to explain that *t-paita* (t-shirt) corresponds to the Russian word "*футболка*", but Maria was interrupted by Oscar, and the meaning negotiation outcome remained open as Oscar moved on to the next alias card. Nonetheless, this extract illustrates how Maria and Oscar deploy their linguistic repertoire to create and negotiate meaning. In this instance, language or linguistic repertoire serves as a tool to solve the issue of interpretation. Such instances might be more limited in the families with two caretakers who follow a strict OPOL strategy. This extract also exemplifies how the interaction in multilingual families often transcends the boundaries of the named languages, as was also shown in the case of Anna and Sofia (see also Hiratsuka and Pennycook 2020).

Extract 6: Orienting toward established FLP (M = Maria; O = Oscar; Russian in *italics*; Finnish underlined)

Maria and Oscar are playing Alias. It is Oscar's turn to guess the word

- 01 M: *есть шляпа, ножка*
[it] has a cap, a leg
- 02 O: *э: скажи сначала alkukirjain*
u:hm say the first letter first
- 03 *как это говорить?*
how to say it?
- 04 M: *первая буква*
the first letter
- 05 O: *да, первая буква*
yes, the first letter
- [...]
- 06 O: *это м, это мама*
это-
it's uhm, it's mom
it's-
- 07 M: *и-*
and-
- 08 O: *это пуговица*
it's a button
- 09 M: *да*
yes
- 10 O: *мам ну говори alkukirjain*
mom, say the first letter
- 11 *не знаю это,*
I don't know uhm,
- 12 *первую букву*
the first letter

Extract 6 shows two salient ways in which language policy is manifested and negotiated in this family. First, Oscar orients toward the established language policy by inquiring about the Russian equivalent of the word he did not know, and secondly, it shows that Oscar is in control of his language use. In line 02 Oscar asks for the first letter of the word by rendering "the first letter", of the word he did not know, in Finnish. Immediately after this utterance, Oscar queries for the corresponding Russian word. Oscar's immediate query about the Russian equivalent highlights that he orients most toward Russian at home. Lines 01–03 also reveal that Oscar is in control of his language as he initiates the repair himself and in line 04 Maria fulfills his request. The later part of the extract lines 06–12 took place 3,5 min later. In lines 06–09 Oscar jokes

around giving random replies to Maria that she complies with in line 09, but in line 10 when Oscar asks for the first letter it is obvious that they both were aware that Oscar was joking around. In lines 10 to 11 Oscar first makes use of the Finnish equivalent but then self-repairs and articulates the word in Russian.

6.1 Changing the nexus: stimulated recall interview with Maria

During the stimulated recall interview, Maria said that she sometimes does not pay attention to what language is being spoken as she has been living in Finland for over 25 years. In the SRI interview Maria reported that Oscar may use the words he learned in school during the family talk, but Maria equips him with equivalents in Russian and he often requests the equivalents himself.

In the SRI interview when Maria watched one of the episodes (Extract 6) when Oscar inserts the word *alkukirjain* = the first letter, Maria said that it was quite common that they use Finnish words or discuss certain notions that Oscar learned in school and the explanation may be either in Russian or in Finnish, or sometimes both. Maria noticed that "it feels like Finnish is becoming stronger", with Finnish being the dominant societal and school language. Maria further pointed out when reflecting on this clip that Oscar's class teacher says "Don't speak Russian, speak only Finnish" whenever Oscar speaks Russian with his Russian-speaking classmate, an instruction illustrating the policy for minority language use in schools that Maria disapproves of. Despite encouragement and support at a municipal level (i.e., organized heritage language classes), language practices within the school domain strive to be more monolingual (see Tarnanen & Palviainen 2018)

To conclude, Maria's reflection on this extract demonstrates how language practices are gradually shifting toward the dominant language, but Maria and Oscar developed their own strategy which allows them to take advantage of it by, for example, utilizing their linguistic repertoire for meaning negotiation.

7 Conclusion

The current study contributes to the field of FLP in several ways. First, it advances the diversification of the field by scrutinizing family interactions in single-parent families and exploring family language policies in a relatively under-researched context (i.e., Russian-speaking families in Finland). Secondly, the study took an emic perspective, which allowed what meanings the mothers attach to their decisions concerning language use to be explored. It is necessary to point out that one family yielded more data than the other, so the family language policy of Anna and Sofia is discussed in more detail than that of Maria and Oscar.

Thirdly, the families that are described and identified as single-parent in this study reflect the heterogeneity of this family type, namely how the families were formed (i.e., single parent by choice or divorced) and the presence or absence of other kinships or significant others in family life, and the strength and elasticity of those kinships. These factors in turn shape language policies in families. For example, the case of Anna and Sofia showed how English permeated their life, presumably due to the language practices during the father's visits. In the case of Maria and Oscar, visits by older children shifted the language practices to Finnish (see also Vorobeva 2021 for a detailed account).

The study also showed that language policies in families are manifested in two contrasting ways. In Anna and Sofia's family, there is clear evidence of a hesitant language policy. Discourse in place in Anna's case is represented by divergent language ideologies: on the one hand, she actively supports Sofia's Russian and sees the language as inherently valuable (e.g., as a language of affection) while Finnish is claiming its importance as Sofia becomes older. Furthermore, Anna's case illustrates how language ideologies brought in from the outside may conflict with parental language ideologies. Therefore it is especially important for healthcare professionals to consider not only the L1 of the parent(s) when advising on family language policy but also to take into account the family type, as recommendations to speak a certain language at home without considering the family type may have a significant impact on family well-being (see DeHouwer [2020] for a discussion on family well-being and bilingualism). For example, in Anna's case, it led to confusion and hesitation in relation to family language policy.

The family of Maria and Oscar contrasts with the family of Anna and Sofia in several ways. First, the decisions about language use taken by Maria are rather definite and are grounded in her historical body (i.e., previous experience of raising children bilingually). While there is a clear indication of the Finnish language permeating the family, Maria and Oscar seem to have developed a management mechanism that allows for flexible use of linguistic repertoire for *meaning negotiation*. Furthermore, Oscar appears to be agentic in aligning with existing pro-minority language FLP and explicitly resisting its change (see also Palviainen and Boyd 2013). This aligns with the previous studies on FLP and single parenting which found children to be active FLP co-constructors while parents created interactional space for that (see., e.g., Wright 2020).

The findings demonstrate that despite speaking primarily Russian, both families purposefully or tacitly create space for deploying their linguistic repertoires. It is evident from the data that during certain interactional moments (cf. Extract 3 and 5) the families engaged in deploying their (partially) shared linguistic repertoires, which could as well be examined through a translingual

lens. Such language practices may potentially be more frequent in single-parent families where the caretaker is the main adult taking language management decisions along with the child.

On the other hand, the data reveal that the mothers do indeed make decisions concerning family language, even if these decisions are not necessarily in line with their language management choices. This highlights how planned language policies co-exist with ad hoc language practices, where pre-planned decisions are rooted in the mothers' historical bodies and discourses in place (e.g., prior experience of raising children bilingually or recommendations from healthcare workers to speak a certain language). At the same time, ad-hoc language practices serve the immediate need for meaning negotiation or they spring up from family routines.

Taking a further step in family language policy research, it could be beneficial to shift the analytical focus from the family to meaningful, emotional, interpersonal bonds, as a family comprises precisely these meaningful connections. Such connections in turn shape and serve as grounds for what we call family language policy. Although the current study focuses on families which had blood ties, it could be beneficial to look beyond them to friends or other seemingly distant people, who may in fact be particularly important for the child and their language development.

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Transcription conventions:

- [...] omitted utterances
- truncated word
- () transcriber's comment
- : elongated sound
- underline Finnish

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