JYU DISSERTATIONS 769

Polina Vorobeva

"When he was born, I decided to give him an opportunity to speak Russian"

A Nexus Analytical Perspective on Family Language Policy and Single Parenting

UNIVERSITY OF JYVÄSKYLÄ
FACULTY OF HUMANITIES AND
SOCIAL SCIENCES

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Editors
Åsa Palviainen
Department of Language and Communication Studies, University of Jyväskylä
Päivi Vuorio
Open Science Centre, University of Jyväskylä

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ABSTRACT

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"When he was born, I decided to give him an opportunity to speak Russian": a nexus analytical perspective on family language policy and single parenting.
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This dissertation examines Family Language Policy (FLP) in single-parent families residing in Finland and supporting Russian as their family language. It builds on the tripartite framework of Language Policy (LP) which encompasses language ideologies or beliefs (i.e., conceptions about language and its varieties), language practices (i.e., habitual pattern of language use), and language planning or management (i.e., efforts to alter language practices), and expands some of its theoretical premises.

Methodologically this dissertation is guided by nexus analysis and follows the three methodological steps of *engaging*, *navigating*, and *changing*. The data consists of interviews with eight mothers and video-recorded interactions from two families. The Finnish National Core Curriculum for Basic Education, especially the guidelines related to heritage language instruction, was also used as a significant data source during the analysis of FLP when focusing on the role of heritage language classes.

The findings show that single-parent, Russian-speaking families who raise their children bilingually tend to create and (re)negotiate kinships which serve as a resource for their FLPs. Analysis of the family interactions indicates that Russian is used as a matrix language for language socialization reasons, though the mothers tend to create space for deploying their linguistic repertoires when talking with their children. The findings also point to the complexities and contradictions that the families navigate in Finland, resulting in hesitant FLP and an increasing role for Finnish. Besides that, the status of heritage language serves as a source for family tensions and discursive contradictions in the families' language management.

This dissertation expands FLP scholarship by focusing on single-parent families, a family form that has been under-examined to this date. It also brings to light the fluid dimension of family and consequently FLP, which previously has not been given due attention.

Keywords: family language policy, single parents, Russian speakers in Finland, nexus analysis

TIIVISTELMÄ (ABSTRACT IN FINNISH)

Vorobeva, Polina
“Kun hän syntyi, päätin antaa hänelle mahdollisuuden puhua venäjää”: neksusanalyyttinen näkökulma perheen kielipolitiikkaan ja yksinhuoltajavanhemmuuteen
Jyväskylä: Jyväskylän yliopisto, 2024, 121 s. + alkuperäiset artikkelit
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Tässä väitöskirjassa tarkastellaan perheen kielipolitiikkaa (Family Language Policy, FLP) Suomessa asuvissa yksinhuoltajaperheissä, jotka käyttävät venäjää perhekielenä. Työ pohjautuu kielipolitiikan (Language Policy, LP) kolmiosaiseen viitekehykseen, joka käsittää kieli-ideologiat tai -uskomukset (eli käsitykset kielestä ja sen varianteista), kielikäytänteet (eli kielenkäytön tavat) ja kielisuunnittelun tai hallinnan (eli pyrkimykset muuttaa kielikäytänteitä). Tässä tutkimuksessa myös laajennetaan joitakin mallin teoreettisia lähtökohtia.

Metodologisesti tämä väitöskirja pohjautuu neksusanalyysiin ja noudattaa sen kolmea metodologista vaihetta, jotka ovat kartoittaminen, navigointi ja muokkaaminen.

Aineisto koostuu kahdeksan äidin haastatteluista ja kahden perheen videoimista vuorovaikutustilanteista. Perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteita, erityisesti oman äidinkielen opetukseen tavoitteisiin ja sisältöihin liittyviä määräyksiä, käytettiin myös tietolähteenä, kun analysoitiin oman äidinkielen opetuksen roolia perheen kielipolitiikassa.

Tulokset osoittavat, että venäjänkieliset yksinhuoltajaperheet, jotka kasvattavat lapsensa kaksikielisesti, pyrkivät luomaan ja neuvottelemaan sukulaisuussuhteita, jotka toimivat resursseina heidän perheidensä kielipolitiikalle. Perheen vuorovaikutuksen analyysi osoittaa, että venäjää käytetään matriisikielenä kielellisen sosiaalisaation mahdollistamiseksi, vaikka äidit pyrkivätkin luomaan tilaa koko kielellisen repertuaarinsa käyttämiselle puhuessaan lastensa kanssa. Tuloksissa korostuu myös venäläistaustaisten perheiden Suomessa elämiseen liittyvä kompleksisuus ja ristiriidat, joista seuraa epävarmuus perheen kielipolitiikasta sekä suomen kielen roolin kasvu perheen kielenä. Tämän lisäksi oman äidinkielen opetuksen asema vapaaehtoisena oppiaineena aiheuttaa jännitteitä ja ristiriitoja perheiden kielipolitiikkaan.

Tämä väitöskirja laajentaa tietämystä perheen kielipolitiikasta keskittymällä yksinhuoltajaperheisiin, perhemuotoon, jota on tähän mennessä tutkittu liian vähän. Lisäksi tutkimus tuo esiin perheen ja siten myös perheen kielipolitiikan dynaamisuuden, johon ei ole aiemmin kiinnitetty riittävästi huomiota.

Avainsanat: perheen kielipolitiikkaa, yksinhuoltajat, venäjänkieliset Suomessa, neksusanalyysi

АННОТАЦИЯ (ABSTRACT IN RUSSIAN)

В данной диссертации рассматривается семейная языковая политика (СЯП) в семьях с одним родителем, которые проживают в Финляндии и поддерживают русский в качестве семейного языка. Исследование опирается на модель Языковой Политики (ЯП) состоящую из трёх частей. Эта модель охватывает языковые идеологии или убеждения (т. е. представления о языке и его вариантах), языковые практики (т. е. привычное использование языка), и языковое планирование или языковой менеджмент (т. е. намеренные попытки изменить языковые практики). Настоящее исследование также расширяет некоторые теоретические положения этой модели.

Методологически диссертация следует трём этапам нексус-анализа — вовлечение, навигация, и изменение нексуса. Исследовательские данные состоят из восьми интервью с матерями и записанных на видео семейных взаимодействий в двух семьях. Также при анализе роли уроков эритажного языка (ЭЯ) в семейной языковой политике, в качестве важного источника данных был использован финский государственный базисный учебный план, в особенности рекомендации, относящиеся к обучению ЭЯ.

Результаты исследования показывают, что русскоязычные семьи с одним родителем, воспитывающие двуязычных детей, склонны создавать и пересматривать родственные связи, которые служат ресурсом для их СЯП. Анализ семейных взаимодействий указывает на то, что русский язык используется в качестве матричного в целях языковой социализации детей, хотя матери склонны к созданию пространства для использования языкового репертуара. Результаты также указывают на сложности и противоречия, с которыми эти семьи сталкиваются в Финляндии. Это, в свою очередь, приводит к нерешительности в отношении СЯП и усилению роли финского языка. Кроме того, статус ЭЯ служит источником семейной напряженности и дискурсивных противоречий в семейном языковом менеджменте.

Данная диссертация расширяет рамки исследования СЯП, фокусируясь на семьях с одним родителем — форме семьи, которая до сих пор недостаточно изучена. Эта работа также проливает свет на флюидное измерение семьи и, следовательно, СЯП, которому ранее не уделялось должного внимания.

Ключевые слова: семейная языковая политика, семьи с одним родителем, русскоязычные в Финляндии, нексус анализ

Author

Polina Vorobeva
Department of Language and Communication Studies
University of Jyväskylä
polina.p.vorobeva@jyu.fi
ORCID: 0000-0002-8078-7071

Supervisors

Professor Åsa Palviainen
Department of Language and Communication Studies
University of Jyväskylä

Professor Karita Mård-Miettinen
Department of Language and Communication Studies
University of Jyväskylä

Reviewers

Professor Kendall A. King
Department of Curriculum and Instruction
University of Minnesota

Docent Ekaterina Protassova
Department of Languages
University of Helsinki

Opponent

Professor Kendall A. King
Department of Curriculum and Instruction
University of Minnesota

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In Jyväskylä on March 27th, 2024
Polina Vorobeva

FIGURES

TABLES

LIST OF ORIGINAL PUBLICATIONS

I Vorobeva, P. (2023). Hesitant versus confident family language policy: a case of two single-parent families in Finland. *Multilingua*, *42*(4), 589–619. https://doi.org/10.1515/multi-2022-0055

II Vorobeva, P. (2021). Families in flux: At the nexus of fluid family configurations and language practices. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2021.1979013

III Vorobeva, P. & Palviainen, Å. (accepted). Navigating family tensions and discursive contradictions related to heritage language learning. In S. Karpava (Ed.), *Multilingualism, Multiculturalism and Inclusive Education*. BRILL.

In Article III the first author performed the data collection, was responsible for the study design and analysis, and wrote the text. The co-author played an integral role in the process by commenting on the study at each stage and by making suggestions for editing and improving the draft submitted by the first author.

CONTENTS

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Rationale of the study

Single-parent families around the world comprise a minority which, however, is becoming more and more common (Heine, 2016). According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), single-parent households comprise 5 to 10% of all households around the world[1]. Generally, these households are formed by women living with their children under the same roof and taking primary custody of their children (Burns & Scott, 2017). Often scholarship that focuses on single-parent families concludes that these families are living on the edge of poverty (Chant, 2009), that adolescents raised by single parents are prone to become involved in crime (Kroese et al., 2022), and that children raised by single parents tend to perform poorly in school (Frisco et al., 2007). This risks creating a distorted picture of single parents and children raised in single-parent families as being necessarily deficient. In this dissertation I am taking a different stance by examining the multilingual experiences of single parents from their perspectives, resulting in a more nuanced and holistic picture of single parenting and family multilingualism.

Despite single parenting becoming more common, this family form has not been given enough attention in family multilingualism research. Recently there has been a demand to focus specifically on diverse family forms, including single-parent families, in the research on family multilingualism (Palviainen, 2020a; Wright & Higgins, 2022; Wright, 2022). Several studies have included single-parent families in their cohort of participants (e.g., Little, 2020; Fogle, 2012; Karpava, 2022), in most of these cases this family form is either merged with other

[1] In the report, household is defined "with reference to the number of and relationship between adults in the household and the presence or not of children" (OECD, 2016)

types of families[2] or appears as "incidental"[3] (e.g., Fogle, 2012; Roberts, 2023a; Little, 2020). To my knowledge, there has not been a sufficient effort dedicated to focusing on the multilingual experiences of single parents and their children or language use in single-parent families, besides a few exceptions (Wright 2020; Obied, 2010; Poveda et al., 2014).

This scarcity of scholarship inevitably feeds into practice. Specialists in child and family bilingualism, policymakers, and educators inform their practices based on the research that until recently was not as diverse. Therefore most of the advice and guidance provided to multilingual families is corroborated by research which, although addressing important questions of family multilingualism, often obscures diverse family types, single-parent families being one of them.

In this dissertation I particularly focus on Russian-speaking families in Finland to contribute to the growing but still insufficient knowledge about bilingual upbringing and experiences of Russian-speaking one-parent families in Finland. While some studies looked at various aspects related to this linguistic community in Finland (e.g., Pikkarainen & Protassova, 2015; Viimaranta et al., 2018; Krivonos, 2019; Protassova & Reznik, 2023), none the less little is known about bilingual upbringing in this context, even though the Russian-speaking community is the most numerous in Finland. This dissertation aims to cover this gap by focusing on the language practices, ideologies, and management and at the same time foregrounding the lived experiences of the single mothers who are raising their children bilingually in Finland and speak Russian as one of their home languages.

The study is situated on the premise of Family Language Policy (FLP) which examines implicit and explicit language use and literacy development among family members (King et al., 2008; Curdt-Christiansen, 2009). It is informed by the threefold Language Policy (LP) model (see Section 3.1.1) which implies that FLP consists of three interrelated components, namely language beliefs or ideologies (i.e., attitudes towards certain linguistic varieties), language practices (i.e., what and how linguistic repertoires are used among the family members), and language planning or management (i.e., efforts to modify language practices) (Spolsky, 2004; see Section 2.3). While this model is applied as a general frame, I also expand on some of its definitions and combine them with theoretical and methodological foundations of nexus analysis (see Section 3).

By taking this approach, I therefore aim to contribute to the empirical knowledge about single-parenting and FLP in general terms and about Russian-speaking families in Finland in particular. From theoretical and methodological perspectives, this dissertation contributes to the current discussion on the

[2] For example, in Karpava (2022) one-parent families were mentioned among the participants, but the analysis focused on endogamous (marriage between two Russian speakers) and exogamous (mixed-marriage Russian wife and a Cypriot Greek husband) family types. This potentially led to one-parent families being submerged under endogamous Russian-speaking families.

[3] This was also discussed by Wright (2020, 45)

conceptualisation of family in FLP (Lanza, 2021) and demonstrates how the combination of Spolsky's LP model and nexus analysis provides yet another promising perspective, which orients toward the foundational components of FLP (e.g., language ideologies or beliefs, language practices, and language management or planning) and at the same time takes into account the lived experiences of the family members, while grounding them in the changing sociopolitical and educational realities that the families navigate.

1.2 Research questions

At the beginning of my research journey, my goals were quite broad, and my general interest was in language use and management in single-parent families who live in Finland and speak Russian as one of their languages. Only later, after I had my first interview with Maria (see Table 2), did I realize that the scope of my dissertation may go well beyond this. From an exploratory study, echoing what Scollon and Scollon (2004) call "an organic research [...] that develops and changes structure as it progresses" (p. 148) this dissertation developed into an amalgam of three interconnected nexuses presented in each of the sub-studies (Articles I, II, and III). Along with the focus, the research questions were also evolving. While each of the sub-studies or articles looks at specific social actions and addresses its own set of research questions, the goal of this synthesis is to answer the following overarching questions:

1. How is language negotiated in single-parent Russian-speaking families while they navigate sociopolitical and educational realities in Finland?
2. How do single-parenting and fluid family configurations inform FLPs in the families?

To reach these objectives, I drew on eight interviews with the mothers, video recordings of the family interactions in two families, and stimulated recall interviews. These data are supplemented by the Finnish National Core Curriculum for Basic Education (EDUFI, 2016), with a focus on the guidelines for heritage language (HL henceforth) instruction (see Section 5).

Article I examines language practices in two families by analysing the interviews and family interactions that emerged when the mothers were playing with their children. Combining interactional discourse analysis and nexus analysis pinpointed the discourse strategies used in the families and how such practices are embedded in the families' sociopolitical realities. Therefore Article 1 answers RQ 1.

Article II focuses on the nexus of dynamic changes in family forms, kinships, and language practices and answers RQ 2, and Article III examines the tensions and contradictions that arise when parents in divorced one-parent families

decide to support their children's language development with the help of HL instruction. Article III in turn partly answers RQ 1 and RQ 2.

In this synthesis, I approach the intersection of FLP, single-parenting, and Russian speakers in Finland as a nexus. Scollon and Scollon (2004) define the nexus of practice as "the point at which historical trajectories of people, places, discourses, ideas, and objects come together to enable some action which in itself alters those historical trajectories in some way as those trajectories emanate from this moment of social action" (p. viii). Below I explain in detail how this approach, present in each of the articles that comprise this dissertation, is also realized in the structure of this synthesis.

1.3 Structure of the dissertation: a nested nexus

Elaborating on the definition of nexus as a point at which different trajectories of people, objects, and discourses come together, Scollon and Scollon (2004) provide an example by using two sentences: "She just paid the waiter and left" and "Paying the bill with a credit card is quite convenient" (p. 12). The authors asserted that in the first case the focus is on the *site of engagement* (i.e., *where* the action took place, referring to material and spatiotemporal dimensions) while in the second sentence, the focus shifts to the *nexus of practice* (i.e., *how* the action took place) (p. 12).

Site of engagement in this dissertation refers to specific tokens of a nexus, such as, for example, playing a card or a puzzle game at home, in which the mother and the child are involved. It is situated in time and space and grounded in the home's physical environment. When repeated multiple times, the site of engagement forms a nexus of practice, for example 'mother-child play' (see Article II and Section 3.2). While this rendering of nexus is specific enough to be operationalized for analytical purposes, I suggest approaching nexus as *nested* or *layered* in the context of this synthesis.

Hult (2019), building on Blommaert (2005) proposes approaching a social action or a nexus as "a point of 'layered simultaneity' (cf. Blommaert, 2005, pp. 126–131), where multiple phenomena that each unfold over different scales of space and time intersect in one moment." (p. 137). When discussing layered simultaneity, Blommaert (2005) provides an example of the nexus of university practices and how these practices simultaneously operate on different layers or scales. For example, one layer is represented by the immediate interactional practices of faculty and students who choose to address senior staff either as "Professor" or "Mrs". This layer of interpersonal practices co-exists with organizational discursive practices at the university (e.g., what teaching materials are used). These two layers, in turn, unfold synchronically with the structural norms established at the university, where senior faculty decides what courses are provided for the students (Blommaert, 2005, 132–133).

Similarly, Pietikäinen et al. (2011), in their nexus analytical study about the linguistic landscape in Arctic Circle villages, concluded that the language orders

that formed the linguistic landscape in the area are multilayered or *nested*, meaning that several language orders, such as the national order, a minority language order, and a global order are deployed simultaneously. Each linguistic order accentuates either the presence of the national languages, minority languages, or languages that represent the flow of global resources, such as English, German, French, or Spanish.

Drawing on the idea of multilayered simultaneity (Blommaert, 2005; Hult, 2019) and nexus as nested (Pietikäinen et al., 2011), I suggest that the three social actions or nexuses that were analysed as part of this dissertation (i.e., (1) mother-child play; (2) changes in family configurations and language practices; and (3) decisions that parents make about their children's Russian HL learning) unfold simultaneously with the nexus of family language policy scholarship. To examine what this dissertation brings to the field of FLP, especially with regards to single-parenting and Russian-speaking families in Finland, I therefore suggest focusing on the nexus of FLP, single-parenting and Russian speakers in Finland. Rectifying the lens in this manner will help to assess how this work feeds into the current discussions in the FLP field, and at the same time will help to uncover the discourses that remained submerged when the focus was narrowed to the nexuses analysed in the three sub-studies.

Following this line and keeping in mind that each of the single nexuses (Article I, II, and III) are simultaneously nested in the nexus of the current dissertation which is, in turn, layered and intertwined with the FLP scholarship, this dissertation is structured according to the three nexus analytical tasks, namely *engaging the nexus*, *navigating the nexus*, and c*hanging the nexus*.

Scollon and Scollon (2004) suggest that the opening task, *engaging the nexus*, starts "from where you are", (p. 83), when the researchers themselves become explicit about the social issue they would like to address. For example, for Ron Scollon and Suzie Scollon (2004), their decision to focus on the issues that hinder access for Alaska Native people to educational institutions stemmed from their experience as university teachers who noticed this issue and attempted to understand why and consequently how this happened. Likewise, my interest in single-parenting and multilingualism, especially in relation to Russian-speaking families in Finland, emanates from the intersection of my experience as an immigrant single mother and the scholarship in family multilingualism which tended to pay little attention to the families that did not fit under the umbrella of a two-parent nuclear family – a family type that to this date remains the most represented in this field of research (see Bose et al., 2023).

I therefore suggest that Sections 2, 3, and 4 *engage the nexus* of FLP, single-parenting, and Russian speakers in Finland by covering what research has been done so far into multilingualism and single-parenting (Section 2), and by introducing the theoretical and methodological approach which considers Spolky's LP model and elaborates on some of its presuppositions (Section 3). Section 4 discusses the position of the Russian language and its speakers in Finland and pays special attention to the historical, societal, and educational developments related to Russian and its speakers in Finland.

The second step of nexus analysis is *navigating the nexus*, which is characterized by mapping the relevant people, places, and discourses (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, 159) that circulate through the nexus. This task of nexus analysis is described in Section 5, where I present the participant families, data collection process, and analysis, and reflect on my positionality. This nexus analytical task is followed by *changing the nexus* activity which is also described as "analyzing change in the nexus of practice through re-engagement" (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, 177). In the context of this synthesis, this step is presented in Section 6, where I summarize each of the articles, and in Section 7, where I synthesize the findings from the three sub-studies and thereby re-engage the nexus by discussing how the findings from the sub-studies as a whole contribute to the FLP field.

ENGAGING THE NEXUS

2 FAMILY MULTILINGUALISM, SINGLE-PARENTING, AND NEXUS ANALYSIS

This section introduces the nexus which is in focus in this synthesis. First, I discuss the studies conducted on family multilingualism and single parenting. Then I narrow it down to the research that was carried out in a Family Language Policy paradigm and consider in more detail the role of internal and external factors in the formation of the FLP.

2.1 Family multilingualism and single parenting

As the primary focus of this dissertation is on family language policy and single parenting, it is necessary to explore what has been done so far relating to multilingual language use in single-parent families. To date, few studies have exclusively focused on single-parent families in family multilingualism research (see however Obied, 2010; Poveda et al., 2014; Wright, 2020). In some studies, however, single-parent families were among other participating family forms. For example, in her large-scale questionnaire study that encompassed 1,899 families, De Houwer (2007) looked at the correlation between parental language input patterns and children's language use outcome. Single-parent families were one of the focal groups in that study and the analysis revealed that the proportion of children who spoke only the majority language at home, Dutch, was significantly lower than in the double-parent families —15.70% in the case of single-parent families and 23.85% in double-parent families. Furthermore, in the vast majority of those single-parent families where children spoke only Dutch, the parent used a minority language along with Dutch (15 out of 19 families). These results indicate that, first, parents who raise their children as sole caretakers are potentially more inclined towards transmitting minority languages, and second, parents in these families seem insistent on speaking a minority language with their children even if the child prefers to reply in a majority language.

Some studies that employed qualitative interactional approaches also included or specifically focused on single-parent families, children's biliteracy development (Obied, 2010), socialization in family life (Poveda et al., 2014), and looked at the use of kinship terms (Wright, 2022), child agency and language practices (Fogle & King, 2013). Obied (2010), was among the first scholars whose work provided empirical evidence of single-parent and non-residential parents fruitfully supporting children's bilingual literacy development. The study adopted a longitudinal approach with various data collection methods (e.g., semi-structured interviews, questionnaires, audio recordings, and documentary data) in Portuguese-English bilingual families residing in Portugal with focal children from 8 to 11 years old. Even though the families self-identified as single parents, their family configurations varied. Among the three families, one included siblings and a non-residential partner while there was no contact with the biological father of the child. In the other two families, the focal children were raised either solely by the mother or primarily by the mother, spending weekends with the father. It is noteworthy that along with the mothers' deliberate strategies to encourage the children to read independently (e.g., reading a book together by taking turns), siblings and non-residential family members also played a salient role in promoting bilingual literacy development in the home.

Parent-child discourse in one-parent families has also drawn more attention in recent years. A study on the use of kinship terms in two single-parent families in the US illustrated how children use referential (i.e., third-person kin terms) and vocative kin terms (i.e., a kin term in the vocative form to address a situation) to take certain stances in bilingual interactions with their parents (Wright, 2022). Data for the study were collected from two families, one Russian-English bilingual family of a mother and a 10-year-old daughter and the other family of an adoptive single father with two children (8 and 10 years old) adopted from Ukraine. The analysis showed that vocative and referential kin terms in the families are used to contextualize talk in kinship relationships and interactionally create possibilities for kinships beyond a nuclear family (e.g., when the adoptive father refers to the children's biological father as "dad" while the children refer to the adoptive father as "daddy" in the interactional sequence) creating a possibility to have two fathers (Wright, 2022, 27–29).

Similarly, in Roberts' (2023a) dissertation one of the families was a single-parent family (the Thorén family), and the analysis wasn't built around single-parenting and FLP. Interestingly, however, in one of the presented excerpts of the family interactions Sarah, the mother, explicitly refers to her, her ex-husband's and her partner's job when she is discussing with her daughter, Astrid the possibility for her to work as a nurse when she grows up. This discussion followed the mother's multilingual turn combining Swedish and English (Roberts, 2023b, 16). This serves as one more example of how various family roles may emerge as relevant in the interactions of a bilingual single-parent family.

Wright's study (2020) examined the Russian-speaking single-mother family and the interactions with her daughter during walks to school in the US. The

analysis focused on the kinship construction rather than solely on the language use between the mother and the daughter. It revealed, first, that the mother, Elena, was consistently speaking Russian to her daughter, even when the daughter preferred to respond in English. These findings align with those by De Houwer (2007) discussed above that showed parents consistently speaking a minority language with their children in single-parent families (Wright, 2020, 77). Another study illustrated that in a single-parent family the use of questions "scaffolds the children into 'adult' conversation [...] to become an equal interactional partner" (Wright, 2020, 41). The analysis also demonstrated that in a single-parent family, the children took the floor in the conversations, while in the dual-parent family, the longer explanatory turns were taken by the parents.

Navarro and Macalister (2016) conducted a longitudinal study with two refugee single mothers from Colombia in New Zealand. As the families had to accommodate to life in New Zealand, the mothers and children had to learn English and at the same time maintain Spanish. While the mothers struggled to learn English (among other factors, the authors linked it with them being single parents), children in these families were becoming proficient speakers of English and were "a key language resource in the home and outside" for the mothers' learning of English, the majority language (Navarro & Macalister, 2016, 125). Navarro and Macalister (2016) point out that there was no explicit family language policy with mixed language use at home. Mixed language use was especially pronounced on the part of the children, and the mothers tended to speak primarily Spanish.

In addition to different interactional dynamics, single parents also tend to speak differently about their children compared to partnered caretakers. A study on children's bilingualism that examined the use of pronouns "we" and "they" in interview discourse demonstrated contrasting findings on how single parents talk about their children compared to partnered parents (Wright, 2020, 45–53). Single parents tend to use the pronoun "we" more often when talking about their children, which shows that children in single-parent families are positioned by the parents as collaborative decision-makers. This in turn may indicate that single parents tend to have a different perspective on family life which may influence the process of language socialization in this family form. It means that children raised by single parents may be more involved in the family routines and in the family decision making processes compared to the children in dual-parent families.

Digitally mediated communication has also become salient for maintaining and cultivating kinships. Palviainen's study (2022) looked at the process of *doing family* by means of FaceTime calls and examined how the family members managed their languages during these calls in a multilingual family where Finnish, English, and Dutch were spoken. It needs to be mentioned that the mother in the study, Kati, was a single parent who was facilitating and mediating regular calls between her daughter, Mira, and Mira's father. One of the aims of the calls was to facilitate Mira's trilingual language development, as the mother, Kati, was proficient in Finnish and English, and the father spoke Dutch and

English. The findings showed that the mother had to take on work that often remains hidden (including housework, interpreting during the calls, acting as a communication scaffolder, and serving as an operator by holding the device) to manage and facilitate the calls. At the same time, Kati could "influence the distribution of social distance and proximity" in the family (p. 137).

The studies on family multilingualism and single parenting discussed above demonstrate that single parents and non-residential parents can indeed support children's bilingual development. Single parents tend to speak about and with their children in ways that contrast with language practices in dual-parent families. Besides that, different kinships become relevant in the parent-child discourse in single-parent families, which are intertwined with bilingual language practices in this family form. This may indicate that single-parent families are prone to create kinships beyond their immediate family and draw on these kinships in their family interactions. This in turn has implications for bilingual single-parent families, where such kinships shape language practices or may serve as a resource for certain FLPs (Altinkamis, 2022; see also Hollebeke, 2023 for a quantitative perspective on shifts and changes in FLP).

Despite the growing number of studies that focus on the intersection of single-parenting, language use, literacy, language socialization and family multilingualism, it remains unclear how language practices played out in this family form are embedded in the sociopolitical and educational realities that the single-parents, especially the mothers, navigate. In other words, we still do not know how single-parenting experiences may inform multilingual language practices in the families, especially in the context of migration. The studies by Wright (2020; 2022) and Palviainen (2022) provide a rich account of kinship construction and of management of the digital family by examining family interactions. These studies do not point directly, however, to the role of societal discourses and education policy in these processes. The present study aims to fill this gap by approaching family interactions in single-parent families as embedded in the sociopolitical processes.

2.2 From family multilingualism to Family Language Policy

Family language policy (FLP) as a term was first introduced in a language and gender socialization study that looked at language use in the homes as well as in public spaces in the Aymara-speaking community in Huatajata, Bolivia. After noticing how Aymara was gradually being replaced by Spanish in certain contexts (e.g., in the families), Luykx (2003) suggested turning to 'language policy' and expanding its conceptual basis by encompassing community and family. She consequently introduced 'family language policy' as an important area for both research and activism (p. 39). Its premise is based on the work by Siguán and Mackey (1986), who suggested that family members' positive attitudes towards a certain language often reflect societal ideologies while the child's future

educational path is contingent on the parent's *explicit* choice of a family language (Luykx, 2003, 39).

While Luykx's study (2003) marks the first mention of the term (see however Léglise, 2023), the field itself was delineated in 2008 when FLP was defined as "explicit (Shohamy 2006) and overt (Schiffman 1996) planning in relation to language use within the home among family members" (King et al., 2008, 907). Family language policy as a field of inquiry gained momentum and produced significant knowledge of how families in diverse contexts plan and deploy their language practices in interaction with social hierarchies, sociocultural realities, and ideologies (e.g., Schwartz, 2008; Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Kirsch, 2012; King & Curdt-Christiansen, 2021; Chimbutane & Gonçalves, 2023; Nelson et al., 2023; Yeshalem & Milani, 2023). It originally evolved from two strands of research — one focusing on child language acquisition that primarily looked at the factors and circumstances that facilitate or hinder child language acquisition, and the other focusing on language policy and planning, which deals with language-related issues at institutional, national, and supranational levels (King, 2016). It is closely connected with the research areas of language maintenance and shift as well as language socialization (see e.g., Smith-Christmas, 2016; Fogle & King, 2017).

King (2016) suggests delineating four phases in the development of the FLP field. Its outset dates from the early 20th century when scholars such as Ronjat (1913) and Leopold (1939) were examining their own children's language use and development using research diaries. This was followed by the second phase with the scholars' growing interest in child bilingualism and cognitive capacities. The third phase was characterized by active engagement with sociolinguistic approaches and a growing interest in the role of societal, educational, and parental ideologies as well as in the naturally occurring family interactions for language development (King, 2016). Studies in these three phases focused primarily on language use and development in gender-normative two-parent middle-class families, or, as Higgins and Wright (2022) put it, on the WEIRD (Western, Educated, Industrialized, Rich, and Democratic) societies. The current work in the fourth phase of the field's development started exploring language use in diverse families, such as adoptive (Fogle, 2012), transnational (e.g., Hua & Wei, 2016), single-parent (e.g., Obied, 2010; Poveda et al., 2014; Wright, 2020), signing (Kusters et al., 2021; De Meulder et al., 2022), digital (Palviainen, 2022) and child-headed families (Kendrick & Namazzi, 2016). Lanza and Lomeu Gomes (2020) suggest yet another perspective on the stages. Following the phases introduced by King (2016), they propose delineating two tracks in the current development of the field — one focusing on diversifying the contexts, languages, and family configurations and the other examining transnational and multilingual families with the use of novel methodological approaches.

Since its inception as a field of research, the definition of FLP has also expanded. Its first definition suggested examining the explicit manifestation of language use in the home as well as the ad-hoc decisions related to language use among family members (King et al., 2008). As the field was rapidly growing, its

more refined definition was also developing. For example Curdt-Christiansen (2009) suggested encompassing implicit and covert planning regarding language and literacy education (p. 352), and Palviainen (2022) further suggested exploring "planning among the members in a family network in relation to their language use and literacy practices across time and space" (p. 238). As families become more invested in digitally mediated communication, embedding digital practices in the analysis of literacy practices is proposed, in order to provide a more nuanced picture of the role of digital media in literacy development as well as to explicate how multilingual family ties are forged through digital means (Palviainen, 2020a).

Previously the most dominant theoretical model in FLP was the tripartite conceptualisation of LP by Spolsky (2004). Currently, however, the field is stepping away from this approach to LP towards other theoretical perspectives such as Southern theories (Lomeu Gomes, 2021), FLP as a coping and defense mechanism (Tannenbaum, 2012), and phenomenological (Mirvahedi, 2023) and raciolinguistic perspectives in FLP (Curdt-Christiansen & Palviainen, 2023). This dissertation is framed by Spolsky's tripartite understanding of language policy, but it crosses its borders by adopting nexus analysis as a theoretical and methodological lens and by stepping away from the understanding of family as a domain. This approach offers a perspective which to this date remains relatively overlooked in FLP scholarship (see however Section 2.4.) where family language practices are examined as grounded in social action (see Section 3.2.), while being embedded in other levels of social analysis (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, 8–9).

2.3 Language practices and external factors in Family Language Policy

As Curdt-Christiansen and Huang (2020) point out "families are a microcosm of a macro society, reflecting the larger sociocultural environment in which they are situated" (p. 174). To gain a more holistic understanding of how and why certain language practices surface in family interactions, it is first necessary to ascertain how family language use has been studied in FLP and at the same time discuss how sociopolitical and educational factors are entangled with FLP.

Family language practices have attracted the attention during all the stages of the field's development. Already in the early 20th century, the One-Parent-One-Language (OPOL) *strategy* became the center of researchers' attention and debate, and it remains so to this day. For example, Döpke (1992) examined the OPOL approach in six bilingual English-German families with young children in Australia. Analysis showed that in four out of six families, the fathers were more child-centered in their verbal behavior with their children than the mothers. This led the author to conclude that the quality of input (e.g., child-centered speech)

may outweigh the quantity of input (e.g., mothers taking care of the child during the day but using less child-centered speech).

De Houwer (2007) in turn asserts that OPOL is not a sufficient or a fit strategy to necessarily lead to balanced bilingualism. It seems to be more important to examine in detail what bilingual strategies are present in the conversations between parents and their children as the results concerning the child bilingual outcome also indicated that "there was no difference between families where parents used only a minority language and families where, in addition to both parents speaking the minority language, one parent also spoke the majority language" (De Houwer, 2007, 420).

Elizabeth Lanza's seminal study (1997/2004) that looked at code-switching and mixing in infant bilingualism became a landmark that inspired many of the current developments in the field. Her study demonstrated that young bilingual children (as young as 2 years old) are aware of their language use (see also Palviainen & Boyd, 2013) and they use language pragmatically by embedding their interactional turns in context. The analysis also showed that the two families use discourse strategies in two contrasting ways — while parents in one of the families, especially the mother, tended to align with the OPOL policy, in the other family parents tended to negotiate the bilingual context by using a move-on strategy (i.e., the parent show understanding of the child's utterance in another language and the conversation continues) and code-switching (i.e., the parent switches to another language during the conversation). OPOL was therefore examined as a *policy* that is negotiated along the monolingual-bilingual continuum by using various discourse strategies, where code-switching is located at the bilingual end, while minimal grasp — on the monolingual end of the continuum (see also De Houwer & Nakamura, 2022 for an overview of the studies on parental discourse strategies).

Building on the findings by Lanza (1997/2004), Lomeu Gomes (2022) suggested approaching OPOL as a multilayered *ideology*. This ideology is represented by the notion OPOLON — one-person-one-language-one-nation ideology. Approach to OPOL as an ideology also points at the discursive junction of language and nation which in turn can be conceptualized as an external discourse that circulates through multilingual family lives, meaning that a certain language is often associated with a nation or ethnicity.

Recent developments in the field also started adopting a translingual lens to tap into the language practices of multilingual families. In particular, Hiratsuka and Pennycook (2020) suggested focusing on translingual family practices or the translingual family repertoire instead of applying a frame of LP which, according to the authors, limits our understanding of multilingual family lives.

Studies in FLP also highlight that planned family language choices and ad-hoc practices are rooted in the sociocultural and socioeconomic realities that the families live in (e.g., Sevinç, 2016; Smith-Christmas et al., 2019). For example, in the study that focused on Chinese families in Quebec, Curdt-Christiansen (2009) found that family language policy is strongly influenced by sociopolitical,

economic, and symbolic forces. Parents expressed strong beliefs in the market value of bilingualism which they in turn connected with better socioeconomic mobility for their children and therefore invested in their children's HL learning. Similarly, King & Fogle (2006), in their study of the parents' interview discourse about Spanish-English additive bilingualism in the US, pointed out that mothers tended to frame their FLP decisions to raise their children bilingually as 'good parenting'.

While this serves as a positive example, where the potential value of bilingualism motivated parents to support their children's HL development, other studies point to the constraints set by the sociopolitical, institutional, and ideological workings. Curdt-Christiansen et al. (2023), by surveying and interviewing Chinese and Polish families in the UK, showed that the discourses of *pride, pragmatism,* and *prejudice* may co-exist in the parental beliefs about their home languages. While *pride* is associated with identity and belonging (e.g., nurturing the sense of belonging through HL class), *prejudice* is rooted in societal and educational discourses that the parents faced (e.g., a comment by a teacher to speak a majority language or a parent's perceived need to lower their voice when speaking a minority language with the child outside the home). *Pragmatism* was linked with the demand to prioritize the school language, which in turn was often leading toward the loss of the home language.

While the title of this sub-section points at the two extremes, where the micro-level family interactions are seemingly located at one extreme and the sociopolitical ideological and educational factors at the other, in fact these two are contingent and co-existing in multilingual family lives. Furthermore, the studies discussed above also show that discourses on bilingualism that circulate through society can on the one hand prompt parents toward HL support but on the other may force them to hide their family bilingualism or even abandon it.

The current study explicates the link between family interactions and broader societal and educational discourses by using nexus analysis. In other words, it integrates seemingly different levels of analysis (i.e., micro-level, which includes close analysis of the family talk and sociopolitical and educational discourses) by leveraging the analytical lens on to three social actions (Article I, II, and III) and, in the context of this synthesis — on to the nexus of FLP, single-parenting, and Russian speakers in Finland more generally.

At first glance the approach adopted in the present study may seem akin to the one used by Curdt-Christiansen (2009), where the goal was to examine the role of sociopolitical, sociolinguistic and economic factors which impact FLP and child literacy development (e.g., the status of and attitudes toward a minority language, social mobility offered by different languages, cultural values attached to different languages). In Curd-Christiansen (2009), this approach was operationalized by grounded theory. It relies on thematically organized coding, where the analytical focus is on finding repeating concepts. In contrast to Curdt-Christiansen (2009), the present study adopted nexus analysis which integrates the different levels of social analysis in one analytical toolkit. Consequently, this opens a qualitatively different perspective on FLP and sociopolitical processes

where the unit of analysis (i.e., a social action) is grounded in the participants' lived experiences — an aspect which often remains overlooked (see Section 3.2 for a detailed discussion of nexus analysis).

2.4 Introducing Nexus Analysis in Family Language Policy

Nexus analysis (NA) — an ethnographically-informed discourse analysis with a social action at its center, that includes three methodological steps of engaging, navigating, and changing the nexus — has been used in applied linguistics in general (see e.g., Lamb, 2020; Dressler et al., 2023), and in recent years was also applied in family multilingualism research in particular (see Section 3.2 for a detailed account of NA).

To my knowledge, Palviainen and Boyd (2013) were the first to apply NA to study FLP. Their study focused on three Swedish-Finnish families in a Finnish-speaking part of Finland. The main goal of the study was to examine how FLP was co-constructed and negotiated while being spatiotemporally situated. The co-construction of FLP, where the one-parent-one-language strategy (OPOL) is at its center was identified as a social action or the nexus under examination. By integrating a nexus analytical lens with the concepts of language beliefs, language practices, and language management, the study showed how language strategies that emerge in family interactions are in fact "a reflex of the language ideology, social context and personal experiences of the family members" (p. 227). Furthermore, the NA approach revealed that FLP was in flux and was changing throughout the family lives and was informed by a variety of immediate factors, including the need to move house, the child growing up, and changes in the family members' language proficiency.

While the study by Palviainen and Boyd (2013) encompassed interviews and audio recordings of the family interactions, other NA studies explored issues related to FLP by primarily focusing on interview data. For instance, Palviainen and Bergroth (2018) examined how linguistic identity was co-constructed and negotiated in three bilingual couples and it was also a social action at the core of the study. The NA approach in this study allowed the main discourses that circulated through the couples' talk to be identified, shedding light on how the parents tended to ascribe a monolingual identity to each other.

In a similar vein, Soler and Roberts (2019) examined parents' and grandparents' views on home language regimes. By carrying out interviews with two couples and identifying their family language policies as a social action, the study emphasized the dynamic nature of FLP and accentuated the gendered nature of home language maintenance as well as the central role of the native-speaker ideology, in line with Palviainen and Bergroth's (2018) findings.

Smith-Christmas et al. (2019), however, while also applying NA to examine interview data grounded in three different sociopolitical contexts (i.e., Turkish in the Netherlands, Gaelic in Scotland, and Swedish in Finland), took a somewhat different approach and narrowed down their focus from social action, which was

identified as a decision to support a certain FLP, to its token, conceptualised as a specific moment in the participants' lives that compelled them to increase minority language support. Setting up an NA lens in this manner opened up the connections between successful home language maintenance and the role of personal identity as well as sociopolitical discourses in home language maintenance and development.

Unlike the studies discussed above which made use only of the analytical toolkit of NA, Palviainen (2022) employed, in addition to the analytical concepts, the three methodological steps of nexus analysis (i.e., engaging, navigating, and changing the nexus) to study the nexus of mediated co-presence and language management in a multilingual family. Engaging the nexus step consisted of initial interviews with the parents, home visits, video recording and/or collection of other relevant materials (e.g., screenshots, diary entries); navigating the nexus implied mapping the relevant discourses, and the changing stage included the stimulated recall sessions with each of the parents. This stage facilitated the analysis by opening up the connections between discourses, people, objects, and places that intersected at the nexus and enabled a social action. It needs to be mentioned that the three steps were in fact implemented in an iterative manner, meaning that one cycle that included the three stages repeated multiple times. This approach allowed for collaborative data collection and made it possible for the parents and children to decide together with the researcher on the types of data they were willing to produce which, in turn, resulted in the child being actively involved in making the recordings.

The five studies discussed above illustrate that NA proves to be helpful in grasping the dynamic nature of FLP and amplifying the connections between actions that take place in the immediate family space such as language negotiation among family members or decisions to support a certain FLP at home and the sociopolitical realities that the families navigate. One of the studies (i.e., Palviainen, 2022) also shows that NA is fruitful for collaborative research projects with multilingual families. Furthermore all four studies, while applying NA as an analytical lens with a social action at its center, either draw on extensive data, as in Palviainen and Boyd (2013), or on methods that provide background information about the participants as in Soler and Roberts (2019) or explicitly state that they are part of ethnographic or ethnographically-oriented projects as in Palviainen and Bergroth (2018), Palviainen (2022), and in Smith-Christmas et al. (2019).

3 THEORY AND METHODOLOGY

In this chapter I will introduce the theoretical framework which guided this project. I will explain how the tripartite model of Language Policy (LP) (Spolsky, 2004) and conceptualizations of language practices, ideologies, and management informed this work. I will also tap into the critique and limitations related to Spolky's theoretical approach and will elaborate on how the combination of its model, analytical lens, and methodological approach of NA allowed language policies in the families to be opened up by focusing on three social actions: (1) mother-child play (Article I); (2) changing family configurations and language practices (Article II); and (3) decisions that parents make in relation to their children's HL learning (Article III). At the end of this chapter, I will also discuss the conceptual and terminological caveats of this work.

3.1 Family Language Policy and beyond

3.1.1 Language practices, language beliefs, and language management

When discussing language policy in speech communities Spolsky (2004) suggests delineating three fundamental and interconnected components — language practices, language beliefs or ideology, and language planning or management which comprise a language policy (LP) (see Figure 1). Language practices are defined as "the habitual pattern of selecting among the varieties that make up its linguistic repertoire" (p. 5). This definition of language practices leads us to consider the notion of repertoire as central to understanding how language practices can be approached in the analysis of family language use.

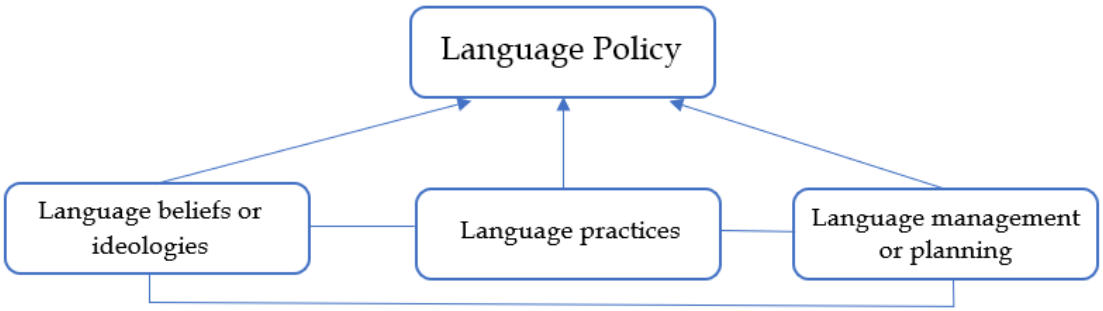

FIGURE 1 Language Policy model adapted from Spolsky (2004)

In this dissertation, instead of taking a strong essentialist approach to language that considers it only as a finely delineated named entity, I approach language practices as enacted by linguistic repertoires (comprising languages, their varieties, and registers) of the family members (Article I and II). This approach in turn highlights the individuals' life trajectories through which their repertoires are acquired. I also draw on the notions of (partially) shared linguistic repertoire and multilingual familylect as constituents of language practices, to illustrate how the family members' distinct language acquisition or learning trajectories shape FLPs (Article I).

The notion of verbal repertoire goes back to the work by Gumperz (1964) when he suggested relating the morphosyntactic variables in speech with the social categories and introduced the notion of verbal repertoire, which was intended to connect "grammatical systems with human groups" (p. 151). Later Blommaert (2009) in his account of a Rwandan refugee in the UK concluded that repertoire "is tied to an individual's life, and it follows the peculiar biographical trajectory of the speaker" (p. 423–424). Therefore, instead of limiting linguistic repertoire to formal schooling, Blommaert suggests broadening it and relating it to the overall lived experiences of the speakers and to how they navigate or move between social spaces. It needs to be mentioned that the notion of linguistic repertoire does not deny the category of named language as a tangible and stable entity but rather includes it as a resource along with other varieties and registers that can be evoked in the interactions (see e.g. Auer, 2018).

The notion of linguistic repertoire has been also adopted in the family language policy research to underline the family members' lived experiences of language (e.g., Karpava et al., 2021; Van Mensel & De Meulder, 2021; Lomeu Gomes, 2022). For example, Purkarthofer (2021), by drawing on linguistic repertoire, examined how partially shared repertoires were evoked during creative collaborative activities designed for the family members (e.g., drawing a language portrait and building LEGO). The goal of the study was to explore the process of FLP construction in three multilingual families and especially examine how the discursive construction of central and peripheral family members allowed partially shared linguistic repertoires to emerge. Analysis showed that, for example, friends were constructed as central family members by choice through shared linguistic repertoires.

Concomitantly, Van Mensel (2018) put forth the notion of familylect defined as "specific shared linguistic features, such as lexical features or pronunciation, [...] code-switching practices or language choice patterns" employed in multilingual families (p. 236). Expanding the concepts of familylect (see e.g., Gordon, 2009 on American families and Занадворова, 2003 on Russian intelligentsia families) and language repertoire either to the multilingual familylect or to the multilingual family language repertoire respectively, Van Mensel (2018) asserts that it can provide potentially useful tools for the FLP research to delve into shared family language practices. This in turn may grant access to how family ties are created through the interactional routines.

Analysis of the parent-child interactions in Van Mensel's study showed that family members indeed draw freely on their linguistic repertoires in their interactions. At the same time, however, the instances when the family members invoked their multilingual repertoires were subjugated to the circulating ideologies forcing them to follow the 'norm' and refrain from code-mixing. The author concludes, however, that the concepts of multilingual familylect and multilingual family repertoire may help to see how multilingual family identity and ties are created.

Family language practices are subjected to language ideologies as Van Mensel's (2018) study shows. The LP model equates language ideology to language beliefs or "the beliefs about language and language use" (Spolsky, 2004, 5). These language beliefs held, for example, by individuals, inevitably assign value to different linguistic varieties on a level of a community or a state (Spolsky, 2004, 14). Kroskrity (2004) drawing on the work of other scholars (e.g. Silverstein, 1979; Voloshinov, 1973; Woolard & Schieffelin, 1994) defines language ideologies as "beliefs, feelings, and conceptions about language structure and use which often index the political economic interests of individual speakers, ethnic and other interest groups, and nation-states" (p. 192). He further elaborates that language ideologies can be multiple, and multisited, and serve as "mediational means between social structures and forms of talk" (p. 200) meaning that individuals who identify with the same community may express divergent language ideologies due to the latter being grounded in unique social experiences which are tied to symbolic or material sites.

Similarly, King (2000) suggested that language ideologies can serve as "the mediating link between language use and social organisation" (p. 168–169) which may assist in understanding the connection between language attitudes and language behavior. In the context of a family, language ideologies are often equated to the beliefs mediating *implicit* language planning which play a significant role in the process of language maintenance and development in immigrant and transnational families (see e.g., Fogle, 2012; King, 2013; Soler & Roberts, 2019; Said, 2022). Furthermore, FLP is concerned not solely with *language* ideologies but also with parental beliefs about childrearing in general — parental ethnotheories (Fogle, 2013).

Parental language beliefs may be incongruent or even in conflict with societal language ideologies and with the actual language practices in the

families (e.g., King, 2000). Curdt-Christiansen (2016) found that while parents are willing to emphasize the maintenance of their heritage languages (Mandarin and Hokkien), English is highly valued in Singaporean society because it allows for children's future socioeconomic mobility. This was revealed in the inconsistencies between what parents reported they do with language and what the interactional discourse analysis showed (e.g., while the parents emphasized the importance of Tamil, they spoke primarily English with their child).

The link that mediates this inconsistency between reported beliefs, practices, and expectations can be better understood with the concept of *impact belief*. De Houwer (1999) suggested that impact beliefs (i.e., parental belief that they can influence their child's language use) relate to parental linguistic choices which in turn influence child language development (see also De Houwer, 2009; Nakamura, 2019). Impact beliefs are located on a continuum from strong to weak where a strong impact belief is linked with the parents' conviction that they act as an example for their children's language use. In turn, weak impact belief is associated with the parent's assertion that the child will eventually acquire the language without their active involvement (De Houwer, 1999, 83–84).

Partly aligning with Kroskrity's (2004) and King's (2000) understanding of language ideologies, I approach them first on the individual level as personal beliefs and conceptions about language that mediate language use (Articles I, II, and III). Ideologies held by the family members are in interaction with language ideologies held by the nation-states, societies, and educational institutions which can be manifested by material objects, such as the state Constitution or National Curriculum. Overall, I see language ideologies as multisited and contested within the family by its immediate family members, by other individuals distant from the families such as teachers and healthcare practitioners, or by institutions (Article II and III).

Language management or planning, the third component in Spolsky's model, implies a deliberate effort to change family language practices (Spolsky, 2004, 8). Language management originally derives from the work by Jernudd and Neustupný (1987) in the field of language policy and planning, who suggested focusing on the individuals who self-regulate their language use (e.g., Jernudd & Nekvapil, 2012). In the context of FLP, however, language management is often approached from the perspective of a parent who takes deliberate steps to influence the child's language development (see e.g., Curdt-Christiansen & Wang, 2018; Palviainen & Bergroth, 2018). For example Curdt-Christiansen and Morgia (2018) defined language management as "the deliberate language planning efforts made by caregivers through literacy resources and activities" (p. 178). They investigated how Chinese, Italian, and Urdu-speaking Pakistani families are supporting their children's heritage language and literacy development against the backdrop of educational demands in the UK. Findings showed that parents invested in their children's English language development but tended to devaluate their heritage languages as they considered these languages less important and less valuable in the UK context.

It needs to be noted that the line between language practices and management is somewhat blurred (Curdt-Christiansen & Lanza, 2018), and at times language management is approached on a micro-interactional level (e.g., Smith-Christmas, 2018) while in other cases it is manifested in the parental decisions related to their children's education and heritage literacy development as in the case of Curdt-Christiansen and Morgia (2018).

I approach language management in line with Spolsky's (2004) understanding by conceptualizing language management as family members' deliberate decisions to align with a certain kind of FLP, for example by enrolling their children in an HL class, which are intertwined with the parental impact beliefs as a mediating link between parents' language ideologies and language management (Article II and III).

3.1.2 Looking beyond the threefold model

Numerous studies carried out in the field of FLP resort to Spolsky's model either as a whole or to its components (see Lomeu Gomes, 2018). Despite its vast contribution, the tripartite framework has recently been questioned and other approaches that take a critical stance towards the notions of family, language, and policy were put forward (see e.g., Wright & Higgins, 2022). For example, Lomeu Gomes (2018) advocates turning to Southern epistemologies and focusing on the individuals who have lived experiences of oppression and discrimination.

The main argument that is put forward to explore FLP from the Southern, decolonial perspective relates to the limited conceptualisations that Spolsky's framework provides by relying on Fishmanian sociolinguistics assuming that language is a discrete entity and taking domain as the context for language policy investigation (p. 60–61). Instead, Lomeu Gomes (2021) suggests refining our understanding of FLP by bringing in "the intersectional dynamics of social class, gender, and race/ethnicity into analyses of language ideologies and practices of families" (p. 708–709). The author, therefore, invites for a more intricate analysis of language ideologies and practices in FLP. Although the studies in linguistic anthropology, indeed, focused on the role of gender (Ochs & Taylor, 2009), social class (Heath, 2009), and race (Hill, 2009), they did so by taking only one of these facets into account. Approaching social class, gender and race/ethnicity from an intersectional perspective may enrich our understanding of how certain situations, especially in the context of migration, may render speakers as privileged due to certain language skills, gender, ethnicity and nationality, while at the same time, may serve as grounds for exclusion or discrimination.

Curdt-Christiansen and Lanza (2018) pointed out that Spolsky's model may provide a generic account of FLP but may not be sufficient to explain the intricacy of family-internal and family-external factors that shape FLP. Along with the development of this critique, other scholars suggested looking at FLP as a coping and defense mechanism (Tannenbaum, 2012; Maseko, 2022), employing the notion of body image, turning to rhizomatic approaches (Roberts, 2023b), and using the lens of perezhivanie (Vorobeva & Leontjev, 2023) to shed light on other dimensions of FLP which had been unaddressed before.

As mentioned above, I draw on Spolsky's model which provides the starting points to approach FLP, though with some further understanding, for example of language practices and the family (see Section 3.1). Furthermore, the theoretical premise of nexus analysis allows the lived experiences of the family members to be analysed, due to the discourse cycle of the historical body which circulates through a social action and encompasses personal experiences and habits that "feel so natural that one's body carries out actions seemingly without being told" (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, 13).

This echoes the call by Lomeu Gomes (2018) to account for the lived experiences in the analysis of FLP, especially when dealing with transnational and migrant families whose migration trajectory may play a central role in their FLPs. Its importance was also underlined by Mirvahedi (2023) who applied a phenomenological approach to account for the embodied experiences, especially the racialized experiences of forced migration.

I suggest that the combination of Spolsky's LP model and the possibilities offered by nexus analysis if a nexus of practice is approached as *nested* (e.g., Pietikäinen et al., 2011; Hult & Pietikäinen, 2014) opens up the connections between ethnicity, gender, lived experiences, and FLP (see Section 3 for elaboration and Section 4.1. for an account of the racialized position of the Russian-speaking women in Finland and how it surfaced during the interviews with the mothers).

Besides the theoretical conceptualizations of language ideologies, practices, and management, the current study considered theoretical assumptions of language socialization when examining family discourse. Language socialization examines how a novice becomes a competent member of society *through* language and at the same time is accustomed to, or socialized *in* language (Schieffelin & Ochs, 1986). Ochs and Schieffelin (2008) point out that language socialization can also be implicit and can take place through the novices' participation in language-mediated practices, which in turn helps them acquire knowledge about, for example, social norms and situationally appropriate behavior. Article II took the theoretical assumption of language socialization as a point of departure, where the mothers employed certain language practices to socialize children into pragmatic and linguistic norms of the minority language.

To sum up, this dissertation draws on the premises of Spolsky's threefold model and expands on it by bringing into the analysis broadened conceptualisations of language practices and family. It further benefits from the theoretical considerations of nexus analysis which helps to grasp the flexibility of family configurations and see how language policies unfold in the families.

3.2 Nexus Analysis: theoretical and methodological foundations

> "Looking at family language policy as a particular organization of social action will involve a perpetual critical appraisal of the terms "family", "language" and "policy", since none of them can be presupposed or predefined, and all of them need continually to be grounded in observations of action – which is where the boundaries of these concepts will be established, as well as their validity" (Blommaert, 2018, 5).

Nexus analysis is a complex analytical approach rooted in the ethnography of communication and linguistic anthropology (Hymes, 1972[4]) which builds upon interactional sociolinguistics (Gumperz, 1979) and critical discourse analysis (Fairclough, 2001). It has been applied in a variety of fields, including but not limited to second language learning (Strömmer, 2017; Ruuska, 2020; Räsänen, 2021; Leskinen, 2023), language teaching and bilingual education (Palviainen & Mård-Miettinen, 2015; Wedin, 2021; Tumelius & Kuure, 2022; Dressler et al., 2023;), language maintenance and shift (Lane, 2009; 2010), language policy (Hult, 2010; 2015) and family language policy (Palviainen & Boyd, 2013; Smith-Christmas et al., 2019; Palviainen 2020b; Palviainen, 2022). In this section, I will introduce nexus analysis as a theoretical and methodological approach that was used in this dissertation to examine FLP.

Scollon and Scollon (2004) position nexus analysis as "a way of doing ethnographic discourse analysis" and as "the study of the semiotic cycles of people, objects, and discourses in and through moments of socio-cultural importance" (p. x). Before diving into the theoretical and conceptual foundations of nexus analysis, it is first necessary to discuss how ethnography and discourse are understood and embedded in nexus analytical work.

Nexus analysis grounds its understanding of discourse in the work by Gee (1999) and Blommaert (2005). Gee (1989) distinguishes between capital "D" Discourses and little "d" discourses. Capital "D" Discourses are 'identity kit' and incorporate the ways of being in the world, while little "d" discourses are approached as a stretch of talk that is inevitably intertwined with the former big "D" Discourses (p. 6–7). Blommaert (2005), in turn, takes a broader approach to discourse by defining it as "all forms of meaningful semiotic human activity seen in connection with social, cultural, and historical patterns and developments of use" (p. 3) and aligns with the Foucauldian approach to discourse as entangled with power relations. Scollon and Scollon (2004) point out that any social action in the world is achieved through discursive means, in other words, is *mediated* by these means (see also Jones & Norris, 2005).

Nexus analysis takes social action — "any action taken by an individual with reference to a social network also called a mediated action" (Scollon &

[4] In 2018, Penn State University removed the portrait of Dell Hymes from its Graduate School of Education Hall due to alleged sexual harassment. See Ennser-Kananen (2019) for a discussion on epistemological injustice in academia and #metoo movement in relation to Hymes' case.

Scollon, 2004, 11) — as a theoretical and analytical point of departure. Social action, in turn, emerges at the intersection of three 'discourse cycles' or 'semiotic cycles', namely *historical body*, *interaction order,* and *discourses in place.*

Historical body is grounded in the work by Nishida, who considered it "as the mediator between consciousness and the physical world" (Grosz, 2014, 147). Scollon and Scollon (2004) define historical body as "the life experiences of the individual social actors" (p. 19). These life experiences concomitantly shape the interaction order between the individuals involved in a social action. The notion of *interaction order* in nexus analysis stems from Goffman, who grounds it broadly in the study of social situations (Goffman, 1983, 4). Similarly, Scollon and Scollon (2004) suggest approaching the interaction order as a "social arrangement by which people come together in social groups (a meeting, a conversation, a chance contact, a queue)" (p. 19). These social arrangements are in turn patterned by the discourses in place — an aggregate of discourses — which circulate through the social action. Hult (2015), developing a nexus analytical approach from the language policy and planning perspective, suggests explicitly differentiating between material and conceptual contexts for discourses in place where material context could include a layout of a room, for example, while conceptual context relates to norms, ideologies, and beliefs (p. 224).

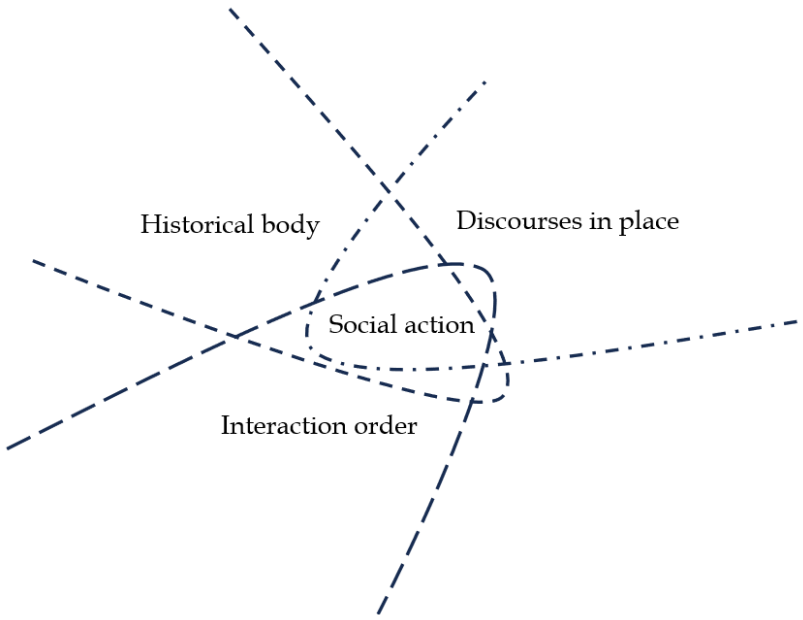

FIGURE 2 Nexus analysis adapted from Scollon and Scollon (2004)

In this dissertation, interaction order was examined following Goffman's understanding, for example by identifying ratified and non-ratified participants (Article I) but also from a more micro-analytical perspective by examining family

interactions with the help of interactional discourse analysis[5] (Article II) (see also Section 5.6. for a more detailed explanation of the analytical procedures). Discourses in place were considered either only as conceptually represented by personal and institutional (language) ideologies (Article I) or as conceptually *and* materially rendered by a puzzle game (Article II) and the HL learning guidelines by the Finnish National Board of Education (2016) (Article III). In turn, the discourses of historical body encompassed the mothers' education, language beliefs, migration trajectories, changes in family constellations and kinship ties, and their experiences as language learners and speakers (Article I, II, and III).

When discussing nexus analysis as an analytical toolkit applied in this dissertation, I should mention that while the analytical unit of NA is a social action, at times it was approached rather as a nexus of practice, as in all three studies the social actions (i.e., changes in family configurations and language practices, mother-child play and decisions that parents make in relation to their children's HL learning) were represented by multiple actions which in turn comprise a nexus of practice.

Site of engagement and *nexus of practice* are two other concepts that are offered to facilitate nexus analytic work. Site of engagement refers to the "unique historical moment and material space" (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, 12) in which a social action takes place. Site of engagement may be different and depend on the social action under study. The notion of site of engagement was not applied as a primary one in the process of data analysis, but was drawn upon when it was relevant for the analysis. For example, in Article I it was identified as the family's (*Anna* and Sofia) home (material dimension) at the moment of the father's visits (spatiotemporal dimension). When a social action and a site of engagement are reproduced regularly, it forms a nexus of practice (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, 28). A nexus of practice is sometimes referred to as a social phenomenon where different discourses across multiple scales are intertwined (Hult, 2015).

As was mentioned above, nexus analysis builds on the ethnographic approach to the research process. However, unlike, for example, Hymesian ethnography which took a speech community as a point of departure, nexus analysis is described as "a form of ethnography that takes social action as the theoretical center of study, not any a priori social group, class, tribe, or culture" (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, 13). Another line of departure concerns the active, participatory stance which implies that the research process requires active participation on the part of a researcher in the nexus of practice that is under study. It is suggested that this stance is achieved by establishing one's *zone of identification,* "when the analysts are themselves part of the nexus of practice under study" (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, 9). The process of establishing a zone of identification is intertwined with the researcher's positionality, which is discussed in detail in Section 5.7.

[5] It needs to be noted, however, that interactional discourse analysis also allowed discourses in place that circulated through the social action to be identified and analysed (Article II).

Methodologically nexus analysis comprises three stages – *engaging the nexus*, *navigating the nexus,* and *changing the nexus*. Engaging the nexus is an opening task of nexus analysis, during which the social action to be studied is identified. Scollon and Scollon (2004) relate this task to "being explicit about how the researcher himself or herself is located in the social world and in finding or being explicit about the social issues the researcher wants to address through this research" (p. 83). This opening task is intertwined with the process of establishing a zone of identification when the researcher identifies their position in relation to the studied social action(s) (see Section 5.7).

After the social issues to be studied have been identified, the analyst proceeds to map the relevant discourses that circulate through the social action or the nexus of practice. This activity is referred to as navigating the nexus. During this stage, the analyst aims to open the *circumferencing* to make sure that the analysis will not be narrowed down solely to certain moments or speech acts (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, 9). Circumferencing is tied to the notion of timescales (Lemke, 2000; see also Blommaert et al., 2005 for a discussion of *scales* in the analysis of linguistic phenomena) which refers to the amount of time that a discourse needs to make a full cycle through a social action (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, 89–107). For example, a cycle of the HL learning guidelines by EDUFI (2016) would include many rounds of negotiations between the stakeholders, including educational professionals and parents, and several drafts of the document before it becomes accepted and published, meaning that it takes months for a full cycle and for the discourse to be materialized (see Vahtivuori-Hänninen et al., 2014; Bergroth, 2016; Vitikka et al., 2016; for the process behind the National Core Curriculum design).

Changing the nexus, even though often mentioned chronologically as the finalizing stage of nexus analysis, is intertwined with the previously mentioned tasks and takes place throughout the research process (see Figure 2). This task can be carried out by for example re-engaging with the nexus of practice, as was reported in Article II, where stimulated recall interviews were used to re-engage with the families and change the analytical trajectory of the study (see Section 5.4). Changing the nexus also takes place throughout the research process, since from the very engagement stage the analyst changes the nexus of practice by mapping the places, people, and discourses relevant to the social action in question by "intervening" in the nexus of practice (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, 149–159).

The discussed above methodological tasks or stages of nexus analysis do not necessarily unfold one after the other. They may instead overlap during the research process, so navigating the nexus may compel the analyst to return to the engaging stage. Furthermore, while changing the nexus is mentioned as the final task of nexus analysis, it often serves as grounds for new inquiries and questions and may lead to engaging the nexus again with new questions at hand. Therefore it is possible to conclude that nexus analysis is organised in an iterative, helix-like, or spiral manner where the boundaries between the stages are uneven. This

is also reflected in the structure of this dissertation, where the three stages are identified in a somewhat different manner compared to the three articles.

It also needs to be mentioned that nexus analysis advocates social change, and it has been used in some studies as an activist approach that was aimed at changing established practices in a nexus of practice (see e.g., Aarnikoivu, 2020b for a nexus analysis of doctoral education). Scollon and Scollon (2004) suggest that inquiry itself is a form of social activism (p. 149). The current dissertation aligns with this approach by bringing in a single parent perspective into family multilingualism and family language policy scholarship. It also points to the societal value of the present study by suggesting practical advice to the professionals who work in education, family counseling and to those involved in policymaking (see Section 7.2.2). In other words, experiences of single parents presented in this dissertation enrich the theoretical knowledge about bilingualism in this family form and point to certain intricacies which remained overlooked. Highlighting these intricacies is essential for more inclusive and just representation of family bilingualism in FLP, pointing also to the need to reconsider what a concept of a *family* implies (see also Section 7).

3.3 Conceptual and terminological considersations

Before proceeding to the contextual backdrop and empirical results of this project, some of the terminological and conceptual caveats need to be discussed. The very title of this dissertation makes Russian the primary and defining linguistic identification of the families that contributed to this work. While it is possible to claim that Russian plays an integral and salient role in the families' everyday lives, it furthermore overshadows the families' multilingual repertoires (see Table 2).

First, this is important in relation to the language policy in Russia where some families originate from. Russian language policy de jure supports diversity but de facto oppresses indigenous and minoritized communities (see e.g., Zamyatin, 2012; Protassova, Alos i Font & Bulatova, 2014; Semenova et al., 2021). As two mothers in this project (Irina and Maria) reported Ossetian and Mari to be their mother tongues, it needs to be mentioned that the fact that these languages were lost or why the mothers decided not to pass them to their children is entangled with both, language policy in Russia and the mothers' migration trajectories. Maria and Irina both started switching to Russian when they still lived there, and after their move to Finland Russian seemed as "a more, sort of a practical/более такой практичный", language as Maria put it. This highlights that family language policy and language transmission are subjected to political and sociohistorical processes and entangled with the migration trajectories of the individuals.

Additionally, some families (e.g., Julia from Estonia, and Mimosa who underlined her Ukrainian origin and was raised in Estonia) were not originally from Russia but spoke Russian as L1, and finally all of these families were to a

different extent proficient in other languages among which were English, Estonian, Finnish, Mari, Ossetian, and French. Therefore, while making Russian the most salient linguistic identification in this work, I find it important to bring to light the participants' multilingual repertoires and especially highlight how some languages were forced out of the families' lives due to being subjugated to certain ideological and political workings.

Another important caveat relates to the use of the term *heritage language*. The term was first introduced in the North American and Australian context to refer to languages other than English (in the US and Australia) and English and French (in Canada) (King & Ennser-Kananen, 2012). As King and Ennser-Kananen (2012) point out, the term *heritage* is problematic as it "suggests a trait or asset gained through birth, such as property or DNA, when language is not fixed but rather the product of interaction" (p. 1). Eisenchlas and Schalley (2020) also discussed the complexity of the term's connotations, emphasizing the importance of personal and affective connection which does not necessarily imply or deny proficiency in the language (pp. 25–26; see also Little, 2020 for the conceptual model of heritage language identities).

Heritage language was used in Article III, when examining HL as a language management tool, to refer to the language that the mothers decided to pass on to their children. However, returning to the previous point about the role of political and sociohistorical processes in language transmission, it is worth discussing the ambiguity related to the term *heritage* in this dissertation. As was mentioned above, some of the family languages (i.e., Mari and Ossetian) were lost and Russian took the place of the family language instead. That aligns with the definitions provided above. Despite the connotation that implies Russian to be a language that is passed on through generations in the Fishmanian sense[6], Russian, gaining its ground as a family language, is rather a result of the interaction of political and sociohistorical processes as well as emotional attachment to the language that was developed by the family members over time.

To situate the discussion about heritage language in the Finnish context, I would like to unpack how its Finnish equivalent, *oma äidinkieli,* is translated into English and used in education policy documents as well as in the academic literature. While the word-by-word translation of *oman äidinkielen opetus* from Finnish is *one's own mother tongue teaching*, it is commonly translated as heritage language learning or teaching in the academic context[7], (see e.g., Protassova, 2008; Bärlund & Kauppinen, 2017; Minkov et al., 2019; Ansó Ros et al., 2021). Similarly, the Finnish National Agency for Education, while using *oman äidinkielen opetus* in its Finnish text of the National Core Curriculum for Basic Education (Opetushallitus, 2014), translated it as *heritage language instruction* in its English version of the curriculum (EDUFI, 2016), therefore the term *heritage language (HL)* was adopted in this dissertation.

[6] see, however Purkarthofer (2020) for the discussion on how generations are conceptualised in family multilingualism scholarship.
[7] *Native language instruction* is also used in academic literature (Rynkänen & Pöyhönen, 2010).

One more consideration relates to the conceptualisation of *family*. The question of how family is conceptualised in FLP research has been debated in recent years (see Bose et al., 2023). Building on the notion of space by Lefebvre (1991), Lanza (2021) suggests approaching family as a space rather than a domain (Spolsky, 2004), asserting that "space is conceived as dynamic and continually negotiated among various social actors with different discursive power, material constraints, and spatial practices" (Lanza, 2021, 765). This approach allows family to be seen as socially constructed and negotiated through the interactions, and therefore provides an analytical angle that allows the dynamic and complex facet of multilingual family lives to become visible. Lanza and Lomeu Gomes (2020) assert that family "can be conceptualised as a dynamic temporal body and FLP should be analyzed accordingly" (p. 164). In a similar vein, Palviainen (2020a) advocates seeing the family as dynamic rather than a fixed unit and suggests novel conceptual lenses to look at a family in FLP research — a social network analysis lens (Milroy & Gordon, 2003) or an ecological or dynamic system lens (e.g., Larsen-Freeman, 2012; Lanigan, 2009).

Aligning with the recent development in the field, the conceptualisation of family in the current dissertation is not tied to the notion of a domain, even though the original focus is on single-parent families where a caretaker and a child reside under the same roof. Family here goes beyond the confines of the home and crosses spatial and geographical borders and is not solely determined by blood ties. Besides that, I take a dynamic perspective on family and concomitantly FLP which allows the changes in family configurations and their FLPs across time and space to become visible (Article II).

4 RUSSIAN LANGUAGE AND ITS SPEAKERS IN FINLAND

This chapter situates the current dissertation in the historical, sociopolitical, and educational realities of Finland. I first provide a brief historical account and then discuss how Russian speakers, especially Russian women, are perceived in Finnish society and briefly discuss how that perception intertwines with the lives of the families that participated in this study. I also describe the role of Russian in schools and kindergartens and introduce the studies that focused on Russian-speaking families in Finland.

4.1 Russian in Finland: historical, political, and societal aspects

For six centuries Finland was a part of the Swedish kingdom. This long period had its imprint on many domains in Finland, such as religion, language, and culture. Lavery (2006) points out that the Swedish rule over Finland can be divided into several intervals, including times when some lands were occupied by the Russian empire. In 1808-1809, however, Russia occupied the entire territory of Finland until Finland's independence in 1917. That historical legacy had consequences for the linguistic landscape of the modern-day Finland.

Today Finland is a bilingual country with Finnish and Swedish as the official national languages. Besides these two languages, Sámi, Romani, and Finnish sign language are recognized and the right to use, maintain, and develop these languages is regulated by the constitution. The use of Finnish and Finland-Swedish sign languages and access to interpretation services is also enshrined in the constitution and regulated by the Language Act. Furthermore, the right to maintain and develop *other languages* is mentioned as well (Constitution of Finland, 1999). The Russian language in Finland — the largest immigrant minority language with 93,535 registered speakers in 2022 (1.92% of the whole

population)[8] — falls under the above-mentioned category of *other languages* (Statistics Finland, 2023).

Migration of Russian speakers to Finland is usually divided into four waves, starting from the eighteenth century when under Swedish rule farmers were moving to Karelia. The second wave was an immigrant flow to the autonomous duchy of Finland and the third wave was driven by the October Revolution when many people had to flee Russia. The more recent wave of Russian speakers' immigration to Finland dates back to the late Soviet Union with the most significant influx starting in the late 1990s when the repatriation law was ratified and Ingrian Finns obtained the right to move to Finland as returnees (Lähteenmäki & Vanhala-Aniszewski, 2012, 121–122). About 30 000 people moved to Finland from the former Soviet Union with the help of the program which also bewildered Finnish authorities: the expectation was that the returnees would be ethnical Finns who were proficient in Finnish and were familiar with Finnish culture, while the country received 'Russians', or, as Mähönen et al., (2015) put it, people who are "not considered Finnish enough" (p. 126).

After the repatriation program was discontinued in 2011, the most common reasons for migration to Finland were to pursue socio-economic mobility (e.g., by studying or working in Finland) or reunite with the family, when one of the family members receives a residence status in Finland (Pikkarainen & Protassova, 2015; Viimaranta et al., 2018). Figure 1 illustrates the rapid growth of the Russian-speaking population in Finland over 30 years according to Statistics Finland (Statistics Finland, 2023).

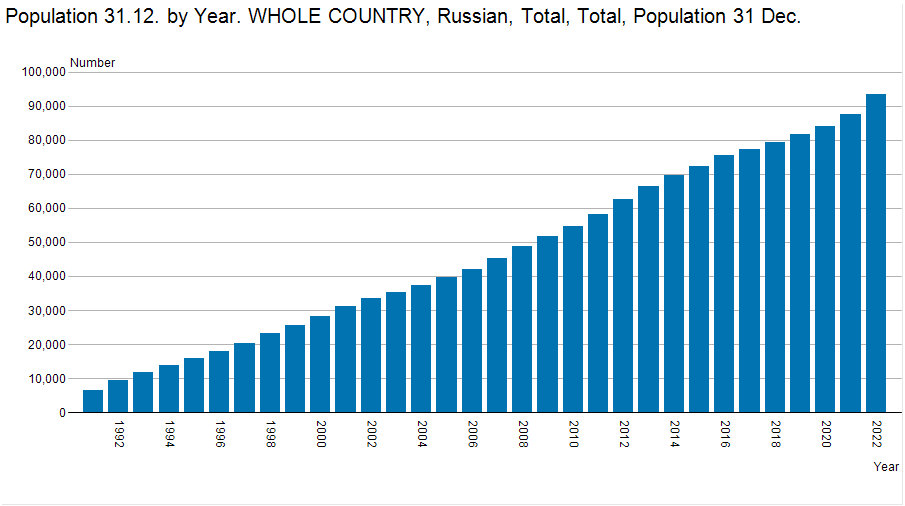

FIGURE 3 The number of Russian speakers in Finland (Statistics Finland, population structure, 2023)

[8] It is important to note that only one language can be registered as a mother tongue in Finland and therefore the actual number of Russian speakers may exceed the one provided by Statistics Finland. At the same time some of those who registered Russian as L1 might have had another L1 (e.g., a language minoritized in Russia), as in the case of Maria and Irina, who participated in the present study (see Table 2).

The status of and attitudes toward Russian and Russian speakers in Finland are charged by historical underpinnings. Before Finland claimed its independence from the Russian Empire in 1917, it went through the Age of Oppression and forced Russification (e.g., when the Language Manifesto proclaimed that all juridical and administrative correspondence would be moved to Russian over the course of 10 years starting from 1900). In the mid-20th century the relationship between the two countries were broken down by the Winter War (1939) and the subsequent Continuation War (1941) (Lavery, 2006). During the 1950s the relationships between the countries can be generally characterized as 'peaceful coexistence', which was disturbed by the Soviet violent suppression of the Hungarian appraisal in 1956 and the Soviets' intention to influence Finland's economy and policies which were aimed towards cooperation with the West (Rentola, 2000). The full-scale war in Ukraine that Russia unleashed in 2022 has also had its impact on the relationship. Border control was tightened up and trains commuting between the countries were discontinued. The war has also reinvigorated the discussions about Russia as a threat, and it left its imprint on the learning of Russian in Finnish schools[9].

These political and historical processes affect present-day attitudes and discourses which circulate in society in relation to Russianness, Russian speakers, and the Russian language. On one hand, Russian is taught in schools as a foreign and a heritage language (see Section 4.2. for a detailed account) but on the other speakers of languages other than Finnish (including Russian) often face discrimination in Finland (e.g., Finnish-named job applicants are prioritized over foreign-named applicants even if the latter meet the requirements (see e.g., Liebkind et al., 2016; Ahmad, 2020) and are subjected to unfavorable attitudes by the majority population (see e.g., Jaakkola, 2005)). It needs to be noted, however, that some studies point out that discrimination against speakers of Russian may be stronger in other European countries. For example, Renvik et al. (2018) demonstrated that in Estonia perceived discrimination against Russian-speakers' was stronger than in Finland.

Such negative attitudes are not however evenly spread within Finnish society and nor do they relate only to ethnicity. For example, Jaakkola's (2000) study indicates that highly educated immigrants were more welcomed in Finland compared to, for example, immigrants' relatives or refugees. In relation to different nationalities, Jaakkola's study points to a hierarchy where Ingrian Finns and people from the Nordic countries were positively perceived in Finland, while people with Russian, Arabic, and Somalian backgrounds were perceived negatively.

Some studies show significant generational differences among the majority population in attitudes toward Russian speakers. For example, a study by Nshom and Croucher (2014) which compared attitudes toward the Russian-speaking community between older and younger Finns revealed that older Finns do

[9] The impact over time of the Russian war in Ukraine on the Russian language in Finland remains open. Recent media coverage shows however that the demand and therefore provision of Russian as a second foreign language in schools has declined significantly (https://yle.fi/a/74-20019618).

perceive Russian speakers as a threat more than younger Finns. Despite this tendency, the study did not show significant changes in the negative stereotypes towards Russian speakers in Finland, meaning that both groups hold negative stereotypes about people with a Russian background. This indicates that attitudes toward Russian and its speakers in Finland are still largely associated with negative stereotypes and remain relatively stable and unchanged throughout the generations[10].

Research on women's experiences of migration and working life (Sverdljuk, 2010; Lahti, 2013), transnational living (Tiaynen-Qadir & Matyska, 2020), (language) socialization (Intke-Hernández & Holm, 2015), integration (Iikkanen 2017, 2019, 2020) and racialization (Krivonos, 2019) in Finland have become more numerous in the past decade. Some studies conducted in the Finnish context explored how Russian-speaking migrants, especially women, navigate migration to Finland and experience racialized positioning in relation to their perceived 'Russianness' (see e.g., Krivonos, 2019). Krivonos and Diatlova (2020) explored how the processes of sexualization and racialization account for ascribing "Russianness" to Russian-speaking migrant women in Finland. By drawing on ethnographic methods and approaching "whiteness" as a structural position (i.e., Russian-speaking women taking a position exterior to the Western understanding of femininity), the study demonstrated that in order to occupy and maintain a position distant from "'vulgarity', mercantility and excessive sexuality" (Krivonos & Diatlova, 2020, 127), women that participated in the study had to align with acceptable gendered norms of self-presentation (e.g., by deliberately choosing attire which could not be considered too provocative).

The discourse around Eastern European and particularly Russian-speaking women being sexualized and associated with mercantilism was present in the interviews conducted with the mothers who participated in this project (see Table 2 for the brief description of participants and collected data). The excerpts presented below show that in the cases of Anna and Mimosa, the discourse of sexualized Eastern European women was not purely a topic of discussion but was entangled with their lived experiences, and in the case of Mimosa it was intertwined with her family language policy (Vorobeva & Leontjev, 2023).

Excerpt 1, Interview with Anna, 4.2.2020

Анна: [...]но языка не знала, а переезжать было только возможность вот учиться, потому что ну замуж не хотела я фиктивно вот это все.

Anna: [..] I didn't know the [Finnish] language, and the only opportunity to move was to study [in Finland] because I didn't want to [to start] a sham marriage.

Excerpt 2, Interview with Mimosa, 19.2.2020

Мимоза: Вы знаете тогда был да, может быть это было так что я не хотела привлекать внимание, да ну хотя по мне внешность видно чисто славянская […] вот

[10] All the studies which discuss attitudes towards the Russian speakers in Finland took place before Russia invaded Ukraine, and therefore, they do not reflect the current dynamics.

в девяностые лихие была знаете такое как бы мнение о России плохое проститутки и плюс воры, в общем, короче говоря, там махинаторы все.

Mimosa: well, you know, back then yes, maybe it was so that I didn't want to attract attention uhm yes but my appearance purely Slavic […] back then in the turbulent 90s there was a bad opinion about Russia, prostitutes, and thieves, well, all in all thugs.

In Excerpt 1, Anna links her possible migration trajectory with a marriage of convenience as relevant and self-evident. At the same time, she distances herself from this discourse and resists being associated with it. In turn, Mimosa recalls how she self-regulated her language use with her son. In the interview, when she recalled the situation in the subway, she said that she deliberately switched to Finnish with her son to use it as "a shield" to protect him and herself from stigmatization (see e.g., Sverdljuk, 2016; Diatlova, 2019).

The two excerpts demonstrate that stigmatizing discourses about Russian speakers are still relevant for at least some of the mothers who participated in this research study. It indicates that the Russian language, "Russianness" and Russian speakers in Finland occupy a rather marginal societal position that is rooted in historical processes and is further sustained by prejudices, stereotypes, and racialization.

4.2 Russian speakers in Finland: a focus on (pre-)school and family bilingualism

Despite the absence of official status, the Russian language in Finland still takes a visible albeit controversial role. In spite of the dominant prejudices and stigmatizing attitudes (see Section 4.1), Russian enjoys some institutional support in Finland (see Viimaranta et al., 2018). It is taught at schools as a foreign and a heritage language and there are several bilingual Finnish-Russian schools and kindergartens. For example *the School of Eastern Finland (Itä-Suomen koulu)* which includes three schools located in the cities of Imatra, Joensuu, and Lappeenranta, and *Finnish-Russian School (Suomalais-venäläinen koulu)* in Helsinki emphasizes teaching of Russian language and culture and highlights the importance of a child's bilingual and bicultural learning (The School of Eastern Finland, 2023; Tietoa Suomalais-venäläisestä koulusta, 2023).

Parents who search for support for their children's Russian language or Finnish-Russian bilingualism can also take advantage of the opportunities provided by Finnish early childhood education. Some municipalities in Finland have Russian-medium or Finnish-Russian bilingual kindergartens (e.g., in Helsinki, Turku, Vantaa). Some of the kindergartens are private and some are partially subsidized by the municipalities, making them accessible to low-income families as parents can apply for financial assistance to cover the childcare expenses (Protassova, 2008).

Besides the Finnish-Russian bilingual schools, kindergartens, and Russian as a foreign language in schools, the Finnish education system also provides

heritage language[11] support for pupils "whose mother tongue or one of their family's languages is a language other than Finnish, Swedish or Sámi" (EDUFI, 2016, 498). In the autumn semester of 2020, fifty-seven languages were taught in Finnish schools as heritage languages with Russian being the most numerous, with 5,619 pupils enrolled in a Russian HL class (EDUFI, 2020). The number of pupils attending Russian HL class significantly exceeds the number of pupils attending other HL classes. For example, the second and the third most taught languages Arabic and Somali account for 3,300 and 2,281 pupils respectively (EDUFI, 2020). Pupils can start attending these classes already in preschool and continue throughout the comprehensive school, until grade nine.

It is important to point out, however, that while such support is needed and welcomed by the parents (Protassova, 2019), HL classes remain outside of the regular school curriculum, are organized by the municipalities on a voluntary basis, pupils have to attend them after the regular school day, and completion of the HL class is not reflected in the pupils' transcript of records on graduation from comprehensive school (i.e., the pupils receive a separate certificate on completing an HL class) (Rynkänen & Pöyhönen, 2010). Furthermore, access to HL education is gatekept by a minimum of four enrolled pupils, and if this requirement is not met, the class cannot be organized[12].

While there is indeed significant institutional support in Finland for the maintenance and development of children's Finnish-Russian bilingualism, it is important to note that in many cases bilingual schools and kindergartens are located in large Finnish municipalities, thereby limiting the opportunities for families residing in smaller towns or villages to access this support. Furthermore, while EDUFI (2016) recommends only a minimum number of two hours of HL a week, the classes are in practice limited to these two academic hours per week (i.e., 90 minutes), which may not be sufficient to support Russian as one of the child's or family languages (see Venäläinen et al., 2022 for a detailed account on HL learning in Finland). The National Core Curriculum also highlights the cooperation between school, language community, and family in supporting the pupils' motivation for HL learning (EDUFI, 2016). In practice, however, the responsibility to promote and support the development of heritage languages, including Russian, often lies with the families (Palviainen & Räisä, 2023).

While the Russian-speaking community is relatively underexplored compared to other linguistic groups in Finland, some research has been conducted into parents' choices concerning their children's education, family language choices, and the role of early childhood education in the support of Russian and/or Finnish-Russian bilingualism. For example, Protassova (2018) examined how interactions in a bilingual Finnish-Russian kindergarten

[11] In the National Core Curriculum for basic education referred to as *oma äidinkieli /one's own mother tongue* (EDUFI, 2016)

[12] While the minimum required number of enrolled pupils may indeed hinder the access to HL class, the situation in Finland is more favorable compared to other European countries. For example in Sweden the requirement is five enrolled pupils, in Germany, Belgium and France the required number of pupils is between ten and twenty, while in the Netherlands it is the same as in Finland (i.e., four pupils need to be registered for the class) (Yağmur, 2020, 435).

promoted child language development. The study took a longitudinal ethnographic approach to data collection and focused on a kindergarten located in Helsinki. In the study, the staff of the kindergarten were grouped as either monolingual Finnish or Russian speakers or as bilingual Finnish-Russian speakers. Besides the naturally occurring interactions between the kindergarten staff and the children, the study also looked at parents' level of satisfaction with the kindergarten and reflections and beliefs concerning bilingual development and education. The findings showed that kindergarten teachers deploy flexible language practices and adjust them depending on the child's needs (see also Palviainen et al., 2016 where the same kindergarten was in the foci). The study also indicated that Russian teachers served as mediators between Finnish teachers and Russian parents to facilitate communication and cooperation. Data that focused on the parental content with the kindergarten showed that the parents highly valued the opportunity to enroll their children in a bilingual kindergarten and saw bilingualism as an asset.

A small-scale survey-based study that also focused on Russian speakers in Finland examined parental attitudes towards bilingual education, and parental level of satisfaction with their children's bilingualism and looked at the children's media use (Protassova, 2019). The results showed that most of the 90 parents who participated in the study had multilingual backgrounds (i.e., were proficient in five to six languages) and most of the respondents used Russian to communicate with the family while Finnish was mostly used in other contexts (e.g., studying, communicating with colleagues, and reading newspapers). It is noteworthy that the majority of the parents reported that their children learn Russian at home and with their grandparents, a fact which highlights the importance of family in language maintenance, transmission, and development.

Despite the importance of Russian language maintenance, there is clear evidence that the Finnish language plays a significant role in the wellbeing of the Russian-speaking community, especially in the process of Russian-speakers' adaptation in Finland. The study by Jasinskaja-Lahti (2008) explored several dimensions of the Russian-speaking immigrants' adaptation process (e.g., psychological, sociocultural, and socioeconomic). The study results revealed that Finnish language skills played a salient role in the socioeconomic and psychological adaptation of Russian-speaking immigrants. This indicates that the Finnish language also plays an important role in the lives of Russian speakers (e.g., a good command of Finnish is often required for socioeconomic mobility) a factor which may potentially influence parental language planning in the families when the parents intend to settle in Finland and continue raising their children here.

The studies discussed above highlight the intricacies and complexities of the conditions and situations in which Russian speakers navigate their lives in Finland. On one hand, the Russian language and identity are important anchors that maintain and strengthen the connection with the language, and on the other hand the strong identification and alignment with "Russianness" serve as a factor that potentially has a negative impact on the perceptions of the Russian-speaking

community by the majority population. It limits employability and thus serves as a hindering factor for socio-economic well-being.

The present study contributes to the already existing scholarship about Russian speakers in Finland. More specifically, it demonstrates how FLPs in single-parent Russian-speaking families are embedded in the sociopolitical and educational dispositions in Finland, and in so doing provides information about a hitherto underexplored area of research about Russian speakers in Finland.

NAVIGATING THE NEXUS

5 PARTICIPANTS, METHODS, AND ANALYSIS

In the following sub-sections, I will introduce the participating families, describe the data collection methods, and ethical considerations, and will present a data source that facilitated analysis for Article III. I will also discuss my dual role in the nexus of practice of bilingual single parenting and academic work and will elaborate on how this dual position guided me along the emic-etic continuum during this research project.

5.1 Participants and data collection

Recruitment of the research participants started in early 2020[13] (see Table 1[14]) when the first call was circulated on social media in several groups aimed at Russian speakers in Finland, Russian-speaking women in Finland, and Russian-speaking mothers. The intention was to reach single-parent families who spoke Russian with their children and aimed to maintain and/or transmit this language to them (see Table 1). While some of the groups where the call was circulated were aimed particularly at Russian-speaking women, others targeted a more general audience (e.g., Russian speakers in Finland). Such a decision was made as an attempt to avoid gendered presumptions about bilingual parenting as being solely the responsibility of women.

The main selection criteria included (1) being a sole or primary caretaker to the child or children and (2) speaking Russian as one of the family languages (see Table 1). Based on the retrieved data (i.e., email responses and replies under the social media posts), I identified eleven responses in total, and out of these eleven,

[13] I started this project as a self-funded PhD student, but from 2021, and until completing the dissertation, this work was supported by the Department of Language and Communication Studies and the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Jyväskylä, where I had an employment contract as a full-time PhD researcher.
[14] The screenshot presented in the table is from January 2021 when one more attempt to recruit families was undertaken. After this call, Irina and her family agreed to participate in the study.

eight parents agreed to an interview. It needs to be acknowledged that all the participants in this study are women, though one single father contacted me during the participant recruitment process, but he did not respond to my follow-up emails.

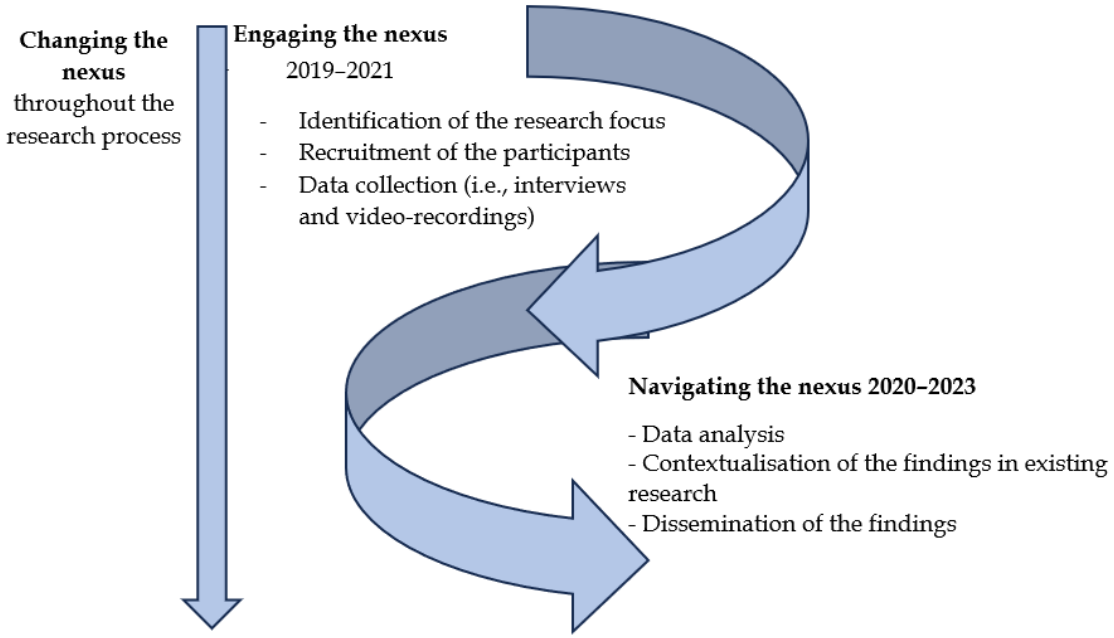

FIGURE 4 Data collection procedure

In addition to the above-mentioned participants, who were recruited via social media, one family was involved after I met the mother (Maria) in school where my son was taking his Russian heritage class. After a short informal conversation and a brief introduction of my project, we exchanged phone numbers and later agreed to meet for an interview. Maria's family participated in all three stages of data collection (i.e., interview, video-recorded family interactions, and stimulated recall interview).

The research process is demonstrated in Figure 4, which illustrates three nexus analytical activities, namely engaging, navigating, and changing the nexus. I should clarify that when discussing the process of participants' recruitment, data collection, data management, and analysis, I approach changing the nexus on a rather micro level. I therefore align with Scollon and Scollon (2004), who claim that "a nexus analysis recognizes throughout the analysis that the processes of change are the results of the activities of the researcher in recording the actions, engaging in discourses with the participants, and constructing new courses of action" (p. 152).

TABLE 1 Call for participants

Call for participants (original post)	**Call for participants (English translation)**
 **Polina Vorobeva** ••• 8.1.2021 · Добрый день! Я аспирантка из университета Ювяскюля и ищу участников для своего исследования "Языковая политика в русскоязычных семьях с одним родителем в Финляндии". На данный момент ищу опекунов/мам/пап, которые в одиночку воспитывают детей и используют русский язык в качестве одного из языков для общения с ребенком или детьми. Пока я ищу участников для интервью, но будет здорово, если вас заинтересуют и последующие этапы. Цель проекта: узнать, какие языковые практики используются родителями и детьми, и какие стратегии поддерживают развитие дву-/многоязычия в семьях с одним родителем, и как это связано с тем фактом, что вы являетесь соло-мамой или соло-папой :) Если Вам интересно принять участие в исследовании или узнать о нем больше, пожалуйста свяжитесь со мной в лс или по электронной почте: polina.p.vorobeva@jyu.fi Желаю всем приятных выходных!	I'm a PhD student at the University of Jyväskylä, and I'm looking for participants for my research project "Language policy in Russian-speaking single-parent families in Finland". At the moment I'm looking for guardians/moms/dads, who raise their children as single parents and use Russian as one of their languages to communicate with the child or children. For now, I'm looking for interview participants, but it would be great if the next steps of the project interest you. Aim of the project: to find out what language practices are used by the parents and children, and what supports there are for bi-/multilingual development in single-parent families.

As has already been mentioned above, the data collection process was implemented in three stages which included several methods, namely semi-structured in-depth interviews with the mothers (see Section 5.2), family interactions video recorded by the mothers (see Section 5.3) and stimulated recall interviews (see Section 5.4). Additionally, as the project was developing, the guidelines for HL learning by the Finnish National Agency for Education (EDUFI, 2016) were introduced as a secondary data source which allowed an in-depth analysis of HL class as a language management tool in Julia's and Irina's families (see Article III). It is important to note that while the first two data collection methods were present already at the outset of the project, a stimulated recall interview was introduced during the interactional data analysis to address and partly resolve the challenges of data interpretation. Furthermore, because of technical failures or ethical dilemmas not all the collected data were analyzed. In the case of *Irina* and her son Aleksi only the interview was analyzed (see Section 5.3 for further details). For example the interview with Natalia has not been recorded and the interview with Evgenia was recorded only partially. I managed, however, to take notes after our conversations but these notes did not provide sufficient data for analysis.

TABLE 2 Brief description of the research participants and data

Participant[15] (*mother*, child, and their age)	**Mothers' L1**	**Mothers' occupation**	**Years in Finland**	**Family peripheral participants**	**Interview length and mode**	**Observation length**	**The article that the data were analyzed for**
Anna (34) and Sofia (3)	Russian	Cleaner	7,5	Sofia's non-residential father and grandmother	43 min + 64 min (SRI), face-to-face	195 min	Article I and Article II
Evgenia (n/a) and Philip (4)	Russian	Accountant	8	Philip's step-father	37 min[16], video call	—	—
Irina (44) and Aleksi (8)	Ossetian	Nurse	20	Aleksi's older step-sister	75 min, video call	41 min	Article III
Julia (34) and Alexander (7)	Russian	English language teacher	6	Alexander's father and grandparents	57 min, video call	—	Article I and Article III
Katerina (43) and Emilia (12)	Russian	Customer service consultant	15	Emilia's younger stepsister, father, stepfather and grandmother	24 min, face-to-face	—	Article I
Maria (50) and Oscar (6)	Mari	n/a	25	Oscar's older stepbrother and stepsister	24 min + 38 min (SRI), face-to-face	80 min	Article I and Article II

[15] All the names are pseudonyms. The mothers' names are in italics in Table 2. Italics for the mothers' names are also used throughout the text when they are mentioned with the children's names.
[16] Only the beginning of the interview was recorded.

Participant[15] (*mother*, child, and their age)	**Mothers' L1**	**Mothers' occupation**	**Years in Finland**	**Family peripheral participants**	**Interview length and mode**	**Observation length**	**The article that the data were analyzed for**
Mimosa (59) and Viktor (28)	Russian	Finnish-Russian interpreter	33	Viktor's grandparents	28 min	—	—
Natalia (n/a) and Anton (8)	n/a	accountant	n/a	Anton's older stepsister	18 min[17]	—	—

[17] The interview wasn't recorded due to a technical issue.

Table 2 shows that despite self-identifying as single parent, the families differ in several ways. The column "Family peripheral participants" illustrates that the mothers reported have kinships beyond their immediate families which include non-residential family members, stepsiblings, stepparents, and grandparents. Besides that, it is important to note that while all the families were supporting Russian, some of the mothers had other languages as their L1s. For example Maria reported having the Mari language as her L1 and Irina Ossetian. The mothers' time of residence in Finland varied from 6 to 33 years. Their occupations also varied, as Table 2 shows. The mothers' occupations presented in Table 2 shows their occupation after they moved to Finland, and in some cases it was linked with downward mobility (e.g., Anna used to be a math teacher in Russia but currently works as a cleaner), a fact which may illustrate the struggles that immigrants face in Finland.

5.2 Semi-structured interview

In this sub-section, I will discuss in detail how semi-structured interview was used in this project to reach an in-depth understanding of family language policies. I will also discuss interview as a form of social practice and will explain how both approaches allow, on the one hand, to obtain factual information (*the whats*) and on the other hand add transparency to the data collection and analysis by accounting for how this information was obtained (*the hows)* (Talmy, 2010).

5.2.1 Semi-structured interview as a method

Interview was chosen as one of the data collection methods to access the mothers' accounts of their family language policies. While nexus analysis is an ethnographically oriented approach (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, 9), interviews can serve as one of the tools in combination with, for example, ethnographic observations and/or video-, audio-recordings of the interactions. At the same time, interviews on their own can also be sufficient for the NA, as was illustrated in Article I of this project and in other studies that used NA to analyze interviews (see also Palviainen & Bergroth, 2018; Smith-Christmas et al., 2019; Soler & Roberts, 2019).

Interview has gained in popularity in qualitative applied linguistics (Mann, 2011; Talmy, 2010). Following this direction, the research on family language policy has also often resorted to interviews as a data collection method that helps examine parent's language ideologies, educational trajectories chosen for their children, literacy practices, reported language use, and other factors that shape FLPs (e.g., Altman et al., 2014; Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; Palviainen & Bergroth, 2018).

In this project semi-structured interview was employed as the data collection method that was used in the early stages, and in the case of *Anna* and Sofia, *Maria* and Oscar, and *Irina* and Aleksi (see Table 2) it served as a bridge to

the following data collection step, namely video recordings of the interactions. The semi-structured interview protocol was guided by the theoretical framework employed in this PhD project (i.e., the tripartite framework of language policy (Spolsky, 2004)) and therefore included questions about parental language beliefs, language practices, and language management (see Appendix 2). In addition to the questions guided by the theoretical framework, the interview protocol included some general questions about participants' education, occupation, migration trajectories and language learning experiences. As the focus of the project was on single-parent families, I asked the mothers about their experiences as single parents raising their children bilingually. Some themes emerged during the interviews or were initiated by the mothers (e.g., the changes in their family forms, the changing relationships with the seemingly distant family members, language practices in the child's school). During the interview, I often prompted the participants to elaborate on certain themes which in many cases helped elicit more detailed accounts.

All interviews were carried out in Russian and were recorded either with an audio recorder Roland R-05 or with the built-in recording features of the software used for videoconferencing (e.g., Skype and Zoom). After that, the recordings were transferred to the University's servers. Next, I transcribed the interviews in Russian and translated into English those excerpts that were to be presented to the readers. At that stage, when I started meeting with my participants and recording the interviews, the research questions were broadly formulated, though as my engagement with the participants continued the focus of Article II[18] took its final shape, concentrating on the nexus of changing family configurations and language practices.

5.2.2 Semi-structured interview as a social practice

I approached interview not solely as a method or a data collection tool but also as a form of social practice (see also Article I) meaning that it is collaboratively and locally achieved by the interviewee and the interviewer (Talmy, 2010). Taking such an approach allows reflection on how the interview was carried out and how the meanings were co-constructed (see e.g., Mann, 2011; Talmy, 2011). In this sub-section I therefore reflect on how interviews were carried out between me, the interviewer, and my participants, the interviewees; how meanings were created and what power relations emerged that had an impact on how certain responses were elicited and rendered.

Either before we met (i.e., during the email exchange or on social media) or at the beginning of an interview I shared some information about myself with the participants. For example they knew that I was a relatively new immigrant in Finland with basic proficiency in Finnish, that I moved to Finland from Russia, and was raising my son as a single mother. While I think that positioning myself

[18] I should mention that the order in which the articles are presented in this compilation (Article I, II, and III) does not correspond to how I chronologically worked on them. If placed in chronological order, Article II was the first one I started working on, followed by Article I and III.

as a single parent facilitated creating a safe environment for sharing single-parenting experiences, my being an L1 speaker of Russian created unequal power relations at least with Maria and Irina. For example, when I asked Maria if she has experienced any challenges in supporting her son's bilingualism, she replied:

> Я не идеально говорю на русском языке, у меня есть акцент, и у меня был всегда акцент, и мне всегда говорили, что наверно я из Прибалтики, когда еще в Марийске жила, ну так уж сложилось (смех)
>
> I don't speak Russian perfectly, I have an accent, and I've always had an accent, and they always told me that I must be from the Baltics, even while I was still living in Mari El, it just happened so (laugh).

Similarly, Irina referred to her Russian as "different" and "wrong" when talking about her childhood in Northern Ossetia:

> Вот но все равно у нас (пауза) немного говор[19] может другой, акцент другой по-русски, и ударение где-то мы ставим не на те слова, ну какие-то слова коверкаем, не так говорим (смех) [...] ощущается когда с Кавказа речь.
>
> Well anyway, we've (pause) our speech is perhaps a bit different, accent in Russian is different and we stress the wrong words, distort some words, speak in a wrong way (laugh) […] one can tell that it's a Caucasian speech.

While it is possible to claim that the category of "imperfect speaker of Russian" might have emerged in other circumstances too, I would assert that it became more pronounced due to my positioning as an L1 speaker of Russian in addition to the formulation of the question(s) (e.g., as I asked Maria about difficulties raising her child bilingually). Therefore the language of the interview chosen by me was one of the conditions that might have reinforced asymmetric power relations in some cases.

Sometimes also age or time of residence in Finland emerged as relevant during the interviews. All participants had resided in Finland longer than me, and for example Anna offered me her advice about life in Finland and places to visit with children, taking the role of the expert in the given interactional episode, while I occupied the position of a novice. While such local and temporary shifts in power relations took place during our interactions, the choices of what questions to ask, how to analyze the interviews and what excerpts to present in the publications remained mine.

5.3 Video-recorded interactions

Video-recordings as a data collection tool are extensively used in family multilingualism research as well as in studies on family language policy (e.g., Palviainen & Boyd, 2013; Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; Smith-Christmas, 2018; Van Mensel, 2018; Hiratsuka & Pennycook, 2020; Van Mensel, 2020; Lomeu Gomes,

[19] In this excerpt Irina uses the word *говор (govor)* which is sometimes translated as 'speech' and sometimes is referred to as a sub-dialect.

2022; Palviainen, 2022; Wright, 2020, 2022). This method of data collection has been especially useful for seeing the dynamics of naturally occurring interactions and examining in detail the language practices in families.

While in some cases the recordings are carried out by the researcher or with the researcher present, in other cases it is passed to the families, with the adults in the family taking on the responsibility for setting up the camera and recording the routines or activities that interest the researcher. Often the recorded interactions serve as a data collection instrument that complements other data sources, such as interviews and ethnographic observations (e.g., Curdt-Christiansen, 2016; Lomeu Gomes, 2022). In this PhD project video recordings are a data source that allowed the language practices played out in the interactions between the mother and the child to be seen. I asked the mothers to record the routines themselves and they were also free to choose what routines they felt comfortable recording and sharing with me. As they had full control over these decisions, they could also pause or stop the recording whenever it suited them and their children.

Initially two families expressed their interest in this stage of the project, *Anna* and Sofia, and *Maria* and Oscar (see Table 2). Later when one more attempt of data collection was undertaken, *Irina* and Aleksi also started recording their interactions, but they had to discontinue due to time constraints. Interactions that were analysed in the present study are shaded in Table 3. The duration of recordings and the settings varied. For example in the case of *Anna* and Sofia the recordings were shorter than those made by *Maria* and Oscar. This difference could be explained by the age of the children. Sofia was three when the data collection started while Oscar was already six at that time and it was apparent in the recordings that Sofia needed to change activities frequently. Not being physically present when the recordings were carried out did not necessarily exclude me, as in some cases the mothers addressed me directly through the camera, for example by asking if I could see something if they place a camera in a certain way. As I visited Anna's and Maria's homes to hand over the cameras that they used to record the interactions, I also had a chance to meet with their children, Sofia and Oscar.

TABLE 3 Family interactions

	Number of the recordings	Routines and context	Total duration
Anna (34) and Sofia (3)	21	Playing together (e.g., memory games, treasure seeking, school); opening a new toy; Anna reading to Sofia	195 min
Maria (50) and Oscar (6)	8	Playing a board game (Alias); Playing a game that Oscar invented himself Building a snowman outside	80 min
Irina (44) and Aleksi (8)	4	Irina was driving while Aleksi was sitting in the back seat Playing a board game (Uno) Aleksi reading a story Doing Russian HL homework	41 min

5.4 Stimulated recall interview

Following a nexus analytical premise of "organic research" that changes its structure as it progresses (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, 148), the current project was advancing in a similar manner. The need for stimulated recall interviews emerged during the interactional discourse analysis (see Section 5.4), when some of the language practices in the families appeared to be ambiguous and difficult to interpret. To address this intricacy, I turned to stimulated recall interview.

Stimulated recall interview (SRI) has been actively used in the field of applied linguistics (Sanchez & Grimshaw, 2019) as well as in in the studies that focused on family multilingualism (e.g., Venables et al., 2014; Palviainen, 2022). It can be described as "a technique for investigating how people coordinate their interactions in a number of different situations"(Dempsey, 2010, 349). Sanchez and Grimshaw (2019) provide an analysis of the key studies in applied linguistics where stimulated recall was used as a method and conclude that SRI can be applied with different purposes: to elicit thoughts about an event, interaction or an action that was recorded or to elicit motivations, awareness and affective responses (p. 316). Dempsey (2010) proposes seven steps to carry out an SRI. It should start with a traditional participant-observer ethnography to "gain a reasonable understanding of the particular idioculture" (p. 354). This step is to be followed by developing an outline of aspects that are important for the activity that the ethnographer is interested in and by developing questions about the activity that remained unclear. After that, the researcher can proceed to record

the activity and prepare unique interview protocols for each participant to carry out stimulated recall interviews.

Unlike Dempsey (2010) I did not draw on participant observations, but initial interviews with the mothers did provide rich accounts of their family language beliefs, practices, and management strategies as well as of their migration trajectories and child-rearing. It is noteworthy that the focus on certain social actions (Scollon & Scollon, 2004), namely the mother-child play where SRI was applied, was developed in collaboration with the families as they were free to choose the routines to be recorded (see Section 5.3.). The last two steps suggested by Dempsey (2010) were implemented to carry out the SRIs in this project. After analyzing family interactions and identifying ambiguous interactional episodes, I made two tailor-made interview protocols and reached out to my participants to agree on the interview[20]. The protocols included the file names, time stamps, codes, and questions to be asked (see Appendices 3–6). Each interview was recorded in the participants' homes and lasted 64 min with Anna and 38 min with Maria. In addition to recalling what was happening in the recordings and discussing why these practices emerged and what they meant for the families, I also asked the mothers about any changes that might have happened in their FLPs as the SRIs were carried out almost two years after the interactions had been recorded. This allowed access to a dynamic facet of the FLPs. For example *Anna* pointed out how FLP has changed as Sofia got older and approached school age, while *Maria* mentioned that Oscar's Finnish was becoming stronger and referred to the language policy in Oscar's school as being monolingual in favor of Finnish.

5.5 Guidelines for heritage language (HL) learning

The guidelines for HL learning were not originally part of this project. They were introduced when I was formulating the foci for Article III, and therefore they facilitated the analysis to answer RQ 1: How is language negotiated in single-parent Russian-speaking families while they navigate sociopolitical and educational realities in Finland? As I was engaging with the interviews and read them multiple times it became clear that it was necessary to bring the guidelines into the analysis to spotlight the tensions and contradictions that emerge at the nexus of family language policy, education policy, and parental and state ideologies (see Article III).

In the Finnish National Core Curriculum for Basic Education (EDUFI, 2016) HL learning guidelines are spelled out in Appendix 3, which contains "[T]he objectives, contents, and assessment of the pupil's learning in the instruction of his or her mother tongue complementing basic education" (EDUFI, 2016, 498). It provides the rationale for pursuing the support of HL in the form of mother

[20] Almost two years had passed between collecting family interactions and carrying out SRIs (cf. Mackey & Gass, 2016, 87–88).

tongue instruction, points to the benefits of supporting one's mother tongue, and specifies the objectives of the mother tongue instructions for different age groups (EDUFI, 2016, 498–508).

The use of the HL learning guidelines as a data source is justified by the fact that all the mothers reported that their children were attending Russian HL class. Additionally, as the interviews show, the discourses from the guidelines circulated through the mother's talk. For example Irina referred to the non-compulsory status of the HL class and to the right to study one's mother tongue. This underlines the salience of the classes as a language management tool in the families. Because of that, the guidelines were necessary to be included in the analysis. This helped to open up the circumference of the educational discourse that circulated through the social action (i.e., parents' decisions about Russian HL class) in Article III.

The guidelines were therefore conceptualized as a discourse that situated and emphasized the context in which the social action took place (see e.g., Hult, 2015). This somewhat resonates with a policy-as-discourse approach, which conceives "all actions, objects, and practices are socially meaningful, and that the interpretation of these meanings is shaped by the social and political struggles in specific socio-historical contexts" (Goodwin, 2011, 170). Goodwin (2011) further elaborates that this approach questions how policy statements and problems are framed, and this process starts with the analysis of policy making process in a broad sense. In this regard it should be noted that the analytical starting point in this study was in the mothers' discourse, where they referred to the non-compulsory status of the HL class, for example, and the workload assigned by the teacher, which departs from Goodwin's approach due to the focus being on the families and their decisions rather than on the education policy itself.

To carry out the analysis, the text of the Finnish National Core Curriculum for Basic Education was imported into Atlas.ti and the most salient directives were coded with the open-coding approach (Holton, 2007). After that, when the social action was identified (i.e., decisions that parent(s) concerning their children's Russian HL learning) the codes were placed under the umbrella code "DiP", standing for discourses in place. The overall data analysis process for Article III is akin to that of Article I, which is explained in detail in Section 5.6.

5.6 Analytical procedures

After the data collection, which included interviews, stimulated-recall interviews, and video recordings, the materials were transcribed verbatim by the researcher using the VLC media player and Microsoft Word. The transcription process has theoretical underpinnings which guide the level of detail adopted in the transcript (see e.g., Du Bois, 1991; Ochs, 1979). In this section, I will first explain what notations were used when transcribing the interviews and video-recordings and will reflect on the choices made in relation to the data transcription and translation. After that, I will expand on how an interactional

sociolinguistic approach was evoked in the analysis of family talk and will explicate the data coding procedures.

Ochs (1979) points out that the level of detail in transcription is contingent on the theoretical presumptions and empirical goals (pp. 43–45). Based on these principles, the interview and family talk transcriptions adopted notations which allowed the information relevant to be marked for analysis, focusing on what was said, how it was said and by whom. In particular, the transcripts included notations to identify omitted utterances, truncated words, speech overlaps and elongated sounds as well as the clarifying comments made by the transcriber whenever it was necessary, along with the pseudonyms of the turn-takers.

The data were transcribed in Russian by the researcher, an L1 speaker of the language, using Cyrillic script and following the vertical format of transcript organization (see Edwards, 2001; cf. Ochs, 1979), whereas selected excerpts were translated into English with a goal to achieve idiomatic translation. I decided to partially adopt spoken Russian orthography when transcribing the data but did not adopt diacritics. Following spoken orthography allows intricacies of the spoken language in interaction to be conveyed to some extent. Such an approach may however be conceived as problematic from a practical point of view due to unnecessary variation in the representation of the same lexical item in the data corpus. For example, a lexical item '*now*' is represented by two semantically identical tokens – '*щас* 'and '*сейчас*' – both items are used in spoken Russian interchangeably[21]. This may complicate the analysis, as when searching for specific tokens in the data, the researcher needs to keep in mind that it may be represented by multiple variants. This potential limitation was mitigated by the fact that the data corpus was relatively small and the analysis did not focus on specific lexical tokens.

After transcription had been completed the data were imported to Atlas.ti for coding and analysis. Prior to starting coding, the interviews as well as interactions were listened to multiple times, and memos were made about what was discussed during the interviews and what was happening in the recordings. Thereafter I adopted an open coding technique which allowed the data to be organized and what was brought into the conversation by the mothers to be seen. According to Blair (2015) "open coding involves applying codes that are derived from the text (emergent codes)" (p. 17). In the next step I assigned the umbrella codes following the LP model (Spolsky, 2004), where I organized the data according to the theoretical framework, with some additional considerations, for example by including the code "family and environment" as it was repeated throughout the interviews. Such an approach is referred to as "template coding" where the codes are designed in line with the prior literature on the topic or are guided by a theoretical approach (Blair, 2015)[22].

[21] It is worth mentioning that neither of the two variants point to the speaker's education or social class but are rather generally used in speech.
[22] Blair (2015) also discusses the epistemological conundrum behind the "open coding" approach, pointing out that it is hardly possible to approach data without acknowledging the preconceptions held by the researcher, which in turn questions the idea behind "open coding" itself.

Figure 5 provides an example of how this procedure was applied. I should mention that the figure illustrates a relatively clean allocation of codes, while in practice several codes often overlapped due to thematic or conceptual ambiguity (see Section 3.1.1 for the discussion on the ambiguity of the concepts language practices and language management). Figure 5 below provides the data in Russian and English, with the codes applied to the Russian data. The decision of what category to use in case several codes overlapped was driven by identifying the unit of analysis — a social action which guided the following analytical steps. Besides that, the data and codes allocation were discussed in the seminars and with senior researchers.

The steps described above helped to find the focus for Article II and III as it became clear that some of the participants discussed at length the changes that happened in their family constellations and kinships as well as in their language practices and talked in length about importance of HL classes. As the research foci were decided, the social actions were identified and coded in each of the interviews. For example each instance of the changes in family configurations of kinship ties was identified and coded, and the moments of the interviews where the mothers talked about the changes in their family language practices were also marked with a social action umbrella code.

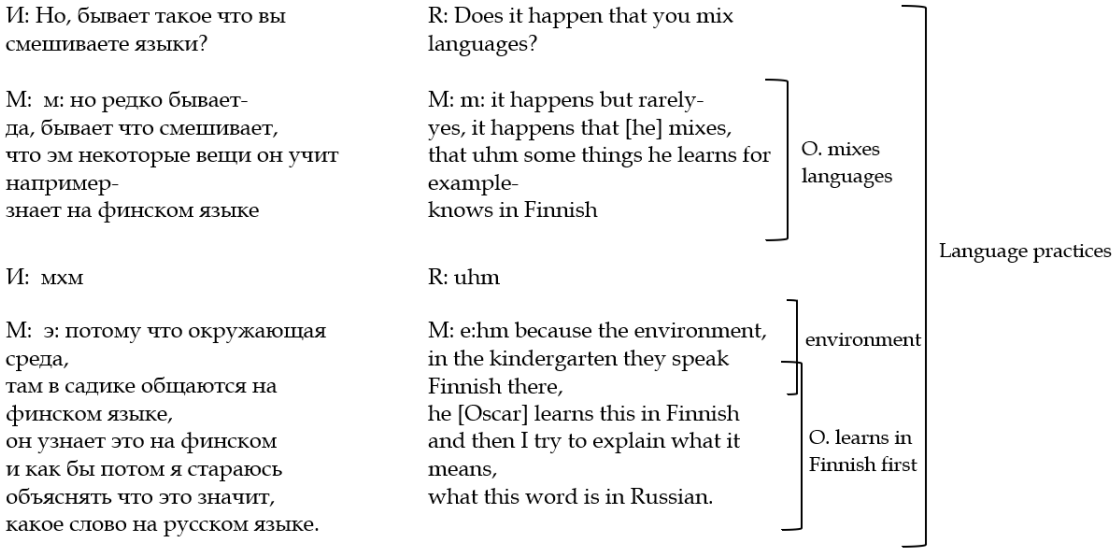

FIGURE 5 Code allocation[23]

After that, guided by the three nexus analytical discourse cycles, namely *historical body*, *interaction order,* and *discourses in place*, the corresponding umbrella codes were created and attention was paid not only to what was included under the codes but also to how the mothers formulated their ideas, what actors were involved in a social action, and what the role of the mother's lived experiences was.

[23] O. in the code titles stands for Oscar.

It needs to be mentioned that while this approach may overlap with the coding process adopted by content analysis or thematic analysis (Vaismoradi et al., 2016), the coding itself is rather one of the steps in nexus analysis which may not be applicable in some nexus analytical studies at all, and which represents only a fraction of the analysis in the current dissertation and its sub-studies (Article I, II, and III). Besides that, as the nexus analytical approach is grounded in *discourse*, attention is paid not only to *what* is said but also to *how* it is said. This aspect of how something was said was taken into consideration during the analysis for all three articles and was especially prominent in Article I, which, apart from the interviews, also scrutinized family interactions.

The routine where the mothers play with their children prevailed in the family talk data. For that reason I decided to focus on this routine and see what and how language practices are employed in the families. Although transcriptions primarily focused on the verbal communication, access to the video recordings provided important contextual information on the arrangements of the people involved in a social action and on the type of games that the mothers played with their children (see Article I).

Transcription of the naturally occurring talk may present some challenges. In the present study the challenges were especially prominent in the transcription of the parent-child discourse where some utterances were unintelligible. Several ambiguous moments emerged in the moments of potential code-switching. For example, in one of the recordings where Anna and her daughter were discussing whether Sofia can pronounce a word in Russian, it was unclear to me if Sofia was trying to say it in Finnish too. This moment was marked and discussed with *Anna* in the SRI, where she said that she was uncertain if Sofia was switching to Finnish, so for this reason that moment was not marked as a code-switching episode.

As Article I scrutinized family interactions (conceptualized as *interaction order* discourse cycle), the analytical procedures behind this sub-study were also built on the interactional sociolinguistic (IS) approach to discourse (Gumperz, 1982; Gumperz, 2015) in addition to nexus analysis. The coding procedures during the interactional discourse analysis were similar to those applied for the analysis of the interview data (i.e., watching the recordings multiple times and writing memos). When examining the interactions, however, I specifically focused on the moments when the mother or the child spoke more than one named language, for example where code-switching or mixing occurred, on the instances of metapragmatic talk involving code-switching or mixing, and on the moments when the mothers accentuated the correct pronunciation of a word. Code here refers to a relatively stable and bounded entity, in other words to a named language, in this case to Russian, Finnish or English.

Discussing interactional sociolinguistics as a discourse analytic approach, Gumperz (2015) suggests that contextualization cues are fundamental for tapping into how meanings and mutual understanding are reached and maintained in communicative situations. Contextualization cues include such elements as, for example, pronunciation, prosody, rhythm, pitch, and code-switching, which are used "to construct the contextual ground for situated

interpretation" (Gumperz, 2015, 315). This approach was invoked when examining meaning negotiation moments, which involved instances of bilingual language use (see e.g., extracts 3, 4 and 5 in Article I), where code-switching contributed to the mutual understanding and negotiation in a speech event.

After identifying these instances, I assigned them a code of a discourse strategy that they represented or marked them as meaning negotiation instances, following Lanza (1997), Lomeu Gomes (2022), and Curdt-Christiansen (2016) (see Table 4). When working on Article I, the coded discourse strategies were connected to the stimulated recall interviews (see Section 5.4), and to the interviews (see Section 5.2). Most illustrative examples were then chosen and translated into English to present in the publication.

In this section I covered the on-hands procedures which were undertaken for data analysis. In nexus analysis, however, engagement in the social issue which is at the center of the researcher's work starts even earlier. In what follows next I discuss how the researcher's reflexivity and positionality are ingrained in nexus analytic work.

5.7 Establishing a zone of identification: ethical considerations and researcher's positionality

> If you want to change a mediated action (and consequently a nexus of practice) it is necessary to be a participant in that nexus of practice (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, 156).

As was discussed above (see Section 3.2), nexus analysis develops in three overlapping stages: *engaging the nexus*, *navigating the nexus*, and *changing the nexus*. Establishing the zone of identification is an opening task of nexus analysis. Its methodological groundings involve the analysts who "are themselves part of the nexus of practice under study" (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, 9). This allows engagement in the nexus of practice and being recognized as a legitimate participant. Establishing or *creating* a zone of identification is also linked with recognizing the mediated social action(s) to be studied. In research where nexus analysis is applied as a methodological lens, this step is often connected with the researcher's positionality. For example in the context of second language learning, the teacher-researchers often have a dual role in the field (see e.g., Räsänen, 2021; Leskinen, 2023), in the context of higher education Aarnikoivu (2020a, 2020b) was navigating the nexus of doctoral studies as a doctoral researcher herself, and Ruuska (2020) reflected on her journey of becoming a highly proficient second language speaker of Finnish, a factor which facilitated engaging the nexus of second language learning.

In the following sections, I will discuss ethical principles (Section 5.7.1) and reflect upon the negotiation of researcher positionality along the emic-etic continuum (Section 5.7.2) and will also bring in a relational approach to positionality as highly relevant (Section 5.7.3). The reflection on positionality in this section is therefore discussed from two perspectives: (1) from the perspective

of the relationships that were being developed between me and the families, and (2) from a broader perspective that examines the questions of knowledge construction (Section 5.7.4).

5.7.1 Ethical considerations

All participants were informed about the goals of the study and received a privacy notice and a consent form where the research aims and procedures were described in detail. Participants who agreed to record the interviews online received the forms in advance to read, sign, and send to me, and those participants with whom I met in person received the privacy notice and the consent form when I met them for the interview, and we went through the forms together. Of course it is hard to tell if all the participants who were interviewed online and received the consent form and the privacy notice read them before signing the form, a factor which might potentially create asymmetry among the participants in relation to how well they were informed about the study procedures. I did however talk through the main points related to the rights of the participants and the data protection regulations before starting each of the eight interviews. In one case (interview with Evgenia) it was impossible to sign the consent form and instead, Evgenia provided oral consent to participate in the interview.

According to the guidelines on Responsible Science provided by the University of Jyväskylä as well as TENK (2019), the Ethical Committee statement is required only for research projects that deviate from the six principles of research integrity[24]. As the present research project is conducted in line with the TENK (2019) principles, Ethical Committee approval was not required.

The data collection started in early 2020 when the COVID-19 pandemic was rapidly spreading in Finland, to some extent influencing the process. In some cases the interviews would in any case have been conducted online because it was the most convenient way for the researcher and the participants, for various personal, geographical, and financial reasons. The project followed the principles of research integrity and responsible conduct of research (RCR), which are based on informed consent and voluntary participation that includes the right to discontinue or withdraw one's participation in the project at any point during the data collection process (TENK, 2019). One of the families, *Irina* and Aleksi (see Table 1), discontinued their participation after they had started recording their family interactions and realized the procedure was too time-consuming for them. The family did not withdraw their participation, however, meaning that their data can still be used for analysis.

In addition to the RCR (TENK, 2019) the project also followed the EU General Data Protection Regulations (GDPR) (Regulation EU 679/2016), which are applied to ensure the protection of personal data (e.g., the pseudonymized

[24] The six principles and the guidelines related to the necessity for the Ethical Committee approval provided by the University of Jyväskylä are available here: https://www.jyu.fi/en/research/responsible-science/human-sciences-ethics-committee/tarvitseeko-tutkimuksesi-eettista-ennakkoarviointia

data were stored in a secure University storage separately from the file with participants' names and pseudonyms). The Privacy Notice was compiled according to the GDPR guidelines and included a detailed description of the project, its duration, legal grounds for the research, the rights of the participants, and the information on personal data protection.

All mothers were asked to choose pseudonyms for themselves and their children. Pseudonyms in qualitative research are geared toward preserving participants' confidentiality, which is intertwined with ethical principles of research. While this practice is necessary and has been 'normalized', there is a growing demand for reflexivity when assigning pseudonyms to research participants (see e.g., Edwards, 2020). Pseudonyms may often carry certain connotations and identification markers connected, for example with gender, race, or ethnicity. Therefore when choosing the pseudonyms for participants, the researcher may not be just protecting their identities but also ascribing certain categories which reinforce the asymmetrical power relations between the researcher and participants (Allen & Wiles, 2016). All but one name introduced in Table 2 and present throughout the article are the pseudonyms chosen by the mothers. Viktor's pseudonym was altered as Mimosa initially chose the last name of a Russian singer. To avoid unnecessary connotations the last name was replaced with the singer's first name.

As was mentioned in Section 4, the Russian-speaking community in Finland is rapidly growing, potentially minimizing the risks for participants to be identified. But since the present study focuses on a minority within a minority (i.e., single-parent Russian-speaking families), such risks cannot be entirely excluded. With these intricacies in mind, I safeguarded the families by using pseudonyms and by omitting the information about their place of residence (e.g., city or area in Finland) but maintaining the information about their languages, which is essential for this study (see also Daley, 2015; Tangen, 2014).

5.7.2 Researcher's positionality and reflexivity

The cornerstone of a qualitative inquiry is the relationships that are built between the individuals involved in the research process which imply the need to reflect on how "researcher's dispositions and actions to acknowledge their own presence within the research processes […] may shape the social reality under investigation" (Consoli & Ganassin, 2023, 3). Often the studies where researchers reflect on their position during the data generation process turn to reflections along the emic-etic or insider-outsider continuum (Markee, 2012; Olive, 2014). In the recent developments of qualitative research, emic and etic perspectives are often seen as contradicting rather than complementary. Emic can be approached as a "local" perspective, while the etic perspective is approached as a meta-narrative (Beals et al., 2020). Along these lines, an emic or "local" perspective is one of the participants (e.g., what they think of and how they experience certain phenomena), while an etic or outsider's perspective is a researcher's perspective which in turn may contribute to creating a meta-narrative (e.g., when researchers write up the findings and present them in the publications).

In this PhD project I resorted to reflections along the emic-etic continuum. For example, in Articles I and II I claim to attempt to reach an emic perspective on the FLP in the families by, for example, drawing on the fact that I was also a Russian-speaking single mother (Article I) and by applying SRI as a method that helped to reach the mothers' perspectives on their FLPs (Article II). While, indeed, such an approach might be helpful to reflect on how certain identity markers (e.g., speaking Russian, being from a Russian background, etc.) helped me gain access to the families to build a rapport with them, and therefore presumably access their views and experiences of single-parenting and FLP, there were other relational aspects which emerged as relevant while I was engaging with the families either during the data collection or even before it.

5.7.3 Building rapport with the families and negotiating researcher positionality

As was mentioned in Section 5.2.2, I introduced myself to the participants as a single parent and told them in a nutshell about my reasons for moving to Finland, first for my Master's degree and later to pursue a PhD. I also told them that I was born and raised in a mid-sized central city of a region that is geographically located in the European part of Russia. My migration trajectory was hardly the same as my participants'. I was privileged enough to have an opportunity to move to a Nordic country to pursue a higher education degree and later start an academic career. None of the participants had enjoyed such a privilege, however. Some of them moved to Finland as returnees (Katerina and Evgenia), while others to study in a college (Anna, Maria, Irina) or were originally from other EU countries and followed another family member who found employment in Finland (Julia). Therefore, similarly to Canagarajah (2008), my status as an insider is only relative and partial, though it allowed me to adopt and negotiate a dual position in relation to the families. In other words it enabled access to partially shared experiences and at the same time maintained distance from the participants. My first encounters with Maria and Anna provide a telling description of, on the one hand, my own biases when I started this project and on the other hand illustrated how power relations were also shifting during my encounters with the families.

I met Maria in a public school lobby when my son went to his first HL class. There were many parents, and some started talking with each other while the children were playing in the corridor. After a fairly short conversation with Maria when she told me about herself, I introduced myself and at some point, mentioned that I was doing a PhD about language use in single-parent families. At that time, I had not yet started recruiting participants and Maria was the first person, besides my colleagues, to whom I mentioned my research. Somehow, when I was talking to her it did not cross my mind that she might be raising her son as a single parent. This first encounter, starting from my assumptions which I carried when we started our conversation until Maria showed her interest in my project, struck me with the realization that I tended to see the world and, therefore, people whom I encounter through a normative lens—in this case

assuming that there should be a father waiting for her and Oscar at home, or, rather, not even questioning that that may not be the case. This brief vignette points at how an inquirer may also fall for the normativity and see the world through the lens that might be limiting, akin to Bourdieu and Waquant's (1992) account on radical doubt where they put forth the idea that "the preconstructed is everywhere" (p. 235) when discussing an inquirer as a product of the social world.

In contrast to my encounter with Maria, my first meeting with Anna was at her home after she responded to the call for participants that had been disseminated on social media (see Section 5.1). She kindly invited me to visit her and her daughter in the evening on one of the weekdays after Anna picked Sofia up from kindergarten. We had a rather long discussion during the interview about child bilingualism and Anna's attempts to support Sofia in developing bilingual literacy. After I stopped the recording Anna gave me plenty of advice on the places that my son and I could visit together and the activities in the city which might be of interest to the two of us, as she has been residing in Finland for much longer and knew the city much better than I did at the time. This episode, in turn, exemplifies how the power relations were shifting, and how Anna assumed the position of an expert by providing me with her guidance.

Above I focused on my positionality in relation to the mothers with whom I was in contact the most. It is crucial however to recognize and discuss my encounters with the children. Since two families, *Maria* and Oscar and *Anna* and Sofia participated in the second stage of the project, I had a chance to visit their homes and meet the children. As mentioned in Section 5.7.3, I met *Maria* and Oscar in school where Oscar and my son were taking their Russian heritage class. As the boys became friends, Oscar knew me as his friend's mother. Though when I visited *Maria's* and Oscar's home, I explained to Oscar that I was working at a university as a researcher and was interested in how families use their languages in their daily lives.

As mentioned earlier, my encounter and the process of building rapport with *Anna* and Sofia was somewhat different from the one with *Maria* and Oscar. I visited their family for the first time when we agreed to meet for the interview with *Anna* in their home. It was also the first time I met Sofia, and I told her that I was a researcher at a university interested in how families use languages. After this first meeting, *Anna* was eager to proceed with the project and agreed to record their family interactions. While the project was ongoing, *Anna* asked me to babysit Sofia several times and she (*Anna*) sometimes referred to me as "auntie Polina/тётя Полина[25]", a term I tried to deter her from by saying to *Anna* that she could refer to me by my name. This practice, however, tended to endure and might have influenced how Sofia saw me. This illustrates that over time I built

[25] Note, however, that 'тётя' in Russian, while being translated directly to English as 'auntie', can also be used in a situation when a child needs to address something to a stranger. It therefore has a double connotation — a kinterm on the one hand and an estrangement term on the other. In the context of my meetings with *Anna* and Sofia, I think this address was taking a kin-related connotation, as by the time it was used, I knew both *Anna* and Sofia quite well.

relationships with the family that go beyond the researcher-participant dichotomy and might have influenced how the rapport with the families was built.

The two cases illustrate that for the children I also took on another role in addition to the role of the researcher. On one hand it facilitated rapport building but on the other posed some challenges. For example my position as a researcher might have been overshadowed by a role as a friend's mother or an auntie, as *Anna* referred to me in the presence of Sofia. Whenever I met with the families and visited their homes, I tried to emphasize my position as a researcher, for example by asking how the recordings were proceeding and whether any of my guidance or help was needed. I also asked if the mothers noticed something interesting in their children's language use.

5.7.4 Questions of knowledge construction

Practices of reflexivity which imply researchers' reflections on certain identity markers and contextual factors as salient in shaping the research process have been an indispensable part of qualitative inquiry (Pérez-Milans, 2017; Rabbidge, 2017). Some scholars argued however that such practices are narcissistic, self-indulgent, and unproductive (see e.g., Maton, 2003; Sweet, 2020 for a detailed discussion on reflexivity). In the previous sections, I reflected on how my relationships with the families were evolving (Section 5.7.3) and on how these relationships, identities, and positionalities, in turn, emerged in my interactions with the mothers (Section 5.2.2). In this section, I would like to discuss how the reflections on positionality are confluent with the discussions concerning epistemological underpinnings in a broader sense.

Pillow (2003), building on the work by Lather (1993) and Patai (1994) among others, brings in a notion of *reflexivity of discomfort* which emphasizes the power negotiation and meaning construction between the researcher and participant and at the same time acknowledges and challenges "reflexivity's complicit relationship with ethnocentric power and knowledge in qualitative research." (Pillow 2003). By taking this stance, Pillow (2003) invites critical consideration of the need for representation on one hand and the problematic side of such representation (p. 192). This approach reverberates in the present work which brings to the forefront experiences at the intersection of family language policy and single-parenting and at the same time obscures the complexities of multilingualisms and identities, subordinating them to an identity of a Russian speaker (see Section 3.3., 5.7.2, 5.7.3). This in turn has implications for "the question as to whose perspectives shape interpretation and analysis" (Canagarajah, 2002, 244) and therefore entangles with the questions of knowledge construction.

Canagarajah (2002) discussed how the advancement of enlightenment rendered knowledge produced by the colonized communities irrelevant. Taking the argument further, however, Canagarajah (2002) suggests approaching local

knowledge not as a *product* of the past but as a *process*[26] . Approaching it as a process implies accounting for the role that dominant discourses play in "an ongoing construction of relevant knowledge in the context of our history and social practice" (p. 251) and, therefore, one needs to be transparent about the *angle* from which the knowledge is shaped. It is necessary to open up the angle from which the present study is carried out and especially to take into account the Russian colonial imprint (e.g., Pavlenko, 2008; Zhou, 2017; Anderson, 2017).

This can be achieved by engaging with the work of feminist decolonial thinkers. For example Tlostanova (2012) suggests disturbing thinking in dichotomies such as the West/East and North/West divides in postcolonial theory by introducing the so-called "second world", which "immediately complicate(s) and disrupt(s) the binarism through a strange and disturbing agent which acts simultaneously as the colonizer and the colonized" (Tlostanova, 2012, 131), highlighting a peripheral position in the Western epistemological tradition, while at the same time pointing to the cultural, linguistic and intellectual domination over minoritized people. This view resonates with the present work, as it responds to the invitation for studies by scholars who are members of the families underrepresented in the FLP scholarship (Higgins & Wright, 2022) which feeds into the Western-centric epistemologies and at the same time exposes the complexity of power negotiation over knowledge production, where certain identities are taking the front row while others are subordinated.

I believe that this process is entangled with my position as a single parent, Russian speaker and researcher who makes most of the decisions during data analysis and the dissemination of the findings. This in turn, addresses the need for the representation of the experiences of single-parent families in FLP scholarship, and at the same time points to the imbalance in knowledge construction, which to a great degree lies with the colonizer in the context of the present study, as many of the participants were L1 speakers of languages minoritized in Russia (i.e., Mari and Ossetian) or had a strong connection to their Ingrian-Finnish or Finnish identity (i.e., Katerina, Evgenia).

[26] Italics as in the original paper.

CHANGING THE NEXUS

6 SUMMARY OF THE ARTICLES

In this section, I start discussing the *change* that this work brings to nexus FLP and single parenting. Sections 6.1, 6.2, and 6.3 present detailed summaries of the three articles and Section 7 takes a further step by presenting a synthesis of the findings.

6.1 Article 1: Hesitant versus confident family language policy: a case of two single-parent families in Finland

Article I focuses on family language policy (FLP) in two single-parent families who strive to support Russian as a family language. The study takes a nexus analytical approach and focuses on examining family interactions while also aiming to reach an emic perspective on the interactional routines in the families. The aim of this study is two-fold. First, it scrutinizes family interactions in a previously under-researched context: while there is a growing number of studies about Russian speakers in Finland (e.g., Minkov et al., 2019; Protassova, 2018; Viimaranta et al., 2018), little is known about family interactions in this linguistic community. Secondly, Article I addresses the call for an examination of how public discourses shape multilingual lives in light of a more flexible view of family that goes beyond the confinements of home and blood ties. This study also accounts for the entanglements of the sociopolitical reality that Russian speakers navigate in Finland and explores how it is manifested through family language policies in the two families.

The two focal families in this study were (1) *Anna* and Sofia, and (2) *Maria* and Oscar. The data collection was driven by the methodological procedures of nexus analysis (NA) and therefore started from engaging the nexus, which included my first encounters with the mothers, semi-structured interviews, and video-recorded family interactions. This step was followed by navigating the nexus stage where interview analysis and interactional discourse analysis were implemented. One of the study's aspirations was to engage the families as

collaborators, so they themselves chose what routines to record and share with me. Recordings included such routines as playing with children, reading to them, and doing homework. The study focused however on the recordings where the mothers were playing with their children. Changing the nexus step is represented by the stimulated recall interviews (SRIs). These interviews were not originally planned when the study started but emerged as necessary during the interactional discourse analysis. SRIs were aimed at clarifying certain language practices and understanding what meanings the mothers attached to these practices.

Following the analytical premise of NA, in Article 1, I take the mother-child play as a unit of analysis identified as a social action. The action (i.e., mother-child play) emerges at the intersection of interactional norms or interaction order (examined with the help of interactional discourse analysis (Gumperz, 2015)); mother's migration trajectories and experiences as language learners and speakers or historical bodies; individual and institutional language ideologies, as well as material artefacts that circulated through the social action, i.e. discourse in place. Discourse in place is therefore conceptualized on conceptual and material levels.

Analysis of the family interactions suggests that the mothers deploy several discourse strategies that serve different purposes. In the family of *Anna* and Sofia, the mother (*Anna*) implemented such strategies as (1) vocabulary elicitation aimed at the Finnish language, (2) say-X strategy that was accomplished only in Russian, and (3) insertions (single-word from Finnish to Russian and multiword from English to Russian). Each of these strategies served different goals (see Table 4). For example the vocabulary elicitation strategy created language-learning moments during playtime and illustrated the family's partially shared linguistic repertoire. The say-X strategy aimed at correcting pronunciation, articulation, or stress in some words and at the same time was used to exemplify situationally appropriate phrases. Insertions in turn demonstrated the family linguistic repertoire enregistered by the family members over time.

TABLE 4 Discourse strategies and language practices identified in the video-recorded interactions

Language practices	Rendition
Vocabulary elicitation strategy	The mother queries the word in language X
Say-X strategy	The mother explicitly asks for the correct form (either pragmatically correct or asks for the correct pronunciation/articulation/stress of the words)
Single-word insertions (Finnish to Russian)	The mother and/or the child insert Finnish words into their Russian speech
Multiword insertion (English to Russian)	The mother initiates a dialogue which is supported by the child
Cross-linguistic and intra-linguistic meaning negotiation	The mother and/or the child use their linguistic repertoire to come to an agreement over the meaning of a word

The analysis of the recordings carried out by *Maria* and Oscar showed that they used insertions from Finnish into Russian and negotiated meaning in the interactions, both intra-linguistically and cross-linguistically. While insertions exemplify language learning episodes, meaning negotiation is flexibly used by both *Maria* and Oscar, and during these instances of meaning negotiation Oscar may interactionally align with the established FLP or refuse to do so.

Nexus analysis reveals two contrasting FLPs in the two families. In the family of *Anna* and Sofia FLP emerges as more hesitant, as discourse in place in Anna's family is represented by contrasting language ideologies. On one hand, Russian is seen as inherently valuable but on the other Finnish is claiming its importance as Sofia (the daughter) becomes older and approaches school age. At the same time *Anna's* case shows how language ideologies from the outside may conflict with the parents' language ideologies (e.g., healthcare professional vs. mother's language ideologies). But FLP in the family of *Maria* and Oscar is explicit, definite and is rooted in *Maria's* historical body that encompassed her experience of raising her older children in a wedlock and not being able to support their bilingualism.

The findings reveal that despite the families' contrasting trajectories and experiences (e.g., in *Anna* and Sofia's family the non-residential father played a role in shaping their language practices while in the family of *Maria* and Oscar *Maria's* previous experience of raising her children bilingually served as an impetus to her explicit FLP with Oscar), they both created space for linguistic repertoires in their families. The findings also demonstrate that explicit or planned decisions about the family language rooted either in the mothers' historical bodies or discourses in place co-exist with ad-hoc practices which serve the immediate need to negotiate meaning or engage in a family routine.

6.2 Article 2: Families in flux: at the nexus of fluid family configurations and language practices

Article II takes a diachronic view of family and traces how dynamic changes in family configurations and family bonds shaped language practices in four families. Specifically, this study examines how shifts in family configurations, the formation of voluntary kinships and non-residential family members shape language practices in families. This goal was partly formulated due to the lack of studies in the field of FLP of dynamic changes in family constellations and relationships between the individuals involved in the family making. Though all the women that participated in this study identified as single parents, the study itself does not focus solely on single parenting and FLP but rather traces its dynamic facet.

In this article I analyzed four interviews by applying nexus analysis (see Table 2). Participants in this sub-study are all Russian-speaking, and all but one

(Maria) speak Russian as their L1. Three out of four interviewees are from Russia, and Julia is originally from Estonia.

Theoretically the study draws on the threefold model of language policy which comprises language beliefs or ideologies, language practices, and language management or planning (Spolsky, 2004). While the study draws on that theoretical framework, it particularly focuses on language practices, namely how these practices are informed by changes in family constellations. Although in this article I did not draw on nexus analysis methodologically (i.e., it did not follow the three-step methodological procedure of engaging, navigating, and changing the nexus), I did take social action as a unit of analysis. Social action in this article was identified as "the shifts in family configurations, that took place in the lives of the mothers who had created voluntary kinships, raised their children as single parents, married, and maintained family relations with non-residential family members." (Vorobeva, 2021, 5). In this article I also took into account in my analysis the role of the time scale in the social action — some changes in family configurations were more durable than others (e.g., Maria and Julia getting divorced and Anna having the non-residential father of her daughter visiting them once or twice a week).

The findings revealed that creating new bonds such as voluntary kinship and marriage may shift the language practices of some family members, as happened in the case of Katerina when the grandmother adjusted her language practices to Katerina's husband. Furthermore, frequent and repeated social actions (i.e., the non-residential father's visits in Anna's case) were connected with the changes in family language practices, as the father brought in his L1, German, and used some Russian when taking care of his daughter, which in turn served as support for Russian as a family language. Peripheral family members may indeed play an important role in FLP negotiation, as was also illustrated by Julia's case, where not only her ex-husband but also his wife played a role in shaping Julia's FLP (the ex-husband being in support of Finnish while his wife advocated support for Russian). In turn, in the case of Maria her explicit decision to speak Russian with her son was rooted in her historical body, as she couldn't enact a pro-Russian FLP while she was raising her older children in wedlock. In conclusion, the study shows the complexity of social actors involved in FLP (re)negotiation and demonstrates that single mothers tend to maintain their children's bilingualism when they are the sole decision-makers.

6.3 Article 3: Navigating family tensions and discursive contradictions related to heritage language learning in family and school

Article III focuses on one of the three elements of language policy. It concentrates on the heritage language class as a language management tool that assists or prevents heritage language (HL) transmission. Similarly as in the previous two studies, nexus analysis (NA) is applied as an analytical lens where social action is a unit of analysis. The study examines two interviews with the single mothers, Julia and Irina (see Table 2), and the guidelines for HL instruction by the Finnish National Agency for Education (EDUFI, 2016). The guidelines serve as a data source that represents educational discourse. The article draws on the position of HL in Finland and highlights its status as voluntary, organized outside of regular school hours, and requiring a certain minimum number of enrolled pupils.

Russian is currently the most taught HL in Finland and significantly exceeds the second most taught HL, Arabic, in the number of enrolled pupils. The reason for this could be two-fold. First, Russian speakers comprise the most numerous linguistic minority with a language that does not have an official status in Finland. Secondly, it might be explained by the fact that Russian speakers in Finland invest in family language maintenance and development, as some studies indicate (Protassova, 2019; Viimaranta et al., 2018).

Theoretically, the study is informed by the language policy framework which includes three components: language beliefs or ideologies, language practices, and language planning or management (Spolsky, 2004). It specifically examines HL class as a language management tool and therefore the study's foci lie in the scope of explicit language management. In other words it concentrates on the intentional effort by the parents to orient towards supporting a certain FLP, in this case to support Russian language development. Language management or planning in this study is understood as any effort to modify language practices (Spolsky, 2004), and in this article language management is approached as a deliberate effort by the parents to implement a pro-minority-language FLP. To be more specific, the study zooms into the tensions and contradictions that emerge at the nexus of FLP and education policy.

Nexus analysis is applied to make visible the tensions and contradictions that emerge at the intersection of HL learning, education, and the family. The decisions that parent(s) make concerning their children's Russian HL learning are identified as a social action which emerges at the intersection of three discourse cycles of NA, namely historical body, interaction order, and discourses in place. The discourse cycle of the historical body encompasses the mothers' education, occupation, migration trajectories, language beliefs and linguistic repertoires, and their experiences of the changing family configurations (e.g., a divorce with their husbands). Interaction order implies social actors who shape the action (i.e., decisions that parents make about their children's Russian HL learning), while discourses in place are analyzed in conceptual and material

contexts. The conceptual context includes (language) ideologies, beliefs, and expectations at the national and societal level. In turn, the material context is represented by HL learning guidelines in the Finnish National Agency for Education (EDUFI, 2016), teaching materials, and legal documents.

The nexus analysis of the decisions that parents make in relation to Russian HL learning exposes the inter-family tensions between the mother (Julia) and the son (Alexander) as well as the discursive contradictions between the investment in Russian HL learning and its potential outcome. The inter-family tensions occurred along the modality of HL homework as *Julia's* son, Alexander, did not want to comply with the homework that required him to do assignments in copybooks. Further tensions emerged in the implementation of the language choice, as the assignments had to be completed in Russian cursive and Alexander would have preferred Finnish block letters. The discursive contradiction emerged at the nexus of the teacher's expectations that the child would do homework every day during the week, the mother's alignment with these expectations, Alexander's resistance toward it, and the outcome of HL learning that is not reflected in the certificate of basic education. The tensions that arise along the interaction order axis are therefore shown. Furthermore in the interview Julia explicitly aligned with the dominant discourse of parallel monolingualism (Palviainen & Mård-Miettinen, 2015), as she supported a suggestion to speak only a minority language at home. This in turn contradicts the discourse that celebrates and promotes multilingualism in the Finnish National Core Curriculum for Basic Education (EDUFI, 2016).

Analysis of the tensions and contradiction in relation to Russian HL learning in Irina's family produced a complex picture with legal discourse emerging as a potential gatekeeper to HL learning. The status of the HL class as non-compulsory, Irina's and her ex-husband's polarized views on the importance of HL learning, and the court's decision about custody arrangements that stated a certain time when the child, Aleksi, needed to be home, played out in a conflict because the HL class was taking place on Friday evening when according to the court's decision the father was required to meet Aleksi after school. As the school time was prolonged by the non-compulsory HL class, the father compensated for this time by returning Aleksi to the mother's home on the weekend an hour later than required, which in turn led to conflict in the family. Trying to resolve this conflict Irina turned to the school and asked to include the HL class in the school schedule, but she is very uncertain about a positive decision. Nexus analysis in this case reveals the interplay between Irina's historical body, which is full of uncertainty about the school's positive decision, interaction order represented by Irina, her ex-husband, the school and the court, and the discourses in place which circulate through the action (e.g., the non-compulsory status of the HL class and the court's decision on custody arrangements).

In conclusion the findings demonstrate that in these two families the status of the HL class serves as grounds for family tensions in Irina's case and discursive contradictions in Julia's. Furthermore, the legal discourse represented by the

court's decisions on custody arrangement plays a salient and potentially decisive role in whether the child participates in the Russian HL class when the family configuration is changing. The findings show that such aspects as parents', teachers' and children's investment are salient for HL transmission as well as societal ideologies and educational policies which may influence the child's participation in HL learning. Additionally the family being in flux and taking different shapes appears to be important when it comes to HL learning.

7 FINDINGS AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE DISSERTATION

In this section, I present the synthesis of the findings by situating them in the existing scholarship on FLP. I discuss in detail the contribution that this dissertation brings to the field from empirical, theoretical, and methodological perspectives. I also provide practical suggestions for the professionals working in (language) education policy and child bilingualism, and finally I reflect on the *change* that this work introduces to the nexus of FLP and single parenting.

7.1 Main findings

This dissertation examined family language policy in single-parent, Russian-speaking families who raise their children bilingually while creating new kinships and navigating complex and sometimes even contradictory sociopolitical and educational realities in Finland. It contributes to the accumulating scholarship that focuses on various facets of the intersection between family multilingualism and single parenting.

More specifically, answering RQ 1 How is language negotiated in single-parent Russian-speaking families while they navigate sociopolitical and educational realities in Finland, this dissertation provides a snapshot of everyday family interactions by looking at situated language practices and identifying discourse strategies that were used by the mothers (see Table 4 and Article I). The findings demonstrate that the families tend to adhere to Russian (a minority language) as their primary or matrix language, aligns with the previous findings by De Houwer (2007) who found out that the proportion of children who spoke only the societal or majority language was lower in single-parent families compared to partnered families.

It is noteworthy however that in the present study the mothers still purposefully or unintentionally created interactional spaces for deploying linguistic repertoires in the interactions with their children, as Article I

demonstrates. The findings show that it may serve different goals and stem from different presuppositions. First, it socializes the child into linguistic and pragmatic norms of the minority language through the use of the language (Russian in this context) (as in the case of *Anna* and Sofia). Secondly, some strategies deployed by the mothers (e.g., say-X) are explicitly entangled with their lived experiences and partially shared linguistic repertoires of the family members which are in turn embedded in the contradictory sociopolitical and educational realities in Finland (i.e., the stigma around the Russian speakers and at the same time significant support for Russian as an HL). On one hand families nurture Russian as a language of emotions and bonding but on the other they either aspire for the support of Finnish (*Anna* and Sofia) or point out that Finnish is becoming stronger as the child proceeds in primary education (*Maria* and Oscar).

In some cases (e.g., *Maria* and Oscar; *Irina* and Aleksi) the use of Russian as a primary language was indeed a deliberate and conscious decision (cf. Navarro & Macalister, 2016). In other cases (*Anna* and Sofia; *Julia* and Alexander) there is clear evidence of the OPOLON (Lomeu Gomes, 2022) (i.e., one-person-one-nation-one-language ideology — a juncture of language and nation) being at play, where either the healthcare providers recommend a minority language (Russian) is spoken at home (*Anna* and Sofia, discussed in Article I) or the mother refers to OPOL as an effective strategy for raising multilingual children (*Julia* and Alexander; discussed in Article III). In both cases, OPOL is tied to the mothers' Russian ethnicity and/or their L1. I should clarify that in the first example, a recommendation concerning the use of Russian at home has no explicit reference to OPOL, as opposed to the other example from *Julia* and Alexander. However, it results in such a recommendation as OPOL in the context of a single-parent family, which may incentivise a monolingual home.

Similarly to Curdt-Christiansen (2009), some parents in this study (e.g., *Anna* and Sofia; *Julia* and Alexander; *Irina* and Aleksi) tended to root their FLP decisions in educational realities, which at times led them to search for the intricate balance between developing Russian while assuring that the majority language, Finnish, is still being accounted for. Furthermore, language practices in the families appear to be in flux and changing not only due to the mothers' adjustment to pursue educational goals for their children (e.g., *Anna* and Sofia) but also as they create new kinships, renegotiate existing kinships, and go through changes in their family forms, as Article II shows. These shifts in language practices demonstrate the dynamic dimension of family language practices in interaction with the changes in kinship ties — a facet of FLP that has not been given due attention before.

Answering RQ 2 How do single-parenting and fluid family configurations inform FLPs in the families, this dissertation brings to the forefront the fluid nature in single-parent families of kinship ties which served as a source either to expand on the use of a minority language (Russian), establish a pro-minority-language FLP or expand the family linguistic repertoire, as Article II shows. Many mothers (Anna, Julia, Irina, Maria) pointed out the importance of HL

classes as a management tool to support their children's Russian language development. However, as findings in Article III demonstrate, enrollment in HL class may come with its caveats when it is intertwined with the status of the HL class in the Finnish education system and the parents' debates over custody arrangements. Therefore, while HL classes do indeed provide families with indispensable support for language maintenance and development, they are located at the intersection of contradictory discourses related to parental investment in and beliefs about HL learning, teacher's expectations, and formal educational outcome (i.e., attending the classes and doing homework vs. the hours put into HL learning not being reflected in the certificate of basic education). In the context of a divorced family that is going through a legal dispute over custody arrangements, the optional status of the HL class serves as grounds for the legal body (i.e., the court) to take the upper hand in deciding on the child's participation in it.

Finally, while the title of this dissertation says that it examines the nexus of FLP and single-parenting, the sub-studies demonstrate that single-parenting does not equate to lone parenting, nor does it imply that it is the only family form that the children are raised in. Rather, this work shows that single-parenting may be a salient part of the family identity, as when I initially started this project, I was looking for single-parent families, as was explicitly mentioned in the call for participants (see Table 1). In practice the mothers talked in detail about the kinships that they were creating over the course of their lives and how these kinships were intertwined with their family language practices.

7.2 Contributions and implications

This dissertation brings several empirical, theoretical, and methodological implications to Family Language Policy scholarship and provides practical suggestions for professionals working in the fields of (language) education policy and child bilingualism. Section 7.2.1 provides a detailed overview of the theoretical and methodological implications that the present study brings to the field of FLP. In Section 7.2.2. I bring forward practical suggestions for more inclusive and thorough support of bilingual families.

7.2.1 Implications for Family Language Policy

From a theoretical point of view, this study demonstrated how the combination of nexus analysis and LP framework opens possibilities for bringing the lived experiences of the individuals into the analysis of FLP while still taking into account the three interconnected aspects, namely language beliefs or ideologies, language practices and language planning or management (Spolsky, 2004). Despite the critique towards the tripartite LP framework discussed in Section 3.1.2., which renders this approach insufficient to capture the complexities of FLP while taking into account the individual's lived experiences, this study

demonstrated that with some additional considerations (see Section 3.3) this approach may serve as a guiding model for tapping into explicit and implicit decisions concerning the family language negotiation (King et al., 2008 Curdt-Christiansen, 2009).

Specifically, NA has the potential to shed light on the intricate connections between family language practices on a micro level and the societal discourses that largely shape these practices. Spolsky's framework, in turn, allows for close consideration of parental language beliefs and management decisions which play a significant role in forging FLP, and which are inevitably blended in the social structures. Furthermore, while the threefold model may indeed be insufficient on its own, elaborating on some of its conceptualisations and applying it together with a nexus analytical lens is a promising approach that grounds the analysis in a specific *social action* and at the same time takes into account the individual's life trajectories and societal and structural dispositions.

NA is also useful for explicating the links between implicit factors such as societal language ideologies that surface in family language practices and which might have been overlooked with other approaches (see however, Lomeu Gomes, 2022 for a discussion on the explicit and implicit in FLP). Approaching nexus as nested in this dissertation helped open up even more discourses that remained submerged in the sub-studies (Article I, II, and III). For example by examining in more detail the position of Russian and its speakers in Finland and how lived experiences of the mothers are intertwined with the sociopolitical context, and in some cases with FLP.

Furthermore, as this study shows, the conceptualisations of language as a bounded entity are as important as a translingual lens. While one can help to answer the question of how to support a certain language, the other can shed light on how multilingual family ties are forged in the interactions. Bridging these two seemingly polarized views on (family) language will help deepen our understanding of how certain minority languages can be nourished under sociolinguistic and socioeconomic circumstances. It will also help to unravel a more nuanced picture, where family language repertoires and translingual practices serve for creating affective and meaningful kinship ties, which in turn may nourish language development and serve as a foundation for the multilingual family well-being (e.g., De Houwer, 2020).

Another significant consideration concerns the conceptualisation of family (see also Wright, 2020; Hiratsuka & Pennycook, 2020). This dissertation, besides bringing into view experiences of single-parent families, also highlights family as dynamic and in flux, where individuals forge new kinships, renegotiate established ones, create new blood ties (e.g., by giving birth), and build or disrupt legal ties (e.g., by getting married or divorcing). These dynamic changes in family lives are entangled with families' multilingual language practices. As findings illustrate, approaching family from the perspective of evolving and fluid kinship ties opens new possibilities for our understanding of language practices and FLP in general (see also Palviainen, 2020a).

This study illustrates that the mothers, despite the obstacles, find ways to support their children's bilingualism, and some of the mothers explicitly connect the very fact of becoming single parents with more opportunities to support their children's bilingualism. The quotation in the title of this dissertation "When he was born, I decided to give him an opportunity to speak Russian" belongs to *Maria* who first recalled how her older children, who were raised in a nuclear family, refused to speak Russian, and after the divorce, when Maria's younger son, Oscar, was born, she decided to support his bilingualism as a single mom and did so successfully. In a similar way Irina's story, in detail discussed in Vorobeva and Leontjev (2023), demonstrates that to continue maintaining Russian for her children Irina's "only choice was to leave" her husband. These findings point to the potentially oppressive workings at the intersection of a nuclear family and bilingualism and necessitate approaching the concept of family through a feminist lens. This implies sensitivity to our own preconceptions about family more generally and how it informs the recruitment of participants and the research goals. This in turn feeds into the bigger picture of what we know about bilingual upbringing, which is largely based on the studies conducted with nuclear families.

7.2.2 Suggestions for the support of bilingual families

From a practical point of view, this dissertation points at OPOL, which circulates through the family and society as a dominating ideology concerning successful bilingual childrearing. It points to the delusional assumption that there is a one-size-fits-all approach to raising children bilingually. OPOL has been discussed in the earlier literature on family multilingualism as elitist and often connected to middle class nuclear families (see e.g., Lomeu Gomes, 2018). This again points to the fact that most of the advice to bilingual parents is still provided through a normative lens of a nuclear family. For that reason, I suggest that more awareness is needed about diversity of families and bilingualisms.

Finnish education to a great extent embraces bilingualism by introducing foreign language teaching in schools and providing HL instruction, as Section 4 demonstrates. However, it could be beneficial if professionals who work with bilingual families that seek advice concerning their children's bilingual development take into account the family form, and overall orient towards an individual approach and "more caring support for the families, which implies taking into consideration the histories of all family members" as we put it in Vorobeva and Leontjev (2023).

The findings underline the salience of HL classes in the endeavor to foster children's Russian language development. However, as Article III demonstrates, the elective status of HL class relates to certain discursive tensions (i.e., inconsistency between parent's and child's investment and outcome) and even serves as a cornerstone for family tensions where in the context of an ongoing legal debate the court has an upper hand in deciding whether the child attends HL class or not.

First, these results reiterate the previous findings about HL classes in Finland and their importance for linguistic minority communities (e.g., Protassova, 2019; Sun, 2023). Secondly, they highlight the importance of these classes for family well-being, in the context where HL classes are constantly under pressure from budget cuts (see Viimaranta et al., 2018). I believe that these findings may guide decision-makers during budget drafting to reconsider their stance toward HL education. These suggestions are by no means an ultimate solution, considering the workload of healthcare professionals, teachers, policymakers, and other stakeholders. I do believe however that with due determination, established practices can be revised and altered to better meet the needs of the families.

Finally, avoiding assumptions about whose responsibility it is to raise a child bilingually, and listening to the individuals bonded into a family — to their aspirations, needs, and desires — will have a positive impact on the well-being of bilingual families, regardless of family type, gender, sexual identities and religious, ethnic, or national affiliations of the family members[27]. This, however, does not mean that some identities can be overlooked. On the contrary, such a stance precisely takes an individual for who they are first, whereas prominent identities and affiliations are invoked by the individuals themselves, not the institutions.

7.3 Limitations and suggestions for future research

One of the limitations of this study concerns its non-longitudinal nature, meaning that it grasped only snapshots of family interactions. While, indeed, the methodological approach applied here allowed a diachronic perspective on the changes in family composition and FLP to be adopted, I suggest that engaging in longer-term ethnographically oriented studies and focusing on the changes in kinship ties along with the transformations of the FLP may provide a more nuanced understanding of how exactly these changes are played out in family interactions.

Adjusting the analytical lens to the family, or even on to the individuals who comprise a family (Vorobeva & Leontjev, 2023) and engaging with approaches from linguistic anthropology can shed more light on the kinds of kinships that are created in family interactions and at the same time see how these kinships feed into FLP. Additionally, I believe that grasping children's and young adults' perspectives on how they experience changes in family ties in the context of multilingual families may also provide valuable insight.

Returning to the very first introduction of family language policy not solely as a research field but also as an area for activism (Luykx, 2003), I find it important to draw the attention of policymakers, education providers, and

[27] This resonates with the idea of a *feminist ear* introduced by Sara Ahmed (2021), who calls us to be aware of what is not heard and who is not heard.

language enthusiasts not *only* to the language spoken in the family and its status in the host society but also to the family *and* language, where the family may take multiple forms, for example adoptive, single-parent, LGBTQ+ identified, child-headed, and neurodiverse families, with language practices that may also be various (e.g., translanguaging, mixing language modalities with spoken and sign language). Disseminating the findings and collaborating with the public sector may help to bring more awareness about family bilingualism, which has implications for home and school collaboration concerning a child's language development (see e.g., Palviainen, Vorobeva & Sopanen, 2023).

This study primarily focuses on the mothers who are the main caretakers of their children, and who are also deeply involved in their children's bilingual language development. While attending to the experiences of single mothers brings new insights for the FLP field, I now suggest that looking at the fathers' role in language maintenance and development, which remains underexplored (see, however, Romanowski, 2022; Kim & Starks, 2010), is of equal importance, as it may bring to light yet other possibilities for child language maintenance and development.

Turning back to the notion of *change* introduced earlier (see Sections 1.3. and 3.2) I would like to take a more critical stance towards what this work contributes not only to the existing scholarship but also to society on a more general level. As was discussed above, following the activist stance of NA, any inquiry starts from the analysts' interest to initiate and participate in a social change (Scollon & Scollon, 2004). This dissertation brings to the forefront the experience of single mothers and offers contributions to the FLP field, and at the same time feeds into the dominant discourse of mothers as the primary caretakers who take on the emotional load of taking care of their children and invest in the child's bilingual development (e.g., Okita, 2002). This means that this work brings in a change to the current scholarship on FLP and at the same time perpetuates a stereotype that it is the mothers' responsibility to raise bilingual children.

Finally, despite the complex life trajectories (Mimosa, Julia, Maria, Irina) and obstacles on the way in some cases, all of the mothers who participated in this study are nourishing their children's minority language and bilingual language development by adhering to the language policy of their choice, thereby taking a position of power akin to the one mentioned by Kati in Palviainen (2022) (see also Section 2.1). Bringing this empowering stance to the forefront is of most importance considering the largely stigmatized position of single-parent families in general (e.g., Kroese et al., 2022; Chant, 2009) and Russian-speaking women in Finland in particular (Krivonos, 2019). Examining the economic and educational difficulties, that single mothers or children raised in single-parent families face is of importance to assist in solving these problems. But it may come with its downsides if not approached with care. Focusing *only* on the negative sides may prompt internalization of stigma (e.g., Herek, 2009), in other words, acceptance of a deficient societal position, which will not facilitate solving the above-mentioned problems but may, on the contrary, exacerbate them.

YHTEENVETO (SUMMARY IN FINNISH)

Tässä tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan perheen kielipolitiikkaa (Family Language Policy, FLP) kahdeksassa yksinhuoltajaperheessä, jotka kasvattavat kaksikielisiä lapsiaan Suomessa ja puhuvat venäjää yhtenä perheen kielistä. Perheen kielipolitiikka tutkimusalana on kiinnostunut kysymyksistä, kuten miksi jotkut vanhemmat jatkavat tietyn kielen puhumista lastensa kanssa ja toiset eivät? Miten vanhemmat tukevat lastensa kaksikielisyyttä? Mitä he tarkalleen ottaen tekevät tukeakseen sitä, ja mikä on yhteiskuntapoliittisen kontekstin rooli tässä prosessissa?

Vaikka perheen kielipoliitikan tutkimus on viime vuosina monipuolistunut ja käsittää erilaisia perhemuotoja, konteksteja ja kieliä, vain harvat tutkimukset ovat tietoisesti keskittyneet perheen kielipolitiikan ja yksinhuoltajuuden solmukohtiin. Keskittyminen tähän solmukohtaan on tärkeää kahdesta syystä. Ensinnäkin yksinhuoltajaperheistä luodaan usein vääristynyt kuva luonnehtimalla heidän elämäänsä ikään kuin puutteellisena. Perheet esitetään köyhyyden rajalla eläviksi (Chant, 2009), ja tutkimuksissa keskitytään yksinhuoltajien kasvattamien lasten alttiuteen sekaantua rikollisuuteen (Kroese ym., 2022) tai alisuoriutua koulussa (Frisco ym., 2007). Tässä väitöskirjassa tarjoan toisenlaisen näkökulman tarkastelemalla yksinhuoltajien kokemuksia kaksikielisestä vanhemmuudesta heidän omasta perspektiivistään, mikä auttaa luomaan monitahoisemman ja vivahteikkaamman kuvan yksinhuoltajaperheiden kaksikielisyyskasvatuksesta. Toiseksi perheen kielipolitiikan tutkiminen yksinhuoltajaperheissä on tärkeää käytännön näkökulmasta, sillä lasten ja perheiden kaksikielisyyden ja koulutuspolitiikan parissa työskentelevät ammattilaiset perustavat käytänteensä tutkimukseen. Tähän asti tällaista tutkimusta on tehty enimmäkseen ydinperheistä, jotka koostuvat äidistä, isästä ja lapsesta tai lapsista.

Tässä väitöskirjassa käytän neksusanalyysia ja kolmijakoon perustuvaa kielipolitiikan mallia tutkiakseni, miten Suomessa asuvat venäjänkieliset perheet neuvottelevat kielistä monimutkaisten yhteiskuntapoliittisten ja koulutuksellisten realiteettien taustaa vasten ja miten yksinhuoltajuus ja muuttuvat perhemuodot vaikuttavat perheen kielipolitiikkaan. Kielipolitiikan kolmijakomalli kattaa kieli-ideologiat tai -uskomukset (eli käsitykset kielestä ja sen varianteista), kielikäytänteet (eli kielenkäytön tavat) ja kielisuunnittelun (eli pyrkimykset muuttaa kielikäytänteitä). Tässä väitöskirjassa täsmennän myös joitakin mallin teoreettisia olettamuksia.

Tiivistäen, tutkimuksessa tarkastellaan perheiden kielipolitiikan, yksinhuoltajuuden sekä venäjän kielen ja sen puhujien solmukohtia eli risteymiä Suomessa. Analysoin kolmea sosiaalista toimintaa tai neksusta: (1) äidin ja lapsen yhteistä leikkiä, (2) perherakenteiden ja kielikäytänteiden muutoksia ja (3) vanhempien päätöksiä lastensa venäjän oppimisesta omana äidinkielenä koulussa.

Aineisto sisältää kahdeksan yksinhuoltajaäidin haastattelua ja kahden perheen kuvaamia videoita vuorovaikutustilanteista. Tutkimuksessa käytettiin myös stimuloitua haastattelua (Stimulated Recall Interview, SRI), joka auttoi selventämään, miksi perheissä käytettiin tiettyjä kielikäytänteitä ja mitä ne

merkitsivät äideille. Toinen merkittävä aineistolähde ovat Perusopetuksen opetussuunnitelman perusteissa (Opetushallitus, 2014) määritelly tavoitteet ja sisällöt perusopetusta täydentävälle oman äidinkielen opetukselle. Näiden aineistonkeruumenetelmien yhdistäminen mahdollistaa kielikäytänteiden tutkimisen perheissä ja samalla perheenjäsenten ja muiden henkilöiden kieliuskomusten sekä perheiden kielisuunnittelun tarkastelun. Neksusanalyysin avulla puolestaan voidaan tarkastella yksilön kokemuksia (historical bodies), vuorovaikutusjärjestystä mikrotasolla tai yhteiskunnan tasolla (interaction order) sekä muita diskursseja (discourses in place), kuten insitutionaalista kielenoppimisdiskurssia.

Analyysi tuotti useita merkittäviä tuloksia. Ensinnäkin perheiden nauhoittamat vuorovaikutustilanteet osoittavat, että perheet pitävät venäjää (joka on tässä tapauksessa vähemmistökieli) ensisijaisena kielenään. Tämä vastaa aiempien tutkimusten tuloksia, joiden mukaan yksinhuoltajilla on taipumus välittää vähemmistökieli lapsilleen ja jatkaa vähemmistökielen puhumista, vaikka lapsi käyttäisi mieluummin enemmistökieltä (De Houwer, 2007). Samalla tutkimuksen äidit loivat tilaa omalle ja lastensa koko kielellisen repertuaarin käytölle läheisen suhteen luomiseen, vähemmistökielen normeihin sosiaalistamiseen ja suomalaisen koulutusjärjestelmän tarpeisiin sopeutumiseen. Toiseksi perheissä syntyi uusia sukulaissuhteita, jotka muokkasivat perheiden kielikäytäntöjä esimerkiksi mahdollistamalla vähemmistökielen (venäjän) runsaamman käytön tai laajentamalla perheen kielellistä repertuaaria. Tulokset viittaavat myös juridisen diskurssin keskeiseen rooliin eroperheessä, jossa vanhemmat käyvät huoltajuusjärjestelyjä koskevaa oikeudellista keskustelua, joka risteää oman äidinkielen opetuksen vapaaehtoisuuden kanssa. Toisessa perheessä jännitteet ja ristiriidat liittyivät oman äidinkielen opetuksen statuksen ohella vanhempien panostukseen oman äidinkielen opetukseen ja opettajan odotuksiin.

Lopuksi tutkimuksessa korostetaan sitä tosiasiaa, että yksinhuoltajuus ei merkitse yksinäistä vanhemmuutta eikä se välttämättä ole ainoa perhemuoto, jossa lapset kasvavat. Pikemminkin tulokset viittaavat siihen, että yksinhuoltajuus on tärkeä osa perheidentiteettiä. Tutkimus osoittaa myös, että tutkimukseen osallistuneet yksinhuoltajaäidit löytävät vaikeuksista ja esteistä huolimatta keinoja tukea lastensa kaksikielisyyttä. Tämän korostaminen on tärkeää, koska yksinhuoltajaperheillä yleisesti (Chant, 2009; Kroese ym., 2022) ja erityisesti venäjänkielisillä naisilla (Krivonos, 2019) on Suomessa leimautunut asema.

КРАТКОЕ СОДЕРЖАНИЕ (SUMMARY IN RUSSIAN)

В данном исследовании рассматривается семейная языковая политика (СЯП) восьми семей с одним родителем, воспитывающих двуязычных детей в Финляндии и говорящих на русском языке как на одном из языков семьи. СЯП, как область исследований, интересуется, среди прочих, следующими вопросами: почему одни родители продолжают говорить со своими детьми на родном языке, а другие нет? Как родители поддерживают двуязычие своих детей? Что именно они делают для этого и какова роль социально-политического контекста в этом процессе?

Несмотря на то, что за последние годы наука о СЯП стала более разнообразной, охватывая различные формы семьи, контексты и языки, лишь немногие исследования целенаправленно фокусируются на взаимосвязи СЯП и одинокого родительства. Изучить эту взаимосвязь важно по двум причинам. Во-первых, такие семьи часто ассоциируются с недостатками. Например, некоторые исследования говорят о том, что они живут на грани бедности (Chant, 2009), подростки, воспитывающиеся одинокими родителями, склонны к совершению преступлений (Kroese et al., 2022), а дети из таких семей плохо успевают в школе (Frisco et al., 2007). Это, в свою очередь, создает картину, в которой семьи с одним родителем и дети, выросшие в этих семьях, ассоциируются с недостатками или неполноценностями, что создаёт искаженную картину.

В данной диссертации я придерживаюсь иной позиции и рассматриваю опыт двуязычных родителей-одиночек с их точки зрения. Это, в свою очередь, помогает нарисовать более сложный портрет двуязычного воспитания в этих семьях. Во-вторых, изучение СЯП в неполных семьях важно с практической точки зрения, поскольку специалисты, работающие в области детского и семейного билингвизма и образовательной политики, опираются в своей практике на исследования, которые проводились в основном с нуклеарными семьями, состоящими из матери, отца, и ребенка или детей.

В данной диссертации я использую нексус-анализ и модель языковой политики (ЯП), чтобы исследовать, как русскоязычные семьи в Финляндии договариваются о языке на фоне сложных социально-политических и образовательных реалий. В данной работе также рассматривается то, как форма семьи с одним родителем и изменяющиеся семейные связи влияют на СЯП. Упомянутая ранее модель ЯП включает в себя языковые идеологии или убеждения (т. е. представления о языке и его разновидностях), языковые практики (т. е. привычное использование языка) и языковое планирование или менеджмент (т. е. усилия по изменению языковых практик). В данной диссертации я также подробно рассматриваю некоторые теоретические предпосылки этой модели.

В целом, исследование посвящено изучению взаимосвязей или нексуса СЯП, одинокого родительства, и русского языка и его носителей в Финляндии. В этом исследовании были проанализированы три

социальных действия или нексуса: (1) игра матери и ребенка; (2) изменения форм семьи и языковых практик; и (3) решения, принимаемые родителями относительно изучения русского языка их детьми.

Использованные в исследовании данные включают в себя интервью с восемью матерями и видеозаписи семейных взаимодействий в двух семьях. Исследование также опирается на интервью стимулирующее воспоминания (Stimulated Recall Interview, SRI) как метод, который помог прояснить, почему некоторые языковые практики использовались в семьях и что они означали для матерей. Еще одним важным источником анализа являются рекомендации по изучению эритажного языка (ЭЯ), представленные в программе базового образования Финляндии (EDUFI, 2016). Сочетание этих методов сбора данных позволило изучить языковую практику в семьях и в то же время учесть языковые убеждения членов семьи и других людей, а также увидеть, какие стратегии планирования применялись в семьях. Нексус-анализ, в свою очередь, помог проанализировать роль жизненного опыта индивидуума (historical body) и организацию взаимодействий, как на лингвистическом, так и на социологическом уровне (interaction order), а также учесть роль других дискурсов, например, институционального дискурса об изучении языка (discourses in place).

Анализ позволяет сделать несколько важных выводов. Во-первых, анализ семейных взаимодействий показывает, что семьи склонны придерживаться русского языка (языка меньшинства в данном контексте) в качестве основного языка в целях языковой социализации. Это согласуется с результатами предыдущих исследований, которые показывают, что одинокие родители склонны передавать язык меньшинства своим детям и продолжать говорить на этом языке, даже если ребенок предпочитает использовать язык большинства (De Houwer, 2007). В то же время матери, принявшие участие в данном исследовании, создавали пространство для использования лингвистического репертуара с целью адаптации к потребностям финской системы образования. Во-вторых, семьи создавали новые родственные связи, которые формировали языковые практики в семьях, например, позволяя расширить использование языка меньшинства (русского) или расширяя семейный лингвистический репертуар. Результаты исследования также указывают на ключевую роль юридического дискурса в контексте разведенной семьи, где родители проходят через юридический спор по поводу оформления опеки, что пересекается с необязательным статусом ЭЯ. Другие противоречия в семьях связаны с вложением усилий родителями в изучение ЭЯ и формальным результатом обучения.

Наконец, исследование указывает на то, что семья с одним родителем (single parenting) не является одиноким родительством (lone parenting) и не подразумевает, что это единственная форма семьи, в которой воспитываются дети. Оно скорее указывает на то, что “семья с одним родителем” (single parenting) является важной частью семейной

идентичности. Результаты также показывают, что матери в этом исследовании, несмотря на трудности и препятствия, находят способы поддерживать двуязычие своих детей. Это важно подчеркнуть в связи с тем, что положение таких семей, а в особенности русскоязычных женщин в Финляндии подвергается стигматизации (Kroese et al., 2022; Krivonos, 2019 Chant, 2009).

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APPENDICIES

Appendix 1. Interview questions (Russian)

Общая информация

1. Можете рассказать немного о себе, откуда Вы, как оказались в Финляндии?
2. Что подтолкнуло Вас на переезд сюда?
3. Можете рассказать о ваших детях, когда они родились и где?

Языки родителей и языки общения с ребенком

4. Можете рассказать о Вашем образовании? Как Вы начали изучать иностранные языки и почему?
5. Какие языки Вы используете с семьей, какие в работе и с друзьями?
6. Замечали ли Вы что иногда смешиваете языки, когда общаетесь с ребенком?
7. Был ли момент, когда Вы решили, что будете использовать только определенный/ые язык(и) со своим ребенком? Если да, то можете рассказать об этом подробнее?

Использование языков с другими членами семьи

8. Поддерживаете ли Вы и Ваш ребенок связь с дальними родственниками, если да то, с кем и почему это для Вас важно?
9. Используете ли вы русский язык за пределами дома в общественных местах или предпочитаете переключаться на финский? Почему?

Взгляды на двуязычие

10. Важно ли Вам поддерживать развитие двуязычия у ребенка? Если да, то почему это важно?
11. Каким образом Вы стараетесь поддерживать развитие нескольких языков у Вашего ребенка?
12. Бывает ли такое, что Вы смешиваете языки или стараетесь строго их разграничивать?
13. Исправляете ли Вы ребенка, если он(а) делает ошибки в речи?
14. Как Вам кажется, ребенку нравится изучать язык?
15. Как Вам кажется, знание нескольких языков является преимуществом для Вашего ребенка в будущем?
16. Ощущаете ли Вы какие-либо сложности в поддержании и развитии языков у ребенка?
17. Хотите ли Вы что-то добавить?

Appendix 2. Interview questions (English translation)

General information

1. Could you tell me a bit about yourself, where are you from, and how did you end up in Finland?
2. What made you decide to move here?
3. Could you tell me about your children? When and where were they born?

Parents' languages and languages used with children

4. Could you tell me a bit about your education? How did you start learning languages and why?
5. What languages do you use with your family, at work, and with friends?
6. Did you notice mixing languages when communicating with your child?
7. Was there a moment when you decided that you would use a certain language(s) with your child? If yes, could you talk a bit about it in more detail?

Languages used with other family members

8. Do you and your child keep in touch with extended family? If yes, then with whom and why is it important to you?
9. Do you speak Russian outside of the home or prefer to switch to Finnish? Why?

Views on bilingualism

10. Is it important for you to support your child's bilingualism? Why?
11. How do you support the development of your child's languages?
12. Does it happen so that you mix languages, or do you try to strictly demarcate them?
13. Do you correct your child when they make mistakes in their speech?
14. Do you think your child likes learning language(s)?
15. Do you think knowing several languages is an asset for your child's future?
16. Do you think there are any difficulties in the support and development of your child's languages?
17. Would you like to add something?

Appendix 3. Stimulated Recall Interview with Maria (Russian)

1. Поменялось ли что-то в том, как вы используете языки дома? Какое у Вас отношение к этому? По Вашему мнению, поменялось ли что-то в том, как Оскар использует язык дома или за пределами дома?
2. На многих видео вы играете в игры, которых у вас больше нет. Как поменялась ваша рутина сейчас? Как вы проводите вместе время?

Отрывки из видео:

1. F2_how_to_say_it? (из F2_alias_1, 0:12:46-0:13:49)

- часто ли бывает, что Оскар спрашивает, как это по-русски? Если бывает, то в каком контексте? можете привести пример как это происходит?

2. F2_insertion (из F2_alias_1, 0:04:50-0:05:22 и 0:26:20-0:26:41)

- в этом отрывке Оскар называет предмет по-фински, но Вы просто продолжаете дальше разговор по-русски. Насколько это для вас типично? Происходит ли подобное сейчас?

3. F2_meaning_negotiation (из F2_alias_1, 0:11:21-0:11:58)

- здесь Вы объясняете Оскару, что на картинке не teepaita, а кофта с пуговицами, да?
- В этом отрезке Вы также используешь teepaita вместо русского аналога. Насколько привычная практика для вас с Оскаром иногда использовать финские слова?

4. F2_meaning_negotiation (из F2_alias_1, 0:06:17-0:06:39)

- в этом отрывке Вы говорите, что это собака, но Оскар настаивает, что (имя собаки) не собака, а щенок, то есть он уточняет слово. Часто ли такое происходит, и если да можете привести пример? Происходит ли похожее на финском языке?

5. F2_meaning_negotiation (из F2_snowman_1, 0:10:48-0:11:06)

- Оскар сначала говорит слово "объедение" и только потом спрашивает, что это означает. Часто ли такое случается, что он использует какое-то слово и потом спрашивает его значение? Случается ли это также и на финском языке?

6. F2_why_you_didn't_say_X?

- в этом отрывке Оскар говорит, «почему ты не сказала X»? Часто ли сейчас такое случается? Можете привести пример такой ситуации?

Бывают ли ситуации, когда вы с Оскаром вместе находитесь в финноязычной среде и оба говорите по-фински? Если бывают такие ситуации, можете привести пример?

Appendix 4. Stimulated Recall Interview with Maria (English translation)

1. Has anything changed in how you use languages at home? Have your attitudes to language use at home changed? Do you think something has changed in how Oscar uses languages at home or outside the home?
2. In many videos, you play games that you do not have anymore. How did your routine change now? How do you spend time together?

Video excerpts:

1. F2_how_to_say_it? (F2_alias_1, 0:12:46-0:13:49)

- Does it happen often that Oscar would ask "What is it in Russian?" and if it does in what context does it happen? Could you give an example of it?

2. F2_insertion (F2_alias_1, 0:04:50-0:05:22 and 0:26:20-0:26:41)

- In this excerpt, Oscar names the object in Finnish but you continue speaking in Russian. How common is this? Does it also happen now?

3. F2_meaning_negotiation (*из* F2_alias_1, 0:11:21-0:11:58)

- Here you are explaining to Oscar that it is not teepaita but a sweatshirt with buttons, right?
- In this excerpt, you also use teepaita instead of its equivalent in Russian. How common is this practice for you and Oscar to use Finnish sometimes?

4. F2_meaning_negotiation (*из* F2_alias_1, 0:06:17-0:06:39)

- In this excerpt, you say that this is a dog but Osacr insists that Malina (the dog) is not a dog but a puppy, so he specifies the meaning of the word. Does it happen often, and if it does can you give an example of this? Does something similar happen in Finnish?

5. F2_meaning_negotiation (*из* F2_snowman_1, 0:10:48-0:11:06)

- Oscar first says "delicious (obyedeniye)", and then he asks "What does it mean?" Does it happen often when he first says a word and then asks about its meaning? Does this also happen in Finnish?

6. F2_why_you_didn't_say_X?

- In this excerpt, Oscar asks what you didn't say X? Does it happen often? If does, could you give an example of it?

Does it happen so that when you and Oscar are in the Finnish-speaking environment, you both speak Finnish? If it happens, could you give an example of such a situation?

Appendix 5. Stimulated Recall Interview with Anna (Russian)

1. Поменялось ли что-то в том, как вы используете языки дома? Изменилось ли Ваше отношение к этому? По Вашему мнению, поменялось ли что-то в том, как София использует дома или за пределами дома?
2. На многих видео вы играете в игры, которых у вас больше нет. Как поменялась ваша рутина сейчас? Как вы проводите вместе время?

Отрывки из видео:

1. F1_? (первый отрывок 0:00:00-0:00:39 из F1_new_game)

- Помните ли Вы, что это за игра, в которую вы играете? Играли ли вы в нее после этого видео? Вы в этом видео считаете по-английски перед тем, как открыть коробку. Это частая практика? Вы часто так делаете? Часто ли делали так раньше?

2. F1_? (третий отрывок 0:09:30-0:09:46 из F1 muistipeli_3)

- Понимаете ли Вы, что София здесь говорит? Кажется, как будто что-то по-фински.

3. F1_? (четвертый отрывок 0:01:34-0:02:17 из F1_family_puzzle и седьмой отрывок из F1_аппликации/askartelu 0:06:38-0:06:52)

- В этом отрывке Вы поправляеете Софию, то, как она ставит ударение в слове "призы". Вы не замечала, насколько часто это происходит? И почему это происходит? Почему Вы поправляете Софию? Случается ли похожее на других языках? (например, на английском или финском?)

4. F1_? (шестой отрывок 0:00:00-0:00:12 из F1_reading_2)

- Здесь София спрашивает Вас "это буква В?" То есть она уже знала на тот момент английские буквы? Вы учили их вместе, занимались английским или это от папы?

5. F1_? (последний, восьмой отрывок 0:11:34-0:12:15 из F1_beads)

- Здесь София настаивает, что она умеет говорить слово "шампанское", часто ли бывают подобные ситуации касательно языка/языков, что София настаивает, что она что-то знает/умеет?

6. F1_what_is_X? из F1_family_puzzle 0:07:40-0:07:55

- Я заметила, что часто, когда Вы спрашиваете, что это, не указывая на каком языке, София иногда отвечает по-русски, а иногда по-фински. Для Вас важно, чтобы она отвечала на каком-то определенном языке? Эта практика была спланирована или появилась сама собой?

7. F1_voc._elicitation & F1_what_is_it_in_lg_X? из F1_shape & size_puzzle 0:06:19-0:07:04

- Здесь на ответ Софии на финском Вы переключаетесь на финский. Такое случается сейчас и как часто? Как думаете почему в тот момент Вы перешли на финский?

Есть ли что-то добавить после того, как мы посмотрели отрывки? Может появились какие-то мысли на счет того, почему ваше общение в том момент складывалось именно таким образом?

Appendix 6. Stimulated Recall Interview with Anna (English translation)

1. Has anything changed in how you use languages at home? Have your attitudes towards it changed? Do you think something has changed in how Sofia uses languages at home and outside the home?
2. In many videos, you play games that you do not have anymore. How has your routine changed now? How do you spend time together?

Video excerpts:

1. F1_? (first excerpt 0:00:00-0:00:39 from F1_new_game)

- Do you remember what was the game that you played? Did you play this game after this recording?
- In this video, you count in English before opening the box. Is it common practice? How often do you do this? Have you done so often before?

2. F1_? (third excerpt 0:09:30-0:09:46 from F1 muistipeli_3)

- Do you understand what Sofia is saying here? It seems that it is something in Finnish.

3. F1_? (fourth excerpt 0:01:34-0:02:17 from F1_family_puzzle and seventh excerpt from F1_аппликации/askartelu 0:06:38-0:06:52)

- In this excerpt, you are correcting Sofia and how she puts stress in the word "prizes (prizy)". Did you notice how often this happens and why? Why do you correct Sofia? Do similar things happen in other languages (for example in English or Finnish)?

4. F1_? (sixth excerpt 0:00:00-0:00:12 from F1_reading_2)

- Here Sofia asks you "Is it letter B"? So, she already knew English letters by then? Did you learn them together, were you studying English or did she pick it up from her father?

5. F1_? (last, eighth excerpt 0:11:34-0:12:15 from F1_beads)

- Here Sofia insists that she can say the word "champagne (shampanskoie)". How often does it happen that Sofia insists on knowing/being able to do something when it concerns languages?

6. F1_what_is_X? from F1_family_puzzle 0:07:40-0:07:55

- I noticed that often when you ask "What is it?" without mentioning the language, Sofia sometimes answers in Russian and sometimes in Finnish. Is it important for you that she replies in a certain language? Did you plan this or did it just develop naturally?

7. F1_voc._elicitation & F1_what_is_it_in_lg_X? from F1_shape & size_puzzle 0:06:19-0:07:04

- In this excerpt, you switch to Finnish after Sofia replies to you in Finnish. Does it still happen now and how often does it happen? Why do you think, you switched to Finnish at that moment?

Is there anything you would like to add after we have watched the excerpts? Perhaps you have any thoughts on why your communication was like this back then?

ORIGINAL PAPERS

I

HESITANT VERSUS CONFIDENT FAMILY LANGUAGE POLICY: A CASE OF TWO SINGLE-PARENT FAMILIES IN FINLAND

by

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

Polina Vorobeva, University of Jyväskylä, polina.p.vorobeva@jyu.fi

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 Eisenchlas 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" (Bezcioglu-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.

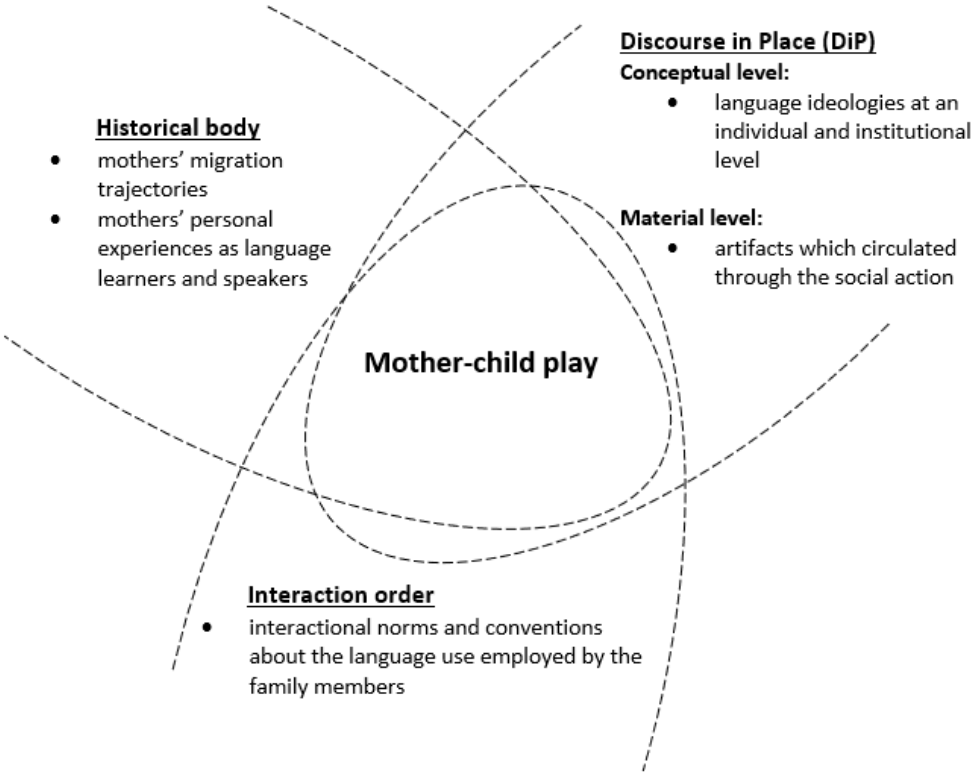

Figure 1: Nexus analytical lens as applied in this study (adapted from Scollon and Scollon [2004])

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, /ę/ 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 Oscars' 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 <u>underlined</u>)

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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II

FAMILIES IN FLUX: AT THE NEXUS OF FLUID FAMILY CONFIGURATIONS AND LANGUAGE PRACTICES

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Families in flux: at the nexus of fluid family configurations and language practices

Polina Vorobeva

Department of Language and Communication studies, University of Jyväskylä, Jyväskylä, Finland

ABSTRACT

Research on multilingualism in the home has approached the family as a fixed unit thus neglecting the dynamic view of the family and its intersection with family language practices. The present study aims to address this gap by focusing on Russian-speaking mothers in Finland who have raised their children bilingually in single-parent as well as in dual-parent families. Russian speakers are the largest minority language group in Finland, and their number is constantly growing. The current study is a contribution to the research on family language practices in the Finnish context. It examines the nexus of shifts in family configurations and language practices and explores how the dynamic changes in family constellations shape language practices in four families. The study reveals that creating new kinships leads to shifts in the language practices of the peripheral family members and that forming voluntary kin can expand heritage language use and enable an overhearer and bystander role for children. Non-residential family members expand the family's linguistic repertoire and support the legitimacy of already established practices. Being sole caretakers enables mothers to encourage language practices that they consider beneficial for their children without encountering any resistance from other family members.

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Introduction

Since its beginnings as a field of inquiry in the early 2000s, family language policy (FLP) (King, Fogle, and Logan-Terry 2008), has evolved rapidly, encompassing various contexts, family configurations and types of communication (see e.g. Fogle 2013; Poveda et al. 2014; Catedral and Djuraeva 2018; Palviainen 2020a). Previous research in FLP and language socialization has primarily focused on normative families (see e.g. Curdt-Christiansen 2009; Armstrong 2014; Hua and Wei 2016; Bezcioglu-Goktolga and Yagmur 2018; Lomeu Gomes 2020) while non-normative families have remained very much on the margins (see however Obied 2010; Poveda et al. 2014; Wright 2020). At the heart of this article are the experiences of single or recently married Russian-speaking mothers, who have raised their children in Finland and have attempted to preserve Russian as a family language. The study focuses on shifts in family configuration and reported language practices (i.e. what mothers say they do with language). I refer to the mothers as single mothers, as they raised their children as primary or sole caretakers for the most part of their lives or were single mothers at the time of the interviews. Therefore, their single-parent experiences were at the center when the data collection started.

CONTACT Polina Vorobeva polina.p.vorobeva@jyu.fi

Previous FLP research has approached family as a fixed entity, therefore taking a synchronic approach to it (see e.g. Curdt-Christiansen 2016; Lomeu Gomes 2020; Lubińska 2021; Mirvahedi 2021). The current study conceptualizes family as a fluid network, in which new members become significant while others grow apart. The study thus examines families' trajectories in flux (see Palviainen 2020b). This focus on fluctuation in the family configuration (when parents divorce, remarry, form voluntary kinships or build relationships with non-residential members) brings a new perspective to the field of FLP. Voluntary kinship in the context of the current study refers to 'those unrelated by blood or legal ties who are important in a person's social network' (Braithwaite et al. 2010, 391). By interviewing four Russian-speaking women and applying a nexus analytical lens (Scollon and Scollon 2004) I identify the shifts in family configuration as a social action and trace the trajectories of the discourses that shape this social action in four Russian-speaking families living in Finland. The single mothers' lived experiences intersect with communicative changes in the families and converge with beliefs and ideologies about the language use.

As there has been little earlier research within the field of FLP that has tackled questions of the intersection of fluid family constellations and language policy, the current study addresses the following research questions: (1) Do shifts in family configuration lead to changes in language practices? (2) How do shifts in family configuration, the formation of voluntary kinships and non-residential family members shape language practices in the families?

Family language policy in one-parent families

Family language policy was defined by King, Fogle, and Logan-Terry (2008) 'as explicit (Shohamy 2006) and overt (Schiffman 1996) planning in relation to language use within the home among family members'. As the field expanded studies in FLP started to pay attention not only to explicit decisions but also to implicit and covert factors that shape FLP (Curdt-Christiansen 2009).

Since its recognition, the field has developed rapidly and it is now undergoing an empirical and theoretical expansion (see e.g. Hiratsuka and Pennycook 2020; Lomeu Gomes 2020). Numerous studies have applied Spolsky's (2004) tripartite model, which encompasses language beliefs or ideologies, language practices, and language planning or management strategies exercised by family members. The model has informed a considerable body of research that has focused on families in various sociolinguistic contexts, some of them looking particularly at Russian speaking communities. A longitudinal in-depth case study in Israel, which focused on one Russian-Hebrew bilingual family indicated that the parents' attempts to conduct a pre-planned language policy in the family and incorporate specific management strategies may be insufficient, while spontaneous language management and naturally occurring linguistic performance may evoke children's interest in the heritage language (Kopeliovich 2010, 171). A quantitative study by Otwinowska et al. (2019) examined family language policy and Russian language and literacy transmission in Cyprus, Ireland, Israel and Sweden. Their research reveals that mothers who speak Russian and multiple other languages at home succeed in transmitting Russian to their children, in other words, it shows a positive correlation between mothers' multilingualism and language transmission. Furthermore, the research emphasizes the importance of such factors as family type, parental discursive strategies and language attitudes towards heritage language maintenance and transmission.

In recent years there have been more studies looking at one-parent families in the field of language socialization and FLP. A large-scale study on parental input patterns by DeHouwer (2007) which included single parents among the participants, showed that single parents are more likely to speak a minority language with their children at home than parents raising their children in dual-parent families. Their research suggested that the differences in children's minority language use may be explained by how the languages are used by parents and in what combinations (DeHouwer 2007). Research by Obied (2010) focusing on divorced families and children's literacy development demonstrated that 'one-parent families and divorced families can produce two-language children' (Obied 2010, 240). Focusing on Portuguese-English bilingual children the

study finds that a single parent can construct and maintain a positive environment for a child's bilingual literacy development. The study shows that the influence of non-residential fathers on a child's minority language development may strengthen as the child becomes older (Obied 2010).

Poveda et al. (2014) looked specifically at families that are single parent by choice and examined how children are socialized into non-conventional families and how they 'explore the system of family social relations' (Poveda et al. 2014, 326). By considering the family as a voluntary project in which members themselves define who is a part of the family rather than relying on biological ties, the research highlights the additional work that the parents in non-conventional families have to do in the face of societal expectations of what a family is.

Wright (2020) examined how kinship is constructed within adoptive, single-parent and queer families. The study in relation to single-parent families focused on how the interactional environment in a one-parent home influences use of the minority language. The results show that interactional patterns and the ratios in parent–child communication and child–adult accommodation in this family configuration are different from those found in two-parent families. The presence of only one parent leads to extensive collaboration and results in positive language maintenance outcome in one-parent families. The study also reveals that single parents' use of the collective pronoun 'we' often refers to themselves and their child(ren), which serves as another indicator of a distinctive family dynamic within one-parent families (Wright 2020, 45–54).

According to the studies mentioned above, single parents are successful in maintaining a minority language. It is also evident from these studies that one-parent and double-parent families rely on different strategies when talking *with* and *about* their children. Nonetheless, with its focus primarily on either single-parent or double-parent families, the existing body of research has avoided taking a perspective that would take into account the fluidity of family configuration. The current study aims to address this issue.

Russian speakers in Finland

The number of Russian speakers in Finland has been growing since the 1960s (Latomaa and Nuolijärvi 2002, 111). In the 1990s Finland experienced a noticeable increase in the number of Russian-speaking people due to a ratified law that was passed, under which all Ingrian Finns were entitled to return to Finland as repatriates. Currently, the most common reasons for Russian speakers to migrate to Finland are repatriation (the return of Ingrian Finns from the currently Russian territories of Leningrad oblast and Karelia), marriage (i.e. a Russian-speaking woman married to a Finnish-speaking man), and family ties (Pikkarainen and Protassova 2015; Protassova 2018b). The number of Russian-speaking families residing in Finland was around 30,000 in 2018 (Official Statistics of Finland 2020). Single-parent families headed by women account for over 10% of all families in Finland, but the share of one-parent families within the Russian-speaking community is even larger – it comprises 15% of all Russian-speaking families, and a total of 4574 (Official Statistics of Finland 2020).

The body of research addressing issues in relation to Russian speakers in Finland is growing and now covers a variety of research agendas, such as attitudes towards Russian-speaking minorities (Nshom and Croucher 2014), discrimination against Russian speakers in Finland, identity and belonging (Jasinskaja-Lahti and Liebkind 1998), women's experiences of migration (Krivonos 2015; Tiaynen-Qadir and Matyska 2020) and transnational mobility (Davydova-Minguet and Pöllänen 2020). In recent years researchers have also looked at issues of family multilingualism in Finland (see e.g. Moin et al. 2013; Protassova 2018a; Протасова 2019).

Research on single-parent families in Finland has examined financial struggles, stress level, and family policy in relation to single mothers (e.g. Forssén, Haataja, and Hakovirta 2005; Joutsenniemi et al. 2006; Hakovirta 2011), but questions on the intersection of single-parenting and language socialization in Finland have largely been ignored. Often, when research has been conducted on family bilingualism, mothers have outnumbered fathers as participants, which suggests that they are the ones who are especially involved in the child's language development (see e.g. Kim and Starks

2010). In Finland, research that focuses on the lived experiences and migration trajectories of Russian-speaking women indicates that 'Russian language and culture serves as a source of identification' for women (Tiaynen-Qadir and Matyska 2020). A study by Davydova-Minguet and Pöllänen (2020) demonstrates that Russian-speaking women have to negotiate family languages with their spouses when enacting transnational family. In some cases, partners would make an effort to learn the woman's mother tongue (i.e. Russian) and speak it with family members on a daily basis, while in other cases Finnish spouses would insist on speaking Finnish in the family. These attitudes towards Russian have a direct influence on how family language policies are shaped in transnational families.

Methodology

Participants and data collection

Participants for the study were recruited through social media groups aimed at Russian speakers in Finland. The selection criteria were: (1) experience raising a child bilingually as a single parent, and (2) speaking Russian on a daily basis with the child or children. Two out of the three social media groups in which the call was published targeted Russian-speaking mothers and women living in Finland. In total eight women responded to the call and participated in semi-structured interviews. All the participants had long-lasting experience as single parents or were their children's primary caretakers at the time of the interview. For the purpose of this article, four cases were analyzed to illustrate the fluctuating nature of the family and its interconnectedness with language policy negotiations. The participants' age varied between 34 and 50. All of the participants were first generation migrants, who had immigrated to Finland from Russia, Estonia or the former Soviet Union. All the participants were L1 speakers of Russian except, for Maria, who reported the Mari language, a minority language in Russia, as her L1. However, all of them reported that they spoke Russian at home with their children and they all had experience raising children both in double-parent families and as single parents.

Three interviews were conducted face-to-face and one via Skype. The interviewees lived either in Central Finland, or in the Helsinki region. This discrepancy is crucial as people living in the Helsinki region have wider access to L1 support for their children (i.e. a Finnish-Russian school, Russian-medium kindergartens, heritage language classes and a vast choice of extra-curricular clubs). In Central Finland, the options are limited to classes in Russian as a heritage language and just a few opportunities for extra-curricular activities in Russian.

The interviews lasted from half an hour to over an hour, and they were audio-recorded and transcribed. All of them were conducted in Russian. Participants were asked about their cultural background, migration trajectories, education, occupation and experiences as single parents. Such themes as language practices, ideologies and the decisions that informed certain linguistic choices were also discussed. Mothers also talked about changes in their family configuration and the social environment and explained why maintaining Russian was crucial for their families. As the interviews were semi-structured some discussions, on issues of identity, for example, or reflections on the changes in family configurations were initiated by the mothers. Prior to starting the interviews, the researchers informed the participants about privacy and data protection policy. All the names and places presented in the paper are pseudonyms. Brief profiles of the participants are presented in Table 1. The interviews were analyzed with a nexus analytic approach (Scollon and Scollon 2004).

Table 1. Key information about the research participants at the time of the interview.

	Country of origin	Age	Years in Finland	Occupation	Age of child/children	Mothers' L1
Anna	Russia	34	8	cleaner	3	Russian
Julia	Estonia	34	6	English language teacher	7	Russian
Katerina	Russia	43	15	customer service consultant	12 and 1	Russian
Maria	Russia	50	25	n/a	6, 19 and 21	Mari

Once the data had been transcribed, they were imported to Atlas.ti, and coded according to the nexus analytic framework.

Nexus analysis

A nexus represents a complex aggregate of discourses with a social action at its center (Scollon and Scollon 2004, 14) The social action, in turn, is located at the core of the nexus and is defined as 'any action taken by an individual with reference to a social network, also called a mediated action' (Scollon and Scollon 2004, 11–12). It is described as occurring at the intersection of the historical body, discourse in place and an interaction order (Scollon and Scollon 2004, 153). The historical body in the context of the current study is the mothers' migration trajectories and their discursively reconstructed past experiences as language speakers**.** The historical bodies rooted in the mothers' lived experiences intersect with the interaction orders and discourse in place. The interaction order here is the communicative changes that take place within the families when the mothers reconstitute their families, divorce, or establish voluntary kinships (Braithwaite et al. 2010; Nelson 2013). The interaction order, then, focuses on *who* establishes and shifts the communicative norms in the family (i.e. what languages are spoken and under what circumstances) and initiates, supports and/or resists negotiation or renegotiation of language practices. Discourse in place refers to the conceptual context, norms, ideologies, and beliefs about the language use among family members, which serve as mediational means for the action in question (Hult 2015, 224).

Nexus analysis (NA) has been widely applied in language policy and planning research (see e.g. Hult 2015) as well as in family language policy (see e.g. Palviainen and Boyd 2013; Palviainen and Bergroth 2018; Smith-Christmas, Bergroth, and Bezcioğlu-Göktolga 2019; Soler and Roberts 2019). Hult (2019) emphasizes that nexus analysis makes it possible to map the dynamism of the social action. By employing nexus analysis, I highlight the dynamic nature of family and language practices while mapping the relevant discourses which shape the action. In the present study, the social action is identified as the shifts in family configurations, that took place in the lives of Russian-speaking mothers who had created voluntary kinships, raised their children as single parents, married, and maintained family relations with non-residential family members. It should be noted that in each case the shifts in family configuration took place on different time scales. While some reappeared or repeated themselves (as in Anna's case with a non-residential father and Katerina's case with voluntary kin), others were more durable (as in Julia's and Maria's case with divorce). Another aspect that needs to be taken into account is that in some cases the mothers gave birth to children when their older children had moved out of their homes and started living separately. In these cases, the shift concerned not only forming new kinships but also giving birth to children and growing apart from the older children.

Attempting to achieve an emic perspective (see e.g. Olive 2014; Markee 2012), I engaged into the nexus as a Russian-speaking single parent myself. I made this clear to the participants either in an informal conversation before the interview or during the interview. Thus, the interviews were approached as a social practice and collaborative act in which meanings are co-constructed between participants and the researcher (Talmy 2011; Talmy and Richards 2011), and, in the Scollon and Scollon's (2004) terms, the interviews were regarded as zones of identification, which make it possible to pinpoint the relevant social action.

Findings

Katerina: marriage and voluntary kinship

When relating her life story, Katerina said that she had moved to Finland as an Ingrian Finn at the age of 28. Her mother, an Ingrian Finn herself was already living in Finland when Katerina arrived. Katerina had studied Finnish in school in Russia, and by the time she moved to Finland she had

already reached intermediate level. From Katerina's story, it becomes clear that her historical body orients towards bilingual Russian-Finnish language use.

Emilia, Katerina's daughter, was born three years after Katerina's arrival in Finland. Her father was a Russian speaker with whom Katerina was in a long-distance relationship and who kept in touch mainly via phone calls. Emilia attended classes in Russian-as-a-heritage-language, and Katerina insisted that Emilia continued to take these classes as she 'couldn't provide it [proficiency in Russian] herself'. Katerina had been bringing Emilia up as a single parent for 9 years. Emilia's grandmother lived separately from Katerina and Emilia, although she often stayed with Emilia while Katerina was studying or working. Katerina noted that as the grandmother spent time with Emilia and spoke Finnish with her 'she more or less [could speak] Finnish' by the time she started kindergarten, which was important for both, Katerina and the grandmother at that time. It illustrates the language ideologies that were enacted in the family when the grandmother was still involved in the family-making. Despite Katerina's predominant use of Russian with Emilia, she still had a positive attitude towards the grandmother's use of Finnish with Emilia before she started preschool.

From Emilia's birth, Katerina had spoken Russian with her, and her grandmother had mainly spoken Finnish with Emilia, implementing the one person-one language (OPOL) strategy (Döpke 1992). However, on occasions when Emilia was out with her mother and/or grandmother, both primarily spoke Finnish with her. While the use of OPOL had come about without any particular planning on the part of either Katerina or her mother, the use of Finnish outside of home was explained by an external factor – grandmother's resistance to being heard speaking Russian. Ingrian Finns are mainly associated by other Finns with Russian language and culture (see e.g. Salonsaari 2012) and Russian speakers are often perceived negatively in the Finnish society (Nshom and Croucher 2014; Jaakkola 2000). Katerina's mother, of Ingrian descent, being now assimilated into Finnish society, perhaps did not want to be identified with the negative attributes given to Russian speakers and therefore chose to speak Finnish with Emilia outside the home. This decision was rooted in her grandmother's historical body and was reinforced by the discourse in place (i.e. attitudes towards Russian speakers in Finland). This case resonates with the findings discussed by Curdt-Christiansen (2016), that the language ideologies held by caretakers and dictated by the dominant societal discourse lead to the application of a pro-majority-language FLP.

Katerina reported that she had tried to persuade her mother to switch to Russian when Emilia was of school age, but these attempts had failed, and grandmother continued to speak mostly Finnish with Emilia. This instance illustrates how Katerina's language ideologies changed over time: she had declared before that she thought it was important for Emilia to be able to speak at least basic Finnish by the time she started preschool, but later she decided to try to influence grandmother's language practices and convince her to speak Russian with Emilia.

Emilia was 12 years old at the time of the interview and Katerina had just gotten married to a Russian-speaking man with whom she was bringing up Emilia and a 1-year-old daughter. Before marrying him, Katerina had been in a long-distance relationship with another Russian-speaking man, who had two daughters from a previous marriage. Katerina and Emilia had regularly spent holidays and weekends together with them and taken part in discussions in Russian, which had expanded their use of the heritage language. In nexus analytic terms, these instances can be described as a nexus of practice in which voluntary kinship was being formed. Therefore, the social action led to shifts in the interaction order and the already established language practices (i.e. OPOL and Finnish outside the home).

Since Katerina had experience of bringing up a child bilingually both as a single parent and as a parent who was raising children in a wedlock, it naturally led her to reflect on the language practices in the family while the family configuration was in flux and the proximity and involvement of extended family members was shifting. This led to instances of negotiation and renegotiation of language practices. Extract 1 illustrates this shift:

Extract 1

1	то есть так как мы с ней все-таки большинство времени были вдвоем
	so I mean because most of the time it was just the two of us
2	либо она с бабушкой была вдвоем
	or she was together with her grandmother
3	у нее очень э: повлияла мне кажется на-
	she's very ehm it influenced I think he-
4	на всё её развитие
	her whole development
5	то что у нее вот не было пассивного слушания всего
	that she didn't have the passive listening
6	то есть-
	I mean-
7	то есть ну люди друг с другом
	I mean [when] people are with each other
	[...]
8	а все-таки когда муж жена там или со старшими детьми с младшими детьми разго- варивают
	but when a husband and a wife talk or with younger children
9	то всё равно ребенок это всё слышит
	a child still hears everything
	[...]
10	а у нас это практически полнос-
	and in our case that was almost tota-
11	полностью отсутствовало
	totally absent

In lines 1–5 Katerina reflects on her experience as a single parent and refers to a lack of 'passive listening' or in Goffman's terms, to the lack of the role of bystander or an overhearer for the child (Goffman 1981, 132). It is worth noting, that despite Emilia being a skilled Russian speaker, and her proficiency in Russian being encouraged by her mother when she was a single parent, Katerina perceives single parenting as having a negative impact on Emilia's communicative skills. This may be related to the dominant discourse of the nuclear family normativity, in which certain interaction norms are taken for granted. Further, in lines 8–11 Katerina explicitly refers to the current family configuration, mentioning husband, wife, and older and younger children, all of whom could be involved in communicative practices. These actors can be identified as primary actors, who alter the interaction order and give children overhearing roles in communicative situations. It is noticeable that the grandmother is not mentioned as an important figure here, which indicates that her role in the family has become more peripheral.

Furthermore, as Katerina got married and thus created a new family bond, Emilia's grandmother's language practices changed along with the change in family configuration. The following extract illustrates this change:

Extract 2

1	ну сейчас больше по-русски
	well now [she speaks] more Russian
2	потому что щас уже получается
	because now it's
3	ну муж у меня русскоязычный теперешний и
	well my present husband is Russian-speaking
4	и как бабушка уже понимает что она это как бы она на ин-
	and grandmother sort of understands that she sp-
5	на иностранном языке для него говорит
	speaks a language that is foreign to him

Extract 2 illustrates how forming a new family bond led to changes in language practices. Lines 3–5 demonstrate that while Katerina's deliberate attempts to get grandmother to use more Russian were unsuccessful but forming a new family bond (i.e. getting married to a Russian-speaking man)

led anyway to a renegotiation of language practices and grandmother's more frequent use of Russian. In lines 4 and 5 Katerina explains that grandmother's adjustment also occurred because Katerina's husband was not proficient in Finnish (*a language that is foreign to him*). This highlights the complexity of factors that lead to shifts in family language practices. In this case, a new family member brought in his own experiences as language speakers (*historical body*) and other family members adjusted to it.

Katerina's case exemplifies how shifts in family configuration and the formation of voluntary kinships lead to changes in communicative and language practices among family members. In Katerina's case creating voluntary kinship led to shifts in her family's established language practices and the norms of the interaction order, and forming a new family bond (i.e. getting married) affected the language practices of other family members (i.e. Emilia's grandmother). This case also illustrates the complexity of the interplay between different actors and their mutual positionality.

Anna: non-residential father

Anna moved to Finland at the age of 27, six years before to the interview. As she expressed it, there was nothing for her in Russia and she decided to study in Finland in a program that combined content and Finnish language learning. During the interview Anna aligned her present historical body with pro-multilingual attitudes by reflecting on her past choice to study math and physics in school instead of languages, saying that 'languages open the doors'. She used the metaphor to refer to more job opportunities around the world when talking about Sofia's, her daughter's, prospects. Anna met Sofia's father at work, and, as the father was from Germany, they started a long-distance relationship. Sofia was born almost three years prior to the interview and lived in Finland with her mother. When talking about her current language policy at home Anna said that it was important to maintain both languages (i.e. Russian and Finnish). This resonates with her alignment with multilingualism.

When explaining the choice of Russian as a family language (family here means Anna and Sofia), Anna mentioned three reasons: the recommendation from the child health clinic to speak the mother's L1 at home with the child, the fact that Russian is Anna's mother tongue, and it is the only language she feels she can 'explain the simple things in' to Sofia and comfort her in and, thirdly, having extended family members in Russia who visited them regularly. Furthermore, Anna's historical body indicated that Russian was the most obvious and most natural choice also because she was not proficient in other languages, except English in which she had basic proficiency at the time she moved to Finland. In Anna's case, the decision to speak Russian as the family language was rooted in the intersection of discourse in place and historical body, where Russian was associated with affective motherhood and at the same time it was the family language recommended by Finnish health practitioners. However, Anna explained that when Sofia's father visited them, family language practices changed considerably:

Extract 3

1	с папой когда получается он приезжает
	and with her father then when he visits
2	папа по-немецки с ней
	her father speaks German with her
3	мы между собой на английском с ним
	and we speak English with him
4	и я на русском
	and I[speak] Russian
5	это вот у нас вообще перемешка
	that is we' ve got quite a mix
6	она с папой м:
	with the father m:
7	либо отвечает что-то по-русски
	whether she replies with something in Russian

8	но: по-немецки она не говорит
	bu:t she doesn' t speak German
9	она понимает я думаю что
	she understands I think
10	ну не знаю процентов восемьдесят-то точно
	well I don' t know eighty percent for sure

In lines 1–4, Anna explains that they drew on a repertoire of three languages (Russian, German and English). In nexus analytic terms the social action here – Sofia's father's visits – becomes a nexus of practice that is established over time, with a repeated site of engagement (i.e. Anna's and Sofia's home). The father spoke his L1 (i.e. German) and the language that was most familiar to the child (i.e. Russian) to take care of his daughter. When explaining how these language practices came into being Anna refers to the fact that at first the father 'couldn't understand why she [Sofia] needs [to speak] Russian in Finland' but over time, he realized that Finnish was necessary because they lived in Finland and Russian was necessary because Anna and Sofia lived together. It is precisely through the iteration of the social action – the father's visits – that the employed language practices that were used were negotiated. The formation of these practices may also indicate that over time the father accepted his role as a non-residential family member and accommodated himself to the established family roles and language practices. Anna conceptually constructed the father's language ideologies as tied to one-language-one-environment by ascribing a monolingual home to Sofia and constructing Finnish as a societal language and Russian as a family language.

Sometimes when Sofia's father was staying with Sofia, he spoke mainly German with her and used Russian verbs such as ' to eat, to pee, to poop'. Although the non-residential father's input in Russian was limited to single words, the practice might have supported Russian as a legitimate family language as he was embedding in his speech words from the language that had already been routinely spoken as a family language between Anna and Sofia. Therefore, instead of challenging or changing the established norm by, for example, speaking only German with Sofia, he rather took a stand in support of the established interaction order. This strategy of her father's might have impacted the child's perception of and attitudes toward Russian and created an affective and positive association with the language (see e.g. Smith-Christmas 2018).

Anna's case illustrates that the father's visits lead to shifts in language practices within the family. Not only did the father bring his L1 (i.e. German) into the family but he also supported and legitimized Russian as a family language by using the words that helped him perform parenting responsibilities and bond with his daughter. Furthermore, Anna indicated that these practices were developed over time so through a repeated social action (the father's visits) family members developed these language practices.

Maria: from double-parent family to single-parent family

Maria moved to Finland at the age of 25, to study in a college. In Russia, she had spoken Mari in the family as a child, learnt Russian when she started school and was also learning German as a foreign language in school as well. Bilingualism came naturally to her because she spoke Mari at home and Russian in school. Maria raised her older children in a double-parent family with a Finnish-speaking husband in the countryside where she did not know any Russian speakers. The family language was Finnish and eventually Maria's older children refused to speak Russian. The choice of Finnish as a family language was not Maria's decision when she was bringing up her older children together with her husband. She explained that she had to speak Finnish at home because her husband was a Finn:

Extract 4

1	Ну, потому что наверное у меня муж э:- Well, maybe because my husband is eh-
2	финн a Finn
3	и всё же мне надо было всё равно говорить всё только на финском языке and I still had to speak only Finnish
[…]	
4	например всей семьей for example the whole family
5	я только говорила с детьми только на финском I only spoke Finnish with the children
6	вот это вот может не надо было допускать. perhaps I shouldn' t have let this happen.
[…]	
7	ну: я даже не знаю тогда я сама наверно тоже учила финский язык we:ll I don' t even know back then I guess I was also learning Finnish
8	может более, maybe more,
9	чтоб было легче может понять мужу что ли maybe[to make it] easier for[my] husband to understand
10	[…]
11	что он может быть даже иногда против был, That he was perhaps against it[Russian at home] sometimes
12	потому что он не понимает русский язык because he doesn' t understand Russian

In lines 5–8 Maria says that she spoke only Finnish when the whole family was together. In lines 11–12 she says that she herself was studying Finnish at the time and that she wanted her husband to understand what was being said. She adds, with some hesitation, that her husband was against the use of Russian in the family. A number of factors came into play when the FLP was established in this double-parent family. First, the language choice can be explained by power relations within the family (i.e. Maria needed to adjust her language practices as her husband did not understand Russian). This language choice was reinforced by the environment (i.e. the lack of Russian speakers in the area where the family lived) and Maria's own trajectory as a Finnish language speaker (see line 7). As a result, the children ultimately refused to speak Russian at home. Similar findings were discussed by Souza (2015), who found that minority language-speaking mothers had to negotiate FLP in order to maintain the child's heritage language.

Maria's youngest child Oscar was born six years prior to the interview and was raised in a single-parent family. Oscar's father is a Finnish speaker, and they meet occasionally and speak Finnish with each other. When Maria was bringing up Oscar, it was her deliberate decision to speak Russian at home with him, a decision that nobody challenged. As she explained: 'When he was born, I decided to give him an opportunity [to speak Russian]'. When I asked Maria, what language she speaks with her children now, she replied:

Extract 5

1	Я с младшим ребенком говорю на русском языке. I speak Russian with my younger child.
2	У нас- We have-
3	мы дома говорим на русском языке we speak Russian at home

In Extract 5 Maria first says that *she* spoke Russian with Oscar but in the next utterance, in line 3, she specifies *we* (implying herself and Oscar) 'speak Russian at home', thus highlighting that Oscar

was also a co-collaborator in the FLP negotiation. Maria further elaborated on Oscar's role in the language policy negotiation saying that each time she started speaking Finnish with Oscar he asked: 'Why do you speak Finnish?', explicitly manifesting his agency.

Maria's case illustrates that her intention of speaking Russian at home with Oscar was rooted in her historical body at a time when she could not enact the language practices that would enable the transmission of Russian to her children. When Maria became a sole caretaker, she faced no resistance in response to her chosen pro-Russian FLP. Additionally, their social environment (i.e. Russian-speaking friends) had a positive impact on Oscar's language maintenance. Unlike Maria's older children, Oscar actively positioned himself as an agent of pro-minority-language FLP.

Julia: divorce and single parenting

Julia was born and grew up in a predominantly Russian-speaking area of Estonia. When describing her place of birth Julia said: 'I don't belong neither here nor there, well at all, for Estonians I'm Russian, for Russians I'm sort of an Estonian.' Julia moved to Finland at the age of 28, seven years before the interview, because her husband was working in Finland. Julia worked as an English language teacher in a college and in her interview, she emphasized that she knew how to support a child's bilingualism referring to the OPOL strategy. Like the other cases discussed above, Julia aligned her historical body with pro-multilingual FLP. Despite predominantly using Russian with her son, Alexander, she said that they could sometimes fool around in English, and Alexander might initiate some talk in Finnish which led to meta-linguistic discussions in Russian.

Alexander was born in Estonia. He was brought to Finland with his parents when he was one and a half years old and started kindergarten soon after that. Both of Alexander's parents are Russian-speaking, and Julia reported that Alexander started speaking Russian first but gradually he became proficient in Finnish as he was attending a Finnish-medium kindergarten, where he had a Russian-speaking assistant. Julia explained that Alexander now often helped her with Finnish and corrected her. This positions Alexander as being empowered in relation to Finnish language norms. As mentioned above, Julia mostly spoke Russian with her son, but she said that she used to have arguments with her ex-husband over their language practices at home:

Extract 6

1	Ю: Ну мы как бы оба разговаривали на русском, well we both spoke Russian,
[…]	
2	то есть э: в принципе нет, ничё не поменялось э:, so ehm basically no, nothing has changed ehm,
[…]	
3	Вот он мне говорит что мы когда разъехались, So he says that when we separated,
4	он уже там пытался мне сказать про то что he tried to tell me that
5	надо с ним по-фински говорить, it' s necessary to speak Finnish
6	ну как-то это так на корню и засохло все, and well it sort of withered on the vine,
7	ну то есть как бы я ему сразу дала понять что это- well I mean I let him know at once that it-
8	это не работает как бы, it kinda doesn' t work,
9	ну вообще-то это лишнее, well it' s actually unnecessary,

In lines 1 and 2, Julia specifies that nothing changed in their language practices after their divorce. Nonetheless, lines 4–9 illustrate the attempts of Julia's ex-husband to change language

practices they had already established. Although he was a native Russian speaker himself, Julia's ex-husband tried to convince her to shift toward the majority language (i.e. Finnish). In addition, Julia described how his new wife had intervened to support Russian as a family language for Julia and Alexander. Julia, as the primary caretaker, further explained her attitude by the fact that Alexander was immersed into a Finnish-speaking environment, and he lacked input in Russian.

Although the particular extract that I have quoted here does not include any reference to the shift in language practices, it does, however, highlight that Julia as the primary caretaker resisted making such a shift and maintained the practices that were already established. It is interesting that the father tried to shift their language practices after the divorce. This indicates that non-residential family members can play a significant role in shaping language policies at home, like in Anna's case, where the non-residential father played a key role in FLP negotiation (see e.g. Obied 2010). In Julia's case, however, not only did the father take part in the negotiation but so did his new wife. This confirms that peripheral members may indeed play a significant role in FLP negotiation (see e.g. Smith-Christmas 2019).

Discussion

The aim of this study was to explore the links between shifts in family configuration and potential shifts in language practices. The findings show that there may indeed be links between the two, and that these links are revealed in several ways. First, one person creating new bonds leads to shifts in the language practices of other family members, as in Katerina's case: the mother's deliberate attempts to get the grandmother to change into Russian failed but getting married led to the grandmother's adjustment of her language practices to the language preferences of Katerina's husband. Second, forming voluntary kin can expand heritage language use and enable children to take overhearer or bystander roles. In Anna's case, the changes in personal relationships expanded the family's linguistic repertoire and supported legitimacy of the already established practices, as the non-residential father often embedded Russian words in the conversations. Finally, the study showed that becoming sole caretakers enables mothers to enact the practices that they themselves find beneficial for their children. This supports the argument put forward by Davydova-Minguet and Pöllänen (2020) that Russian-speaking mothers often have to negotiate FLP with Finnish-speaking partners. As the current study illustrates, this was the case for two participants as well (i.e. Maria and Julia), who managed to implement the FLP of their choice after a divorce.

In line with Poveda et al. (2014) this study illustrates the salience of bonds for single parents. This may be explained by the fact that single parents tend to create networks that may potentially develop into bonds. This led to the (re)negotiation of the FLP in Katerina's and Anna's cases. In one of the interviews (with Katerina) there is clear evidence of the dominance of a normative family discourse, against which Katerina sets her experience as a single parent. This vividly illustrates how the dominant discourse is perceived as a norm while single-parent experience is a deviation from the norm, which is in turn directly linked to interactive norms and patterns (i.e. a certain number of participants of a certain gender).

Conclusion

The study outcomes present a complex picture of fluid family configurations and their links with language policy (re)negotiation. The study illustrates how the families (re)negotiate their language policies within a network of social actors and shows that single mothers maintain their children's bilingualism when they are the sole decision makers. Two of the participants, Julia and Maria, drew attention to their children's agentic roles by seeing them as resisting certain language choices or acting as experts in the majority language. In the future, it would be useful to take a synchronic approach to family and further scrutinize the interplay between changes in family constellations and language policies. Combined with a long-term research design and an outcome-based

approach, this could reveal how these processes influence children's minority language maintenance. Examining this process from children's perspectives would also shed light on how the children navigate family relations and contribute to FLP negotiation with non-residential family members, voluntary kin and peripheral family members.

Transcription conventions:
[…] omitted utterances
- truncated word
[ ] transcriber's comment
: elongated sound

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ORCID

Polina Vorobeva http://orcid.org/0000-0002-8078-7071

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III

NAVIGATING TENSIONS AND DISCURSIVE CONTRADICTIONS RELATED TO HERITAGE LANGUAGE LEARNING IN FAMILY AND SCHOOL

by

by Polina Vorobeva & Åsa Palviainen

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Navigating tensions and discursive contradictions related to heritage language learning in family and school

Abstract

Heritage language (HL) classes are a salient language management tool that assists families in HL transmission. While prior studies have focused on the positive aspects of heritage language learning (HLL), the current study explores the tensions and contradictions in two divorced Russian-speaking families in Finland in relation to HLL. Nexus analysis (Scollon & Scollon, 2004) was applied to interview data from two Russian-speaking divorced mothers and to the guidelines for heritage language instruction by FNBE (2016) to examine the discursive tensions that arose from the nexus of HLL, education, and the family. The analysis revealed that in one of the families, tensions arise at the interpersonal level (e.g., between the mother, the teacher, and the child) and regarding the status of the HL class in the National Core Curriculum. The nexus analysis of the other family demonstrated a more complex picture, where the legal discourse represented by the court emerged as important in shaping the process of HLL in the family. These findings highlight the role of actors beyond the immediate family space who play a crucial role in HLL. Therefore, the intersection of changing family constellation and the non-official status of the HL class may hinder opportunities for minority language maintenance and support.

Keywords: heritage language learning; family language policy; language management; nexus analysis.

1. Introduction

Heritage language learning (HLL) is an intrinsic part of family language policy and planning. Families' goals are often built around supporting, maintaining, and developing minority and/or heritage languages (see e.g., Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur, 2018; Otwinowska et al., 2021; Romanowski, 2021). One of the means that assists parents in fulfilling this goal is enrolling a child in a heritage language class. However, as HL classes are voluntary and often extracurricular, the decision to enrol the child may demand a considerable amount of parental management and investment, as well as cooperation by the child. This process may not always be smooth and straightforward, and also relies on the affordances provided by the educational system.

This chapter takes a closer look at two divorced mothers of Russian-speaking background in Finland and how they navigate tensions that arise when they decide to support their children's Russian through the means of HL classes in Finland. More specifically, we examine what intrafamilial and family-external tensions and contradictions arise from the nexus of heritage language learning, parental beliefs and expectations, and educational, societal, and state ideologies. The primary data are semi-structured interviews with the two mothers[1] while

[1] The interviews were carried out prior to the Russian invasion of Ukraine, so they did not touch upon the themes surrounding the war and its potential effect on family language policies and heritage language transmission.

guidelines in relation to HLL in the Finnish National Core Curriculum for basic education (FNBE, 2016) were used to identify educational discourse. The study employs nexus analysis (see further section 4.2) which allows us to track the heritage language learning discourse itineraries. We start from the guidelines of the Finnish National Board of education on heritage language teaching and follow the mothers' language beliefs encapsulated in their historical bodies and exercised as language management decisions. In this way, NA will be used to uncover the link between discourse (e.g., HLL guidelines by the Finnish National Board of Education) and action (HLL as a language management tool exercised in the families). NA will also bring to the surface other factors and actors that will be seen to have had a significant impact on the family language policy of these two family constellations. In the following, we will first describe the system of heritage language education in Finland, in an international context as well as family language policy and management, and after that we will present the study itself.

2. Heritage language education in Finland

HLL[2] is implemented through different institutional resources in different countries. For example, in the UK supplementary schools that focus on maintaining the cultural and linguistic heritage of the community members are often funded by community members and private organisations as well as by embassies and local authorities (see e.g., Anderson, 2008; Szczepek Reed, et al., 2020). In Finland, HL classes are available throughout the preschool and comprehensive school, starting from the last year of early childhood education until the end of grade nine (Opetushallitus, 2016, 6). This contrasts with the HLL policy in the Netherlands, for example, where heritage or immigrant language instruction is generally not provided in primary school, and heritage languages are taught only to some extent in secondary school (Yağmur, 2020, 426).

Finland, as a bilingual country with Finnish and Swedish as official languages, has a long history of heritage language support dating back to the 1970s and 80s when these classes were first organised for migrants. Only much later, however, in the 1990s, did the HL classes become part of the National Core Curriculum for basic education in the curriculum guidelines for

[2] The term heritage language (HL) is used in the current chapter to refer to the language that the mothers decided to pass on to their children, and the term heritage language learning (HLL) refers to the learning of the language that the mothers decided to pass on to their children".

migrant pupils (Ikonen, 2007). One main mission of basic education in Finland is to promote "versatile cultural competence and appreciation of the cultural heritage [...] cultural identity and cultural capital" (FNBE, 2016, 19). Notably, the curriculum for HL classes does not employ the term heritage language, but the subject is referred to as *oma äidinkieli* / *one's own mother tongue* (FNBE, 2016).

In 2020, a total of 60 languages were taught as HL in Finland. Russian is currently the most taught heritage language in Finland – 5,619 pupils enrolled in Russian heritage classes in the autumn of 2020 (FNBE, 2020)[3]. This figure significantly exceeds the number of the second most taught heritage language – Arabic, with its 3,300 pupils. On the one hand it can be explained by the fact that Russian speakers outnumber other linguistic minorities in Finland with 87,552 registered speakers in 2021 (Tilastokeskus, 2022) but on the other it also indicates the importance of language maintenance for the community members. For example, Russian-speaking parents value the institutional support of bilingualism for their children (i.e., the availability of bilingual kindergartens and schools) (Protassova, 2019). It is important to note that while such support (i.e., bilingual kindergarten and schools) is highly valued by the parents it is available only in the capital area, in the Eastern part of Finland, and in the city of Turku (Viimaranta et al., 2018).

Despite the general trajectory toward the promotion and support of children's heritage, HL education in Finland remains outside regular school hours and is organised on a voluntary basis (i.e., municipalities decide whether they allocate the budget expenses for this item of expenditure or not, and they can apply for the state subsidy if the municipal budget is not enough to organise HL education) (Opetushallitus, n.d.). This is akin to the situation with HL instruction in such countries as Sweden and the Netherlands, where HLL funding is allocated either on a national or a municipal level (Yağmur, 2020, 436). Furthermore, access to HLL may be further complicated by the minimum enrolment number of four pupils which needs to be met in order to organise teaching (FNBE, 2016). The required minimum number of pupils in Finland is low, however, compared to some other European countries. For example, in France, Belgium, and Germany the minimum number may be as high as 20 pupils. Although the requirements in Finland in relation to HLL are not as demanding as in other countries, they still create potentially unequal access to HL education for children living in different parts of the country and speaking different heritage languages.

[3] The statistical information provided about the number of registered speakers and the number of pupils enrolled in the HL classes reflects the situation before the Russian invasion of Ukraine.

3. Family language policy and language management

One of the dominant theoretical approaches in family language policy (FLP) research has been the tripartite framework, which postulates that language policy amounts to language beliefs or ideologies (i.e., what the parents think about particular named languages), language practices (i.e., the habitual use of certain linguistic repertoires among family members) and language management or planning (i.e., any efforts to modify the language practices) (Spolsky, 2004). A substantial number of FLP studies have focused on the interplay of language beliefs, language practices, and language management in the family context (see e.g., Curdt-Christiansen, 2013; Soler & Roberts, 2019). Some research has been done particularly on language management in families, focusing on the external factors and discourses that infiltrate the family, such as school or government policies (see e.g., Curdt-Christiansen & La Morgia, 2018) and on the decisions and discourses emerging within the family, such as parental language choices in family talk (see e.g., Kopeliovich, 2010).

Numerous studies that have examined language management in families have pointed out that heritage literacy practices and formal HLL play an important role in language maintenance efforts (see e.g., Schwartz, 2008; Pillai et al., 2014; Et-Bozkurt & Yağmur, 2022). For example, Curdt-Christiansen and La Morgia (2018) explored language management for heritage language support in Chinese, Italian and Pakistani Urdu-speaking families in the UK and came to the conclusion that some families preferred to focus on developing their children's English language literacy instead of the HL literacy due to the higher socio-economic status of English. Similarly, a study by Karpava (2022), that focused on Russian-speaking mixed-marriage and immigrant families in Cyprus, showed that parents had to balance their management strategies, for example when choosing educational trajectories for their children (e.g., a Greek-medium school and extra-curricular classes in Russian and/or English).

The current study focuses on overt factors that influence family language policies and specifically on the processes of language management. We approach language management as a deliberate effort by parents to guide the FLP in a certain direction (e.g., to support a pro-minority-language FLP). We also identify tensions and contradictions emerging at the intersection of FLP and education policy.

4. Methodology

4.1 Participants and data

The study draws on two semi-structured interviews recorded in 2020 and 2021 as part of a project that explored family language policies in eight single-parent Russian-speaking families in Finland (Anonymised; Anonymised). The data collection was driven by the aim to explore mothers' attitudes, beliefs, and management strategies, particularly related to heritage language maintenance and support. The interviews were guided by pre-planned themes such as the mothers' attitudes towards different named languages, their family language practices, and their planned and ad hoc language management decisions. Furthermore, such topics as the mothers' (linguistic) background, their education, occupation, migration trajectories, and their experiences as language learners, speakers, and single parents were discussed. The two interviews analysed for the current study were chosen as illustrative cases where multiple forces came into play while the families were making decisions concerning HLL. The interviews lasted about 75 min each, were conducted via videocalls on Skype and WhatsApp, and were transcribed verbatim by the first author. Prior to the data collection, the participants were informed about the research aims and procedures and signed the consent forms. All the names presented in the current chapter are pseudonyms chosen by the interviewees (TENK 2019). Both participants were divorced single parents, and both aimed to preserve and develop their children's Russian language and foregrounded heritage language classes as salient means in this endeavour.

The study participants and their background information are briefly presented in Table 1. The named languages of the mothers' linguistic repertoires are represented in a hierarchical order, according to how they were narrated by the mothers, starting from the language that they transmit to their children (i.e., the language spoken at home) and ending with the language that the mothers found the least important. When organising languages in this order we are taking a perspective of the family on the significance of different languages as articulated by the mothers.

Another significant source of data was The Finnish National Core Curriculum for basic education, especially the guidelines in relation to HLL (FNBE, 2016, 498–508)[4]. The curriculum text serves as an important source of background information that helps to highlight the possible tensions and contradictions that arise at the intersection of personal, societal, and institutional discourses (see Figure 1).

[4] In-text references to the Finnish National Board of Education include page numbers from the English translation of the original document published in Finnish. Reference to the original document is Opetushallitus (2014, 463–472).

Table 1. Description of the participants

	Place of origin	Years in Finland	Children and their age (focal child in bold)	Mothers' linguistic repertoires	Occupation
Julia	Estonia	6	**Alexander** (7)	Russian, Finnish English, Estonian	Teacher of English
Irina	Northern Ossetia (Russia)	20	Kamilla (19), **Aleksi** (8)	Russian, Finnish, Ossetian	Nurse

4.2 Nexus analysis

The current study draws on nexus analysis (NA), which builds upon a variety of traditions, such as interactional sociolinguistics, critical discourse analysis, and ethnography of communication (Hult, 2015). NA allows flexibility during the analytical process and can be applied to a variety of data. At the core of NA is a social action, which is "any action taken by an individual with reference to a social network, also called a mediated action" (Scollon & Scollon, 2004, 11). In this study, the social action - the nexus - under examination is *decisions that parent(s) make concerning their children's Russian heritage language learning* (see Figure 1).

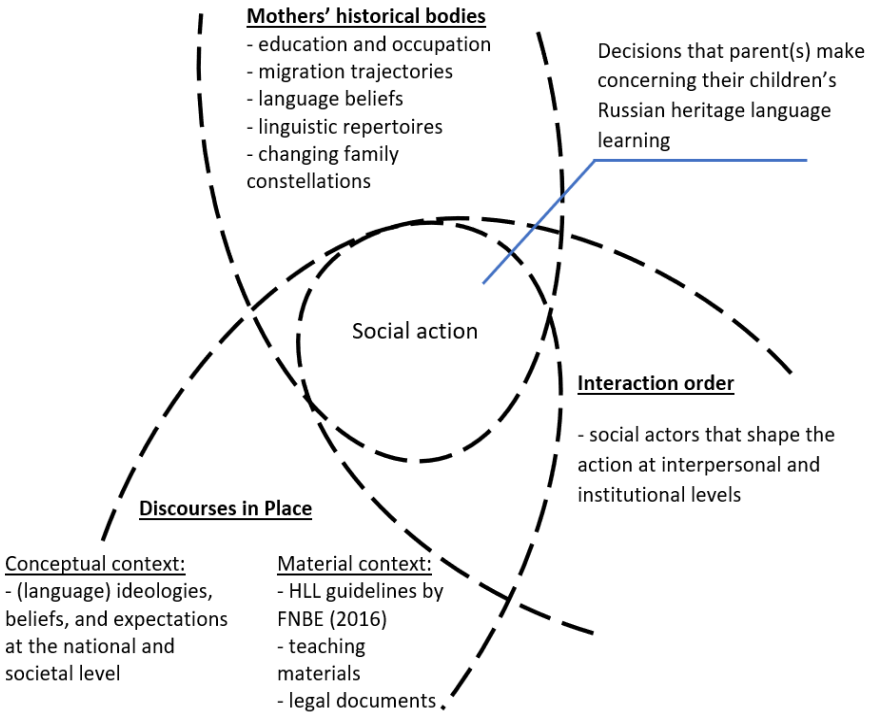

Figure 1 Nexus analytical lens (adapted from Scollon & Scollon (2004) and Hult (2015))

In NA, a social action emerges at the intersection of the *historical body*, *discourses in place*, and *interaction order* (Scollon & Scollon, 2004). The historical body encompasses participants' - in this study the mothers' - lived experiences, including education, social positioning, skills, and certain (language) beliefs developed throughout their lives (Hult, 2015, 224).

Discourses in place are defined as "an intersection or nexus of some aggregate of discourses" (Scollon & Scollon, 2004) and can be examined in the material or conceptual context. For example, it can refer to language ideologies at different levels, to the artefacts that mediate a policymaking process, or to some socially and historically situated concepts. In this study, the conceptual context is represented by language ideologies, beliefs, and expectations at different levels (e.g., the teacher's expectations about heritage language learning, and societal and state ideologies on the language spoken at home) and the material context are artefacts that mediate them (see Figure 1).

Interaction order refers to participants engaged in social action, norms of interaction that are established between them, and their expectations about certain social roles, positions, and use of linguistic codes (Hult, 2015, 224). Furthermore, as the current study shows, interaction

order can be represented by a variety of actors (e.g., family members, representatives of municipalities, schools, and courts). This allows seeing who takes the central and peripheral role in shaping the social action under examination.

To enhance the analysis, the data (i.e., the transcripts of interviews and the file containing the text of the Finnish National Core Curriculum for basic education) were imported into Atlas.ti. First, open coding was implemented to identify the social action (cf. above). After the social action had been identified, the data were scrutinized to identify possible tensions and contradictions that appeared as part of the social action. For each of these, significant elements that represented historical body, discourses in place and actors within the interaction order were coded, and their interrelationships analysed.

5. Findings

5.1. Julia's family: intra-familial and discursive tensions

Julia, a 36-year-old single parent, was born and raised in a predominantly Russian-speaking town in Estonia. She spoke Russian in the family, with Estonian remaining on the periphery. She was an English language teacher by occupation and after she had moved to Finland, she managed to continue her work. Julia moved to Finland with her 1,5-year-old son, Alexander, to reunite with her Russian husband, who lived with her in Estonia but moved to Finland for work. When Alexander was two and a half years old, Julia divorced her husband, and since then had been raising Alexander as a single parent (see Anonymised, for an account of how language practices were contested along the shifts in family composition in Julia's family).

Julia speaks mostly Russian with her son Alexander, but sometimes they may fool around in Finnish. English has also become more visible at home, as her son started using single words in English, for example, to thank Julia. Overall, Julia's historical body orients toward a pro-multilingual FLP. Russian is grounded in her historical body as it was first a home language as she was growing up, and it continued to be a family language when Julia got married and started her own family. She also allows some space for Finnish and English, however, these named languages are present in a limited way in the family talk. Furthermore, Julia confirms that due to her language teacher training, she is aware that the One-Person-One-Language policy (OPOL) is effective in raising multilingual children (see e.g., Döpke 1992; Venables et al., 2014). She says "it's normal for him [=her son]" to navigate a multilingual environment by e.g., speaking Russian to her and Finnish to a school teacher. A more nuanced look into Julia's

historical body shows that despite the generally positive attitude towards the above-mentioned named languages, she is especially invested in support of Alexander's Russian. She claims that she likes "that they [Finns] really support this idea [of heritage language maintenance] and insist on having [speaking] only mother tongue at home". Julia's investment in Russian heritage language support is indicated by the fact that she taught Alexander how to read in Russian and by her insistence on Alexander attending Russian heritage classes. She explains in detail below how she encourages her son to develop a routine that would allow him to succeed in his Russian heritage class.

Excerpt 1

> Там же учительница задает с учетом недели, то есть там заданий столько, что там делать не переделать, и я ему как-то уже ввела это правило, что говорю там как бы ну [учительница] много задала, и ты за четверг там, если в пятницу русский, то ты в четверг просто не осилишь это все делать. Ты сам взвоешь. И я говорю [ему], мы будем делать каждый день, но по чуть-чуть.
>
> The teacher gives homework for the whole week, so there are so many tasks that you can't do them all at once, and I sort of made the rule for him one day, I'm telling that [the teacher] gave you so much homework, and you, on Thursday if you have Russian on Friday, you won't get all this done on Thursday. You'll howl. And I'm telling [him] we'll do a bit each day.

Excerpt 1 illustrates that language management in relation to Russian HL class in this case can be approached on two levels. First, the HL classes per se act as a language management tool which assists Julia to orient FLP toward Russian language support. Secondly, Julia introduced Alexander to a meticulously planned routine which should help him keep up with the amount of homework he receives at his HL classes. As Julia reports, the teacher gives homework to pupils for the whole week, which means that the pupils need to do the homework daily to finalise it by the day of the class. The excerpt is also indicative of the HL teacher's expectations – the teacher expects the pupils to invest in their HLL through daily exercises. Therefore the teacher as well as the mother plays a significant role in shaping the process of HLL and thus is involved in the interaction order.

It is important to note that Julia in her discourse uses the pronouns *"I"* and *"you"* throughout excerpt but in the very last sentence she switches to the pronoun to *"we"*. While the pronoun *"I"* is used in the position of power (e.g., *I [..] made the rule/я ему [...] ввела это правило*) which indicates that Julia is in control of the routine and its planning, she uses the pronoun *"we"* when referring to the routine implementation (e.g., *we'll do a bit each day/мы будем делать каждый день но по чуть-чуть*). This in turn indicates that she is involved in

the process and helps her son with homework (see Wright, 2020 for the discussion on pronoun use by single parents).

Excerpt 2 below illustrates how Julia's insistence creates certain tensions between her and Alexander and explicitly positions the Russian heritage class among other basic education classes.

Excerpt 2

> Ну то есть тоже он там немножко без удовольствия, но я ему говорю, что как бы надо надо как бы, ну как на все остальные уроки надо ходить на русский. Раз в неделю это как бы очень мало. И вот тоже я настаиваю на том, чтобы он писал- зачем мне вот эти прописи писать? Типа я и так вот на финском могу написать, я могу печатными написать. Я говорю можешь, но чтобы- ну как бы надо чтоб красиво было еще. Палочки перпендикулярно были, вот будешь как мама тоже красиво писать. Ну он типа вот мне это не надо, не надо [...]

> Well, I mean he's [taking HL class] without pleasure but I'm telling him that you sort of need to, you need to attend it just like any other classes. Once a week is kind of little. And then again, I insist on him writing- why do I have to write in those copybooks? I can kind of write it in Finnish, I can write it in block letters. I'm telling [him] you can but to- well, it should look good. The lines should be perpendicular, then you're writing as beautifully as your mother. He's sort of [telling] me that I don't need [it], [I] don't need [it] [...]

At the beginning of this excerpt, Julia asserts that her son, Alexander, does not enjoy the Russian heritage class. She further elaborates that the class should be attended just like any other class, adding that once a week is not much, which hints at the fact that some work on the Russian language should be done regularly (cf. Excerpt 1). This excerpt illustrates the tensions between mother and son. Alexander shows resistance toward Russian HL class and argues that he can do the same task (i.e., copybooks) but in Finnish and in block letters instead of Russian cursive. Julia positions herself as a role model by saying that only by practising may Alexander achieve the level of his mother's writing skills. This excerpt also elucidates a more nuanced picture of FLP. As demonstrated above, Julia does orient toward a pro-multilingual FLP, but when it comes to HL literacy development and support she takes a strong stance and insists on cursive Russian spelling despite the fact that Alexander explicitly expresses his resistance to the language in general (e.g., "I kind of can write it in Finnish") and to the mode of written text (e.g., "I can write it in block letters"). Therefore the tensions are developing along the form of modality (i.e., copybook), the way of implementation (i.e., block letters vs cursive), and the language choice (Finnish vs Russian). In other words, participants in the interaction order (i.e.,

Julia and her son Alexander) orient differently toward how languages should be inscribed or codified.

Excerpt 2 also illustrates contradictions between Julia's attitude toward Russian HL and the official discourse on HLL in Finland. According to the Finnish National Board of Education (2016), the heritage language classes are "complementing basic education and are provided under separate funding. [...] the purpose of the instruction of the pupil's mother tongue is to support the development of active plurilingualism and to develop his or her interest in the lifelong development of language proficiency" (FNBE, 2016, 498)[5]. The guidelines emphasise that HL instruction is complementing basic education, which means that at the end of the HLL, when pupils finish their studies, they receive "a certificate of attendance for studies in his or her mother tongue complementing basic education" (FNBE, 2016, 508)[6]. Therefore the HL classes are not included in the certificate of basic education even as an optional subject (FNBE, 2016, 60-61)[7]. This potentially may indicate that completion and therefore achieved language proficiency obtained through HL instruction remains invisible when the pupils apply for further studies in high school (Fi. *lukio*) or vocational school (Fi. *ammattikoulu*). This creates a clear discrepancy between the efforts that family members put into HLL and the potential outcome in the form of social capital (e.g., recognition of language skills in further education).

5.2. Irina's family: education policy and legal discourse as mediational means of tensions and contradictions

Irina is 44 years old and has been living in Finland for 20 years. She had been married twice since her move to Finland from Northern Ossetia, and she raised her two children, 19 -years-old Kamilla and 8-year-old Aleksi in different family constellations (i.e., in wedlock and as a single parent).

Irina was born to a predominantly Ossetian-speaking family which resided in a rural area, and she mostly spoke Ossetian until the age of 6, as none of her family members other than Irina's mother spoke Russian. Irina enrolled in a Russian medium school in a city and later graduated from a university in Ossetia with a degree in law, but when she moved to Finland, she became a nurse.

Irina's children were born to different Finnish-speaking men. As her marriages followed one after the other, Irina had to move several times until she divorced her second husband and

[5] Opetushallitus (2014, 463)
[6] Opetushallitus (2014, 472)
[7] Opetushallitus (2014, 58–59)

settled in a city in the South-West of Finland. After her children were born Irina set about looking for opportunities for them to learn Russian. Irina's decision to transmit Russian to her children instead of Ossetian can be partially explained by her experience of growing up in one of the republics of the Soviet Union, and nowadays Russia, where minority languages were and are highly marginalised, while Russian was and is widely used, for example, in higher education (see e.g., Semenova et al., 2021).

Her daughter Kamilla was first enrolled in a Finnish-medium kindergarten (between the ages of 1;11, and 2;11) and then attended a Russian-medium kindergarten. Kamilla was also enrolled in a Finnish-Russian class in elementary school, and in a heritage language class until a strict Finnish-only language policy was forced at home by Irina's second husband, and Kamilla had to change schools and stopped taking Russian HL classes. Kamilla, Irina's daughter, was twelve years old at the time and Aleksi was about one. Irina's historical body is represented by a strong stance toward Russian language transmission, which became even more pronounced when she got married to her second husband and had to carve out time for Russian (e.g., speaking Russian when going out grocery shopping with Kamilla).

When Irina's son, Aleksi, reached school age, she divorced her second husband and resided with her children in a Finnish city, where Aleksi first attended a Russian medium kindergarten and then started school in a bilingual Finnish-Russian class. After the divorce, however, Aleksi's parents still had opposing views – while Irina was firm in her decision to continue Aleksi's Russian heritage language support, Aleksi's father did not share Irina's stance and aimed to compensate for the time that Aleksi spent on his Friday HL class by spending more time together on the weekend. Negative attitudes toward the heritage language combined with the non-compulsory status of the class resulted in conflict, as illustrated by Excerpt 3 below.

Excerpt 3

> Так как это необязательно, я тебе буду возвращать его позже ребенка на час, а у нас решение суда, что он должен в воскресенье в шесть вернуть. Он мне его вернул в семь. Вот я теперь требую в школе чтобы это где [неразборчиво] поставили в расписание школы, но не знаю поставят или нет, потому что когда Камилла училась предмет не стоял в расписании школы, и не знаю поставят ли его щас или нет. Всё зависит от этого.

> As it wasn't compulsory, I'll return him, the child, an hour later, and we have a court's decision that he [the father] should return [Aleksi] on Sunday at six. He [the father] returned him [Aleksi] at seven, so now I demand the school to- [unintelligible] to put it [Russian heritage class] into the school schedule but I don't know if they will do it or not because when Kamilla [Irina's older daughter] was studying [at school] the subject wasn't in the school

timetable, and I don’t know if they’d put it in now or not. Everything depends on that.

Excerpt 3 illustrates that the decisions about Russian heritage language learning (i.e., the social action) are informed by Irina’s strong stance toward Russian language transmission rooted in her historical body. At the same time, these decisions are shaped by the discourse in place related to the non-compulsory status of the heritage language class and the actors which emerge as important in shaping the social action, such as Irina, the father, the school, and the court. As Irina and her ex-husband have a court decision arranging how much time Aleksi spends with the mother and the father respectively, the Russian HL class emerges as a root cause of tension in the family. It is noteworthy that the legal body (i.e., the court) arises as a prominent entity that plays a decisive role in whether the child participates in the HL class or not. This, in turn, questions the view of the family as a private space and shows that a legal body may act as a central mediator in seemingly private decisions about a child’s heritage language support (see also Purkarthofer et. al., (2022) on family along the private-public continuum).

The excerpt also shows that Irina turns to the school to help her solve this conflict and even stresses that “everything depends” on the school’s decisions relating to Russian HL class inclusion or exclusion in the school curriculum. The excerpt shows that Irina sees school as a potential collaborator to assist in solving the conflicts that arise at the nexus of personal beliefs (e.g., Irina’s beliefs toward Russian maintenance and transmission and the father’s resistance toward Russian HL class), and the status of the heritage language as optional in the Finnish National Core Curriculum for basic education (FNBE, 2016). However, Irina’s historical body is infiltrated by uncertainty concerning the school’s positive decision due to her prior experience when her daughter, Kamilla, attended the HL classes. The next excerpt explicates the family tensions even further.

Excerpt 4

Потому что там будет всё-таки стоять в расписании, то это уже не моя прихоть, а это уже его предмет. Ну вот у нас щас из-за этого разборки, потому что конечно он выдает опять что нарушаются права ребенка. Потому что [я думаю] это право ребенка изучать родной язык. И если город предлагает такую возможность, я не могу как родитель позволить, чтоб мой ребенок недополучил это право. Я прослежу за его, за исполнением его прав, что он будет у нас счастлив [неразборчиво] [смех]

Because if it’s in the curriculum, then it’s not my whim but it’s his [Aleksi’s] subject. So, we are having conflicts because of this, as he [the father] says again that the child’s rights are violated. Because [I think] it’s the child’s right to learn his mother tongue. And if the city provides such an opportunity, as a parent I can’t

let my child be deprived of this right. I will see that his [Aleksi's] rights are respected and that he'll be happy [unintelligible] [laugh].

At the beginning of this excerpt, Irina foregrounds the role of the discourse in place represented by the school curriculum (i.e., the syllabus, the schedule) which plays a decisive role in the status of the HL class. She further elaborates on the polarised position of the HL class, which depends on whether it is part of the school curriculum or not. She draws a distinction between the two by stating that if the Russian HL class is not part of the school curriculum then it is simply Irina's whim for Aleksi to attend this class, but if it is included in the school curriculum the class changes its status to a legitimate subject. This divergence (a whim vs a legitimate subject) is grounded in the legal discourse as Irina further continues elaborating on the conflict which emerged between her and her ex-husband's understanding of what the child's (Aleksi's) rights are. While the father stands for the child's right to spend enough time with him (cf. Excerpt 3), Irina positions herself as a safeguard for Aleksi's right to learn his mother tongue.

Excerpt 4 also reveals the interaction order, and its salient actors, and demonstrates that some of these actors are located beyond the immediate family space. First, Irina mentions the father who is positioned as a contestant in this dispute. Secondly, Irina foregrounds the school when referring to the school curriculum, which plays an important role in defining the status of the HL class. Thirdly, she refers to the municipality that provides an opportunity for the children to learn their HLs and therefore acts as a gatekeeper to HL education. Furthermore, although the HLL guidelines are not directly mentioned, they still remain a salient mediational means of providing the opportunities (e.g., the possibility to enrol in the HL class) and/or constraints (e.g., during a legal dispute in a transnational family) in a child's heritage language support.

6. Concluding discussion

The nexus analysis of HLL, parental beliefs and expectations, and societal and state ideologies revealed multiple tensions and contradictions that arose in the two families headed by divorced mothers. In Julia's case, HLL attitudes and the official discourse related to HL support open up contradictions along three axes. First, there is an interplay of forces represented by different actors engaged in the interaction order, such as the teacher's expectations about the investment of time and effort into HLL (cf. excerpts 1 and 2), the mother, who is aligning with the teacher's expectations by meticulously planning the homework routine, and the son, Alexander, who exercises his agency by resisting both the teacher and the mother (see e.g.,

Anonymised on child agency). Secondly, Julia's decision to invest in HLL through her thorough planning and involvement contradicts its potential outcome as valued by society (i.e., the pupil's proficiency in the language and hours invested in HLL are not reflected in the certificate of basic education). Thirdly, Julia articulated the dominant discourse of parallel monolingualism (see e.g., Anonymised; Anonymised) when she expressed her appreciation of a suggestion to speak a minority language at home (i.e., Russian) (cf. Chapter 5.1), which can be interpreted as not conforming to the de jure discourse that celebrates and promotes multilingualism (e.g., FNBE, 2016).

The case of Irina shows a more complex situation. The nexus analysis reveals that the tensions and contradictions in Irina's case are shaped by a number of actors which create an intersection of multiple discourses (i.e., family discourse represented by Irina and her ex-husband, educational discourse represented by the school curriculum and legal discourse represented by the court's decision). At the same time, the HLL guidelines, while not being explicitly mentioned by the participants, act as a gatekeeper that either enables the HL support, as in Julia's case, or intensifies family tensions, as in the case of Irina, where the HLL discourse represented by the National Core Curriculum for basic education faces the legal discourse represented by the court's decision. Furthermore, in both families the mothers take full responsibility for the child's heritage language support and development, taking on the hands-on planning of HLL and bearing the emotional load that goes along with the aspirations of raising a child bilingually (see e.g. Okita, 2002)

The findings demonstrate that the status of HL classes serves as a root cause of family tensions (e.g., a legal dispute between the parents as in Irina's family) and discursive contradictions (e.g., investment of time and effort into HLL which may not pay off in the future, as in Julia's family). Moreover, the study shows that in a changing family constellation, where the parents are going through a legal dispute, the court's decision on the custody arrangement takes the upper hand when it comes to the child's participation in HLL.

In conclusion, extra-curricular participation in HL classes and successful heritage language transmission as part of them are to a great extent dependent on the involvement and investment of parents, teachers, and the children themselves. However, as this study shows, there are also other parameters of importance, some of them inherent in a certain educational system or societal ideologies (Yağmur, 2020), but some stem from the fact that family nowadays takes different shapes and is often in flux (Anonymised). These complexities should be taken into consideration during policy-making processes in order to maximise HLL in the

family as well as in school. This will assist in supporting families seeking HL maintenance and development.

Transcription conventions:

[ ] transcriber's comment

- truncated word

[...] utterance continues

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