

Here's Rode the laiskimus laiskimus:

**Heteroglossic resources and translanguaging in the
communication of third culture kids**

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1. Introduction

The focus of this pro gradu thesis will be to observe situations of flexible language use and heteroglossic resources within the spoken language of third culture children in Namibia. The concept of heteroglossia will allow for both monolingual and multilingual uses of language to be taken into account and will therefore provide a suitable framework for the study of multilingual participation. It will provide a framework for the analysis of mixing different linguistic resources in multilingual participation. The notion of translanguaging will also be discussed in terms of flexible languaging or language use. Translanguaging as a term is quite relevant for this thesis because according to Blackledge & Creese (2014) it enables us to move focus from languages as separate codes and to focus more on the people using, creating and interpreting the linguistic repertoires used in communication. The switch between languages will be treated as a mode of heteroglossic participation since it is a particular linguistic component of heteroglossic participation. The focus on switching will include analysis on the situations in which the language is switched and what social and cultural implications these switches have. Some relevant research questions on switching between languages will include: In what situations does the switching occur and in what way is this switch between languages used for communication? This type of switching between languages is traditionally defined as code-switching and will therefore also be used within this thesis as part of the terminology. In this thesis, code-switching is referred to as the changing of the language within spoken communication. Schendl & Wright (2011) argue that code-switching can happen within a variety of language, but in this thesis it will be referred to as a changing of the language and not dialect or variety. Borrowing will be discussed fairly synonymously together with code-switching due to similarity in the way code-switching and borrowing function within multilingual communication. Flexible language use includes code-switching and borrowing and will therefore also be used as a term for fluently switching between languages.

The study will be conducted in the form of qualitative research and the method used for gathering data will be by observing the languaging habits of the participants. The research material will include self-recorded video and audio material for which the participants have given their written, informed consent for the use of these materials in this study. The participants' names have been changed to protect the anonymity of the subjects. The video material will focus on the communication methods of the youngest child Jake, the

middle child Matti and the eldest lines. The parents will also be included if necessary. The video material used for this thesis will be in a ten year time frame from the year 1996 up to 2008. The family will have moved to Finland in 2005 which can be expected to have a significant effect on the linguistic resources the children use during multilingual communication. The source material will be audiovisual and I will attempt to transcribe the parts that will be focused on during the analysis. I will analyze the research material to gain a better understanding of the linguistic resources the children use within a multilingual environment. It will be interesting to witness the development of English skills in the children's speech and therefore the effects on linguistic diversity and multilingual participation. A focus point on flexible language use will be on the situations in which the language is switched and whether the switch happens more often during a conversation with a certain person.

Borrowing and substitution will be connected to the analysis of code-switching situations. Bilingualism is often a pre-requisite for fluent switching and effective borrowing; therefore, as important factors of the participants' language use and multilingual participation, it must also be taken into account. The data will help in understanding code-switching as a phenomenon in regards to the situations and places it occurs and with whom it is most likely to occur. An important focus point within different modes of multilingual participation will be on the period of time in which the family moves to the capital city of Namibia and the children enroll at an English speaking international school. It will be interesting to witness the ways in which the development of English will affect the heteroglossia in the multilingual discourse of the children. After the year 2005, the family will have moved back to Finland. This is another turning point in the language use and development of the children, because they will suddenly be placed in an environment with major support for Finnish, and English will only be heard from the media and within English class at school. The years 1999 until 2007 will be a critical phase in the children's language use and will hopefully provide the most evidence of different heteroglossic resources and multilingual participation.

Heteroglossic resources and multilingual participation are important research topics in an environment that is becoming more and more multilingual. Linguistic phenomena such as code-switching and mixing should be considered as resources for multilingual acquisition and communication. Code-switching can be considered a strategy of multilingual participation and with proper knowledge of the subject it can be used as a tool for fluent

multilingual communication. It is a resource that should not be seen as something that reflects the person's language proficiency but rather their ability to adapt to a multilingual environment or situation. With the development of technologies such as skype, internet-games, virtual reality and faster means of travel, it is natural that the environment we live in is evolving into an international and multilingual environment. Finnish youth are much more capable in the English language than their parents and grandparents are, and the English language can be found all over in their social media feeds. Due to development towards a multilingual environment, it is natural that we use different languages in different situations, and therefore the resources with which these languages can be fluently used should be carefully studied.

The use of linguistic resources should not only be the interest of linguistic studies but also of cultural studies. Understanding the resources used in multilingual participation makes it easier for us as a society to develop towards a multilingual culture that is capable of fluent linguistic communication while simultaneously understanding its influence on our culture. Slang words, hybrid words and phrases become part of the popular culture and therefore become a part of a language. Switching between languages should be studied because if flexible language use is supported by the community in the right way, it can be used as resource to support the development of both languages.

The general outline of this thesis will include an introduction, background information and a theoretical framework which will be divided into several different sections including discussion and theories on code-switching, heteroglossia, language acquisition and use of linguistic resources. The first section will serve as a brief presentation of the background and history of the informants and a definition of third culture children, whom are referred to as TCK's within this thesis. The theoretical framework will provide descriptions of terminology used in this thesis and provide background information of previous research and linguistic theories regarding both traditional and modern views on use of language. The second half of this thesis will include a methodology and data section with an overview of the analysis and findings in the material. It will also include ethnographic observations of the family's language use throughout the years, which will include information on where the family is living during a certain period of time and what kind of surroundings and environment they are surrounded by. The final section will end with the conclusion and references.

2. Culture and background of the participants

The family presented in the recorded material is made up of 4 children and 2 adults. The family has migrated from Finland to the northern part of Namibia in 1992, because the parents desired to work abroad as missionaries for the Finnish Lutheran Church. The children are born in 1986, 1988, 1992 and the youngest in 1996. This information is relevant so that we can adjust the ages of the participants to the year in which the material has been recorded. The oldest child will not play a significant role in this thesis because it is quite difficult to find material in which he is present. The child born in 1988 will be analyzed in this study as she is present in a lot of the material and she provides a good basis for studying flexible language use within the spoken language of an individual that has a strong foundation in her L1 language, because she was influenced by Finnish culture and language during the critical first four years of her life. The person born in 1992 was two months old when the family decided to move to Namibia and therefore has been affected by different cultures and languages from a very young age. The youngest child will be the person that can provide the most linguistic material as he is very verbal in the videos and likes to present himself as a news anchor or some other form of fictional character who talks a lot. He is also born in the northern region of Namibia, in a very rural area and is thus influenced by several different cultures from birth and is therefore most prone to switching between languages. The parents provide the Finnish culture and language to the children, but the rest of the environment encourages an Oshiwambo culture and the Oshiwambo language. There will be a lot of English influence from the very beginning, because English is also the official language in Namibia and is spoken by very many locals. The stages of research will include their time in the rural part of Namibia from around 1996 to 2000. Their time living in the capital city Windhoek, from 2000 to 2005 and finally some years living back home in Finland from 2005 to 2008. The language development and the situations in which translanguaging happens within this time will be interesting to witness, and at the same time discover how strongly the environment in which the participants live in, affects the frequency of switching languages. Schooling and friends will also be an influential factor in language use and I will attempt to take it into account as well when analyzing the use of linguistic resources in a multilingual environment. During their time in the northern part of Namibia the family was mostly surrounded by either other Finnish families or by local Oshiwambo families. This meant that the influence of English was perhaps not at its peak during this time. The children

spent most of their time in a private Finnish school with a Finnish curriculum and their friends were mostly Finnish. The informants had some local friends with whom they spoke in English and at times a few words of Oshiwambo. These encounters in English together with the English classes in school were perhaps the most influential factors of English influence from the year 1992 until the year 2000. In the year 2000, the family moved to Windhoek, the capital city of Namibia and three of the four children enrolled at an English speaking international school. This was a time at which the English influence was most certainly at its peak, as the children had English speaking friends and attended a school with a British curriculum, and English was the language used for teaching. Finnish was supported by the parents and a few Finnish friends, but most of the surrounding environment was dominated by English. This meant that the Oshiwambo influence disappeared almost completely, and is perhaps a contributing factor in why none of the children in the material can speak Oshiwambo fluently. The style of English taught in the school was a British English but the rest of the surrounding environment provided influence of a post-colonial Dutch or Afrikaans influenced English. During this period of time the only form of Oshiwambo that the children heard or used was very basic vocabulary with their housekeeper. When the family moved to Finland in 2005, English had been the dominant language within the society for around 5 years. After moving to Finland, the surrounding environment and society, including school and friends all spoke Finnish. English was only supported by social media, movies, popular culture and the English classes in school. At this time the influence of Oshiwambo had disappeared completely. I believe this timeline is an important factor to take into account when analyzing the situations in which code-switching happens as it provides support for the language development of the children, which is an important factor in fluent code-switching. If there is less influence from one language during a certain time, it is easier to understand why there might be less code-switching into that language. Fluent code-switching is connected to the development of a new language as control of both languages is beneficial for fluent code-switching. An example of this can be seen in the video material as the youngest child develops his English abilities very quickly after the family has moved to the capital city and he is enrolled into an English speaking school by his parents. This change has a strong influence on the frequency of code-switching in his language use and will be elaborated later in the thesis. Being aware of the family's geographical location and surrounding culture will make it much easier to understand why the development of language use has moved in a certain direction with each participant. The ages of the

children also make a difference in the development of language and how each individual internalizes a new language and begins using it as his or her spoken language. This is relevant to the study because if Finnish has been the language that the child has been influenced to during his or her most critical years it can be assumed that Finnish will have a stronger foundation in this child's linguistic repertoire. Therefore he or she will most probably resort to flexible language use in different situations and at a different frequency in comparison to someone with a weaker L1 foundation. The two younger children were influenced by several different languages from birth, so it can be presumed that they will pick up one of the influencing languages very easily and that switching between languages will happen more frequently and with a larger variety.

Culture will not be a major point of analysis in this thesis but it is rather relevant that we mention the background of the family in terms of heteroglossia, which will therefore help us understand how the background of the children may bring variety to their linguistic resources. The participants in the data can be considered to be third culture children. Another frequently used term is third culture kids, TCK. Third culture kids refer to much more than immigrants in a country. It consists of the participants internalizing cultures from both their indigenous country and the country in which they currently live. It is therefore culturally a much broader term than immigrants or expats. Third culture children are defined as children who create their own third culture from the influences of both their parents' culture and the culture in which they live most of their lives in and develop (Pollock & Van Reken, 2009). Pollock & Van Reken (2009) mention that third culture kids differ from traditional immigrants in the way that they are often forced to move from country to country due to their parents' jobs. Therefore, they usually live in a country for a few years and then migrate back to their home country without immigrating to stay in the foreign country permanently. Due to the fact that they might be in a country for only a year or two, it can have an effect on the motivation to learn the language of the surrounding environment and many third culture children in fact do not learn the local language but learn English at an international school. This is the case in the matter of the participants in the video material. They are considered third culture children who have not really learnt a native language of the country but have learned English while studying at an international school. They have minimal acquisition of the Oshiwambo language but during their time in the country, acquire a fluency in English that enables them to switch between languages fluently.

3. Theoretical framework behind translanguaging and heteroglossia

The theoretical framework in this pro gradu thesis will consist of previous studies and linguistic theories on flexible language use and use of heteroglossic resources during multilingual participation. These theories will assist in understanding translanguaging situations and the ways in which spoken language is used in a given situation by the participants in question. The situations in which languages are flexibly switched are difficult to study without discussing bilingualism, therefore some theory on bilingualism will be discussed as it will benefit in the analysis of multilingual participation and help to understand linguistic decisions of the participants.

The theoretical framework will be divided into several different sections. The first section, section 3.1 will include terminology and general information on code-switching, heteroglossia and translanguaging. The second section, section 3.2 will include discussion on switching between languages, borrowing and the situations in which these switches happen. Section 3.3 will focus on both traditional and modern viewpoints on bilingualism and the development of linguistic resources. Section 3.4 will include a discussion on fluent communication through translanguaging and development of linguistic resources.

3.1 Background research and terminology

The following section will include a discussion on the terminology of translanguaging, heteroglossia and heteroglossic linguistic resources such as code-switching and borrowing. A short discussion of previous studies on heteroglossia and multilingual participation will also be presented in this section of this thesis and a shift from the more traditional views on language use towards modern views discussed. Discussing older theories on code-switching and bilingualism together with newer theories will provide a stronger understanding of how these theories are changing and evolving towards a more heteroglossic approach which takes into consideration code-switching and flexible language use as a resource and not a sign of language competence.

The analysis section of this thesis is based strongly on translanguaging and the idea of showing and preserving identity through linguistic decisions and language play. It is therefore relevant at this point to discuss the terminology of translanguaging and what it

means in this thesis. According to Blackledge & Creese (2014) translanguaging is referred to as a linguistic practice, which provides a voice to speakers in which they will be able to activate the full range of their linguistic repertoires. According to Garcia, (2014) translanguaging is also referred to as the process of participating in bilingual or multilingual discourse. She mentions that translanguaging aims to normalize bilingualism instead of focusing on traditional separation of languages in terms of code-switching. Blackledge & Creese (2014) mention that translanguaging is the process of making meaning and shaping the experiences of the speaker. Translanguaging is gaining understanding through the use of multiple languages. They give an example of translanguaging within the classroom, which enables the child to use all his or her linguistic resources to maximize understanding and achievement within a learning environment. Both languages are therefore used to mediate understanding, speaking and learning. Garcia (2014) argues that it is necessary for bilingual families to use translanguaging to create meaning. It provides a new languaging reality which allows for fluent discourse not restricted by traditional language boundaries. Blackledge & Creese argue that translanguaging creates a sort of social space for the multilingual language user by binding together their history, experience and environment. Therefore it enables the focus to be on social practices of the individual and to why the speaker communicates in the manner that they do. Language is therefore not seen as a set of skills but as a variety of resources which individuals can use daily in communication. According to Garcia (2014) translanguaging goes beyond code-switching in way that entails languaging in a different social, cultural and political context and not just the mixing or switching of two static languages. Through the concept of translanguaging and heteroglossia it is therefore possible to consider the political and social messages of multilingual participation. Translanguaging and heteroglossia have previously been studied in terms of pedagogy and language learning. Pietikäinen and Dufva (2014) present their research on Sámi children and the children's rap production. They argue that heteroglossia is present in the performance itself. The idea of the production is to raise awareness on the lack of literature in the Sámi language. The choice of genre in the music is a sign of using heteroglossic resources to strengthen how the message is conveyed. They choose the rap genre which has the correct rhythm and possibility of rhyming that creates an impression of chanting. This can help in conveying the message more clearly because the moral of the story can be conveyed with rhythm, rhyme and powerful wording that entices the listener to think about the message that is conveyed. The rhythm of rap can also be seen in the movements of some of the children

as they dance to the beat. The children rap in Inari Sámi which is a strong politicized action that draws on the variety that is different languages and at the same time reminding that the language is close to extinction. The children do not wear baggy clothes common to rap music but chose to wear the traditional Sámi costume. The choice of language is therefore a message conveying the identity of the children. The Sámi costumes they wear also create the message of belonging to a group. The linguistic decision and Sámi costume convey a message of belonging to the culture of the Sámi people and simultaneously presents how a political message can be conveyed through language play.

Translanguaging takes into consideration the social meanings that languaging may hold such as culture and identity. Lin (2014) mentions an example of using linguistic choices to convey identity and culture in her study of the rap group 24herbs. The rap group has risen to the popularity of a heteroglossic audience in Hong Kong. Hong Kong is city that has a population that can speak both English and Cantonese. People in Hong Kong identify themselves as Hong Kongese. Some people born in Hong Kong do not regard themselves as Chinese but as citizens of a multilingual and international city. Their culture identity is therefore Hong Kongese and this includes multilingualism. The group raps in both Cantonese and English by mixing the languages intuitively. The group therefore represents the identity of Hong Kong through languaging. The linguistic decision of the group conveys their multilingual identity and preserves what they see as important in their culture. The group embraces the use of both languages in way that gives them full use of their linguistic repertoires. This is something that code-switching in its traditional form does not do. Translanguaging allows for everyone to take part in the conversation. The voices of the people who previously would have been restricted by language borders can be heard if there is a supportive space in which it is acceptable to use the linguistic repertoires from multiple languages.

Heteroglossia is a term first originated with Mikhail Bakhtin (1981), which helps in understanding the diversity of linguistic practice. According to Bakhtin (1981), heteroglossia and heteroglossic approach implies an acknowledgement of the presence of different languages and codes as a linguistic resource while simultaneously entailing to multidiscursivity and multivoicedness. Heteroglossia therefore entails mobility and diversity in languageness and speechness (Bakhtin, 1981). Heteroglossia is also defined as the inherent diversity in language that draws our attention to the social, historical and ideological aspects of language (Lähteenmäki, 2010). Therefore when comparing

heteroglossia to restricted notions such as language choice or code-switching in their more traditional forms, which generally treat specific languages or codes as separate categories, heteroglossia helps to focus on the social meanings created through a diversity of language in both monolingual and multilingual discourse (Bailey, 2007). Within this thesis code-switching will be treated as a part of heteroglossia and as a linguistic resource and not as a separate practice that is restricted by traditional theories on code-switching as a sign of language competence. Heteroglossia therefore takes into account the individual's linguistic repertoire and use of these linguistic resources. In a study by Noguerón-Liu & Warriner (2014) on heteroglossic practices in a digital environment, they provide a great example of utilizing linguistic repertoire. The study is on the language use of Spanish woman in America who considers herself proficient in both English and Spanish. She is capable of utilizing both Spanish and English while searching for information on the internet depending on what kind of information she needed to find. According to Noguerón-Liu & Warriner (2014) she switched between the languages depending on what type of food she was looking for. If she felt that the food was a Spanish type of food she would use Spanish but then revert to English if the result was more probable in English. She did explain that even though she knew the equivalent of an English word in Spanish, the content of the word was not the same. Therefore she would use the English word to express herself. It is a great example of using linguistic resources to broaden the way in which an individual can express themselves. She would also switch between the language depending on who she was speaking to and whether she felt a certain person had a certain linguistic preference. The reason translanguaging and heteroglossia are used as the major theories in this thesis are because they allows for the analyst to describe the variety that is in language use without the restrictions of traditional linguistic theories. Bakhtin (1981) discusses centripetal and centrifugal forces, with which he refers to normativity and diversity in language use. According to Bakhtin (1981) centripetal forces strive to set the norms and standardize language use. Centrifugal forces on the other hand are dynamic and embrace diversity, difference and creativity. Heteroglossia can therefore be considered a centrifugal phenomenon that can be used for analyzing how individuals select and modify the linguistic resources they use in multilingual participation.

According to Schendl & Wright (2011) code-switching is the change of language or language variety within a stretch of spoken discourse. It is a strategy that is widely used all over the world within multilingual communities and interaction (Schendl & Wright, 2011).

Code-switching can also be regarded as phenomenon in which speakers of two languages simply change the language that is used in the middle of speech (Cook, 1996). He also states that a distinguishing factor between code-switching and incorrect language use of a specific language strategy, is that the assumption has been made that both participants speak both languages so that the utterance is understood. The participants in the video material are all very familiar with each other, because most of the conversation happens within the family. Therefore it can be presumed that all of the persons resorting to code-switching or borrowing are fully aware that the other participants can also speak both languages.

According to Blackledge & Creese (2014) code-switching differs from translanguaging in the sense that code-switching is often connected to the separation of languages when translanguaging allows for flexible learning through the use of multiple languages. Code-switching processes are systematic and structured which means that they do not happen just anywhere within a discussion. There are several terms to describe the difference between standard variety and dialect styles of code-switching. These include code-switching, code shifting, code fluctuation and style shifting (Milroy and Muysken, 1995). It is fundamentally just a difference in style, in which another researcher refers to dialect change within a certain language as code-switching, and another researcher would describe the phenomenon as style shifting. In this thesis language variation will mostly be referred to as code-switching if the language changes. This is simply because it is not necessary to differentiate between Finnish and a dialect of Finnish or English and a dialect of English. If there are situations in which the dialect of English changes for a reason that is clear and distinct, I will mention it within the analysis. The main focus will be to recognize code-switching between different languages. According to Thomason (2001), language contact refers to communication between people in multiple languages. A prerequisite for this contact is that the communication happens in the same place and at the same time. However, this does not mean that the participants need to be in the same place physically and that forms of virtual communication such as television and skype can be considered language contact (Thomason 2001). According to Winford (2003), language change and the mechanisms supporting this change can be divided into three different categories which include language maintenance, shifting and creation of new language. Language maintenance refers to when the native language is preserved by the speech community. This does not mean that the native language is completely unaffected by other

languages, but can be influenced by the surrounding spoken languages. Therefore, borrowings of vocabulary and language creation are a natural phenomenon in language contact. The second category involves shifting, in which the native language is partially or completely abandoned by the speech community. The third form Winford introduces refers to the situation in which a new language is created (Winford 2003). All of these language change mechanisms can be resources in multilingual communication and participation. Contact-induced change as defined by Thomason is a process within a language contact situation, in which linguistic change takes place when multiple languages come into contact with each other (Thomason 2001). This is the kind of environment in which the participants are living in for most of their childhood. Different levels of contact, resulting in contact-induced change can be divided into four different categories. The first is casual contact, which refers to the borrowing of simple vocabulary when the borrowers are not fluent in the source language. The second and third forms are slightly more intense contact and more intense contact. The final form is intense contact in which major changes happen in the borrowing language (Thomason 2001). According to Thomason (2001), code-switching is a common mechanism of contact-induced change. She argues that speakers use their mother tongue language as a means of learning and speaking a new language. An example of this can be witnessed in the data when the youngest child Jake, is asked by the eldest, lines, about the drink he is drinking. In this case the lexical gap is actually in the mother tongue which appears to have taken the place of the secondary language. Jake attempts to answer in his mother tongue but has issues remembering the correct word for apple in the Finnish language. At this point he fills the gap with an English word and becomes frustrated with his sister when asked what the correct word is in Finnish. This conversation sequence will be further elaborated later in the analysis and findings part of this thesis.

The following paragraph will provide background information on language switching and flexible language use in terms of traditional viewpoints by Romaine and simultaneously provide a foundation for discussing the same phenomenon in terms of translanguaging and heteroglossia. According to Romaine (1995), code-switching has been studied on Panjabi speakers and the results were quite similar to what can be analyzed in the data of this thesis. She mentions that a Panjabi speaker was asked a question in Panjabi but this person answered the question in English. This switch was done so fluently that the neither the speaker nor interviewer paid any attention to the sudden shift in languages. Linguistic

theory based on heteroglossia would view this as fluent use of the speaker's linguistic resources in a way that is not restricted by language borders. Another form of code-switching she mentions is a mix of language within a sentence. The speaker begins the phrase with a few words of English but then proceeds to speak in Panjabi for the rest of the sentence. This is a phenomenon that can also be found within the data. Romaine (1995) mentions that code-switching and irregular mixing based simply on grammar very rarely happens and code-switching is rather motivated by stylistic and metaphorical choices. This would mean that code-switching is restrained mostly by social factors such as setting, topic and degree of competence in both languages that are spoken (Romaine, 1995). This can often be witnessed in the spoken language of adults. There might be a dialogue between two or more people, which is completely spoken in a single language. The person speaking might then decide to use an utterance or phrase from another language such as English to create a stylistic variation into his or her speech. For example, "*Kyllä me voidaan se kalliimpi mökki ottaa, koska pätäkää löytyy, let's make it rain guys*", which translates into "*We can take the more expensive cabin, cause I've got cash, let's make it rain guys*". This is a stylistic decision to emphasize that the person is willing to pay more for a more expensive cabin.

One factor that should be taken into account when analyzing the data is that it is quite difficult to distinguish between code-switching and borrowing. They will be treated as forms of heteroglossia and flexible language use that behave fairly similarly in multilingual participation and will therefore be treated as the use of the same linguistic resource in the analysis section. In the theory section of this thesis code-switching is referred to when the language is changed to another, and borrowing is referred to when a word from the other language is simply integrated into the original language. Romaine (1995), mentions that borrowing often happens when culture specific items such as food, dress, cultural institutions and activities are being spoken of. Another important point that Romaine makes is that bilingual speakers believe that they mix or borrow words because they do not know the correct word in the originally spoken language, however, it has been noted that borrowing occurs most often when the speakers actually know and use the word in both languages. It has also been noted that repetition happens in both languages, so that one thing is first said in one language and repeated soon after in the other. This means that for bilinguals, mixing languages is often simply style shifting, comparable to the style shifting of monolinguals (Romaine, 1995). The bilingual speaker simply has a much wider

vocabulary to pick from. One major factor when distinguishing between code-switching and borrowing is in the degree of integration. If the word has been strongly integrated into the language it has been borrowed from the other language and is now a part of the language it has been borrowed to. If the word is not integrated it is still a “foreign” language in a way and therefore using it is code-switching. The focus of this thesis will not be on whether a word is borrowed or code-switched but more on the situations in which code-switching and borrowing appear in the material. Therefore I feel that using the two terms fairly synonymously within the analysis will not distort the results in any way. According to Romaine (1995), code-switching can also be divided into metaphorical and transactional switching. Transactional switching is referred to here as a form of switching that is restricted by parts of the speech event like topic and participants. Metaphorical code-switching on the other hand refers to a form of switching that has an effect on the communicative power that the speaker wishes to convey. If something needs to be emphasized, clarified or perhaps requires a slight dash of comedy, metaphorical code-switching can be used to create these effects. In some situations code-switching can also serve as sentence fillers (Romaine, 1995). Refusal to switch can serve as forms of supporting authority and/or creating boundaries between people and groups of people. Speaking in a different language can easily create a situation of us and them between groups of people. In the data, the parents attempt to strengthen the children’s linguistic resources in Finnish by answering questions in Finnish and communicating fairly consistently in Finnish to the children.

3.2 When and why does code-switching and borrowing occur?

This part of the thesis will focus on reasons and factors that result in the occurrence of code-switching and borrowing which will also be referred to as flexible language use. The main focus point will be on the situations in which code-switching happens but since the two terms are difficult to differentiate, any possible borrowings will also be analyzed. Both terms serve a similar function within language contact so discussing them simultaneously is possible. An interesting thing to look out for in the material is specifically when and how code-switching and borrowing occurs.

There are certain situations in which code-switching happens that can provide some support as to why the children in the material code-switch. Holmes (2000) mentions that

an individual may choose to code-switch for several reasons which include attempts to show solidarity with a group, to distinguish yourself from the others, to participate multilingually in social situations, to discuss particular topics, to express feelings and to impress and persuade. According to Holmes (2000) an individual might often switch languages as a sign of belonging to a group or sharing the same ethnicity. It is therefore a way to express solidarity between the people in the group. An example of this is given by Blackledge & Creese (2014) when they discuss a situation that happened in a classroom in which the words *goray* and *kaalay* were used to represent people that are not of Indian heritage. The participants in the group were of Indian heritage so these words were used to create a feeling of us and them.

Auer (2002) mentions that code-switching carries a certain hidden prestige which would imply that attitudes towards e.g. a certain dialect may affect the speaker in a way that distinguishes him or her from other social classes. In some cultures it is therefore a reflection of social status. According to Holmes (2000) code-switching is also present in situations that require a certain topic. The speaker might talk about a certain subject in one language and then suddenly switch if a new topic arises. He or she therefore makes the decision that they have a wider variety of linguistic resources within that topic and can express oneself more fluently or expressively in that language. Certain feelings and attitudes such as happiness, excitement, anger and sadness may also be easier to express in one language than the other and provide therefore situations in which code-switching may happen (Holmes, 2000). According to Holmes (2000) code-switching is also used as a form metaphorical switching for rhetorical reasons. Code-switching can therefore be used on purpose to attract attention and persuade the listener of the validity of what is being said. It can be regarded as a linguistic strategy which the speaker may choose to use from their linguistic resources.

Other situations in which code-switching often occurs is a situation in which a person is reporting something that has been previously said or as a means of highlighting a topic that is more suitable or appropriate in the other language. There is also evidence of code-switching within the material that implies the taking up of a role can often lead to a switch of language. Examples of this include the authoritarian role by the parents as an attempt to express authority, or a simple roleplay in which the children play a fictional character. Winford (2003) has a theory in which code-switching occurs in four situations. These situations include occurrences in which the individual has been in a bilingual environment

for a long time, they have been required to speak a different language for trade, they are immigrants in a country or they simply speak a different dialect and need to learn the standard dialect for educational purposes. According to Winford (2003), one important factor that often leads to borrowing is inadequacy in one language and therefore the need to fill the lexical gap from the other language so that they can be fully understood. Another reason is that the person wants to use a specific word from the other language if a corresponding word with the similar type of impact does not exist in the language originally spoken. Therefore borrowing becomes a way of expressing him or herself more specifically through the use of a specific word. Some researchers however, hold the opinion that distinguishing code-switching and borrowing is not as simple as categorizing one word switching into borrowing and phrases or utterances into code-switching. Switches that consist of only one word can perhaps also be categorized as code-switching. This kind of situation could involve the borrowing of a word for strategic reasons or to influence the other person in certain manner (Mahootian, 2006). Mahootian (2006) then proceeds to suggest that some researchers have created criteria of separating the two by categorizing borrowing as morphologically and syntactically integrated components in the host language while switched components do not behave in the same manner. The theoretical basis will be that one word switches are regarded as borrowing and longer utterances as code-switching but within the analysis they will be treated as a similar phenomenon of heteroglossia. There will of course be exceptions to this rule if I can identify that the borrowing has been made as a strategic linguistic decision for a certain effect. In this case the borrowing will be an integrated part of the participant's grammar in their language use. Lexical borrowing is restricted by structural factors. A certain type of vocabulary is easier to borrow than another. Adjectives and nouns are borrowed more often than pronouns and conjunctions (Winford, 2003). According to Winford (2003), the borrowing of bound structural components such as prepositions and conjunctions is not impossible but it is not nearly as common. Even though almost anything can be borrowed it is the fact that content words are a more common subject to be borrowed in the language use of bilinguals, which suggests that the borrowing that will happen within the video material will mostly be nouns and adjectives. There is of course the exception of the situation in which the participants have not yet reached a level of bilingualism, in which case some borrowing might also be structural. There are situations in which the borrower might simply want to borrow vocabulary from the other language to create a desired effect, in which case the borrower is not necessarily bilingual but they have merely adopted the

word from the second language. This usually means that the borrowed component is a simple word and not a larger utterance or sentence (Thomason & Kaufman 1988).

In terms of heteroglossia and translanguaging, Bakhtin (1981) mentions that code-switching can be regarded as speaking in words which are half someone else's. It is therefore a representation of the relationship the speaker has towards the subject. In regards to the material, speaking in an African dialect could be interpreted as speaking in half someone else's words and therefore integrating the African ethnic form of speech as it was the speakers own dialect.

3.3 Traditional and modern viewpoints on bilingualism and translanguaging

The following section will be a discussion on bilingualism and translanguaging. It is important to point out however that modern theory on speaking multiple languages does not necessarily view monolingualism, bilingualism and multilingualism as independent structures of an individual's linguistic competence and such labeling should be avoided. Language is not seen as separate bounded entities but rather that a person has certain linguistic features which they can use to communicate in the best way that they can (Jorgensen, 2011). It is however quite difficult to discuss these linguistic resources without using terminology from earlier theories and research. Therefore, a lot of the theory will be based on bilingual theory by Romaine because she provides a good understanding of what the early research on bilingualism has provided to the field of linguistics. Linguistic resources used in multilingual communication such as code-switching include language mechanisms triggered by the learning of more than one language. Therefore discussing code-switching without discussing bilingualism would be leaving out one of the most important linguistic resources a person has for creating fluent code-switching. There is not a single definition describing bilingualism and use of the term often leaves room for interpretation. According to Romaine (1995) bilingualism can be defined as a native-like control of two languages. This is a view that in terms of translanguaging is not possible because native like control varies depending on the linguistic repertoire of an individual. Bilingualism is therefore seen more as a fluid and fluctuant resource that an individual possesses and not as something that can be categorized into either having sufficient control of the language or insufficient control. Romaine does however also point out that

bilingualism does not necessarily mean proficiency in two languages. Passive or receptive bilingualism is often referred to when a person will be able to understand utterances in a language but will be incapable of producing them themselves (Romaine, 1995). Learning to speak more than one language usually requires for the child to combine and put together material from two languages (Romaine, 1995). It is considered a natural process in growing up bilingually and becoming competent in both languages in the traditional sense of the term. Modern theories based on heteroglossia do not view this as becoming competent but rather as learning to use the given linguistic resources. It is common that early utterances of young children will contain lexical items from both languages which can also be heard in the research material. Bilingualism does not require a connection between different levels of grammatical and verbal ability. Therefore, a person can be considered bilingual if he or she has good pronunciation but weak grammar or vice-versa (Romaine, 1995). There is not really any written material in the data so the different modes of heteroglossia will be analyzed by their verbal communication. Milroy and Muysken (1995) also argue that bilingualism does not necessarily mean prestige in both languages. Bilingual speakers use each of their languages depending on the social context and situation. Therefore it would be wrong to assume that they would have the ability to use either language in all situations. This presents a situation in which the speaker is required to make the choice of using heteroglossic resources to convey her or his thoughts multilingually in each given situation. However, Romaine points out that some people can be considered equally fluent in both languages and can be defined as ambilingual. This means that they can speak both languages fluently in a situation without any trace of the other language. This type of situation would incline that the individual has a very strong linguistic repertoire in both languages so that he or she can fluently express themselves in any given situation in either language. Equal fluency is something that cannot be proven in anyway and should also be considered as a strong repertoire that fluctuates through time and space depending on when and where the individual is at the given moment. Milroy and Muysken claim that there are functional forms of bilingualism and complementary forms of bilingualism. Functional bilingualism is a form of code switching in which the switch between languages allows for more stylistic and pragmatic variation. This form is more often used by the younger generation. Complementary bilingualism refers to a compensation of inadequacy in the spoken language and therefore the speaker must use the word from the language in which he or she is more proficient. This form of bilingualism is more common in the older generation of immigrants. Bilingualism can also be

categorized into compound bilingualism and coordinate bilingualism (Romaine, 1995). Compound bilingualism can be explained in so that if a person was raised in a family in which the other parent speaks German and the other French, he or she has learned the languages in the same context so that the words *buch* and *livre* both have the same meaning. Therefore he or she has learned the appropriate words for book in German and French concurrently. Coordinate bilingualism means that the person has learned the languages in two separate environments and would therefore have two different meanings for them. Romaine (1995) mentions that Weinreich distinguished a third type of bilingualism which is sub-coordinate bilingualism. This means that the speaker would interpret words through the stronger language. This would mean that the stronger language would act as a filter for the meaning of the weaker language (Romaine, 1995). In the framework of heteroglossic linguistic resources, situations in which the speaker sub-consciously participates multilingually, provide interesting material for analysis in regards to what kinds of situations and with whom this type of multilingual participation happens. The situations, in which the speakers are perhaps not fully aware of which language they are speaking, and therefore code-switch sub-consciously, will provide interesting variation in the situations in which code-switching happens. The situations I will specifically look out for in the material are when the children speak Finnish to their parents but subconsciously switch to English when speaking to their siblings. According to Romaine (1995) this kind of observation is more in line with more recent studies on conversational code-switching, in which the fluent bilingual is often quite un-aware of switching languages. The frequency of code-switching occurrences in the data will be interesting to analyze and fluency in the switch between the languages. The notion of a switch with which the bilingual speaker could switch between languages is, however, slightly outdated and more present interpretations refer to a continuously operating monitoring system. This would mean that the speaker simply attempts to ready themselves to hear or speak in a certain language. Therefore if the presumption is incorrect, it may take a moment for the speaker to reassign which language to speak in. This works well together with theories on heteroglossia, in which the participant has adaptability in multilingual participation through the use of his or her linguistic resources.

Differentiation or fusion of languages is an important issue when discussing bilingualism and switching between languages. It is very difficult to correctly separate whether the child can differentiate between the language or not. Different studies give different results on the

age that the child is expected to be able to differentiate between languages. According to Romaine (1995), the idea of the one language system means the child should be able to use vocabulary from both languages in all contexts to be considered truly bilingual. However, a young child might just not have the required range of vocabulary to be fully understood and therefore proceeds to mix the languages. It is hard to determine whether the child has fused the two languages together in his or her mind or whether they can differentiate between them but simply wish to be understood better. According to Mills, J (1993), bilingual children are often required to work in two different symbolic systems at an early age, this results, according to Vygotsky (1984), to an enhanced development of cognitive skills. Richard and Jean Mills study the children in different settings within the school environment and noticed that when presented with different tasks, some of the children adopted different personalities for the different language E.g. some children were serious and reserved in English but much more verbal, excitable and humorous in Punjabi (Mills, J 1993). This would suggest that some of the situations in which we will be able to witness code-switching will include situations of performing or doing tasks such as joke telling or rhyme singing. Modern views on bilingualism differ quite a lot from theories by Romaine and the more traditional attitudes towards code-switching. Blackledge and Creese (2014) mention that the shift from traditional attitudes on bilingualism towards an attitude of embracing multilingualism can counteract insecurity in the communication of an Individual. Encouraging the speaker to use his or her entire linguistic repertoire is seen as something that develops their ability to communicate multilingually. Blackledge & Creese (2014) give an example of translanguaging in the classroom which aims to make the teachers understand that balanced bilingualism does not exist and that translanguaging provides bilinguals with a linguistic resource to communicate creatively.

3.4 Development of linguistic resources towards fluent communication

The following section will be a discussion on how an individual's linguistic resources change and evolve towards more fluent communication. The term bilingual language acquisition categorizes an individual's linguistic resources into either getting competence in two languages or not getting competence in two languages. Bilingual language acquisition will however be used because the basic idea of developing an individual's

linguistic resources is the combining factor that integrates bilingual language acquisition to modern theories on how an individual becomes more fluent at the use of language. Romaine (1995) mentions that children may acquire more than one language more or less simultaneously, or then they may acquire one of the languages before the other. There are varying opinions on what simultaneous language acquisition is, or rather what can be regarded as simultaneous acquisition. According to McLaughlin (1978), if a child acquires two or more languages up to the age of three, this is considered simultaneous acquisition. Other researchers such as Padilla and Lindholm (1984) argue that bilingual acquisition can only be considered simultaneous if the child has been exposed to both languages from birth. Jake and Matti have both been exposed to English and Finnish from birth but due to a dominance of the Finnish language during the critical years, it is not possible to prove whether acquiring two languages happened simultaneously. Lines was the age of 4 at the time that she moved to an English speaking environment; therefore she has acquired Finnish before English. It is to be noted that the influence of Finnish was the strongest during these early years, and they were not exposed to English as much as Finnish. This might have restricted the acquisition of English simultaneously with Finnish even though the family lived in an English and Oshiwambo speaking environment during the years of sensitivity. Therefore we cannot precisely know the linguistic history of the participants in the video material and amount of exposure they have received from each language. Being brought up in a bilingual environment does not necessarily mean that exposure to both languages has been equal. Therefore, the situations in which code-switching happens will differ according to which language is stronger at a certain time. According to Romaine (1995), children as young as two years old can code-switch, and the decisions on code-switching are made depending on the setting and environment. The age at which a child begins to switch between languages and use languages flexibly will be an interesting point to look out for in the analysis part of this thesis. The material that will be analyzed includes recordings from 1996, which is the year that the youngest child was born. His linguistic development can therefore be studied quite intricately. Code-switching is also a way for children to affirm identity. When children play or act, they often use a language which they perceive to fit the role of the characters. This can also be seen in the recorded material of this thesis, when the youngest child performs a news report by himself. In both cases he decides that it is more natural for the news reporter to report in English and naturally proceeds to act out the news in English. A phenomenon that is commonly noticed in the language use of adult bilinguals is to switch the language depending on the topic that is

spoken. This is a fairly natural continuation from the idea of one language one source. This would mean e.g. that if a person were to go to an English speaking school, it can be assumed that he or she would feel more natural speaking about school related topics in English (Romaine, 1995). Romaine also mentions a form of code-switching induced by triggers. This means that a phrase or sentence consists of a word that is similar or can be found in both languages and often results in an unconscious, fluent switch in language. According to Romaine, code-switching among children is also present as a form of pointing out the crucial information within a story or joke. Examples of this include situations in which children have begun to tell a story that they have learned in school, in their own language, and then switched to the other language for a more powerful punchline or to highlight an important part of the story. She mentions that the receptivity and attitudes of the family towards bilingualism have a large effect on the way that the child behaves in a multilingual environment. There can be situations, in which the parents only accept an answer in a certain language, or perhaps one parent accepts being addressed in multiple languages and the other doesn't. All of these factors have an effect on what situations the child is comfortable code-switching in. Attitudes of the school, extended family and society in which they live in also affect bilingual acquisition and desire to use these linguistic resources. Views on multilingual practice and participation have evolved greatly towards a more liberal viewpoint on use of linguistic resources such as code-switching and borrowing. Previously some experts such as speech therapists or teachers have shared the view that code-switching and language mixing can have a negative effect on the child's development. Some even give the parents advice to speak only one language so as not to confuse the children (Romaine, 1995). This view is however, outdated and bilingualism and fluent code-switching is often seen as something positive within the current generation of scholars and researchers. The negative attitudes towards bilingualism and code-switching have roots within the idea of semi-lingualism. The child is thought to suffer from the mixing of languages so that he or she does not properly learn any language, this is quite a different view compared to modern theories that view the use of linguistic resources such as code-switching as an aid for fluent multilingual participation.

According to Cenoz & Gorter (2014) multilingual students actually develop and create their multilingual voices by combining languages in a way that helps them use the languages more fluently. In terms of modern multilingualism, combining different languages in

communication is the natural way of communicating. In terms of heteroglossia and translanguaging, the term bilingual acquisition can be discussed as learning voice. Blommaert (2005) argues that people do not actually learn a new language but they learn small specified parts of the language which are enough to grant them voice. They gain enough linguistic repertoires in the language to give them the capacity to be understood by other people. According to Blommaert (2005) a person learns voice by registering semiotic forms and placing them in an order that creates meaning. This makes language acquisition much more diverse as a term than it is traditionally viewed. According to Low & Sarkar (2014) translanguaging can be used to create the feel of something. The feel of speaking a certain language or through speaking a certain language you create feel of belonging to a certain group. They provide an example of rapper in Montreal who moves into a creative flow zone in which he draws upon the different languages in Montreal, switching from French to English. This translanguaging is instinctive and natural and therefore creates a feel of multilingualism in his art.

4. Methodology and Data

The data that will be analyzed in this pro gradu thesis will consist of homemade videos from a Finnish family living in a multilingual environment in Namibia. The focus will mostly be on the situations in which languages are switched and used flexibly, and with whom does this flexible language use occur. The data used for this thesis will include audiovisual recordings of ordinary days in the life of a Finnish family living in Namibia; the participants have given their written, informed consent for the use of these materials in this study. The data will be from a time period of about 10 years and will concentrate on the heteroglossic resources used by the children in multilingual participation. I will attempt to observe the different situations in which switching between languages happens and with the aid of previous research on the subject attempt to discuss why this switch might have happened in this situation and with this person. The data can be acknowledged as neutral in terms of natural conditions for analysis because the material is often recorded by the children and the children have been recorded frequently so they are very used to it. This ensures that recording the material has not affected the language use of the family and the situations are very natural. None of the participants seem to actively think of their language use when recorded and the interaction is fairly spontaneous. However, a slight deviation in comparison to everyday language use must always be taken into account. The material consists of recordings in which the children act as news reporters, present the house and yard, or simply act out a play that they have created. Some of the material consists of car trips and everyday interaction within the family. In many situations recorded by the parents, the children do not seem to be aware of the camera or that they are being recorded.

The home videos include thirteen different video extracts from which certain focused aspects of heteroglossic participation will be analyzed. Each DVD recording is around an hour long but the extracts used for analysis range from 30 seconds to 6 minutes at the most. In total, the video material extracted for analysis amounts to around 22 minutes of material. I will attempt to first watch through all of the material and then pick out certain parts for further analysis. These parts will include dialogues within the family, between the siblings and longer conversations between the children and the parents. I will also include some material of language use between the children and their friends. I will then attempt to observe for situations of borrowing and code-switching in the material and take into

account in what kinds of situations these language contact mechanisms occur. I will try and analyze these linguistic resources used and transcribe the presented situations. Through the concept of heteroglossia I will be able to pay attention to the modifying and mixing of different linguistic resources provided and instigated by the multilingual environment. The material consists of videos from 1996 to around 2007 and provides quite a specific timeline of the children's use of linguistic resources and forms of language contact. It is therefore possible to analyze the development in the use of linguistic resources from a very young age, up until the family moves to Finland and has lived there for a few years. A short timeline will be written in an attempt to present how the use of language changes within the years, and specifically how the mechanisms of multilingual participation vary in different depending on the circumstance. I will also attempt to take into consideration the changes in the surrounding environment; such as changes in their geographical location, changes in the school the children go to and changes in their social structures. I will attempt to leave out parts that present similar results in the use of linguistic resources so that there will be as little repetition as possible. I will attempt to transcribe the conversations in moderate detail and specify whether the children are speaking to each other, to themselves or perhaps to their parents or friends. It is necessary to specify the participants in the conversations, because after looking through some of the video material it is evident that the language use changes depending on the person that is being spoken to. The children speak differently to their parents than they do to each other or their friends. This will be a focus point when discussing code-switching situations and reasons behind flexible language use.

5. Analysis and findings

In the following section of this thesis the analysis and the main findings of the study will be introduced and multilingual participation and communication based on the theory of heteroglossia and translanguaging discussed. The family was very active in recording their daily life during the time period researched in this study which produced many situations of flexible and multilingual language use. Heteroglossia will allow for me to take into account the diversity in language and use of linguistic resources within monolingual and multilingual participation. It will provide a productive theory on analysis of the data in regards to culture and social setting. Heteroglossia is often used to describe how diverse language can be, therefore it will allow for a broader view on multilingual communication. Code-switching will be presented as one part of heteroglossia and as a mode in which heteroglossia presents itself within dialogue. Heteroglossia will be used as a tool to observe how the children select and change the linguistic resources used for expressing themselves in a multilingual environment. The analysis will be based around three different themes. The first theme will include creation of a multilingual space in which code-switching is acceptable and the identity and culture of the speaker is freely represented and preserved. The second theme will include situations of play and performance such as rapping, acting, rhyming and singing. The third theme will include situations in which the speakers create new heteroglossic vocabulary in order to express themselves more fluently. See appendix for the symbols used in the transcription and analysis of the home-videos. They are very basic, since the focus was more on language use situations rather than an in depth look into conversation analysis or pronunciation. The transcription does not take into account inhaling, exhaling and intonation. The pauses are categorized into two different lengths which include a pause of around 1-2 seconds and the other is a pause lasting longer than that. Each new utterance begins with a capital letter and each utterance has been given a number. The English translations for Finnish utterances have been written under the Finnish transcriptions and are marked in italics.

5.1 Ethnographic observations of the family's language use from 1996 until 2007

The following section provides a rough ethnographic overview of the situations in which language is used within the recorded material. According to Busch (2012) linguistic repertoire should not be viewed as stable and geographically fixed but as a constantly changing flexible resource that differs within social spaces and moments in time. This repertoire evolves depending on earlier discourses and codes and creates a variety in resources which include the individual's imaginations and desires. The linguistic repertoire is therefore something that changes all the time and evolves depending on the situation and experiences. Therefore ethnographic observations including geographic location and brief explanations of the surrounding environment can aid in understanding why a certain linguistic resource has been used and how these resources are constantly changing and evolving.

In 1996 the family's language use was predominantly Finnish. Interaction within the family members and with other Finnish people was conducted solely in Finnish. The children communicate with each other in Finnish during playtime. The only situations in which English or Oshiwambo were used by the adults, included situations in which members of the native community were present and English or Oshiwambo was the language understood by the majority of the members. Matti, at the age of 4 speaks full sentences of Finnish to his parents, however, with some grammatical errors e.g. "*Nyt mä näytän kuinka vuotias pikkuvauva on*". The two older children speak fluent Finnish with proper grammar. The children created and choreographed plays and performed them in fluent Finnish. When playing with the local children, the older children speak Basic English to communicate with them. In 1998, Jake is around 2 years old and communicates with his parents and siblings in simple Finnish sentences. The language used by the children when communicating with other Finnish children is predominantly Finnish at this period of time. The surrounding environment is however, English and/or Oshiwambo speaking. This means that the children are and have been exposed to both languages daily. They are exposed to English when their parents speak to locals and also when locals attempt to speak to the children. The recorded material from 1998 shows that Matti is still more comfortable with the Finnish language as he strolls around the house and presents a monologue presentation of the surrounding environment in Finnish. A video clip recorded

in 1999 shows a performance by all three of the children in which the youngest child, Jake, is only 3 years old but still performs a few lines in Finnish for the camera. At this point of time the language used is still Finnish. Jake has some issues articulating the Finnish words and his speech is very basic vocabulary. It is hard to differentiate whether this is due to his young age and a natural process of first language development or has his language development been affected by the surrounding environment. His language use consists of simple phrases and utterances required for basic communication.

In the beginning of the year 2000, the older children are recording and performing a play that they have produced themselves. At this period of time, the language used for the performance is still Finnish. The Finnish that is used is fluent and the children speak it without any issues or hesitation. There does not seem to be any need for substitution of Finnish vocabulary with English vocabulary in the language use of the oldest child. This is a year that is quite important in the language development stage of the children, because it is the year that the family moves to the capital city and Matti and lines enroll in an English speaking international school.

In 2002 the two older children have gone to an English speaking school for about two years, and their language use is becoming more and more dominated by English. They communicated in English with their school friends and sang songs and rhymes that they had learned in school. Communication with their parents is still completely done in Finnish. The youngest child communicates in a childlike manner, but also in Finnish, with the rest of the family.

The family is visiting Finland in the summer of 2003 and the material shows that the youngest child Jake is communicating with his relatives in Finnish. At this point of time his Finnish is still quite strong and Finnish is the more natural language for him to speak in. There is recording from the year 2003 in which one Jake decides to record himself singing and dancing his own song. The interesting point linguistically is that he does not sing the song in either Finnish or English. He performs the song in a language that has phonemes resembling English. Therefore it seems that he has been strongly influenced by English at this point and is quite aware of the way that English words sound, but he does not know any real English words or their meanings. Some of the words he sings in the song resemble English very closely, but the phrases do not make sense. Some of the words and phrases he says during his song are, or at least they strongly resemble the following

words phonetically, “From redding, and drum, and thunder, and power ranger and camera and welcome in bye bye.” So there are some real words in the presentation which he has picked up from the surrounding environment. And it can be presumed he knows the meaning of phrases such as bye bye, because he uses it at the very end of his presentation as a means of saying goodbye to his viewers. In the autumn of the year 2003 the youngest child has now enrolled at the international school and the effect on his language use is quite major. He is required to fill lexical gaps with English vocabulary when attempting to speak in Finnish and during a presentation of the house; he speaks only in English with a few words of Finnish vocabulary within the English sentences. This change has been very fast, and the development of his English abilities up to a level in which he is more comfortable speaking in English, has happened within a year. This change from speaking predominantly Finnish to speaking mostly English happened within the year 2003. This is a very short timeframe to learn a new language fluently, but is also proof that young children can pick up and adopt a foreign language as their own much faster than adults can.

The material from 2005 provides quite a major change from the previous years. The children communicate with each other in English and the youngest child uses English in almost every situation. There is fluent mixing and switching between languages in the speech of all the children, and it has become a natural phenomenon that the language might suddenly just change. There is video material of a situation in which the family is watching a movie together, and the youngest child naturally speaks in English to his big brother even though the parents are in the same room. The older children however, attempt to communicate in Finnish with the parents and each other excluding the youngest child. The youngest child speaks in Finnish in some situations, but it is evident that Finnish has become the more awkward language for him and he continuously switches back to English. In fact, there are situations in which all of the other family members are communicating in Finnish but Jake still insists and almost refuses to speak in Finnish. In the autumn of 2005, the two older children have also begun to speak in a mixture of Finnish and English. They use phrases such as “biittaa sut up” and words such as rekordaa which implies to recording. It is one of the more rare pieces of material in which even the oldest child has resorted to speaking in mixed code. There is an interesting recording in the material which includes footage from a family trip to South-Africa, in which the family is driving near a mountain side and they come across some ostriches. They

begin to count the animals, and the dialogue includes back and forth switches from English to Finnish. A specific point of interest on that recording is the fact that all of the children immediately resort to using English when counting the ostriches. The linguistic resources the children use in English have reached the point in which they also use it in situations that require dealing with numbers and mathematics.

In the year 2007, the family has lived in Finland for around 2 years. The Environment they have lived in has been predominantly Finnish. The children go to a Finnish speaking school and have Finnish speaking friends. Unlike the previous years, the children attempt to speak in Finnish and a lot of their dialogues are started in Finnish. However, the language often veers towards English in a playful manner. Slang words are used and the children often speak in a humorous African dialect of English. English still appears very naturally in their conversations and it seems that there is no attrition of English at this period of time. The Finnish skills of the children have seemed to greatly improve within the few years that the family has lived in Finland. The situations, in which the three children are alone with each other, are filled with a colorful mixture of English and Finnish. There is situation in which the middle child and youngest child are playing computer when the oldest child enters the room, the middle child appears to guide the conversation into Finnish, but the oldest child begins to speak in an African English dialect. This is when the youngest child also begins to speak in English and he continues the conversation with the middle child in English. The conversation flows back and forth in English and Finnish when the children are alone with each other. When they eventually decide to go downstairs to enjoy Christmas Eve with their parents and grandparents, the spoken language is only Finnish. They begin to play a board game together and the conversation is in Finnish. They can communicate to each other fluently in Finnish and there is no need to fill lexical gaps with English vocabulary. English is however, still the language the children prefer to speak when amongst themselves or when performing for the camera e.g. during a movie they have directed and act in.

5.2 Multilingual spaces and linguistic resources as representations of culture and identity

The following section will include findings and discussion on how culture and identity can be preserved and introduced through language and multilingual participation. Through the concepts of heteroglossia and translanguaging I will be able to pay attention to the mixing of different linguistic resources provided by the two languages in way that takes into consideration the diversity that is present in multilingual participation and language use. I will analyze situations of translanguaging and provide observations on what kinds of situations the speakers use their linguistic repertoires and what kind of cultural implications these linguistic decisions might have. In the style of the rap group 24herbs that was mentioned in the theory section of this thesis, it is possible that the children use language to convey and preserve their identity and culture through the years and in the different geographic locations. In the following recording from 2005, it is audible that the children seem to use English as the main language when dealing with numbers and mathematics. It is a short video extract from their trip to South-Africa and shows how the family communicates multilingually when encountering ostriches. There is some back and forth switching within the conversation, but every time the children count the animals they count them in English. The situation was recorded in the family's car which was pulled off to the side of the road and the children are all staring out the windows and counting the animals. The following excerpt (01) illustrates how the family uses language flexibly to communicate with each other:

(1) Multilingual participation through the act of flexible language use

01: Ilnes: Where is it?

02: Matti: Ostrich?

03: Ilnes: Oh, there are two nice ones.

04: Father: Se kaveri, harmaanpuoleinen kaveri.

That guy, the grey guy.

05: Mother: Joo, tuolla on kolmas.

Yes, there's a third one.

06: lines: Missä? Ai tuolla jossain?

Where? Somewhere there?

07: Jake: The words in you be the machine, the words in your head. I see them! I see the three! No there's four!

08: Mother: Jooo...

Yes...

09: Jake: One, Two, Three, Four

10: lines: Where's the fourth one?

11: Matti: There. One, two, three, four

12: Jake: There's four, can you see them?

13: Matti: Five...There's five. One, two, three, four five.

14: Matti: There's five. Äiti niitä on viis. Äiti. Niitä on viis.

There's five. Mom there's five of them. Mom. There's five.

15: Mother: Ai onko niitä viisi?

Oh, are there five of them?

16: Jake: Eiku niitä on vain neljä. Eiku. One, two, three, four... (long pause) five. There's five of them.

No there's just four. No. One, two, three, four...(long pause) five. There's five of them.

The situation provides a good example of multilingual participation within the entire family. This participation is made fluent with the aid of code-switching and the decision on which language to speak in is made depending on who the recipient is. The family and especially the children have clearly adopted the identity of a multilingual family by this point. They communicate fluently in two languages and the parents do not scold the children for using English but instead they keep communicating with them in a natural way. Code-switching is also present in the speech of the children after migrating back to Finland as they continue using language flexibly and switching between languages fluently. The family has

lived in Finland for around two years when the following recording from December 2007 is made. It shows a conversation between the parents and the children, which happens in Finnish. At the end of the video there is also a part in which the grandparents have arrived and the whole family is spending Christmas. The following is a written transcript of a conversation that happens between the children when they are not surrounded by other people. It is quite a long extract but shows quite well how the children constantly switch between English and Finnish, therefore I have decided to include it as an entire conversation and not just short extracts. In the situation, Matti and Jake are playing computer in a room when lines arrives and starts talking to her brothers. The following excerpt (02) provides a deeper insight into the linguistic decisions of the children in terms of heteroglossia, culture and identity.

(2) Creating a multilingual space for preserving culture and identity

01: lines: Hei, Matilla on nyt näin pitkät hiukset.

Hey, Matti's hair is this long now.

02: lines: Ja Jakella on tällainen.

(While pointing towards the boys' hair)

And Jake's is like this.

03: Jake: Tää on tosi hassu peli...

(The boys continue playing computer)

This is a really funny game...

04: Matti: Mee pois.

Go away.

05: Matt: lines, mee pois.

lines, go away.

06: lines: Enkä mee.

No I won't.

07: Matti: Mikset? Kiinnostaako sua?

Why? Are you interested?

08: Jake: I think that's the way to do it.

09: lines: Hmm... minkäs näistä ottaisi. (While looking at a box of chocolate)
Ummm... which of these to take.

10: Jake: Chocolate?... lines.

11: lines: Take Chocolat. Eat it here. Mmmm... tasty.

12: llines: Me. I'm taking another one.

13: Matti: You take another one.

14: Jake: This is a confusing game.

15: lines: Its ntsaa. (Referring to the chocolate with an Afrikaans slang word)

16: lines: How do you feel about this year? Have you done anything? Have you kept all of your promises?

17: Jake: Do you know what I would do? (Referring to the game)

18: Jake: No. (Answering the question by lines)

19: Matti: What promises?

20: lines: How do you feel about next year? Are you scared?

21: Matti: Terrified.

22: Jake: lines I'm talking to Matti. See you can jump onto that one. And shoot that.

23: Matti: Aika hyvä kulma tulee tohon. (Referring to the game)
There's quite a good angle there.

24: Jake: Do you understand me?

25. lines: How do you feel about last year?

At this point there is quite a long pause as the person recording goes to another room to interview her parents. She then returns and the conversation continues in a mixture of Finnish and English. The excerpt illustrates how the focus continuously switches from the computer game to the questions presented by lines.

26: Jake: You go, out what...

27: Matti: Mene pois ihan oikeasti.

Go away, really.

28: Jake: Ai kuka?

Who?

29: Matti: lines.

30: Jake: lines sometimes... away you go.

31: Matti: Laitetaanko me sauna päälle? (A sudden change of focus towards the Sauna)

Are we gonna switch the sauna on?

32: lines: Don't know.

(Answering the question proposed by Matti)

The boys are focusing on the computer game and Jake is attempting to help Matti pass the stage. When lines enters the room, she points towards Matti and Jake to show how long their hair is at that moment. The focus of the conversation switches frequently and it ends with a discussion on whether the sauna should be put on or not. This excerpt illustrates how much the children have developed and relearned the Finnish language after their time in Africa but that they still seem to prefer to speak mixed languages when they are amongst themselves. The conversation actually starts in Finnish and it seems that Matti attempts to use Finnish more than the other children. The conversation is not simply bilingual but resources from multiple languages are actually used. It seems that the children create a familiar space for themselves in which code-switching is natural and acceptable. They create a heteroglossic space which embraces both linguistic and social diversity through communicating with linguistic repertoire from multiple languages and performing in an African dialect. With this they preserve their Namibian identity and culture amongst themselves so that they do not become Finnish or Namibian but preserve parts from both cultures. On line 15 lines uses the word *ntsaa*, which is an Afrikaans word for very good. There are a lot of different linguistic resources used within this recording, including 3 different languages and different dialects of English. On line 11 lines expresses herself in an African sounding dialect. It seems that Jake uses English every time he says something connected to the video game the boys are playing.

In the next excerpt (03) Jake is scolded by his father in Finnish, but he responds very naturally and without any hesitation in English. After the response made in English by

Jake, the Father continues the conversation in Finnish. The following is an example of this translanguaging dialogue between Jake and his father from 2005.

(3) Fluent communication within the space of two languages

01: Jake: Thanks (When given juice by Matti)

02: Father: No pitääkö teidän nyt ne molemmat pullot sotkea hei, ei!
Well do you really have to make both of the bottles dirty, hey, no!

03: Father: Ota tuo mielummin. (While handing Jake another bottle)
Take this one rather.

04: Jake: I was thinking (pause) about that...

05: Father: No hyvä!
Well good!

This excerpt illustrates how two languages can co-exist in the same space within the same dialogue and the communication can still be fluent. The father gave Jake a chance to communicate in English by continuing the conversation bilingually and therefore allowed for Jake to express himself through his Namibian culture and identity. Both participants understood what was expressed even though they did not speak a word of the same language. In terms of translanguaging this situation presents how fluently two individuals can communicate multilingually by utilizing the linguistic resources of understanding one language and speaking in another.

The family have embraced and created a space in which multilingual communication is natural and accepted. Therefore the children often code-switch and use their linguistic repertoire in a way that utilizes their linguistic resources in both English and Finnish. This results in fluent expression and communication multilingually. The following excerpt (04) is from a situation in which Jake was asked to remain within the boundaries of his Finnish language repertoire. It shows how the fluency in communication and self-expression can become hindered by restrictions and language boundaries. In the spring of 2004, Jake presents an interview in Finnish as requested by his sister and seems to be struggling quite a bit with Finnish grammar and vocabulary. There are a lot of very long pauses because he needs time to think about how he can get around the problems he encounters in Finnish vocabulary and grammar. The conversation is a great example of how the

fluency in communication is restricted by traditional language boundaries when Jake is asked to perform in Finnish. Jake is therefore restricted from using the linguistic repertoire available to him from other languages. Jake attempts to perform as a reporter or interviewer and is interviewing a friend of lines.

(4) An example of language boundaries and restrictions

01: Jake: I am Jake Rake. Here to... (While performing for the camera)

02: Ilnes: In Finnish!

03: Jake: Minä ole Jake Rake (Long pause), täällä haastattelen (Long pause) Piia.
I am Jake Rake... here to interview...Piia.

04: Jake: Miltä tuntuu... olevan suomalainen, täällä Namibiassa?
How does it feel...to be a Finn, here in Namibia?

05: Piia: Ihan kivalta.
Quite nice.

06: Jake: Okei. Tämä kamera nainen on sinun kaveri, eiks niin?
Okay. This camera woman is your friend, isn't that right?

07: Piia: Joo.
Yes.

08: Ilnes: On.
I am.

09: Jake: Okei, hyvä.
Okay, good.

10: Jake: Miltä tuntuu olevan maailman paras mainos nainen?
How does it feel to be the best advertisement woman in the world?

11: Piia: En mä tiiä miltä se tuntuu.
I don't know how it feels.

12: Jake: Ah, sinä et ole?
Oh, you are not?

13: Jake: Sinä olet maailman paras.

You are the world's best.

14: Piia: Olenko?

Am I?

Language boundaries do not fully restrict him of self-expression but considering the long pauses he needs in between words (see lines 03 - 04) and phrases it is possible that this expression would have been much more fluent with the aid of his full linguistic repertoire. The following extract contains some more attempts at speaking only Finnish.

(5) Example 2 of language restrictions and boundaries

01: Jake: Tässä on actually fresh. (Jake is presenting a brand of bubblegum)

Here is actually fresh.

02: Jake: Maailman paras. Actually fresh. Sinun henki haisee hyvältä (long pause) ja sinusta tulee aivan hyvin (long pause)

The world's best. Actually fresh. Your breath smells good...and you become...

03: Jake: Mikä vaan... vaikka.

Anything...for instance.

04: Father: Suosittu, kuuluisa ja saat paljon tyttöystäviä.

Popular, famous and you get many girlfriends.

05: Jake: Mitä vaan mitä haluat. Sinulla ei ole niin kuuma enää. ja se... rentoutuu sinua.

Whatever you want. You don't feel so hot anymore. And it...relax you.

06: Father: Rentouttaa.

Relaxes.

07: Jake: Jah...tämä. On niin hyviä. Että susta.... voi jopa tulla stuntmääni. Ja tämä motion, on maailman huonompaa.

And...this. Is so good. That you...could even become a stuntman. And this motion, is the worst in the world.

In the excerpt 5, Jake presents a brand of bubblegum in Finnish and though there are quite a lot of errors in his speech, he presents himself in way that he is fully understood.

Analyzing his speech within the context of Heteroglossia enables us to see that he has used code-mixing and linguistic improvisation as resources to convey the desired message. It makes possible quite a different approach in comparison to older theories in which this kind of code-mixing could be regarded as semi-lingualism. In the first excerpt (4) he remained quite well within the traditional linguistic boundaries of Finnish but in the second excerpt (5) he resorted to using code-mixing so that he could express himself more fluently. The restriction on language seems to take something away from his ability to express his personality through language. The fact that he is forced to stay within the boundaries of a single language also affects his identity as a multilingual speaker by forcing him into a monolingual mold or cast. Both excerpts (4 & 5) illustrate language boundaries and restrictions not normally present in the communication of the family, which also illustrates that the family has accepted multilingual participation as part of their identity in normal situations and that removing this space in which code-switching and multilingualism is natural, would greatly affect the children's ability to express themselves and at the same time take away part of their culture and identity. Even after moving back to Finland and living in a Finnish speaking environment for a few years. The children still desire to speak English among themselves and it is often in an African dialect. The children have lived in Namibia for a long time and it has most certainly altered their identities and culture towards an African or Namibian culture. Therefore, after moving back to Finland they create a heteroglossic space when talking to each other in which they can preserve their African identity and culture through linguistic decisions. They create a safe environment that allows for freedom of consciousness when speaking to each other (See also excerpt 2). Therefore they are fluently able to express what is on their mind through the use of multilingual resources while preserving their identity.

Code-switching happens so fluently from one language to the other that it is quite possible the children do not consciously think about changing the spoken language, but in fact it happens spontaneously according to the situation. DVD 67 consists of a recording of the house by Jake. Jake walks around inside the house and records his sister watching television. At this point Jake starts speaking in English to lines and presenting the house and furniture in English. Jake then proceeds to walk towards his mother and asks her in English what she is doing. After not being able to elicit a response, he proceeds to ask again but this time in Finnish. Jake has learned that when speaking to his mother, eliciting a response and having a conversation is more successful and fluent in Finnish. The

following excerpt (6) is a written extract of situations in which an individual chooses the spoken language depending on who he speaks to.

(6) Choosing a language depending on the recipient

01: Jake: And here is lines, yes!

02: Jake: Here is lines. The liniest girl in the world.

03: Jake: That's the TV. Okay. And this is our rocking chair.

04: Jake: (walks towards his mother while recording) Whatcha doin?

At this point his mother keeps working in silence without paying any attention to the question, and because there is no response from his mother when asking in English, he attempts to ask again in Finnish.

05: Jake: Mitä sä teet?

What are you doing?

06: Mother: Kirjottelen.

Writing.

After switching the language back to Finnish, Jake was finally able to elicit a response from his mother on lines 5 and 6. This can be interpreted as an attempt by the mother to give support for the use of Finnish within the family if the reason she did not answer was because Jake spoke to her in English. This is something that contradicts the multilingual space within the family in which both languages are used freely. We cannot know the reason for sure, therefore in terms of identity and culture, it possible that Jake simply identifies his mother as a Finnish person who speaks Finnish most fluently and therefore he makes the decision to speak in Finnish and not English. This could also be a representation of the linguistic relationship that Jake and his mother have formed. They have grown accustomed to a certain mode of discourse with each other. After receiving a response, he continues the tour of the house and finds Matti sleeping in his room. This occurrence is presented in Finnish by Jake. It is interesting to witness that Jake did not revert to English immediately after speaking to his mother. Instead, he presented the next occurrence in Finnish even though he had spoken only in English before conversing with his mother. Jake then proceeds to walk back into the living room where his sister is

watching television. Lines 07 through 09 illustrate that simply going back into the same room, as his sister, seems to provoke him to continue presenting the house in English.

07: Jake: Matti nukkuu siellä, hihii, nähtiin matin nukkuvan siellä.

Matti was sleeping there, ha-ha, we saw Matti sleeping there.

(He then proceeds to return to the same room as his sister.)

08: Jake: And here is a break... of this house... byeee!

09: Jake: And bye bye for today... bye to you! Let's see you tomorrow. Bye!

His English speaking Identity seemed to switch on as he returned to the same space with his sister. At this age, Jake switched between languages very fluently depending on the person he spoke to. He decides to use English when he is on his own and presenting a tour of the yard (see also excerpt 8) and he also proceeds to using different dialects as a linguistic resource and often speaks in a British accent.

Because the focus of this thesis is to observe code-switching occurrences and heteroglossic resources within the spoken language of the children, therefore errors in grammar will not be studied in detail but will rather serve as platforms for analyzing how the children use the diversity of their linguistic resources to overcome these situations. The youngest child, Jake, is the person most influenced and affected by the two languages. Even though he learns Finnish from his parents and English from his school, the other siblings often speak English to him or a mixture of Finnish and English. Romaine (1995) mentions that there are two important factors which are necessary for a child to become truly bilingual. These include the parents' consistency of choice of language and the other is their insistence that the child respects the one parent- one language principle (Romaine, 1995). This is something that Blackledge & Creese (2014) contradict quite clearly as they argue that true bilingualism in the traditional meaning of the term is simply a myth and that it is quite impossible for an individual to gain an understanding of two languages that is comparable to the understanding that a monolingual speaker has in the language. The parents choose Finnish consistently so there is no interference in regards to consistency; however, they rarely correct the code-switching in the spoken language of the children when they are speaking to each other. The parents rarely insist that the children speak to them or each other in Finnish, but simply answer the children's questions in Finnish as if to

remind them that they should be using Finnish when communicating in this environment. This is another good example that the family has accepted a culture in which multilingualism is acceptable and the space in which communication happens is not one that restricts the use of linguistic repertoire. The youngest child, Jake, is at such a young age in most of the material, that it is difficult to distinguish whether he is able to differentiate between English and Finnish or does he mix the languages simply because he has a much wider vocabulary when using both languages instead of just one. In many of the situations in which he code-switches, he seems to be aware that he is changing the language but simply does it to fill a lexical gap in the original language or perhaps to improve his fluency in multilingual conversation by using all of the available linguistic resources. His tempo when speaking and fluency in creating full sentences is much better when he is able to use vocabulary from both English and Finnish. This would support the theory of fluent multilingual participation through the use of linguistic resources in both languages.

In an excerpt from the year 2005, it can be heard that the language use of Jake has developed towards a state in which it is much more natural for him to speak in English. An example of this is from December 2005 when Jake and Matti communicate with each other. The youngest child asks his big brother a question in English and even though he receives an answer in Finnish, he continues speaking in English. Bakhtin (1981) presented the phrase freedom of consciousness in which the individual has the freedom to express him or herself in which ever manner they desire. The following excerpt (7) is an example of situation in which Jake freely expresses himself in an excited state when riding a motorbike on the sand dunes of Namibia:

(7) Freedom of consciousness in multilingual participation

01: Jake: Määki menin noin nopeesti. Mää menin noin nopeesti...

I went that fast too. I went that fast... (Jake, after riding the motorbike)

02: Jake: How do you put it on a higher gear? Matti? How do you put it on a higher gear while driving? (Jake questioning Matti about changing gears)

03: Jake : Do you just....

04: Matti: Et sää noin nopeeta menny.

You didn't go that fast.

And even after receiving the answer in Finnish, he continues questioning his brother in English. (See lines 04 & 05)

05: Jake: Do you just put it?

06: Jake: Do you just put it up? But, I went the highest... I think the fastest you can go on....

The family has been spending their time on the sand dunes of the Namib Desert and the children have been taking turns in riding their motorbikes. Jake has just taken his turn and is commenting his speed in regards to how fast Matti drove (see line 01). In the context of heteroglossia this kind of fluent code-mixing (see lines 01 – 06) could be considered freedom of consciousness or freedom of expression in which Jakes consciousness is not restricted by language boundaries. Jake is allowed to express himself through flexible language use and fluent switching between languages. He is in a very excited state and therefore does not consider language borders or think about how he expresses himself. He simply has the need to express his consciousness with the linguistic repertoire provided by his previous experiences. The rest of the family might be communicating in Finnish, but the youngest child still insists on speaking in English. An interesting point to take note of is that Jake also plays in English. There is a situation in which Jake is recording his playtime in 2005. He begins to play a star wars themed game with Legos and all of the actions are played out in English. This is perhaps the clearest representation that he is more used to using linguistic resources from English rather than Finnish during his playtime. His thoughts are primarily in English as he speaks them out during the playtime. Playtime is perhaps the most natural situation a child can be in. It is the time in which he or she is completely submerged in his or her play and is almost completely separated from the rest of the world. This is perhaps when he or she presents the most authentic representation of what is going on in their thoughts. The best part about this material is that the youngest child spontaneously speaks out everything on his mind with the Legos. Every sound he makes as the Legos fight each other, fly or speak to one another is recorded in this spontaneous recording and it is all in English.

5.3 Translanguaging in play, song and performance

The following section will provide an introduction and analysis on the situations in which translanguaging and modes of heteroglossia are present in performances such as acting and singing, play and wordplay. On DVD 67, Jake is presenting the yard in English. He goes up to a children's sandbox and proceeds to present the sandbox (see line 04). The following excerpt (8) is a transcript of the situation and an example of code-switching and flexible language use happening while he is giving a performance as a news reporter:

(8) Utilizing linguistic repertoire in performance

01: Jake: Hello again. It's DSTV channel GO. You'll see some more excitements today.

02: Jake: But now we are going outside to see, might be very cold. (This phrase was pronounced in a British RP accent and shows that he is capable of using different dialects of English)

03: Jake: And there might be a little bit of dogs, but that doesn't matter does it, ayh.

(Incomprehensible mumbling about whether the camera is recording or not.)

04: Jake: And I shall, today tell you about, a little bit of... broken hiekkalaatikko.

His use of English has become very fluent but at this point he still decides to replace the occurring lexical gap in the English phrase with the Finnish substitute hiekkalaatikko (see line 04). He therefore uses his linguistic resources in Finnish to express himself more fluently in English. He presents the house in a dialect of RP English which in the context of heteroglossia represents the taking up of a role while performing; in terms of theory by Bakhtin (1981) this might be considered as speaking half someone else's words. Hence, integrating other ethnic dialect as if it was his or her own. Because of Jake's young age, both of the languages he uses are still developing, which provides a great setting for analyzing heteroglossic resources in the spoken language of a young individual. In the context of heteroglossia and translanguaging it gives us an opportunity to see how multilingual resources can be used for fluent self-expression in different occasions and situations such as acting and performing. Jake resumes his introduction of the house and it does not take long for another example of translanguaging through code-switching to

appear in his use of language in the form of wordplay and rhyme. The following is an example (9) of this playful rhyme:

(9) Code-switching and rhyme

01: Jake: This house is all of danger

(While walking around the house with a camera)

02: Jake: Hey look at that beautiful motorcycle.

03 Jake: Nice swimming pool, yeah, you can see it. And there's a nyrkkeilysäkki and there's dogs.

04: Jake: I'm going to introduce you the dogs. Here's Nalle the ärhökkä pärhökkä. And here's Rode the laiskimus laiskimus.

05: Jake: Bye for today's show! Bye bye dogs. Ruf ruf!

While presenting the rest of the yard, he sees the dogs and resumes by presenting them (see line 04). He uses rhythmic wordplay to create nicknames for the dogs. He innovatively creates these nicknames as a playful wordplay of the dogs' personalities. He calls the dogs, "*Nalle the ärhökkä pärhökkä and Rode the laiskimus laiskimus*". Nalle was a dog with a tendency for aggression and this wordplay could be translated as Nalle the angry bangry and Rode enjoyed spending her time sleeping in the shade which could be translated as rode the lazybones. The fact that he expresses himself in two languages in a playful situation that requires innovation is another great example of heteroglossia and linguistic diversity. As Jake introduces the house and says, "*Nice swimming pool, yeah, you can see it. And there's a nyrkkeilysäkki and there's dogs.*" It is not possible to know for certain why this code-switch on line 03 happened and the reason behind it, whether it was to fill a lexical gap or for stylistic reasons, is not really relevant. The relevant observation for this thesis is that he very naturally simply fills the gap with the Finnish word nyrkkeilysäkki and is therefore able to express himself fluently with the flexible use of two languages. He does not need to think about the word and it does not take him longer to form the sentence, because he simply fills the gap with the first equivalent word that comes to mind. This is another great example of fluent multilingual expression. A moment later he begins another introduction video and presents himself, but this time with playful English wordplay connected to his surname.

(10) Heteroglossic wordplay

01: Jake: Oh... and welcome again to this show.

02: Jake: I will introduce myself again. I'm Jake Nepopo. (Wordplay of his surname)

03: Jake: See, I'm a po po, yeah, and here's my pants... and jalka (at this point he uses a completely fluent and sudden borrowing of the Finnish word for leg).

04: Jake: And there's the dog I introduced you with. And there's the other dog I introduced you with.

05: Jake: Heippa, tää on tota. The end of this show.

Hi, this is umm. The end of this show.

Lines 02 and 03 consist of a playful continuum of his surname in which he refers to himself with a slang word for police, "I'm the po po". This is something that I presume he has learned in school from his classmates. It is something that is stimulated very easily when hearing the participant's surname and it is possible that he has heard it in English from classmates, and therefore it comes naturally to him in English and not Finnish. The language spoken is considered proper English with nothing special to note. In the context of heteroglossia, the fluency at which he suddenly uses the Finnish word within an English sentence suggests an ability to express himself without traditional linguistic boundaries. In terms of using linguistic repertoire for communication, there is nothing wrong or odd with this presentation. He then proceeds indoors and begins to record the end of the show with Mrs. T. She was a long time employee of the family and took care of the children during their stay in Namibia. He speaks Finnish to Mrs. T, this is perhaps because he has learned that Mrs. T does not really speak any English and the language used for communication with her has always been Finnish. He has perhaps learned that the communication between himself and Mrs. T is much more fluent when using Finnish linguistic resources. He ends the presentation by recording himself with Mrs. T. The final phrase is said in English however. On line 05 he says: "*Heippa, tää on tota. The end of this show*". He presents everything in English but switches very naturally to Finnish if required. His pronunciation is rather good for a child his age that is speaking in his second language.

There are only very few situations in which he pronounces English in an accent common to Finns. One of these situations is when he says the word camera. He says it within an English sentence but in a Finnish way. He pronounces the C similarly to a Finnish K with no fricative sound. It stands out as the sentence is otherwise pronounced like a native speaker of English. He uses an accent resembling RP English in his presentation but it can be assumed that this is strongly influenced by his performance as a news reporter presenting the house to the viewing audience. On this specific DVD, I have not come across made-up words that do not mean anything. However, at one point he does say “*and about blaa blaa*”, which seems to be said simply because he could no longer come up with new ideas for what the presentation was about. A brief analysis was made in the ethnography section about a short video clip in which he is a few years younger and performs a song in a language that sounds like English, but is completely made up. In terms of translanguaging this use of linguistic repertoire can have multiple meanings. It is possible that Jake wishes to create the feeling of singing in English and he also uses his previous experiences to create words that sound phonetically like English. He therefore communicates with us and expresses himself through song in a language that sounds and feels like English. There are some real English words in the song such as drum and thunder and power ranger. It appears that he has picked up a corpus of words and phrases which to use in a suitable situation.

A good example of code-switching depending on the topic or rather mode of communication can be witnessed in a video recording from 2002. It shows a situation in which all of the participants are Finnish speaking and the conversations between the participants are in Finnish. The children are swimming and playing, and the middle child, Matti, has invited a Finnish friend with him to play. They communicate in Finnish until something triggers Matti to suddenly start singing a playful song or rhyme in English to his friend. His friend then proceeds to join in on the singing, therefore it can be assumed that it is something that they have learned in the English speaking school environment and therefore it is most natural to sing it in English. The following excerpt (11) is a written transcript of the situation.

(11) Translanguaging in song

01: Matti: Niiltä alkaa varmaan kohta loppuun bensa.

They must be running out of gas soon.

02: Friend: Niin, ku ne on koko päivän ajanu.

Yeah, cause they have been driving all day.

03: Matti: S.O.S the tiger took my family.

04: Matti: S.O.S the tiger took my father.

05: Friend: the tiger took my brother and mother...

This kind of switch (see lines 02 – 03) depending on the context of what is said can be considered as a result of code alternation and is a good example of how linguistic diversity presents itself through different modes of communication such as rhyme and in this case song. Thomason (2001) mentions that code alternation is referred to when a speaker uses two different languages but not in the same situation. In this situation, code alternation can be considered to have happened when the children spoke English at school and Finnish at home to their parents and siblings. According to Thomason, Code alternation is more frequent in environments that frown upon code-switching. This enables them to fluently use one language in a situation and the other language in another situation. This does not however, completely rule out mixing of languages. The material does not provide evidence of negative attitudes towards code-switching nor is it relevant for the results of this thesis. Code alternation is present simply because the children must use English at school to fluently communicate with others and using Finnish at home enables for more fluent communication with the parents. Code alternation is not necessarily tied to the environment or place but can be also be confined to a person or persons. This means that one person might speak in Finnish to his brother and then English to his sister simply because they find it more natural and fluent to communicate with a certain person in a certain language.

Another example of translanguaging in song is in a rap presentation Matti and his two friends made in school (see excerpt 12). In a clip from a birthday party Matti and two of his friends are asked to show a presentation that they have formed in drama class. Each group has formed a presentation in the form of poetry. Matti and his two friends decided to use the rap genre to convey their message. The rhythm of rap and rhyming connected to rap makes the message that the boys want to convey stronger. The habitus of the boys includes hand gestures common to rap music and dancing to the beat. The rap was

presented as follows and the message was to describe how one should protect oneself from getting malaria.

(12) Malaria Rap

01: Close the tap, before you nap. And this is the malaria rap. Yo!

02: Use the coils and repellent oils, to protect yourself from malaria.

03: Use the mosquito net and also protect your pet.

04: Don't fall into a malaria trap, and remember, that this is the malaria rap. Yo!

The performance illustrates how the children use their linguistic repertoire in a way that requires rhyming of words while still conveying a powerful message. Rap is a very diverse genre that can co-exist within various different spaces including politics, media and education and is therefore a good genre for expressing serious subjects. The rap provides a voice to the children through which they can express themselves through repetition, rhyming and humor.

5.4 Creating heteroglossic vocabulary for fluent self-expression

The following section will provide an introduction and analysis on the situations in which the children create their own heteroglossic vocabulary so that they can express themselves more fluently and flexibly. They modify words and phrases and adjust them to fit the situation and sound phonetically like the language that is spoken at that time. Traditionally this could be regarded as Finglish or simply modified English or Finnish, but because Finglish does not contain the same nuances in terms of language variety, we will regard this as the creation of heteroglossic vocabulary. In terms of Finglish not containing enough variety, Finglish as a term creates a language boundary which restricts the new vocabulary into the boundaries of either Finnish or English or both. The vocabulary or phrases created by the children are not necessarily manifestations of those two languages but can be affected by other cultures and languages as well. Therefore heteroglossic

vocabulary is the more appropriate term because it does not consist of language boundaries. The following excerpt (13) demonstrates how Jake uses his linguistic resources from English to allow for him to be understood even though he does not remember the Finnish vocabulary in the given situation. The fact that he is not capable of presenting the Finnish equivalent for the word apple juice (see line 04) does not prevent him from being understood and expressing himself.

(13) New heteroglossic repertoire

01: lines: Tässä on ... Jake.

Here is...Jake.

02: Jake: Hei.

Hi.

03: lines: Jake, mitä sä juot?

Jake, what are you drinking?

04: Jake: Applejuissia! (Pronunciation resembles [æpldʒuissia])

05: lines: Onko hyvää?

Is it good?

06: Jake: On.

Yes.

07: lines: Miltä se maistuu?

What does it taste like?

08: Jake: Äppeliltä.

Like apple.

In traditional linguistic terms the use of linguistic resources on line 04 would be referred to as stem formation, in which Jake has added the –i or -ia at the end of the word *apple juice*. This adjusts the word apple juice to sound more like Finnish. The word is pronounced like the English word Apple but with a phonetical ending that resembles Finnish vocabulary. In terms of translanguaging, the word *Applejuissi* should not be considered a variant of English nor Finnish but as a heteroglossic repertoire used to navigate in the multilingual situation. It is therefore a manifestation of Jakes voice which has been created and

developed by previous experiences with different languages. At one point there is a situation in which Jake is becoming slightly frustrated because he does not know the Finnish word for apple and insists that his sister stop recording. The following is a transcript of a dialogue in which he resorts to substituting to fill a gap in his vocabulary but in way that his sister still understands what he desires. It is part of the previous extract and is therefore similarly a part of creating heteroglossic repertoire.

09: lines: Mikä on apple suomeks?

What is apple in Finnish?

10: Jake: (Jake is unable to answer the question so he gestures throwing the juice onto lines)

11: lines: Älä pliis tee mitään tyhmää!

Please don't do anything stupid!

12: Jake: Then put that red light off and stop! Cameraing.

On line 12 the noun, camera, has been adjusted to substitute as a verb by adding the –ing end. The noun, camera, becomes a hybrid of a noun and a verb and it is clearly a substitute for the word recording, which Jake is perhaps not familiar with. This could also derive from the Finnish word *kamera*, which Jake uses as a verb within a Finnish sentence as an invitation to record the playing of a PC-game. In the context of translanguaging, multilingual speakers creatively navigate between languages and develop their own voice by combining languages. The word is not necessarily English or Finnish but a hybrid of the vocabulary he is previously familiar with. The ability to create a new word that serves a certain function by combining different language is considered a resource of multilingualism within the theory of heteroglossia, thus providing the speaker with a multilingual voice.

The following excerpt (14) is from a video-clip from 2005 in which there is significant code-mixing between Finnish and English. It is a conversation between Matti and lines, but contrary to previous dialogues between these two informants, it has a lot code-switching and mixing. Material from earlier years suggests that these two participants usually attempt to speak to each other in Finnish. The conversation between the two is set in the living room and Matti is recording lines from the couch with the video camera.

(14) Code-mixing and substitution:

01: lines: Matti tekee nyt hullun stuntin.

Matti is going to make a crazy stunt now.

02: lines: Nyt mä tuun ja biittaaan sut up!

(lines walks towards Matti)

Now I'm going to come and beat you up!

03: lines: Noni, mitä mä sanoin.

There, what did I tell you.

04: Matti: Se vielä rekordaa. Se rekordaa.

(lines tries to take the camera from Matti)

It's still recording. It's recording.

05: Matti: Now let's check. Let's check.

06: lines: Oikeesti Matti, oikeesti. Matti miks?

Really Matti, really. Why Matti?

07: Matti: I'll do it again, don't worry.

08: lines: Minkä päälle sää kuvasit?

What did you record over?

09: Matti: I think it was the.....

lines uses English based words such as “*stuntti*” on line 01 and phrases such as “*biittaaan sut up*” on line 02, which refers to beating the person up. Matti responds with a Finnish sentence but includes “*rekordaa*” on line 04 in the sentence, which he uses as a substitute for the Finnish word “*nauhoittaa*”. Matti proceeds to speak in English and there is a back and forth dialogue between the children in which the other speaks in Finnish and the other in English. It has become more natural for the children to communicate in a mixed language than one consistent language. The phrase on line 02, “*biittaaan sut up*” is formed almost completely on English grammar with the word, “*you*”, simply substituted with “*sut*” and the word “*biittaaan*” slightly modified from the verb to beat. A corresponding Finnish phrase could be, “*nyt mä tuun ja hakkaan sut*”. This is something that clearly does not come naturally to lines, as she has perhaps learned the phrase “*beat you up*”, from the English speaking surroundings such as her school, and has not heard the Finnish substitute used by anyone. The entire conversation is formed around code-switching and a

heteroglossic repertoire that is not either Finnish or English. Based on translanguaging theory, the code-switching that the children use is a verbal dynamic strategy and should be treated as such, instead of evidence of semi-lingualism. The situations in which the children switch should not be seen as a reflection of language proficiency or the ability to recall but instead as a means of navigating through the space of multilingual participation and improving fluency in communication.

6. Conclusion

Culturally and in terms of identity the family can be considered to be Finnish immigrants in Namibia due to the long period of residence in the country. There is significant evidence of heteroglossic linguistic resources and flexible language use such as borrowing, code-mixing and code switching in the speech of all of the children. Situations in which the children use heteroglossic resources and translanguaging are affected by different factors including space and time, culture and identity. Resources such as code-switching and mixing are used by the children when wanting to elicit a response from a certain person, whom they presume has a preference in which language to communicate in. The choice of language is therefore often made depending on the person spoken to. Jake often communicates in English with his sister but in Finnish with his mother and Mrs. T. Heteroglossia is also present in the language use when the children perform or present something. They therefore integrate the voice of someone else as their own and use a different variety of English such as RP English to act out the role of a news reporter. In terms of translanguaging, switching between multiple languages happens within the same space but the result is still fluent communication which is understood by all of the participants. In many situations translanguaging happens for more fluent self-expression without the restrictions of traditional language boundaries. An example of this is when Jake fluently expresses himself multilingually by saying *nyrkkeilysäkki* instead of having to pause and think about the English equivalent. He therefore uses his linguistic resources in Finnish to aid in expressing himself in English. Switching between languages is also present depending on the topic; the children seem to speak English in situations dealing with computer games or mathematics. In 2007 the children still seem to prefer speaking in mixed languages when they are amongst themselves even though they have lived in Finland for a few years by this time. They have created a heteroglossic space for themselves in which it is safe and natural to code-switch and use language flexibly. This space helps preserve their multicultural identities as they switch between languages and talk to each other in an African dialect of English. This space supports freedom of consciousness and is not restricted by traditional language boundaries. The children use code-mixing as a form of translanguaging in which they create something new from their previous experiences. This is often a new word or phrase with phonetical resemblance to either or both languages. It is however not either English or Finnish but a manifestation of

the voice that is created by the multilingual speaker. Jake sings a song in a made up language that resembles English. The song has both made up words and real words from the English language which he has picked up and stored in his language corpus. He has picked up the phonetics of English words so therefore the made up words sound like English, this creates the feel that he is singing in English. Translanguaging is therefore used to create the feel of something. The children therefore use language flexibly in play, rhyme and song. Examples of this can be seen when the children act out certain performances such as rap or song and speak out nursery rhymes learned from school. They play with language to create the desired effect and to express themselves fully.

At the age of 6 in 2002, Jake spoke mostly Finnish but in the spring of 2003 he was already incredibly fluent in English and it was quickly becoming his language of choice. Jake developed his linguistic repertoire very quickly in the English language and proceeded to use these resources in everyday communication. Matti and lines were not quite as strongly affected by the English environment in Namibia but English still seemed to be the more dominant language in 2004-2005, just before the family departed back to Finland. During their time in Finland, the use of Finnish linguistic repertoire becomes more common and natural. In Namibia, the children were enrolled in after school Finnish classes to strengthen their language skills, which had a positive effect on their grammar skills in the language. The code-mixing was supported by a bilingual environment, because this was when the children were encouraged to use both languages and mixing of the languages was regarded as normal behavior. The children use language very flexibly to communicate with each other and express their desires and thoughts. An environment that supports flexible language use allows for better fluency in communication and does not restrict the introduction and preserving of culture and identity through the flexible use of linguistic repertoire.

The results of this thesis can be used to understand the situations in which switching between different languages happens and the outlying social and cultural factors affecting the use of multilingual repertoire. Language use is not only a factor of linguistics but the linguistic decisions often mirror the identity or social status of the speaker. The results might provide ideas and information on how language teaching and learning could be developed. Hopefully the results will provide some insight on why code-switching happens and how flexible language use can be seen as something that provides an opportunity for fluent self-expression through diverse use of an individual's linguistic repertoire, and not as

something that reflects linguistic competence. The goal is to generate discussion on the idea of languages in general and whether they should be seen as separable, or as a large pool from which an individual can choose which linguistic repertoire should be used to help in expressing him or herself the most fluently and in a way that presents their identity and culture the way they want it to be presented. Further research topics related to this study could include research on how translanguaging and flexible language use could further be integrated into modern language teaching so that switching between languages could boost the learning of a new language. Current language teaching in schools is still quite restricted by traditional language boundaries, therefore the benefits of using language flexibly could be understood better if more research and attempts were made at integrating a multilingual space in which flexible language use is encouraged within the modern classroom.

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Appendix

Here are some of the transcription symbols used in the home-videos.

! Indicating shouting or talking loud

? Indicating rising intonation

... a pause lasting for around 1-2 seconds.

[pause] also used to show a pause in speech lasting longer than 2 seconds.