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Ala-Anttila Laura & Kuutti Sanni

Teacher students' narratives about their language identities and

future as language-aware teachers

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This study examined teacher students' narratives about their language identities and future as language-aware teachers. The importance of the topic arises both from the current educational discussion around the topic, and the lack of research examining the connection between language identity and language awareness.

In the theoretical framework, identity was explored through its flexible and multidimensional nature, as well as its connection to language and language learning. The complexity of multilingual identity and the importance of supporting multilingual identity in a classroom setting were discussed. Language awareness was studied from the societal perspective, and linguistic and critical approaches to the concept were introduced. The linguistic approach was found to comprise metalinguistic and cross-linguistic awareness, while the critical approach emphasized appreciation of multilingualism in the society. Language-aware practices connected to these approaches were examined.

A narrative approach was used to conduct the study. Three narratives were collected in the form of theme interviews and the data was analyzed through thematic narrative analysis. The themes found from the data were divided under three main categories: personal themes, social themes, and themes related to the participants' future role as language-aware teachers.

The study revealed that language identity was a sensitive issue for the participants and that they saw language awareness essential in supporting students' language identities. The study emphasized that by supporting students' language identities and through language-aware practices, equality, learning and the holistic development of students are enhanced.

Tutkimuksen tarkoituksena oli tarkastella opettajaopiskelijoiden kertomuksia heidän kieli-
identiteeteistään sekä tulevaisuudestaan kielitietoisina opettajina. Aiheen tärkeys nousee esiin
ajankohtaisesta kasvatustieteellisestä keskustelusta aiheen ympärillä, sekä vähäisestä
tutkimuksesta kieli-identiteetin ja kielitietoisuuden yhteydestä.

Teoreettisessa viitekehyksessä tutkittiin identiteetin joustavaa ja moniulotteista luonnetta,
sekä sen yhteyttä kieleen ja kielen oppimiseen. Lisäksi tarkasteltiin monikielisen identiteetin
kompleksisuutta ja sen tukemisen tärkeyttä koulukontekstissa. Kielitietoisuutta tutkittiin
yhteiskunnallisesta sekä kielellisestä ja kriittisestä näkökulmasta. Kielellisen näkökulman
todettiin viittaavan metakielelliseen tietoisuuteen sekä tietoisuuteen kielten välisistä suhteista.
Kriittisen näkökulman nähtiin painottavan monikielisyyden arvostamista yhteiskunnassa.
Lisäksi tutkimuksessa tarkasteltiin kielitietoisiin käytänteisiin liittyviä näkökulmia.

Tutkimus toteutettiin soveltamalla narratiivista lähestymistapaa. Aineisto koostui kolmesta
narratiivisesta teemahaastattelusta, ja sen analyysissä sovellettiin temaattisen narratiivisen
analyysin periaatteita. Aineistosta löytyneet teemat jaettiin kolmen pääkategorian alle:
yksilöllisiin teemoihin, sosiaalisiin teemoihin sekä teemoihin liittyen osallistujien tule-
vaisuuteen kielitietoisina opettajina.

Tutkimus osoitti, että kieli-identiteetti oli sensitiivinen aihe osallistujille, ja he näkivät kieli-
tietoisuuden välttämättömänä osana oppilaiden kieli-identiteetin tukemista. Tutkimus painot-
taa oppilaiden kieli-identiteetin tukemisen tärkeyttä sekä kielitietoisten käytänteiden mer-
kitystä oppilaiden oppimisen ja kokonaisvaltaisen kehityksen sekä tasa-arvon edistämisessä.

Contents

1 Introduction

The concept of language awareness has become widely known in educational contexts in Finland after it was included in the new Finnish National Core Curriculum as one of the underlying principles guiding the school culture. The importance of language awareness is emphasized throughout the curriculum (The Finnish National Board of Education, 2014). However, the concept has been studied for decades already from multiple perspectives, such as linguistic and critical perspectives. The research on pedagogical language-aware practices has approached the issue from the perspectives of teacher language awareness (see e.g. Andrews & Svalberg, 2017), language learning, as well as the importance of multilingual school culture (see e.g., Jessner, Allgäuer-Hackl & Hofer, 2016). Additionally, critical multilingual language awareness is present in contemporary language awareness research (see e.g. García, 2017). What is much less researched, but still very visible in the Finnish National Core Curriculum, is the connection between language awareness and language identities. Furthermore, multilingual identity is an area of interest that we have both reflected on during our teacher studies. Hence, our research interest for this study that examines how students' multilingual identities can be supported through language aware practices.

Identity is a very abstract concept (see e.g., Rahimian, 2015), and sometimes very difficult to comprehend, and due to this we were interested in teacher students' perceptions of their language identities. Based on these perceptions, we wanted to examine how they see their role as language-aware teachers supporting their students' language identities. To do this, we chose to use a qualitative narrative approach as a method for this research. Narrative research tends to reveal something about the past, present and the future, and it enables reflections on one's life history (see e.g., Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007). Thus, we consider it the best approach to examine identities. We use inductive analysis, which means, according to McAdams (2012), that "the researcher begins with concrete observations of the phenomenon itself and attempts to develop a more abstract description of or theory about the phenomenon" (p. 17). Thus, we have collected and analyzed the data first, and formed the theoretical framework after that. Our research questions are:

1. *What do teacher students tell about their language identities?*
2. *How do teacher students describe their future role as language-aware teachers supporting students' language identities?*

The approach of our research is sociolinguistic since it sees multilingualism as a resource rather than as a limitation (Honko & Mustonen, 2018b, p. 126). Multilingualism has a variety of nuances, and different concepts have been used to describe the phenomenon, such as multilingualism referring to multilingual communities and plurilingualism referring to linguistic repertoires on an individual level (Honko & Mustonen, 2018b, p. 121). Moreover, a distinction between the number of languages in an individual's linguistic repertoire is often made by defining them as, for example, monolingual or bilingual. However, it is important to acknowledge that in this research multilingualism is used to refer to any form of knowing more than just one language, on both societal and individual level.

First, we will introduce the theoretical framework of our study which is divided into two parts. The first part examines the dimensions of identity, the concept of language identity as a social construct, the connection between identity and language learning as well as the complex nature of multilingual identity. The second part focuses on approaches to language awareness and pedagogical practices that can be used in a language-aware classroom to support students' language identities. After the theoretical framework, we will introduce the narrative methodology and thematic narrative analysis. Then, we will move on to present our findings first separately and then compare them together. Furthermore, reliability and ethics of the study will be evaluated. Finally, in the discussion, we aim to connect our findings to the theoretical framework in order to present answers for our research questions. By the end, we hope to have given the reader an in-depth overview of the importance of supporting language identities in the classroom context and provided some practical tools for applying language-aware pedagogy.

2 Language identity

We will start the theoretical framework of this study by exploring identity. In the first section, identity will be examined through its flexible and multidimensional nature. Then, we will move on to discuss the connection between language and identity and explore language identity as a social construct. In the two first sections, there will be references to two of Bucholtz & Hall's (2005) five sociolinguistic principles on identity, the emergence principle and the positionality principle, but in the context of this research, it is not necessary to introduce the remaining three. Moving on, it is also important to consider the role of identity in language learning which we will review in section 2.3 through Norton's versatile research on this field (see, e.g., Norton & Toohey, 2011). Finally, we will end the chapter by discussing the complexity of multilingual identity and the importance of supporting multilingual identity in a classroom setting. In this chapter, we aim to give the reader an overview of the complex nature of identity, its relationship to language and the multidimensional essence of multilingual identity.

2.1 Approaches to identity

In the 1970s and 1980s, identity was seen as a fixed concept with no flexibility or transformation in the identity development. This idea is contrasting to the present understanding of identity as a flexible entity that is constantly under construction. The identity development is shaped by the previous circumstances, in which the fluid identity has been formed, and thus, identity cannot exist without context, and the context always has an impact on the identity. (Norton & Toohey, 2011, pp. 419-420) The Cambridge Dictionary of Psychology defines identity as "catchall-phrase used throughout the social sciences to refer to the way individuals understand themselves and are recognized by others" (Matsumoto, 2009, p. 244). However, identity is a multidimensional concept that is examined differently in different disciplines. That is why it is difficult to define identity in single terms (Rahimian, 2015, p. 305).

According to Joseph (2006), our identity consists of two functions: the deictic and the semantic function. The deictic function distinguishes us from other people and in simple terms, it can be regarded as our names in identifying ourselves (Joseph, 2006, p. 486). The semantic function, in turn, is more abstract and composes the deeper meaning of who we are behind our names. In other words, it can be considered to constitute of what it means to be you or as the

meaning of one's name (Joseph, 2004, p. 2). Language plays a vital role in constructing the semantic function of identity since the way we see ourselves, and the way other people see us, is strongly connected to the languages we speak and how we speak them (Joseph, 2006, p. 486).

As mentioned, one of the most crucial characteristics of identity is that of its changing nature. Identity is not fixed but rather something that is constantly under transformation (Rahimian, 2015, p. 306). This conception comes about especially when we consider identity in connection with language learning (Rahimian, 2015, p. 306), which will be further discussed in section 2.3. This transformation takes place through interaction and participation. The continuous development is strongly tied to the time and place, and thus our past experiences and expectations for the future have an influence on our identity development. This is to say that identity development is impacted by who we have been and where we are coming from, as well as by who we imagine to be in the future and where we see ourselves heading towards. Identity can thus be seen as a constant endeavor of becoming something or someone. (Wegner, 2000, p. 239)

The continuous identity development occurs in interaction with other people and these people have an influence on this development. This influence functions both ways since we also construct identities to other people based on our own life experience and on all the encounters with people that we have ever had. Similarly, they construct identities for us based on their life experiences. Since these experiences are unique to everyone there exists as many identities for us as there are people that we interact with. (Joseph, 2004, p. 3) These encounters and perceptions of others have an influence on how we see ourselves as well, thus on the identity development, but it could be claimed that the only real perception of us exists in our own minds. Other people can only create their own versions of us that are constructed based on who they are themselves. (Joseph, 2004, p. 8)

The other sense in which we can consider to have multiple identities is the idea that we take on different roles in different social contexts, such as the role of a parent, child, teacher or student. Thus, the context determines the role we take on and how we categorize ourselves. (Joseph, 2004, p. 8) The positionality principle of Bucholtz & Hall's five principles on identity enhances this idea of the different identity categories through which we construct and reconstruct our identities (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, pp. 591-592). Joseph (2004) considers these as group identities and argues that we construct our individual identities from the parts of the

group identities in which we belong to (Joseph, 2004, p. 5). According to the positionality principle, these categories cannot only be considered as the macro categories such as race, gender or sexuality but in addition, there are local categories as well as temporary categories that arise in interactional roles. In order to understand the local categories, we need to be familiar with the prevailing circumstances in an individual's local environment like, for example, in the school culture. The temporary categories, in turn, refer to the different roles that we take on in different interactional situations. Here the changing nature of identity is highlighted. (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, pp. 591-592)

2.2 Language identity as a social construct

As discussed in the previous section, language is firmly connected to the identity construction since the way we see ourselves, and the way other people see us, is dependent on the languages we speak and how we speak them (Joseph, 2004, p. 486). Block (2009) defines language identity as "the assumed and/or attributed relationship between one's sense of self and a means of communication which might be known as a language, a dialect or a sociolect" (p. 40). Moreover, language plays a vital role in the identity development since according to Joseph (2004), the fundamental functions of language, "communication with others, and representation of the world to ourselves in our own minds", are essential components in the identity construction as well (p. 15). This is because language is the means for communication and fundamental in making sense of the world. (Joseph, 2004, p. 16)

Language identity can also be examined through the three dimensions developed by Leung, Harris & Rampton (1997): language expertise, language affiliation and language inheritance (Leung, Harris & Rampton, 1997, p. 555). These concepts will be further elaborated in this section. Furthermore, Bucholtz & Hall (2005) studied identity as a social construct in linguistic interaction through five different principles (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, p. 585), of which the emergence principle will be referred to here since it is strongly in line with language identity. To review language identity in a more practical manner, we will refer to Dressler's study (2014) on young multilingual learners where students colored a body silhouette based on their languages, in the task of language portrait silhouette. Dressler used these body silhouettes and students' verbal explanations about them to explore the language identities of these students. This understanding of students' language identities is essential for teachers to enhance positive interaction with students. (Dressler, 2014, p. 43)

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If we examine the three dimensions of language identity more closely, language expertise can be understood to consist of linguistic competence in a language (Dressler, 2014, p. 43). In other words, this can be measured in terms of proficiency in the language use, such as the acceptance to the language community by other users of the language (Block, 2009, p. 45). In Dressler's (2014) study on young multilingual learners, children measured their linguistic competence by talking about their oral skills in the language and expressed competence in the language based on that rather than focusing on reading or writing. Thus, children were more focused on what they felt that they knew than on what they did not know (Dressler, 2014, p. 47).

Moreover, language identity can also be regarded from the perspective of language affiliation. Affiliation is understood through the feelings of attachment and belonging that the individual has for a language. In the identity context, these feelings construe the individual's identification to a language, and this identification can differ depending on the form of communication. (Block, 2009, p. 40) In Dressler's (2014) study, children perceive this affiliation by expressing "liking" a language. Their feelings of attachment could be seen from their language portrait silhouette where the degree of affiliation determined the placement of the language on the body silhouette. (Dressler, 2014, p. 47)

The third dimension of Leung, Harris & Rampton's (1997) understanding of language identity is language inheritance (Leung, Harris & Rampton, 1997, p. 555). Language inheritance refers to the language inherited by birth, thus the language setting in which we are born to. Inheritance differs from expertise and affiliation since being born into a certain language setting or inheriting a language through family connections does not guarantee expertise in the language or feeling of affiliation towards the language. (Block, 2009, p. 40) In fact, this is a very important note to make in multilingual settings and when planning language programs since inherited languages are not always on the level of native language and thus language programs should not be developed based on this assumption (Leung, Harris & Rampton, 1997, p. 557). Language inheritance was also visible in Dressler's study (2014) since children placed their home languages, sometimes different from the school languages English and German, to their body silhouettes as well (Dressler, 2014, p. 49).

When we consider language identity as a social construct, we have to also examine Bucholtz & Hall's (2005) emergence principle on identity as a social construct in linguistic interaction. The emergence principle focuses on identity as something that emerges from the interaction

with others and is shaped by the language used in this interaction. Thus, identity is not an internally constructed state but dependent on interaction with others. The past aspect of identity development is not ignored, but identity is not simply seen as a construct of the past because the role of interaction is crucial in the identity development. However, the interaction cannot take place without it being influenced by the past constructions. (Bucholtz & Hall, 2005, pp. 587-588) The focus on interaction highlights the role of language in identity development, and thus, the importance of comprehension of language identity becomes crucial. The profound comprehension of language identity enables us to understand better who we are, both for ourselves and other people, as well as to create our own understanding of who the people we interact with are. This understanding is constructed in social interaction and is a continuous process in which the past, present and future aspects exist all the time. (Joseph, 2004, pp. 13-14)

2.3 Identity and language learning

As language is such an important feature in identity development, we also need to examine the relation between identity and language learning. Identity as a concept and the relation between identity and language learning has become an area of interest in the field of language learning over the past decades (Norton & Toohey, 2011, p. 413). On their article, *Identity, language learning, and social change*, Norton & Toohey (2011) summarize the key perspectives of the research in this field in order to provide an overview of the important domains on identity and language learning (Norton & Toohey, 2011, p. 413). Of these perspectives, imagined community, imagined identity and investment will be further examined in this section since they are relevant in the context of this research. Furthermore, according to Lemke, language learning is essential from the identity perspective since "learning a new language involves seeing the world in a different perspective and acquiring a new identity" (as cited in Andrews, 2010, p. 86).

The terms imagined communities and imagined identities were first introduced into the field of second language acquisition by Bonny Norton (Norton & Toohey, 2011, p. 422). Norton is a key figure in the field of identity and language learning, and her work in this field is so pioneering and versatile that it is justified to base this section mostly on her research. According to Kanno and Norton (2003), "imagined communities refer to groups of people, not immediately tangible and accessible, with whom we connect through the power of the imagination"

(p. 241). Imagined communities affect the identity development in the context of language learning since the language identity is constructed in relation to the future. This future aspect involves the imagination of the learner's future identity, imagined identity, as well as the characteristic of a community they imagine belonging to in the future, imagined community (Norton & Toohey, 2011, p. 422). Norton (2011) also states that "imagined communities may well have a reality as strong as those in which learners have current daily engagement, and might even have a stronger impact on their investment in language learning" (p. 422). This is why the language teachers have to be aware of the learners' imagined communities and imagined identities because they play a crucial role in the learner's investment for language learning (Norton & Toohey, 2011, p. 422).

In the order to thoroughly understand the notions of imagined community and imagined identity, we need to consider the role of investment in language learning. Investment goes beyond motivation since, in the field of second language acquisition, motivation is seen as a fixed feature of an individual which affects the learner's ability to engage in the learning process. Investment, in turn, is flexible and constructed through the social and historical background of the learner as well as that of the targeted language. In this light, language learning is seen as an investment to the cultural capital of an individual rather than simply as an accomplishment of the linguistic code. This investment cannot take place without social interaction and this in turn highlights the role of imagined communities in the identity development. (Norton, 2006, pp. 504)

2.4 Multilingual identity

So far, we have mostly been focusing on language identity from the monolingual point of view, but in the context of this study, it is essential to understand the concept also from the multilingual perspective. As mentioned in the introduction, in this research we will use the term multilingual to refer to any situation where an individual speaks more than one language. Pavlenko (2006) examines the ongoing discussion on multilinguals feeling different when speaking different languages and been seen differently by other people in the same situation. She indicates that this discussion has not been very much present in the literature on the field of multilingualism but rather just in informal conversations. Research usually bases this lack of interest for the study of different personalities in different languages to the fact that even a monolinguistic identity is dynamic by nature and we take on different roles, identity catego-

ries, even within the same language. (Pavlenko, 2006, p. 12) However, in her study Pavlenko (2006) aimed to show that there are differences in multilingual and monolingual identities. She acknowledges that there are different identity categories even within the same language but argues that these differences increase among multilinguals who perceive the world through their different languages (Pavlenko, 2006, p. 28).

Moreover, according to Pavlenko (2006), the study of multilingual identity should be regarded as a unique area of research since the identity development in a new language is a much more complex issue than taking on different identity roles within the same language. This is true, especially in the context of late multilingualism where the other language or languages are acquired in different phases of life and in different sociocultural environments. (Pavlenko, 2006, p. 12) Kanno (2003) also discusses this in relation to previous studies on minority students' identity development, where there has traditionally been a desire for assimilation to the dominant culture in young age whereas the appreciation for the ethnic culture has only developed later on (Kanno, 2003, pp. 128-129). In her study on bilingual Japanese sojourners she found the issue to be more complex (Kanno, 2003, p. 126). In here, culture and language go hand in hand, and thus appreciation, or lack of appreciation, refer to the language of the culture group as well.

During the first half of 20th century, multilingualism was seen as a split of the personality and speaking different languages as a threat for the individual and the society as a whole. This was taken into consideration in the language and educational policies, for example in the United States, and as a consequence, monolinguistic policies were applied. Immigrants were forced to leave behind their native language and learn English instead. (Pavlenko, 2006, p. 13) Even if knowledge about multilingualism has since developed and it is no longer seen as a threat but rather as a benefit to the person, the debate about the dangers of multilingualism is still alive (Pavlenko, 2006, p. 13). This shift in attitudes and perceptions can also be seen in Kanno's (2003) study on Japanese sojourners, where the approach to multilingualism was found to be more balanced, and the traditional idea of the languages being distinct did not apply (Kanno, 2003, pp. 128-129). Even if it is sometimes easier for multilingual adolescents to make a decision between their cultures and languages instead of facing clashing language dilemmas, when they get older, they become more capable of combining these two worlds and languages (Kanno, 2003, p. 129).

In Dressler's (2014) study on young multilingual learners, which was already discussed in section 2.2, language silhouette portrait was employed as a basis for discussion about multilingual identity (Dressler, 2014, p. 49). This discussion is essential in creating a classroom where multilingualism is valued and seen as a resource. The celebration of multilingualism is important also in making the relation between home and school stronger because students' whole linguistic repertoire is taken into consideration. (Dressler, 2014, p. 49) Strengthening this relation links to the idea that we humans endeavor to unify the fragments of our identity together even though this will never be fully achievable (Kanno, 2003, p. 132). Additionally, the understanding and appreciation of students' language identities is crucial in activating and exploiting students' all prior knowledge in order to make use of their full potential. The decision to do this is somewhat political since it is an attempt towards a classroom where languages do not hold more power over the other. Thus there is no dominance or assimilation. (Cummins, 2006, p. 56) The importance of supporting students' language identities will be further elaborated in reference to language awareness in the next chapter.

3 Language awareness

Language awareness has been under scientific discussion for decades already. Nevertheless, the concept became more widely known in Finland only recently when the new core curriculum was published. The discussion around the topic first started in the United Kingdom in the 1980s, where language awareness was meant to create integration between subjects, enhance literacy skills and language learning, as well as prevent intolerance and discrimination (Latomaa, Luukka & Lilja, 2017, p. 13). However, the teaching materials on language awareness were considered too radical, and the Language in the National Curriculum project by Eric Hawkins was canceled after a few years (Latomaa, Luukka & Lilja, 2017, pp. 13-14). Despite of this, there has been a shift towards a multilingual emphasis in language awareness research when interest in multilingualism has increased over the years (Jessner, 2017, p. 20) and Hawkin's project has been followed by a multilingual awareness approach in the European context (Latomaa, Luukka & Lilja, 2017, p. 14). This approach takes into account all the languages and their varieties in diverse and multilingual environments and emphasizes the importance of awakening to languages (Latomaa, Luukka and Lilja, 2017, p. 14).

In this chapter, the interconnectedness of language and society are discussed, and different approaches to language awareness are introduced, including more traditional and linguistic approaches as well as a critical approach to the concept. Moreover, pedagogical, language-aware practices are discussed from these perspectives. Thus, we aim to provide the reader with an understanding of the complexity of different theoretical trends and approaches to language awareness, as well as of the different practices that can be used to implement language-aware pedagogy in all school activity.

3.1 Societal perspectives to language awareness

Language awareness is needed in today's multilingual societies. Since all interaction occurs through language, the problems that are faced on a societal level are often communicative (Latomaa, Luukka & Lilja, 2017, p. 18). Latomaa, Luukka, and Lilja (2017) state that the linguistic nature of issues should be made more visible due to them often not being primarily associated with language (Latomaa, Luukka & Lilja, 2017, p. 18). Furthermore, language has many ideological, power-related characteristics that can be seen in language policies and other societal levels such as educational policies or access to social services (Tiililä, 2017, p. 57).

The statement that language awareness enhances equality arises, for example, from the fact that the access to different services in the society creates equality and these services require interaction where language plays a significant role (Tiililä, 2017, p. 57). If the purpose of language in access to the services is not recognized on the societal level, there will be a gap in the interaction between the service provider and the receiver (Tiililä, 2017, pp. 55-57).

Language awareness has also been discussed from the perspective of an individual's role in the society and growing up as a member of it. First of all, language choices are rarely individual choices since they are a result of how the society values different languages and which languages are required to get access to all the opportunities in the society (Honko & Mustonen, 2018a, p. 20). Thus, language choices are connected with linguistic power-relations (Honko & Mustonen, 2018a, p. 22). Education has a significant role in making the linguistic repertoires valued since according to Honko and Mustonen (2018a), the language-aware goal in education should be the individual's development towards functional multilingualism rather than only becoming a majority language user (Honko & Mustonen, 2018a, p. 20). Hence, when the education of, for example, immigrants is discussed, the goal should not be the assimilation to a new culture but rather becoming a member of a multilingual and culturally diverse community (Honko & Mustonen, 2018a, p. 20). Thus, it can be concluded that language awareness plays a crucial role in preventing inequality by offering more possibilities for involvement.

Another justification for the importance of valuing multilingualism arises from the illusion of monolingualism. According to Honko and Mustonen (2018a), there are no monolingual realities and even a monolingual person cannot know their language thoroughly (Honko & Mustonen, 2018a, p. 25). Furthermore, they state that perceiving bilingualism as the capability of perfectly mastering two languages is a consequence of the monolingual hegemony (Honko & Mustonen, 2018a, p. 10). Gogolin and Duarte (2017) challenge the monolingual norms and state that typical concepts defining linguistic capabilities of an individual, such as native language, first language or mother tongue view monolingualism as normality (Gogolin & Duarte, 2017, pp. 380, 385). Svalberg (2016) emphasizes the importance of recognizing linguistic repertoires on a societal level and discusses the status of the English language in the UK as an example (Svalberg, 2016, pp. 5-8). According to Svalberg (2016), the UK is often viewed as monolingual even though it is not and has never been (Svalberg, 2016, p. 6). This statement of the UK being monolingual would not be true even if there were no immigration (Svalberg, 2016, p. 6). Thus, many immigrants face the issue of being perceived linguistically

incompetent, even if they are highly multilingual in other languages than English. The problem in this kind of view is the lack of opportunities caused by language ideologies and social attitudes towards language. (Svalberg, 2016, pp. 5-6)

Latomaa, Luukka, Lilja (2017) further state that there are no monolingual classrooms today (Latomaa, Luukka & Lilja, 2017, p. 15). Thus, schools enhance inequality and discrimination by creating hierarchies through monolingual practices since monolingual education does not respond to the needs of all the pupils (Latomaa, Luukka & Lilja, 2017, p. 15). In addition to the issue concerning people that have differing linguistic repertoires compared the majority population of a society, Svalberg (2016) gives an example from the UK context concerning the majority population's linguistic repertoires which are often very monolingual and should be encouraged to be expanded (Svalberg, 2016, p. 6). Thus, teaching should be re-conceptualized so that teachers would be more aware of the multilingual environment around them and have the tools to teach in multilingual classrooms (Latomaa, Luukka & Lilja, 2017, p. 15). Language awareness is one solution to this issue.

3.2 Approaches to language awareness

Variety of fields, such as the linguistic field, developmental psychology and education all have different approaches to language identity which makes language awareness a complex concept (Jessner, 2017, pp. 22-23). It has also been perceived very differently over time, and there are varying theoretical and linguistic backgrounds to the concept (García, 2017, p. 25). Thus, a clear definition of language awareness is difficult to find. The Association for Language Awareness (ALA, n.d.) defines language awareness as "explicit knowledge about language, and conscious perception and sensitivity in language learning, language teaching, and language use." However, this definition offers only one perspective to language awareness and does not take into account the society's role, as it can be seen in the following sections.

According to Dufva (2018), there are three different approaches to language awareness, one of which is the metalinguistic approach which emphasizes the awareness of one's first language (Dufva, 2018, pp. 66-68). The second approach is the language awareness approach, in which the individual has a more significant role as a linguistic actor and language awareness is not only focused on language, but also on learning it. The third approach is more societal and educational and includes, for example, critical language awareness. (Dufva, 2018, pp. 67-68) Additionally, language awareness can be divided under three dimensions: cultural-

political, socio-educational and linguistic-systematic (Breidbach, Elsner & Young, 2011, pp. 13-14).

These themes are introduced in this thesis in two parts. The first section discusses both the metalinguistic and language awareness approach due to their linguistic nature, and thus, this will be referred to as the linguistic approach to language awareness. Furthermore, teacher language awareness is discussed under the linguistic approach, and thus, this approach has some characteristics of the socio-educational dimension. The linguistic approach refers to the linguistic-systematic dimension of language awareness. The second section introduces critical approaches to language awareness which have a more societal perspective to the concept. This approach refers to both cultural-political and socio-educational dimension.

3.2.1 Linguistic approach

According to Cameron's study, language awareness had three dimensions when it first emerged in the UK context during 1970s: to support foreign language learning, to support the learning of multicultural and multilingual students and to offer pre-linguistic courses at higher levels of education (as cited in Garrett, 2006, p. 481). Language awareness was seen as a bridge connecting first and second language learning, different schooling levels as well as homes and schools. Other concepts were also used in other contexts than in the UK, such as knowledge about language or consciousness-raising in which the objectives remained similar to language awareness although some subtle differences existed (Garrett, 2006, p. 481). However, these two concepts refer strongly to the debate around whether language awareness is about explicit learning or explicit knowledge in language learning (Garrett, 2006, p. 481). As stated by García (2017): "Whereas knowledge refers to a product, that is, knowledge existing in the mind of a learner, learning refers to a process of how other language knowledge is internalized." (p. 23). Hence, language awareness has also been seen as awareness and critical evaluation of different language learning and communication strategies as well as metalinguistic awareness (Garrett, 2006, p. 481).

Jessner, Allgäuer-Hackl, and Hofer (2016) make the distinction between metalinguistic awareness and cross-linguistic awareness which together refer to multilingual awareness (Jessner, Allgäuer-Hackl & Hofer, 2016, p. 158). Metalinguistic awareness considers language as an object to which attention or abstract thinking is focused on and hence, one is able to play with or manipulate language. Metalinguistic awareness is usually higher in bilinguals.

Cross-linguistic awareness refers to the relationships between languages, and it is expressed during language production and use tacitly or explicitly. Multilingualism is proved to enhance metalinguistic awareness. (Jessner, 2006. p. 36-43, 68-71, 116). According to Jessner (2006), metalinguistic awareness improves a multilinguals learner's capability to analyze the commonalities in their different languages and provides more resources and better communicative skills to learn and use new languages (Jessner, 2006, pp. 70-71). Multilingual awareness is considered to be the key factor in multilingual learning and use (Jessner, Allgäuer-Hackl, Hofer, 2016 p. 160).

Additionally, teacher language awareness is present in language awareness research. Andrews and Svalberg (2017) define teacher language awareness as knowledge about language in general as well as awareness of language that is used while teaching (Andrews & Svalberg, 2017. p. 220). Moreover, they make an important note that teacher language awareness includes all the subjects at school even though most of the research focuses on only language learning and language subjects (Andrews & Svalberg, 2017, p. 220). Jessner, Allgäuer-Hackl and Hofer (2016) refer to various teacher language awareness studies which indicate that multilingual teaching approaches enhance learning new languages in ways which would be impossible monolingually (Jessner, Allgäuer-Hackl & Hofer, 2016, pp. 166-167). According to the study they conducted, multilingual approaches in a classroom implemented by multilingually aware teachers enhance students' metalinguistic awareness and learning new languages (Jessner, Allgäuer-Hackl & Hofer, 2016, pp. 166-168). These practices are further discussed in the next section. Teacher language awareness has also been criticized for its one-sided research focus on mostly grammar and the metalinguistic awareness of teachers. However, Finkbeiner & White (2017) introduce some research that has been done about teachers' language use and language attitudes, as well as cross-cultural attitudes (Finkbeiner & White, 2017, pp. 9-11). Thus, teacher language awareness has also characteristics of the critical approach to language awareness introduced in the next section.

3.2.2 Critical approach

The benefits of language awareness are, for example, better performance in language learning, better awareness of specific characteristics of a language, increased motivation, interest and attitudes towards languages, as well as social benefits regarding linguistic diversity and relationship between different groups of people (Garrett, 2006, p. 481). Power relations such as

ideologies, oppression and manipulation concerning language use are seen more sensitively and are countered by language awareness (Garrett, 2006, p. 481). While the first three benefits refer to the linguistic approach introduced earlier, the social benefits and power-relations refer to critical language awareness (Garrett, 2006, p. 481), which emphasizes the interconnectedness of language and society since language both influences the society and is the product of the society (Latomaa, Luukka & Lilja, 2017, p. 14). Hence, ideologies and the social meanings of language continuously have an impact on language use. Language awareness has often been used to raise awareness of languages, increase positive attitudes towards languages and on a more social and global level, have an influence on fighting stereotypes, power-relations as well as responding to globalization so that everyone can build their social identities (Garrett, 2006, pp. 481-482).

Fairclough (1999) defines critical language awareness as something that allows us all to be democratic citizens in the globalizing world (Fairclough, 1999, p. 71). Fairclough (1999) states that the world we live in textualizes our everyday lives continuously and, thus, represents our reality in terms of who we are or who we should be, how we should interact with others and which activities we should be involved in (Fairclough, 1999, p. 75). What we need to be aware of critically is, who represents us in these textualizations, who benefits from them, what kind of social relations they create, which ideologies are present and which alternative representations there are (Fairclough, 1999, p. 75). Furthermore, the membership in diverse societies has not only lead to different languages and cultures but also a variety of other differences between and within people concerning their complex identities and recognizing them (Fairclough 1999, p. 77). Thus, it is education's task to offer resources for living in diverse societies and preventing the dangers, such as discrimination and racism (Fairclough, 1999, p. 77). Critical language awareness is also one key to democracy by preparing people to argue and negotiate in dialogue by means of education (Fairclough, 1999, p. 78). Yet, it is essential to acknowledge that critical language awareness is not just a skill to communicate: it is to understand who communicates, to whom, why, where and with what consequences (Fairclough, 1999, pp. 80-81).

Fairclough (1999) argues the importance of language awareness in education:

> *"But my main point is this: if people are to live in this complex world rather than just be carried along by it, they need resources to examine their placing within this dialectic between the glob-*

al and the local — and those resources include a critical awareness of language and discourse which can only come through language education." (p. 76).

Although Fairclough perceives the role of critical language awareness significant only in language education, contemporary views acknowledge the importance of implementing language awareness in all school activity.

García (2017) discusses critical multilingual language awareness connected to contemporary educational research for which there is a need in the twenty-first-century societies (García, 2017, p. 25). Critical multilingual awareness aims for appreciation towards multilingualism, indicating its advantages in promoting democratic citizenship and raising awareness of the historical perspectives to multilingualism, such as oppression (García, 2017, p. 268). Moreover, the objective is to increase, according to García (2017), "the understanding that language is socially created, and thus, socially changeable to give voice and educate all students equitably." (p. 268). Finally, García (2017) makes an important notion: "First of all, the emphasis is not on language itself, whether one national language or another, but rather on the speakers of those languages whose language practices differ significantly from those that schools promote." (p. 269). Thus, critical multilingual language awareness can be regarded as a key factor in enhancing equality.

3.3 Language-aware pedagogy and practices

The Finnish National Board of Education (2017) introduces five different language aware practices in their guide for language-awareness: reinforcing knowledge structures, increasing the vocabulary and the learning of concepts, differentiating between language-use situations and different genres, reading, understanding, interpreting and valuation of different texts as well as creation of different texts (The Finnish National Board of Education, 2017, p. 9). Moreover, they state that a language-aware teacher understands the inseparable connection of language and content, is able to observe their teaching and languages of subjects, makes the pupils aware of the special characteristics of a language and creates dialogue and interaction which enhances involvement (The Finnish National Board of Education, 2017, p. 12). In a language-aware school, the linguistic repertoires of the school community are highly valued, languages are made visible, and possibilities for broadening the linguistic repertoires are offered (The Finnish National Board of Education, 2017, p. 7).

The Finnish National Core Curriculum mentions language awareness continuously. First of all, it is one of the principles guiding the development of school culture under the heading *Cultural diversity and language awareness*. Through these principles, the goal is to promote learning, participation, well-being, sustainable way of living, multilingualism as well as interaction and coexistence of a variety of identities, languages, worldviews, and religions. (The Finnish National Board of Education, 2014, p. 29) It is worth to mention that although language awareness is seen as one of the guiding principles of school culture, it is not mentioned in other subjects than languages. The languages of each subject and teacher as a linguistic model are mentioned, however. (The Finnish National Board of Education, 2014) The interconnectedness of language, identity, and language awareness as stated by the Finnish National Board of Education (2014): "A community with language-awareness discusses attitudes towards languages and linguistic communities and understands the key importance of language for learning, interaction and cooperation and for the building of identities and socialisation." (p. 29).

Identity and identity construction are also included in the underlying values of basic education, the mission of basic education and transversal competencies as well as special questions of language and culture. In the latter, identity is discussed from the perspective of language as it follows:

> *"The pupil's cultural background and linguistic capabilities are taken into account in basic education. Each pupil's linguistic and cultural identity is supported in a versatile manner. The pupils are guided to know about, understand and respect each citizen's right to their own language and culture protected under the Constitution. The objective is to guide the pupils to appreciate different languages and cultures and to promote bilingualism and plurilingualism, thus reinforcing the pupils' linguistic awareness and metalinguistic skills. School work may include multilingual teaching situations where the teachers and pupils use all languages they know."* (p. 90)

Language identity as such is mentioned in the mother tongue education since they should be guided to acknowledge the varieties of linguistic identities of theirs and others and helped to develop their cultural and language identities by means of teaching and home-school cooperation. (The Finnish National Board of Education, see e.g., pp. 109-110, 170-171) Identity is also mentioned in other subjects such as all the language subjects, religious education, visual arts, ethics, and history but the linguistic aspect is not emphasized. (The Finnish National Board of Education, 2014) Multilingual students are particularly taken into account:

"In the instruction of other plurilingual pupils, the particular goal is supporting the pupils' plu-rilingualism and the development of their identity and self-confidence. Capabilities for a bal-anced and active membership in society are thus imparted to the pupils. The pupils' back-grounds and initial situations, including their mother tongue and culture and the length of their stay in Finland, are taken into account in the instruction. Plurilingual pupils are encouraged to use the languages they know in a versatile manner in the lessons of various subjects and other school activities. The learning and use of their mother tongue thus support the assimilation of the content in various subjects, and the pupils also learn to communicate about the contents of school subjects in their mother tongue. Under the Constitution of Finland, each person living in Finland has the right to maintain and develop their own language and culture. An effort is made to offer the pupils instruction of their mother tongue." (The Finnish National Board of Educa-tion, 2014, pp. 91-92)

In the following sections, some of these language-aware practices are discussed from the per-spectives of the linguistic and critical approaches. The practices that can be interpreted to support students' language identities, as well as those that arose from our research findings presented later, are introduced and, thus, it is vital to acknowledge that not all language-aware practices are included in our thesis.

3.3.1 Linguistic language-aware practices

The existing research about language-aware practices concerning the linguistic approach fo-cuses mostly on the development of meta- and cross-linguistic awareness of both students and teachers. Using language awareness to compare languages helps both mother tongue devel-opment and foreign language learning (Tulasiewicz & Adams, 2005, pp. 201-204). Tu-lasiewicz and Adams (2005) see language awareness as a distinctive approach to teaching mother tongue and other languages which uncovers common characteristic of all the different languages (Tulasiewicz & Adams, 2005, p. 200). They define language awareness as "the study of language based on the latest linguistic and pedagogic principles underlying mother tongue and modern foreign language teaching." (Tulasiewicz & Adams, 2005, p. 202). More-over, they state that language awareness entails not only the traditional mother tongue and language teaching methods but also the cultural, social and linguistic aspects to language edu-cation and conclude: "This exploits linguistics for its potential as part of a school-based lan-guage education in which the pupils are actively performing language skills and games." (Tu-lasiewicz & Adams, 2005, p. 202).

Similarly, Jessner, Allgäuer-Hackl and Hofer (2016) suggest comparing and contrasting different aspects of different languages, such as concepts, pronunciation, structures or even morphology, syntax, phonology, orthography or pragmatics as one of the language aware practices in language teaching (Jessner, Allgäuer-Hackl & Hofer, 2016, pp. 168-169). The languages used for comparison should not only be the ones taught at school but also students' home languages (Jessner, Allgäuer-Hackl & Hofer, 2016, pp. 168-169). Cross-linguistic awareness is developed through these practices. Thus, language awareness can be seen as an approach which increases understanding of one's own mother tongue but also aims for gaining tools to communicate with those who do not share the same first language through, for example, comparison of languages. Thus, practices to develop skills for multicultural and multilingual communication are at the center of language-aware language education (Tulasiewicz & Adams, 2005, pp. 199-200).

Pomphrey and Burley (2009) share the idea concerning the significance of finding a connection between the mother tongue and foreign languages (Pomphrey & Burley, 2009, p. 424). They approach the topic from the perspective of teacher language awareness and state both that there should be cooperation between language teachers and that language-aware pedagogy should integrate knowledge about language, language use and analysis of it regarding foreign language and mother tongue education (Pomphrey & Burley, 2009, pp. 422-423, 431). Thus, subject boundaries should be expanded and multilingual awareness of both teachers and students should be increased (Pomphrey & Burley, 2009, pp. 425-426, 431-432). The cooperation of language aware teachers is also discussed by Jessner, Allgäuer-Hackl, and Hofer (2016, p. 176). They state that multilingual teaching approaches require cooperation since teachers have differing linguistic repertoires which can be used to integrate more languages into teaching. Additionally, cooperation can occur with students, parents and other multilingual people from the community in order to implement multilingual approaches. (Jessner, Allgäuer-Hackl & Hofer, 2016, p. 176)

The previous examples seem to be based on the idea of students having more or less monolingual backgrounds while they learn new languages. Thus, it is also essential to discuss multilingual students' cross-linguistic awareness. Multilingualism is considered as dynamic, complex process which is difficult to predict. It has been proved that multilinguals have cognitive advantages when for example, learning a new language. However, they do not automatically benefit from their multilingualism, and thus awareness and training in multilingual skills are needed. (Jessner, Allgäuer-Hackl & Hofer, 2016, p. 158) As concluding remark for the lan-

guage-aware practices for language learning, Jessner, Allgäuer-Hackl and Hofer (2016) state: "extensive contact with multiple languages in the classroom, particularly when combined with multilingual awareness training, fosters learners' linguistic and metalinguistic awareness and facilitates the acquisition of additional languages." (p. 166).

Rapatti (2015) emphasizes the languages of different subjects and states that language and content have traditionally been seen as separate units in teaching, but they should instead be perceived inseparable since the content is created through language (Rapatti, 2015, p. 59). She further states that understanding the construction of a language of a particular subject allows the student to see how thinking skills can be developed by means of language (Rapatti, 2015, p. 60). Additionally, subject-matter knowledge is considered significant in teacher language awareness, especially when second language learning occurs (Andrews, 2001). The teacher should be knowledgeable of the characteristics of the language or the subject they are teaching, as well as communicatively competent. An example of this kind of a situation would be when a grammatical detail of a language is discussed and explained. Hence, teacher language awareness requires metalinguistic abilities, knowledge about the language and the subject matter as well as the relationship between the subject matter and the communicative ability. (Andrews, 2001, pp. 76-77, 79, 88) The teacher is also acting as a linguistic model continuously when teaching, and thus, it can be stated that every teacher is a language teacher (Kajasto, 2015, p. 92).

Andrews (2006) has further researched the development of grammatical awareness of teachers and emphasizes the importance of practicing since years of experience do not necessarily lead to expertise in grammatical knowledge. Especially, interaction with context needs continuous development in order to effectively respond to the needs of the environment (Andrews, 2006, p. 16). Additionally, language learning without a meaningful context often feels useless for a learner (Rapatti, 2015, p. 59).

3.3.2 Critical language-aware practices

All dimensions of language use, such as linguistic forms, contextual practices, and linguistic values and ideologies should be regarded as an entity when supporting both language learning and development of language awareness (Honko & Mustonen, 2018b, p. 125). In a more and more diverse society language education should increase the students' awareness of creating meanings in continuously changing contexts. Moreover, they should understand what kind of

cultural practices, values, and ideologies connect to processes such as face-to-face interaction and interactions through different texts and media. It is crucial to develop the skills to use linguistic resources in a versatile, cross-linguistic way rather than focus on linguistic details. (Latomaa, Luukka & Lilja, 2017, p. 19)

The school culture and pedagogy should take into account multilingual students' linguistic repertoires since they are often more complex and thus, a multilingual student may have more perspectives, expression and interpretation skills (Honko & Mustonen, 2018a, p. 27). Multilingual pedagogy and multilingual school atmosphere support participation, creativity and feeling of belonging to a group of its multilingual members. It is still a prevalent conception that monolingual school culture is correct and purer than a multilingual one. (Honko & Mustonen, 2018a, p. 27)

Another question concerning the prevailing monolingual illusion of today's school contexts is what kind of perceptions teachers have about multilingualism. Thus, teacher training should raise awareness of multilingualism and provide teachers with tools to explore their language-related beliefs (Pedrosa & Lasagabaster, 2011, pp. 272-274). A language-aware teacher should be able to interconnect, contrast and reflect on their language-related beliefs and values from personal, professional as well as academic perspectives (Birello, Royer & Pluvinet, 2011, p. 92).

Voipio-Huovinen (2016) also discusses the importance of recognizing the linguistic repertoire of Finnish as second language pupils, and especially those who are in the beginning of their majority language acquisition process (Voipio-Huovinen, 2016, p. 2). She states that language equals activity, participation and involvement which are requirements for democratic participation. In a language-aware school, the importance of making linguistic repertoires visible does not only concern pupils but also the teachers and the entire school community. Additionally, linguistic contact with the school majority language should be encouraged, for example by encouraging participation in after-school clubs or other meaningful environments where majority language use takes place. (Voipio-Huovinen, 2016, p. 2)

Concerning multilingual pedagogy and acknowledging the linguistic repertoires of students, languaging, which refers to linguistic resources and forms the linguistic repertoire of an individual, should be used as one of the language aware practices at school. Moreover, translanguaging should be used as support for learning, which in the school context means using all the available linguistic resources in a flexible and overlapping way. (Latomaa,

Luukka & Lilja, 2017, p. 20). Moreover, translanguaging refers to flexible multilingualism and pedagogy which consciously integrates different languages to all school activity and contents (Honko & Mustonen, 2018b, p. 129). Code-switching as a strategy, which Myers-Scotton (as cited in Odlin, 2009) defines as two varieties of language used in conversation (Odlin, 2009, p. 338), should be allowed to activate resources and the use of all the languages in the classroom should be encouraged (Jessner, Allgäuer-Hackl & Hofer, pp. 174-175). Odlin (2009) further states that code-switching and other forms of mixing languages are a consequence of cross-linguistic influence (Odlin, 2009, pp. 338-340). Moreover, translanguaging enhances multilingual interaction and, thus, takes into account students' diverse histories and identities (Honko & Mustonen, 2018b, p. 129).

García (2017) lists some language-aware practices a teacher should take into account when teaching multilingual students (García, 2017, p. 270). First of all, the focus should be on the speaker of languages rather than the languages themselves in order to better understand a multilingual student's perceptions of the world. Secondly, teachers should be aware of what the languages used at the students' homes are. The students should always be given possibilities to show what they have learned by using the entire language repertoire, and they should not be assessed in only one language strictly. Finally, they should be given support in how to best use their linguistic repertoire as a support for learning. (García, 2017, p. 270)

The school culture and teachers' attitudes towards multilingualism have a significant role in a language-aware school (Honko & Mustonen, 2018a, p. 27; Rapatti, 2015, p. 55). Attitudes are made visible, for instance, through making languages a part of every subject and valuing students' multilingualism regardless of their capability in the majority language (Rapatti, 2015, p. 58) and through encouraging feedback which implies the valuation of multilingualism (Honko & Mustonen, 2018, p. 27). Additionally, the attitudes should be conveyed to homes so that, for example, language choices can be made in line with the contemporary knowledge about multilingualism (Honko & Mustonen, 2018a, p. 27).

According to Pomphrey and Burley (2009), language learning policies do not take into account the pupils' social, linguistic or cultural backgrounds and have usually been focused at learning specific languages (Pomphrey & Burley, 2009, p. 424). Language-aware pedagogy is sensitive to language learning and acknowledges the complexity of it: language learning includes much more than only grammar and structures, such as acquiring new perspectives, ways of action and influencing one's own and other's social realities (Honko & Mustonen,

2018b, p. 131). Language is also learned in interaction and for communicative needs, and thus, language learning should be approached from authentic situations rather than focused on specific elements of it (Honko & Mustonen, 2018b, pp. 135-136). Hence, language is seen from a holistic perspective (Honko & Mustonen, 2018b, p. 139).

Kauppinen, Tarnanen & Ylämäki (2017) discuss the importance of mother tongue teaching of students who have Finnish as a second language in the Finnish context. They state that mother tongue lesson may be the only place at school to use one's own mother tongue and literature, although it has to be taken into account that other contexts than school may provide the student possibilities to use their mother tongue (Kauppinen, Tarnanen & Ylämäki, 2017, pp. 279-280). Yet, values and attitudes towards languages are conveyed by means of education, and thus mother tongue education is in a central role (Kauppinen, Tarnanen & Ylämäki, 2017, pp. 289-290). Providing mother tongue education in each student's first language, however, is not enough. The students should be encouraged to use their linguistic repertoires in a versatile way in their daily life (Kauppinen, Tarnanen & Ylämäki, 2017, p. 293) The students' mother tongues should be integrated as legitimate language of learning in the learning activities since it supports multilingual students' learning according to the study of Cummins and Early (as cited in Lilja, Luukka & Latomaa, 2017, p. 15).

All of the language-aware practices introduced earlier regarding both linguistic and cultural approach can be seen as support for students' multilingual identities. When an individual's multilingual identity is not supported, it can at its worst lead to marginalization, anxiety and exhaustion (Honko & Mustonen, 2018a, p. 29). Supporting multilingual identity is a question of equality and supports success at school and in life in general. Supporting means both allowing the use of all the linguistic resources and encouraging the use of the first language to rest while learning a new language. Hence, it is a question of the well-being of individuals, families and other communities. (Honko & Mustonen, 2018a, p. 29) As a concluding remark, the goal of language-aware pedagogy should be to support both the linguistic repertoires as well as varieties of lifestyles and perspectives that already exist, and also those that have only started to develop (Honko & Mustonen, 2018b, p. 129).

4 Methodology

This chapter examines the methodological approach for this research. We will start by introducing and justifying our choice of methodological approach, narrative research. Secondly, we will introduce open theme interviews as the method of data collection and explain the thematic narrative analysis of our data. It is worth to mention that, in this research, the concepts of narrative research and narrative inquiry have been used interchangeably and any distinction between them has not been made.

By means of narrative analysis we aim to find answers to our two research questions:

1. *What do teacher students tell about their language identities?*
2. *How do teacher students describe their future role as language-aware teachers supporting students' language identities?*

4.1 Narrative approach

Narrative approach is a type of qualitative research due to its interpretive nature and focus on human action, meanings, and understanding. Narrative inquiry is based on the idea of stories accounting for human experience. Yet, the definitions of a narrative and the methods to apply narratives vary. However, the common factor in narrative research is that stories, narratives and descriptions of events are researched. Furthermore, there are a variety of types of narrative studies and analysis: a narrative researcher may, for example, focus on metanarratives or historiographies, or analyze the data critically, thematically, analyze the plotline or other literary aspects of the story. (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007, pp. 4-5) Moreover, as Pinnegar and Daynes (2007) state: "Narrative researchers use narrative in some way in their research. Narrative inquiry embraces narrative as both the method and phenomena of study." (p. 5).

According to Pinnegar and Daynes (2007), "What distinguishes narrative inquiry is the understanding that all research is based on language whether in the language of numbers or the discourse of researchers and those being researched." (p. 30) Thus, narrative inquirers are interested in the metaphoric nature of language and how stories expose, argue and describe issues (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007, pp. 30-31). According to Pinnegar and Daynes (2007), a narrative researcher takes four steps when embracing narrative inquiry. These steps are the shift in the relationship of the researcher and the participant, moving from quantitative approach towards

a qualitative one using words as data, focusing the study on a more local and specific level rather than general and universal, as well as taking into account multiple ways of knowing and epistemologies. (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007, pp. 7-9). In our study, all these steps are relevant and visible. We developed the interviews in a manner that takes into account the nature of the relationship between the researcher and the participant in narrative research, meaning that the participant is at the center of the interview. Additionally, we decided to conduct our study through qualitative methods, and we justified this to ourselves by developing an understanding of the interpretive nature of narrative research, and the focus on human action. Finally, we chose to conduct the study by interviewing three participants whose stories account for local, specific experiences, and regard the existence of multiple ways of knowing.

Moreover, narrative approach examines the lived and told experiences of individuals in the form of a story (Creswell, 2013, p. 70). Narratives can be defined as spoken or written stories that have a chronological connection and that include events and actions (Czarniawska-Joerges, 2004, p. 17). According to Riessman (2008), narrative as a concept can be defined in many ways. The concept has expanded over recent years compared to how it was historically perceived strictly as a story with a certain structure, plot and other literary characteristics. Contemporary definitions are far more flexible and may even perceive narrative as any spoken or written form which is constructed of more than few lines. What is important to note, is that not all text or talk is narrative. (Riessman, 2008, pp. 3-5) Czarniawska-Joerges (2004) makes a distinction between a story and a narrative and states that a story cannot lack a plot but a narrative can (Czarniawska-Joerges, 2004, p. 19). Thus, in this study, we will use the term narrative instead of a story since the narratives we collected are descriptions of human experiences but not necessarily in a form of a story.

In this study, a narrative is understood as any description of an experience. Chronological aspect of the narratives was formed during the reconstruction process of the participants' linguistic backgrounds, as well as by how the interviews were themed to include the past, present and the future of the participant, as they are an essential characteristic of narrative inquiry (Creswell, 2013, p. 71). Individuals telling their narratives often highlight certain turning points (Creswell, 2013, p. 72) which, in our study, were some significant or meaningful events, experiences or memories that had had an impact on how the participants perceived their language identities.

The context of the narratives has an essential role since, as Creswell (2013) states, narratives often occur within specific situations or places. In this study, the context often involves, for example, meaningful situations where interaction occurs as well as different places and cultural settings. (Creswell, 2013, p. 72) There is often a collaborative feature in narrative studies (Creswell, 2013, p. 71) and, thus, we collected the narratives of individuals through interaction and dialogue with them. Creswell (2013) emphasizes that narratives are always about individual experiences and, therefore, they may say something about identities (Creswell, 2013, p. 71). Since the identities of our participants are the basis in this study, narrative approach serves the interest of our study the best. As, De Fina (2013) states, "storytelling as a complex discourse practice reflects, links and also reshapes contexts in which identities are defined and negotiated." (p. 173).

The epistemological, ontological and ideological perspectives to narrative inquiry vary a lot within the field of narrative research. First of all, narratives reveal something about how the storyteller views themselves and others as well as their experiences. The concept of experience in narrative research is a complex one. Experiences are not necessarily perceived as exclusive representations of reality. However, they reveal something about the individual's relationship with their environment. Even if the experiences are not representing the reality as such, they are significant to the person who owns the experience. Moreover, the ontological perspective to experiences is, for example, that they have a dynamic and continuing nature and they may change over time as more experiences occur. (Clandinin & Rosiek, 2007, pp. 35-38)

Thus, there is to a some extent subjective nature in narrative inquiry and analysis which is seen in the following statement of Clandinin and Rosiek (2007):

"This brings us to a third feature of a pragmatic ontology of experience that makes it particularly well suited for framing narrative inquiries—its emphasis on the social dimension of our inquiries and understanding. Narrative inquiries explore the stories people live and tell. These stories are the result of a confluence of social influences on a person's inner life, social influences on their environment, and their unique personal history. These stories are often treated as the epiphenomenal to social inquiry—reflections of important social realities but not realities themselves." (p. 41)

4.2 Data collection and analysis

According to Riessman (2008): "Narrative analysis refers to a family of methods for interpreting texts that have in common a storied form." (p. 11). Narrative analysis is meant to make the readers consider the meaning behind a text (Riessman, 2008, p. 13). As mentioned earlier, to analyze narratives, the focus can be on, for example, the plotline, characterization, theme or role (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007, p. 5). We collected narratives through theme interviews. We used thematic narrative analysis to analyze our data, first separately and then together, in order to find similarities and differences among the themes we found. In the following sections, the theme interviews will be introduced after which the process of thematic narrative analysis is explained.

4.2.1 Theme interviews

In narrative research, data collection often takes the form of recordings of spontaneous stories, interviews or stories that are collected through the Internet. Additionally, different forms of data collection are encouraged to be combined, such as letters, notes, interviews, and photographs. (Creswell, 2013, p. 161) In a narrative inquiry, it is necessary to study the topic in depth (McAdams, 2012, p. 17) and the data is often revisited since the ongoing involvement of the participants is seen important (Creswell, 2013, p. 75). According to Riessman (2008), most of the narrative data is collected in some form of an interview (Riessman, 2008, p. 23). Our choice of data collection was interviewing the participants. Due to the succinct nature of a master's thesis, we did not combine other forms of data but focused only on the interviews nor did we revisit the data. However, we involved the participants at the end of our analysis process and asked them if they wanted to see the analysis before the publication of this study.

A narrative interview is conducted in the form of a conversation (Riessman, 2008, p. 24). Although narrative interview questions should be planned in a manner that stimulates narratives, it has to be taken into account that storytelling can occur surprisingly at any time during the interview (Riessman, 2008, p. 24). However, it is recommended to ask questions which require further explanations and descriptions, such as questions that include the word "why" (Riessman, 2008, p. 25).

Our goal was to collect data that entails experiences of the participants which they choose to share and consider significant regarding their language identities and reflections of their fu-

ture career as language-aware teachers. Thus, we used theme interviews as our interview method. We consider our interviews mostly open, which means that they are unstructured and constructed by the terms of the interviewee (Tiittula & Ruusuvuori, 2005, p. 11). However, it is important to acknowledge that theme interviews are often regarded semi-structured due to them including certain themes and topics but the formulation of the questions and the order of them may vary (Tiittula & Ruusuvuori, 2005, p. 11). Our interviews were somewhere in between the semi-structured and unstructured interviews since we made sure that all the three themes were included, but the questions varied greatly and thus, the participants were asked both some very similar and some completely different questions depending on their experiences. Therefore, the interviews had a conversational characteristic, which is one feature of an unstructured interview (Tiittula & Ruusuvuori, 2005, pp. 11-12). Additionally, the interviews had a narrative feature since the questions stimulated descriptions of significant experiences, hence narratives.

Bold (2012) discusses the narrative data collection regarding life experiences which were also the focus of our study (Bold, 2012, p. 97). Even short narratives may reveal something essential and significant of a person's experiences and how these experiences have impacted on their thinking about their futures (Bold, 2012, p. 97). In our research, this connection between past experiences and thoughts about the future are essential when discussing the participants' language identities and their impact on their future role as teachers. As language identities are something that we have ourselves reflected upon often as well, we had to keep this in mind during the interviews in order to prevent distractions and loss of focus in the interviewees' experiences. Such as Bold (2012) states, this kind of transference of feelings may happen at an unconscious level and influence the interview situation (Bold, 2012, p. 103). Because of this, we tried to be conscious of the issue.

In this study, we interviewed three teacher students, some of them in Finnish and some of them in English. Each interview took approximately 45 minutes. Here, it is important to mention that although the length of the interviews could be regarded as a reliability issue, they were conducted in a manner which led to almost all the content being relevant. Additionally, almost all the content answered to our research questions. This issue will be further discussed in the reliability and ethics chapter. Moving on, as the data was collected through theme interviews, we planned themes that were discussed with the participants. We found the participants by sending an email to a teacher student mailing list where we informed the participants of the main themes which would be under discussion during the interviews. Thus, the partici-

pants were selected in a manner that allowed people with interest to the topic to participate. Additionally, we asked them to familiarize themselves with the content in the Finnish National Core Curriculum regarding language awareness. This was important in order to make sure that they would be ready to connect their reflections on their language identities to language-aware pedagogy. The three themes that were discussed in these interviews were the linguistic background of the participant, their perceptions of their language identities and their future role as a language-aware teacher. The outline of the questions is available in Appendix 1 and Appendix 2 both in English and in Finnish.

4.2.2 Thematic narrative analysis

We used the thematic narrative analysis to analyze our data. First, we reconstructed the narratives into relatively chronological stories which portray the linguistic biographies of the participants. After that, we analyzed the narratives separately using thematic narrative analysis. Finally, we analyzed all the narratives together to see, what kind of similarities and differences they have, still using thematic narrative analysis.

According to Riessman (2008), in thematic narrative analysis "speech quoted from interviews is 'cleaned up' to some degree" in order to "erase dysfluencies, break-offs, interviewer utterances, and other common features of interview conversations" (pp. 57-58). This is what we had to execute as well in order to make the data sets clearer as well as easier to analyze and read (Riessman, 2008, p. 57). This also makes the understanding of the content more explicit since in thematic narrative analysis "emphasis is on 'the told' - the events and cognitions to which language refers" (Riessman, 2008, p. 57). After the "clean up", we reconstructed the biographical information from the narratives in order to construct linguistic biographies of the participants. These biographies functioned as a basis for our thematic narrative analysis.

The next step was to analyze the data sets separately in order to find the themes that arose from the narratives. Here is important to note that as distinctive in thematic narrative analysis, we did not focus on the language used, but rather on the content the language conveyed. The language was not the focus, but simply the source of information which was used to create meanings (Riessman, 2008, p. 58-59). After exploring the data sets separately and discovering emergent themes from them, we continued the analysis by comparing the themes found.

According to Polkinghorne, thematic analysis follows certain procedures: first, coding for themes will be done, after which they are categorized, and finally, patterns are looked for in order to associate among the themes (as cited in Barkhuizen, 2013, p. 11). It is important to acknowledge that regardless of the conversational nature of the interviews, the focus is strictly on the "self" of the narrator, hence participant and not on the conversation (Riessman, 2008, p. 58). Furthermore, Riessman (2008) illustrates the role of the researcher in narrative inquiry: "In this respect, the approaches can mimic objectivist modes of analysis where themes appear to be unmediated by an investigator's theoretical perspective, interests, mode of questioning, and personal characteristics" (pp. 58-59).

Riessman (2008) discusses the translation of data and states that the researcher must acknowledge the interpretive decisions, which he or she has to make when translating the data from one language to another (Riessman, 2008, p. 42). Since some of the interviews were in Finnish, we had to translate some quotations from the data set. We did not include the Finnish versions in order to secure the anonymity of the participants even though we acknowledge that some interpretive decisions had to be made. Additionally, the interpretive nature of narrative research requires interpretation even when translations are not needed, and thus we do not consider this a major reliability issue.

Here we will present an example of the analysis based on a quote from the data set of the participant 1, Leena. We present steps which we have adopted from Polkinghorne's procedures. The findings from this exact quote are presented in brackets, and general descriptions of the process are presented outside the brackets:

> "~~But yeah~~ It was so focused on just learning ~~actually the~~ English, instead of kind of appreciating or~~, I don't know~~, sometimes even like realizing that - maybe at the realization it was there - that English is not my first language, but kind of ~~I don't know like maybe~~ appreciating or encouraging also Finnish. And even ~~yeah like~~ encouraging it like, hey remember ~~to also remember~~ that you're bilingual, that's cool! But yeah, I don't remember actually anything like that either."

Step 1: The "clean up" — removing irrelevant parts and making the data set more readable. (In this example the "clean up" focused on removing expletives, but sometimes we also had to reformulate the phrases slightly. Removed parts are presented as ruled-out text).

Step 2: Coding the data — finding the main message of what was said. (Support for the second language during school years, lack of support for the first language).

Step 3: Categorizing themes from the entire data set — categorizing the themes from coded data sets separately (lack of support for language identity).

Step 4: Finding similarities and differences in all the themes and data sets.

In the following findings chapter, we will introduce the analysis of all the three data sets separately and present the reconstructed linguistic backgrounds of the participants as well as our thematic narrative analysis regarding the participants' language identities and their future as language-aware teachers. After carefully examining the interview data, we have detected the underlying themes from each interview independently. To secure the anonymity of the participants, we have changed their names and some details of their narratives.

We have divided the themes into three categories: personal themes, social themes, and themes regarding their future as language-aware teachers. It has to be taken into account that all of these themes are related to each other and, thus, a clear distinction between them cannot be made. However, these categories have some defining differences, and that is why we wanted to make this categorization. Personal themes have the characteristic of the participant's personal view of their language identity. Although the personal perceptions of their language identities naturally have a connection to their environment, such as comments from other people regarding linguistic issues, social themes reveal something even more essential of the role of the surrounding environment in defining the language identity of the participant. While the participants could not always necessarily reason why they perceived their language identity in a certain way, in social themes there was a clear, unquestionable connection between social factors and the participant's view. The social factors are, for example, other people or society.

The personal and social themes answered mostly to our first research question on the participant's language identity. The third theme answered to the question on the participants' role as future language-aware teachers. Again, it is important to note that the descriptions of their future role as language-aware teachers stem from their personal life histories and experiences. Our interpretation is that these reveal the participants' perceptions of their identities. Thus, we can assume that there is only a subtle difference between the first two themes and the third one.

5   Findings

The findings of our study are introduced in this chapter. First, the analysis of each participant's narratives is introduced separately. In here, we will also provide the short biographies for each participant. After this, the themes found are summarized, and similarities and differences in each data set are identified.

5.1 Participant 1: Leena

Leena was born in Finland, and her whole family is Finnish. When she was in elementary school, her family moved to an English-speaking country. She completed basic education there, after which the family moved back to Finland. There, she started her high school studies in English. During high school, her family decided to move to another country again, where she finished her high school studies and then returned to Finland. In Finland, Leena started her university studies in the Intercultural Teacher Education programme. Although the programme is in English, she has also taken some courses in Finnish.

Leena spoke Finnish with her family until she moved to the English-speaking country. She had no formal education in the Finnish language during her time in this country. At the beginning their home language was Finnish, but as time went on, they started to speak more English and English quickly developed to be her stronger language.

Leena considers herself multilingual or bilingual. She is slightly perplexed about her language identity because Finnish is her mother tongue but English the stronger language so when people ask about her native language, she prefers to use the term bilingual or multilingual.

We found seven underlying themes in Leena's narratives. The two personal themes that we identified were insecurities and building linguistic confidence as well as confusion. Furthermore, the three social themes discovered were context-bound language, discrepancies and lack of awareness about language identities. Regarding her role as a language-aware teacher, the celebration of languages and functionality of language awareness in practice were present in Leena's narrative.

5.1.1 Personal themes

The underlying theme under the category of personal themes was *insecurities* and *building linguistic confidence*. In various occasions, Leena described experiences about insecurities regarding the languages she knows. At first, the insecurities were associated with her competence in English. She describes this in the following example:

> *"Well right in the beginning when we moved, I had very basic English. Twice a week we had English (*at school*), like very basic stuff. And I've done well in school and I think it was a science test or some test we had. It was one of the first tests that I actually failed and for me it was a big thing because I usually have good grades. And yeah it was just because I didn't actually understand in the beginning."*

This happened when she had recently moved to the English speaking country. Here she explained how the lack of her English skills, and thus failing a test at the beginning of her stay in the new country had impacted her strongly. Yet, she gained confidence in her English language identity, and eventually, she felt that English became her stronger language. One example of gaining confidence was a situation where she got a part in a school play and received comments from her peers stating that she should not have got the part due to her poor English skills. Prior to that experience, she had been involved in a school play where she got a role with no lines due to the lack of her English skills. Later, when she finally got the part with lines, Leena considered herself already fluent in English. She described her reaction to the comment in the following part of the data set:

> *"I don't remember exactly but I just kind of like ignored it somehow. At the point, it was like whatever because I had realized that I speak English fine. I just ignored it. It didn't hurt my self-esteem. I kind of figured it out that she must just be feeling bad herself because she didn't get the part."*

Thus, she had gained confidence in her competence in English and was able to ignore the comments as well as reflect on the situation and the reasons behind the commenting. Later on, during her university studies, she felt insecure concerning her academic Finnish, and again, she gained confidence through completing some courses in Finnish and realizing that her insecurities were only a "mental block" as she described it:

> *"Actually one of my teachers brought up a really valid point of a really big reason, because my being nervous about Finnish is like kind of a mental block that I don't speak it. And as kind of*

bureaucratic as university has been it has also actually helped me with Finnish and just kind of using it.“

Here she explains that she got a comment which made her reflect on her language identity more. Even though this could be regarded as a social factor, this description is mostly personal because she reflected on how her use of Finnish increased her confidence in the language in general. Another factor that contributed to the increased confidence was realizing that she did not get her Finnish assignments back and that is why she did not feel the need to inform the professors about her insecurity in Finnish in advance, although she had used to do that before. Thus, the theme of insecurities and building confidence was, again, partly social here due to other people's perceptions having an impact on how she perceived her language identity. However, we consider the theme mostly personal due to Leena's reflections on her personal feelings. In the previous example from the data set she also refers to bureaucracy which will be discussed more in depth in the social themes.

We found *confusion* one of the most definitive characteristics of Leena's language identity in her narration, as the following example shows:

> *"-- a lot of them* (schools) *have native English speaker as a criteria and that's an interesting term in that sense because technically I am not a native English speaker. But then people ask me if I am a native Finnish speaker and I'm like kind of, but not really. My mother tongue is Finnish but English is actually a stronger language so that's like who am I? Or what am I?"*

She found it confusing that many of the schools are looking for a native English speaker. She did not feel that the concept applied to her situation. Thus, she expressed confusion in describing her multilingualism. She felt that Finnish is her mother tongue, but English is the stronger language of these two. She described this confusion from the perspective of how others have perceived and questioned her multilingualism which had led to personal reflections on her language identity. This kind of confusion was present when she was teaching in Finnish and mentioned to another teacher that it is not her strongest language:

> *"I was teaching this topic in Finnish, and I was messing up some words, and I kind of just mentioned that Finnish is not actually my strongest language. And it was interesting because the teacher was like, oh, so Finnish is not your mother tongue, and I'm like well, it is, English is just stronger."*

When the teacher responded to Leena's comment by asking if Finnish was not her mother tongue, Leena found it difficult to answer due to this confusion. Thus, Leena reflected a lot on

her own perceptions of her language identity and confusion over it was a very prevalent theme.

5.1.2 Social themes

Leena mentioned differences in her language use depending on the contexts, such as different situations and different people she is communicating with. Thus, the first social theme to introduce is *context-bound language*. She mentioned that she used a different language depending on the person she was communicating with, and that the language choices usually "stuck". Hence, switching between languages with a person with whom the language choice had already been made felt strange. Besides, Leena described situations where she used or could not use code-switching:

> *"And then when I meet someone who also speaks English on a pretty good level I connect because I sometimes forget words in Finnish, so then I just use the English word. But then sometimes I can't do that. Actually with the teaching as well, when I'm teaching in Finnish it's sometimes like what is the word."*

She had used code-switching when she knew that the person she was communicating with knew both of the languages she switched between. Sometimes she felt a need to code-switch, but she had to find other ways to express herself monolingually due to the other person not being competent in both languages. This also occurred in teaching situations.

The second social theme in Leena's narrative is *discrepancies* between her own language identity and the perception of others about it. This theme was very noticeable throughout the data set. She talked about her status as an international student at a Finnish university:

> *"And also because of university I've had to think of the linguistic thing because of bureaucracy. Because at the moment I'm actually going through as an international student because I don't have the proof that I speak Finnish, which is also interesting in that sense that if I applied to a Finnish school, I wouldn't get not selected because my Finnish was too poor. It would be like whatever other reasons but so only like now I'm faced with linguistic identity kind of challenge in a sense."*

She expressed this kind of frustration towards bureaucracy in terms of not being officially qualified in the Finnish language many times. This had led to her feeling perplexed about her Finnish language identity even if Finnish is her mother tongue.

Through Leena's narrative about her language identity, there were multiple instances where she described situations in which her own language identity had not been taken into consideration in a language-aware manner. These experiences are found under the third theme of *lack of awareness about language identities*, such as in the following example:

> *"And at university I've had a couple of times, cause often I prefer writing emails in English. I would ask a professor something in English and even if I know that they know English, so I usually write in English but often I get the answer in Finnish like automatically. I guess they see the name and then I guess they also know that I speak Finnish. But that's one major thing."*

In this example, her language identity was perceived differently by the environment and by Leena herself as she was writing emails in English to professors and getting answers in Finnish based on the assumption that because she speaks Finnish, she also prefers writing in it. There were examples of this both in situations where she used Finnish and where she used English. This was particularly relevant regarding her insecurity in written Finnish. Thus, her language identity was not taken into account in the occasions as in the example.

5.1.3 Future as a language-aware teacher

The *celebration of languages* was a visible theme that emerged throughout the data set when discussing the role of the participant as a language-aware teacher such as in the following example:

> *"And also I don't know if teaching the other language to the rest of the classroom is something, or at least being aware of that there's more than just one language. And kind of just also realizing that it's a richness, like it's cool that people speak more than one language. Of course it is important to learn Finnish as well because in Finland, especially, I have a feeling that to really get ahead it is unfortunately almost absolutely necessary to learn at least some Finnish. But yes, bringing it into the classroom. So like actively actually promoting it somehow, like really discussing it as well as also thinking about letters for example. You can teach those also even if they're on different language and someone speaks language with not the latin alphabet. That's also cool, like even just being aware of it, like language can also actually, written language can also look different."*

As it can be interpreted from the example, she feels that multilingualism should be made visible and the attitude of seeing it as a richness should be conveyed to the students, without forgetting the importance of developing the majority language. She mentioned many times that the teacher needs to be aware of the different languages present in the classroom and encour-

age the pupils to enhance their multilingualism. She continued that the teacher should also highlight the importance of multilingualism by promoting and celebrating the different languages. This could be done, for example, by having presentations about different languages in the classroom and by bringing literature in different languages to the classroom, such as in the following example:

> *"Well at least let them speak their language, and actually bring it also into the classroom, at least like as the presentations, like everybody gets to talk about it. I think it's important to even bring it more, like for example, I don't know like a Finnish lesson, like everybody gets to bring a book or something from home with their native language on it or something. And actually looking at those as well."*

Another important theme concerning her future role as a language-aware teacher was skepticism towards how language awareness is applied in practice, in other words, *functionality of language awareness*. This could be seen for instance, when she commented on language awareness in the Finnish National Core Curriculum:

> *"I don't know it's interesting that it's there but I'm a bit skeptical about how it actually works in practice. Because I can see it happening easily that the teaching is so focused on learning Finnish, in now like the Finnish context and just kind of focusing on that. Also I have discussed with classmates and stuff like if there is a group of kids who speak the same language that's not Finnish, if they talk that language during recess or something I can assume some teachers are like no, you should be practicing Finnish also during recess time and whatever. And I think that's wrong cause it's important to realize that hey, you speak languages, that's cool."*

She expressed her concern about pupils not being allowed to use other languages than Finnish at school even during recess time based on what she had heard from her peer teacher students. This is opposite to her ideas about supporting and celebrating multilingualism in the classroom and school as indicated in the previous section.

5.2 Participant 2: Sara

Sara was born in Germany and spent most of her childhood there in a multicultural environment except for a short period of time during which her family lived in Finland. Her parents are German and Finnish. Since her childhood, she has always spoken both languages with them.

She completed her basic education and high school in Germany. After that, she attended vocational school in Finland for some time until she started her university studies in Germany. However, she soon moved back to Finland for teacher studies in the Intercultural Teacher Education programme where she has studied in English.

Sara feels that German is the stronger language of her two mother tongues, but she acknowledges that both languages sometimes have a stronger role depending on the situation. In addition to German and Finnish, Sara speaks English due to her university studies and school years when English was learned as a foreign language. She has also completed some university level language studies in a language similar to German. She considers herself bilingual or multilingual because she thinks that everyone is multilingual in a way.

In Sara's narratives, she discussed the personal themes of insecurities regarding her language identity as well as gaining confidence to overcome these insecurities. Emotions also had a significant role, since one of the most underlying social themes in her narratives was perceptions of her language identity causing strong emotions. Moreover, she described many experiences of context-bound language. Finally, the themes related to her role as a language-aware teacher were the impact of her own language identity on her language-aware pedagogy, attitudes, support for mother tongue and teacher as a linguistic model.

5.2.1 Personal themes

Sara described many experiences of *insecurities* regarding her language identity. While Sara mentioned many other emotions as well, which were connected to the environment's view on her language identity, insecurities evolved from personal perceptions of her language identity. Thus, insecurities are regarded as a personal theme. She described memories in which insecurities were present regarding the foreign languages she had studied. She described that language learning had never been easy for her and that she had often felt hesitant to use foreign languages. Yet, she also mentioned some significant moments when she had gained *confidence* in language use. For example, she described the following example of gaining confidence in the English language:

> *"English has always kind of been the weakest subject for me at school. I feel that I've been very timid. I haven't had the courage to speak there at all; the speaking has come more after school years or in the vocational school. When I found out that there will be English-speaking students at the vocational school, I asked to have them as roommates, so I could force myself into a situ-*

ation where I have to use the language. And that really saved me because I kind of forgot about the insecurity. And I kind of learned that through gaining the courage to speak a foreign language and through not caring too much about being perfect in it."

Sara seemed to have gained confidence through getting out of her comfort zone and using a foreign language. She showed initiative in this issue and sought for a situation which would force her to develop her communicative skills in English. Moreover, encouragement from other people had an impact on building confidence in some of her narratives, as she describes in the following:

"I remember that I was very self-critical and talked about that to one friend who was a native English speaker. I told her that I wish I had a perfect accent and intonation so that you couldn't hear where I am from and she was like genuinely wondering why because (in here opinion) *everyone has their own accent. So she couldn't really even understand why I was wishing for that. So after this discussion, I have kind of developed an attitude towards speaking English in which the speaking is not so serious and the most important is that you are understood"*

Because of the influence of this outside encouragement, the theme of insecurities could also be regarded as a social theme, although it was mainly personal.

5.2.2 Social themes

In her narratives, Sara often described the theme of *perceptions of her language identity causing strong emotions*. This theme arose when she narrated experiences where other people had commented on her language skills either in Finnish or in German as she formulates in the following:

"It is always like if I get negative comments (about language), *it is something that really hits deep and hurts me. If someone, for example, comments that - what is probably meant as a positive thing - now you speak very good Finnish but when I got to know you it was more like crowing but now you have learned. And I didn't think it was like that or at least it didn't feel that way, so that has really hurt. Or when someone has commented that as a kid you spoke in such a funny way like you would have been singing or something. And that my mistakes are often chalked up to my bilingualism or foreignness even if all other people make mistakes too. And I've noticed that it's the same for other people with a similar background as well. But I've learned to live with that. But it is somehow strongly connected to emotions, like my own languages, so I feel that it is easy to get hurt or become sad somehow even if most of the comments have been very positive."*

She saw her two languages firmly linked with emotions, and thus comments on her language skills evoke strong emotional reactions in her. She felt that due to her bilingualism her two native languages are more under observation than if she only had one native language. She seemed to realize that people usually did not mean to criticize her language skills but rather encourage her. Nevertheless, her emotional relation to the languages caused a strong reaction.

Another social theme that originated from the data is *context-bound language*. She mentioned that she speaks different languages with different family members. Additionally, it could be interpreted from her narratives that there were some specific contexts like situations or places where she preferred to use one language over the other. She described this in the following example:

> *"If bilinguals usually - like people who have been bilingual from early on and like simultaneously learned the two languages - have so that they are strong in different areas, then for me German has definitely been like a language for school and stuff. So in that way I feel that I am more German and I feel that it is kind of my strongest language. But then because I have been at home with my mom, Finnish is strongly kind of a home language as well as an everyday language for me."*

In this example, she tells about how she used different languages in the school context and the home context and that these contexts influenced her perception of her language identity at that particular moment. Moreover, Sara felt that expressing emotions varied between her two languages:

> *"But in a way when I think about emotions, it depends a little on what emotion I'm talking about but generally speaking German feels broader. And if I think about something like this, it is difficult for me to say in Finnish 'I love you' so these kind of positive things are somehow easier in German to express."*

Thus, there were also emotional contexts which had influenced her language use. She felt that in German she had a more extensive vocabulary for expressing emotions while in Finnish she found it more difficult to express emotions, and, especially, positive emotions.

5.2.3 Future as a language-aware teacher

In term of themes regarding her future as a language-aware teacher, we can interpret from the data set that Sara's understanding of the world has been shaped by her multilingualism, as she describes in the following:

> *"Knowing many languages, or that you've known many languages from early on, as you can also read from literature, it in a way gives you kind of a deeper understanding of language on the whole. -- And I do think that knowing many languages broadens your horizons about the world and cultures and opens doors to different cultures."*

In this example, Sara felt that her multilingual identity has helped her to understand the language better altogether. In a language-aware classroom, she can use her knowledge about language to support her students' language identities. Moreover, she believed that multilingualism expands an individual's worldview. This can be compiled as the theme of *the impact of her own language identity on her language-aware pedagogy.*

Sara mentioned *attitudes* many times when her role as a language-aware teacher was discussed. She discussed how the attitudes she had observed in her environment had influenced her:

> *"I guess it's this kind of a general feeling about people's attitudes, like classmates' or teachers' or other people's. That no one has ever commented, at least in a negative way, that it's funny that you speak that* (language) *with your mom, and that teachers have commented only that oh, it's great that you have another language. That's how I've felt at least."*

In this example, she had observed what she regarded as positive attitudes towards multilingualism. It seemed that the significance of this experience also stemmed from the non-existence of negative attitudes even if the positive aspect was not visible. This could be seen when she said that no one has commented in a negative way. She highlighted often that the teacher's attitude towards multilingualism in the classroom is a significant factor in supporting students' language identities. This was why she expressed concern about negative attitudes towards multilingualism, such as seeing bilingualism as a threat to language learning like in the following:

> *"And as unbelievable as it sounds there still are people who see bilingualism as a threat. But at least my parents or I have never encountered teachers who think in this way."*

Reflecting on her school years, she felt that the teachers had valued her multilingualism and considered it positive which possibly had made her realize the importance of attitudes. Yet, she mentioned that she had not gotten any support for her mother tongue during school years:

> *"I can't really say what the system is exactly in Germany, but I was never offered any mother tongue or home language education. -- But of course, there's been support in that way, that I guess it (*multilingualism*) has always been seen as a positive thing and such."*

Thus, the theme of *support for mother tongue* was present in her narratives. She reflected up-on her own experiences of not getting instruction in her mother tongue during her school years and stated that mother tongue teaching is essential for students that have the majority language as a second language. Additionally, she said that it is vital to inform the parents of the importance of supporting the mother tongue:

> *"Maybe all the parents don't know what is the best method in terms of languages, like which language to speak to the child. They may have the understanding that the majority language should be spoken and they shouldn't teach the mother tongue to the child. -- So at least convey the message that you encourage to absolutely speak the language at home because the other one comes from the environment."*

Hence, she regarded home-school communication as a significant factor in appreciating mother tongue and multilingualism. Additionally, she viewed language learning as a process in which one acquires a language through using it in a linguistically rich environment.

When discussing her role as a language-aware teacher, the participant touched many times on the theme of a *teacher as a linguistic model*. This theme came across when she discussed the importance of purism when teaching a language to pupils, especially in the context of second language learning, like in the following example:

> *"Especially if you are a teacher in an area where there are lots of immigrant children, it is very important that you know yourself the language so that you don't teach incorrectly. Because you can be their only linguistic model if they don't have many local friends or others during their free time. Because I also have experience from Germany, when I have been substituting a pre-paratory class there it was kind of difficult because I was an assistant there but then their own class teacher was ill. Then their kind of like the secondary teacher was teaching the lesson. German was not his mother tongue so he taught some words completely wrong by accident, and their meaning shifted to something obscene. And I felt that I couldn't say anything since I was only assisting. But I thought that they're bad situations, that then they think it goes like that and learn incorrectly."*

Here, she described a situation where the teacher's own incompetence in the language he taught had lead to him teaching the language incorrectly to the pupils. She highlighted the importance of the teacher being a role model in the language taught. Another occasion where the teacher as a linguistic model arose was when she talked about the deconstruction of con-cepts. She described a teaching experience where she had taught a student who had Finnish as a second language:

"There (at teaching practice) *was one* (student) *integrated from the preparatory classroom, so I tried to especially think about how to teach and explain the concepts particularly well. And also I had one practice in a preparatory class where I taught lessons and there I thought about it - I think we had geography or something - so I tried teach the content differently, kind of* (to teach) *primarily the language, so that I wrote the difficult concepts on the board and we learned how to read this kind of scientific text and such."*

Here, she said that she had been extremely cautious with making sure that the student understood the concepts she was using while teaching new content. She had done this by visualizing the concepts on the board and by paying close attention to the scientific text.

5.3 Participant 3: Emma

Emma is a Finnish-speaking teacher student. She has done all her education in Finnish from primary school to university. She has studied English and Swedish as foreign languages at school. She considers her language identity to be somewhere between monolingual and multilingual. In principle, she regards herself as monolingual, but she says that she can manage in English as well. She has what she refers to as "dealing with everyday affairs in English" identity.

She feels that her mother tongue skills have always been at an average level. She feels confident about the language when teaching but has some challenges when reading and writing academic text. Foreign languages have always been challenging for her at school. She believes this is mostly due to her English teachers' lacking competence to teach the language effectively. Only at the university, she has gained the confidence to use English through encouragement and support from her university professors.

In Emma's narrative, the personal themes were insecurities and building confidence, and the social theme was the lack of support for her language identity. These were underlying themes in her narrative that were encountered many times. In the second part, she described her role as a future language aware teacher through themes of teacher's role as a linguistic model, support for learning through mother tongue, and appreciating multilingualism in the classroom culture.

5.3.1 Personal themes

In Emma's narrative, *insecurities* and *building confidence* in language use were present. Throughout her narrative, there were multiple occasions where Emma had experienced a feeling of insecurity in relation to language learning. There was one particular occasion where these insecurities had led to a feeling of anxiety and distress. This was an experience from a language lesson where she unexpectedly had to speak English in front of the whole class. She started to cry due to the anxiety and distress she was feeling:

> *"It was very distressing to be there* (communication course in English) *because most of the people there speak pretty good English and then when you're the weaker one there, so it was like I didn't really know what to say and when. There was this situation when we had to discuss with a pair about a certain topic. Everyone kept talking and we didn't take it seriously and we were just chatting* (in Finnish)*. And then the teacher said that: 'you two discuss your example out loud for the class'. So I started crying in that situation. It was like this laughter that turns into crying. It was because I wasn't that good and then you're brought in this kind of a situation. It was so distressing."*

Although Emma felt insecure about foreign languages, she also illustrated many times how she had gained confidence in using them:

> *"Well, I am a lot more confident to speak nowadays even if I don't speak that well. But I'm not afraid to use the language like maybe I was in middle school when the language should already be on the level that you can use it. Back then I was afraid to say anything. -- Only at the university I've got some encouragement to actually use the language. -- I believe that it is simply that I've been told that it doesn't matter what you speak as long as you speak. You know it well enough so that the other person will for sure understand, or at least with a little more explanation, what you mean. And it is not that serious."*

It can be interpreted from the data set that teachers' comments or attitudes partly caused Emma's insecurities and thus, the theme is partly social. When she finally felt that her language identity was supported at the university, her confidence started to develop. She described that after university she had felt less insecure about foreign language use and was not afraid to make mistakes anymore. However, in some situations, she still considered her language competences weak. In the following part, the lack of support during her school years will be discussed more.

5.3.2 Social themes

One of the most fundamental themes in Emma's narratives was *the lack of support for her language identity* concerning especially foreign language learning. This came across as the most fundamental cause for her insecurities in foreign language use.

> *"And then like pronunciation if the teacher first says the word or it comes from the tape, and then the whole group repeats it after, you can't hear who pronounced it right and who didn't. So it's like I didn't get any individual support for it, like the teacher hasn't been at all aware of that. Of course when we have one by one read sentences from a chapter, there she has heard that you are terrible but like she hasn't intervened in any way."*

Her language teachers seemed to have been incompetent to teach the language in a way where her foreign language identity would have been supported. Mostly she lacked support in the area of oral language use and pronunciation in particular. She felt that the teachers should have acted as role models in order to build an encouraging environment in the classroom. The lack of support was also a key feature in her reflections on her future role as a language-aware teacher. One of the reasons for this lack of support, especially in terms of oral language use, was the fact her teachers did not use the language themselves. An example of this is provided in the following section, due to this theme partly overlapping with Emma's considerations about her future role as a language-aware teacher since she continuously mentioned pedagogical practices in which her teachers had failed to support her language identity.

5.3.3 Future as a language-aware teacher

Emma mentioned three different themes revealing language-aware practices that, according to her, should be used to support pupils' language identities. These themes were *the teacher's role as a linguistic model*, *support for learning through mother tongue*, and *appreciating multilingualism in the classroom culture*. As mentioned earlier, the teacher's role as a linguistic model overlapped with her experiences of lack of support for her language identity. She described the teacher's role as a linguistic model in the following section of the data set:

> *"And then another thing is that from my point of view the teacher is an example there, so if the teacher doesn't use English during the lessons but speaks everything in Finnish, so of course it makes me feel that I'm definitely not going to speak English here. There's this kind of a barrier to use the language cause maybe if the teacher had used more English during the lessons, I would've had more courage to use it as well."*

This example illustrates the importance of the teacher as a linguistic model in foreign language teaching. The teacher's job, according to her, is to create an environment in the classroom where it is okay to make mistakes when speaking a foreign language and she believes this can be best done if the teacher him or herself speaks the foreign language in the language classroom. This was also what she felt was lacking in her own language education and what partly caused her insecurities in foreign language use. She also mentioned the importance of using right concepts in each subject and thus, states that each subject has their own language and teacher should be a model using the correct concepts:

> *"Well, what comes to mind in my opinion also connected to language awareness is the languages of different subjects. Like mathematics has its own concepts, music has its own concepts, environmental studies has its own concepts so in my opinion, it is important that they are also taught in school. Like it is part of the subject. And part of the know-how of the subject. So it's wrong to teach the concepts incorrectly in different subjects."*

One language-aware practice that Emma discussed was the importance of allowing the use of mother tongue as a support for learning. She gave an example of how differentiation could be used:

> *"Well, just to make it easier* (for a Finnish as a second language student). *But then of course it's good that the pupil also learns Finnish. So maybe not* (make it easier) *in everything because there has to be some challenge as well so that you can learn. But for example in math, maybe the exam could have been translated to her mother tongue, because the language isn't the thing in that case. And also in Finnish lessons, you can't assume the same level as others but her own level."*

Her narrative illustrated that she considers it important to make instruction and tasks challenging enough for the pupil in order for learning to occur. Yet, she emphasized that language should not be an obstacle for learning since the student might have the knowledge, just not the ability to express it in the school language. She highlighted the role of mother tongue in teaching and thinks that it could be used instead of Finnish sometimes to make the learning situation more natural for the pupil.

Moreover, Emma mentioned practices regarding the appreciation of multilingualism in the classroom culture often in her narrative. An example of appreciating multilingualism was making different languages visible in the school environment by integrating languages with other subjects and to use them during lessons. Another way to do that, according to her, would be to have the languages visually on the walls for example in the form of signs and

other materials like that. She stated that one of the most significant issues in language-aware teaching is that different languages are valued, and multilingualism is seen as richness, and this kind of view is conveyed to the pupils. She emphasized the importance of an encouraging atmosphere:

> *"And also what kind of an atmosphere the teacher creates in the classroom, that if the atmosphere is like that it doesn't matter if you make mistakes --. And also I think if there's a pupil in the classroom who doesn't speak Finnish that well, that they know it to some extent but make mistakes, so I think it's a good lesson for other pupils as well that you can use it even if you don't know it perfectly."*

As it can be interpreted from the example, she valued an atmosphere where pupils are not afraid to make mistakes, and multiple ways of expression are allowed. Moreover, she used English as an example and told about experiences from English lessons where there had been only one correct answer to translation exercises even though there would have been many other ways of expression.

5.4 Summary of the findings

Here, we will compare the themes found in each participant's narrative and describe the similarities and differences in them. All the themes found from the data set are introduced in table 1 on page 54. In the table, similar themes are formulated similarly under each main category, such as the bolded themes under social themes: lack of awareness about LI and lack of support for LI. LI in the table refers to language identity, while LA refers to either language awareness, or language-aware. Additionally, it is important to note that there are two similarly formulated themes at the table which are not connected: impact of teacher's language identity on language-aware pedagogy and the functionality of language awareness.

Insecurities and building confidence were present in all the three narratives, and they were an underlying part of each participant's language identities. In each narrative, these themes were considered mostly personal, although they always had a social element as well. Yet, the definitive characteristics, which made these themes personal, were the participants' perceptions and reflections on their identities when describing the moments where insecurities were present. A very significant finding connected to confidence is that it often started to increase by a social factor, such as a supportive teacher, communication with other people in the language which caused the insecurities or discussions with other people about the linguistic insecuri-

ties. Additionally, Leena's narratives had an underlying theme of confusion regarding her language identity which other participant did not mention.

	Personal themes	Social themes	LA practices supporting LI
Leena	**insecurities and building linguistic confidence** confusion	*context-bound language* discrepancies **lack of awareness about LI**	**celebration of languages** functionality of LA
Sara	**insecurities and building linguistic confidence**	perceptions of LI causing strong emotions *context-bound language*	impact of teacher's LI on LA pedagogy **attitudes** *support for mother tongue* *teacher as a linguistic model*
Emma	**insecurities and building linguistic confidence**	**lack of support for LI**	*teacher as a linguistic model* *support for learning through mother tongue* *appreciating multilingualism in the classroom culture*

Table 1: Themes found from the narratives.

The social themes were partly very different when the participants' narratives were compared, but there were also themes that were present in more than one of the narratives. Both Leena and Sara described how context had an impact on their language use. Leena's narrative revealed that the context that influenced her language preference was usually people she communicated with and their linguistic repertoires. Sara mentioned similar experiences, but she also felt that emotional contexts, places, and situations played a significant role in her language choices. Emma did not specifically mention context in her narrative.

There were two social themes that had slightly different approaches, but they addressed a similar issue. Leena described lack of awareness regarding her language identity and Emma described lack of support for hers. These two are connected because Leena's experience of little awareness towards her language identity during school years lead to no support in, for example, her first language development. Emma's reflections, in turn, addressed the lack of support for her identity which might have been caused partly by the lack of awareness from her teachers. These are only assumptions, but what is inevitable is that both participants had felt that their language identities were not supported.

Leena had experienced some discrepancies between her own language identity and the perception of others about it, especially when language policies and bureaucracy took place in her life. Sara illustrated strong emotions which were caused by other people's perceptions of her language identity that strongly differed from her own perception. Even though these two themes are slightly different in their approach, both address the issue of the environment's perceptions of their language identities different from how they perceived them.

When the participants discussed their roles as language-aware teachers, the themes differed but they had many similar characteristics. For example, Leena emphasized the importance of the celebration of languages, Sara mentioned attitudes towards multilingualism and Emma discussed classroom culture where multilingualism is seen as richness. Although they all had a different approach of describing the phenomenon, all of them seemed to highly value multilingualism and considered it important to convey this appreciation to the pupils. All the participants regarded mother tongue instruction an essential part of language-aware pedagogy. Furthermore, both Sara and Emma discussed the teacher's role as a linguistic model.

The differences in the future role as language-aware teachers were that Leena was the only participant who addressed worry towards the functionality of language awareness since she was not sure whether language awareness is actually functioning in practice at the moment in

a way that is portrayed in the curriculum. Moreover, none of the other participants mentioned how teachers' own identities influence their language-aware pedagogy apart from Sara. However, all the participants indicated some worry towards whether they are ready to teach in a language-aware way after their teacher studies.

6 Reliability and ethics

There are a variety of challenges in narrative research that the researcher is most likely going to encounter. First of all, it is essential for the researcher to truly understand the context of an individual's life in order to understand the deeper meanings of their experiences. When analyzing and possibly restorying the narratives told by the participants, the researcher has to reflect on his or her own background and views on the researched theme and the data. Besides, it needs to be carefully considered who owns the story, who can tell or change it and whose version is convincing. (Creswell, 2013, p. 76) Moreover, as narrative research has an interpretive nature, it can never be entirely objective. Pinnegar and Daynes (2007, p. 29) state that in narrative research, the assumptions of reliability and objectivity entail the interpretive perspective of narrative analysis and, thus, the focus is on curiosity rather than scientific facts. Throughout the process of collecting the data, analyzing it and reporting the findings, we have kept in mind this slightly subjective nature of our inquiry. Thus, we have not aimed for generalizations but, instead, we have examined unique human experiences.

In order to support the reliability of this study, we have aimed to make our choices visible for the reader and explained the process of our data analysis in depth. Additionally, the findings have been supported by quotations from the data sets. We have also discussed our interpretations together, which can be regarded as a feature that increases the reliability. Moreover, as Riessman (2008) suggests, a narrative researcher should always keep in mind the definition of a narrative that they are basing their approach on, as well as what is their exact focus when analyzing the narratives (Riessman, 2008, p. 200). This is what we have taken into consideration throughout the process of our study as well.

The length of the interviews could be considered as a concern of reliability in our research, but we want to emphasize that the content in the collected data was extensive and almost none of it was regarded as irrelevant. Thus, the data collection was focused, and the collected data answered effectively to our research questions. Another limitation could be that we did not revisit the data, but we consider a master's thesis as such succinct research that we felt the revisiting was not necessary. The extensiveness of the content of the data also supports this. However, it is important to note that we informed the participants of our process and gave them the opportunity to review the data analysis before the publication of this study which could be regarded as revisiting the data.

This was also a question of anonymity since in this part the participants could inform us if they felt that their anonymity was not protected. Moreover, to secure the anonymity of our participants, we kept the amount of exact information to a minimum. However, when reconstructing the linguistic backgrounds of the participants, we wanted to keep them easily readable and understandable and, thus, some details were necessary to mention. Additionally, we changed some details of the narratives in order to secure anonymity.

7 Discussion

In this thesis, we have examined teacher students' narratives about their language identities and their reflections on their future role as language-aware teachers supporting students' language identities. In this chapter, we will connect the findings of our research to the issues introduced in our theoretical framework. This will be executed through the different themes that were found when analyzing the narratives. In the first section, we will focus on our first research question on what teacher students' told about their linguistic identities. Moreover, in the second section, we will provide an answer to our second research question on how teacher students' saw their future role as language aware teachers. To conclude, we will provide some concluding remarks on the importance of study, its relevance to research on the field and especially on the connection between language awareness and language identities as well as how this study could be further elaborated.

7.1 Teacher students' perceptions of their language identities

Language identity was a sensitive issue for all the participants. The lack of awareness and lack of support for language identity as well as perceptions of language identity causing strong emotions and discrepancies all reflect the societal perspectives to language awareness presented in the theoretical framework. For example, language ideologies and linguistic power-relations have an impact on an individual's language choices as well as opportunities in societies (Honko & Mustonen, 2018a, pp. 20, 22). The illusion of monolingualism is still a very prevailing perception (Honko & Mustonen, 2018a, p. 25). Moreover, it often leads to linguistic repertoires of individuals disregarded and many multilingual people regarded as linguistically incompetent due to lack of competence in the majority language (Svalberg, 2016, pp. 5-6) as well as school cultures that promote monolingualism and monolingual practices (e.g., Latomaa, Luukka & Lilja, p. 15). Education's role here is to prevent exclusion and discrimination through language awareness (Latomaa, Luukka & Lilja, 2017, p. 13) and to support students' multilingual identities (e.g., The Finnish National Board of Education, 2014; Honko & Mustonen, 2018).

When comparing the findings and theory, it can be assumed that when the participants felt that their language identities were not supported or acknowledged during school years, or that their own perceptions of their language identities strongly differed from those of others, there

had been a conflict between the societal perspective to multilingualism. Additionally, it can be interpreted that insecurities and building linguistic competence may partly have been a consequence of these kinds of conflicting perceptions since all perceptions of oneself arise partly from the environment's perceptions. This is supported by Joseph (2004), who states that the perceptions of others about us, created in interaction, have an influence on how we see ourselves even if the only real perception of us exists in our own minds (Joseph, 2004, p. 8). Thus, we can argue that in educational contexts, the teacher has a vital role in supporting the development of linguistic confidence. Moreover, Emma mentioned her experience of anxiety and distress when her language identity was not taken into consideration. This connects to the statement of Honko and Mustonen (2018a) that when an individual's multilingual identity is not supported, it can at its worst lead to marginalization, anxiety, and exhaustion (Honko & Mustonen, 2018a, p. 29). Supporting language identity is a question of equality and enhances success at school and life in general. Hence, it is a question of the well-being of individuals, families, and communities. (Honko & Mustonen, 2018a, p. 29)

Leena's experiences of discrepancies were interpreted to be a consequence of language policies which did not take into consideration her multilingualism. Moreover, her confusion over her language identity may have been caused by these discrepancies and other conflicting perceptions of her language identity. In here, it is important to note that the underlying characteristic of identity is that there exist as many perceptions of us as there are people we interact with (Joseph, 2004, p. 8). Thus, this concept of different perceptions is challenging to avoid entirely. However, the understanding and appreciation of multilingual identity will help to refrain from perceptions that are contradictory from each other (Dressler, 2014, p. 49), and, as it can be concluded based on the language awareness theory, language awareness has an essential role in enhancing the appreciation of multilingualism. This also links to the lack of awareness about language identity since assumptions on language expertise should not be made based on language inheritance (Leung, Harris & Rampton, 1997, p. 557). This is what had happened to Leena when she was writing emails in English and receiving answers in Finnish because of her assumed preference to write in Finnish based on her Finnish inheritance.

Context-bound language is a theme that arose in both the narratives of Leena and Sara. They both felt that their language preference depended on the context they were in, Leena spoke about contexts as different people and Sara about different emotional contexts, places and situations. To support this, Norton and Toohey (2011) explain that identity is always con-

structed in a context and thus, identity cannot exist without context and it always has an impact on the identity (Norton & Toohey, 2011, pp. 419-420). Wegner (2000) also supports this by stating that identity development is firmly tied to time and place and it is affected by our past experiences as well as our expectations for the future. (Wegner, 2000, p. 239)

Finally, all the participants implied that they did not see themselves as fully multilingual. Even if the participants regarded everyone multilingual in a way, the illusion of monolingualism (see Honko & Mustonen, 2018a) was present in their narratives. Thus, it is essential that language-aware pedagogy tackles the issue of making multilingualism a part of school culture and challenges the monolingual norms.

7.2 Teacher students' future as language-aware teachers

It was present in Sara's narrative, and could be interpreted from other participants' reflections on their language identities as well, that their own language identities had an impact on how they saw their roles as language-aware teachers. Thus, teacher language awareness (see e.g., Andrews & Svalberg, 2017) and teachers' awareness of multilingualism and reflections on their language-related beliefs (Pedrosa & Lasagabaster, 2011, pp. 272-274) have an impact on language-aware pedagogy.

When Emma mentioned her insecurities and lack of support for her language identity during her school years, we can find a connection to the statement that language-aware pedagogy should be sensitive to language learning and acknowledge the complexity of it (Honko & Mustonen, 2018b, p. 131). In Emma's case, it seems that her language learning had not been seen from a holistic perspective. The language learning had been focused on grammar and structures, and other features of language-aware pedagogy seemed to have been disregarded, such as language learning happening in interaction and for communication in authentic situations and including acquisition of new perspectives and ways of influencing one's own and other people's social realities (Honko & Mustonen, 2018b, p. 135-136). This way of teaching also ignores the existence of imagined identity and imagined community, and thus the learner's investment in language learning is affected in a negative way (Norton & Toohey, 2011, p. 422).

Additionally, the teacher is continuously acting as a linguistic model (Kajasto, 2015, p. 92). In Emma's narrative, the teacher had failed to do this since the linguistic model for the language

that was learned was not provided. Moreover, as Emma and Sara mentioned, all the subjects have their own concepts that create an own language for each subject. Rapatti (2015) and Andrews (2001) both discuss the interconnectedness of language and content and how this kind of teacher language awareness can support learning and thinking skills (Rapatti, 2015, p. 60; Andrews, 2001, pp. 76-77). As Andrews (2001) emphasizes, the teacher should be both knowledgeable of the subject matter and communicatively competent.

When Sara and Leena discussed context-bound language regarding their language identities, it can be also linked to the language-aware practices. The use of translanguaging and code switching should be allowed and encouraged in classroom settings, as it is stated by Honko and Mustonen (2018b, p. 129), and Jessner, Allgäuer-Hackl, and Hofer (2016, pp. 174-175). By doing this, the linguistic repertoires of the students are taken into account, which is a significant feature of language-aware pedagogy (see e.g., Latomaa, Luukka & Lilja, 2017).

All the participants discussed the significance of mother tongue to some extent in their narratives. These reflections are connected to the theory of Kauppinen, Tarnanen & Ylämäki (2017) who discuss the importance of mother tongue teaching of students of Finnish as a second language (Kauppinen, Tarnanen & Ylämäki, 2017, pp. 279-280, 289-290). As Leena reflected upon the support she herself had not received for her first language, Emma described how she perceived the importance of allowing the use of mother tongue when the student has Finnish as a second language. Sara emphasized the importance of access to mother tongue education and mentioned the same as Honko & Mustonen (2018a) about the importance of home-school cooperation in conveying the message of encouragement for using mother tongue at home (Honko & Mustonen, 2018a, p. 27).

Sara mentioned attitudes specifically when she discussed the language-aware practices supporting students' language identities. Attitudes have an important role in making languages part of everyday school culture, valuing students' multilingualism and offering encouraging feedback (Honko & Mustonen, 2018a, p. 27; Rapatti, 2015, p. 55). As the Finnish National Core Curriculum (The Finnish National Board of Education, 2014) also states, multilingualism should be seen as a richness and thus, the themes of celebration of languages and attitudes are well in line with the perspective of the curriculum. When the participants all implied the importance of seeing multilingualism as a richness, such as in the themes of the celebration of languages, attitudes and classroom culture their views were connected to García's (2017) important notion of critical multilingual language awareness promoting involvement and equali-

ty (García, 2017, p. 268). Rapatti (2015) also discusses attitudes, and states that through making languages a part of every subject and valuing students' multilingualism regardless of their capability in the majority language, attitudes are made visible (Rapatti, 2015, p. 58). All the participants discussed this practice of making languages and linguistic repertoires visible in the classroom. Moreover, it can be concluded that all the participants regarded support for multilingual identities essential in language-aware pedagogy.

7.3 Concluding remarks

Since monolingual classrooms do not exist, there is the need to reconceptualize teaching towards a more language-aware direction (Latomaa, Luukka & Lilja, 2017, p. 15) and make teacher training challenge the students' beliefs about multilingualism (Pedrosa & Lagabaster, 2011, pp. 272-274). Thus, it is not surprising that the participants implied some uncertainty whether they are ready to teach in a language-aware way or showed skepticism towards the functionality of language awareness in practice. Our study indicates that there is a need to develop the teacher education to a more language-aware level based on the uncertainty and, for example, Leena's experiences of discrepancies.

Since there is a lack of research done on supporting language identities, there is a need for more research in this area of language awareness. In reference to the skepticism towards the functionality of language awareness in practice and uncertainty in implementing language-aware practices in school activity, this study could be continued by examining how the language-aware practices are actually implemented in the classroom setting, especially from the perspective of supporting students' language identities. Additionally, Finkbeiner & White (2017) make an important note: "The fact that the current debate about multilingualism and language awareness is primarily conducted from an English monolingual perspective can be seen as counterproductive. This leads to an imbalance with respect to scholars' voices around the world." (p. 14). Thus, it is important to acknowledge, that research from a more multilingual perspective would be necessary.

Finally, because all the participants had experienced their language identities differently, we can say that we succeeded in conducting narratives that revealed unique human experiences. Moreover, narrative study does not aim for generalizations, thus that was not the goal of our study either. However, in reference to the comparison between our findings and the theory, we can conclude that supporting students' diverse language identities is essential. We want to

emphasize by this study that by supporting students' diverse language identities and by implementing language-aware practices in our pedagogy, equality, learning and the holistic development of students are enhanced.

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Appendix 1: Interview frame

Before we start, let's talk about confidentiality, anonymity and voluntarity of this research. We are recording this interview. The data will be used confidentially and anonymously so that the interviewee cannot be recognized from the study. The interview will be used as data only for this master's thesis. You have the right to see the thesis before it is published, and you have the right to cancel your participation at any point during the process before the thesis is published. Do you have any questions? Do you agree with these terms? Let's start.

Themes to discuss:

University student profile

Linguistic background

e.g.

How would you describe your linguistic background?

Would you consider yourself as multilingual, and why?

How would you describe your language identity?

Language identity and significant experiences

e.g.

Do you remember situations when you have been very aware of your language identity?

Can you recall situations when language has played a significant role and how did you feel in that situation?

Do you feel that your language identity was supported during your school history? How?

Future as a language-aware teacher

e.g.

How do you see your role as a teacher in a multilingual or language aware classroom?

Do you feel well prepared for teaching in a language-aware way after your studies?

How can you support your students' language identities?

Appendix 2: Haastattelurunko

Ennen kuin aloitamme, käydään vielä tähän äänitteen alkuun suullisesti läpi muutama asia tutkimuksen luottamuksellisuudesta, anonymiteetistä ja osallistumisen vapaaehtoisuudesta. Nauhoitamme siis haastattelun. Haastatteluaineisto käsitellään luottamuksellisesti ja anonyymisti niin, ettei haastateltavaa voi tutkimuksesta tunnistaa. Haastattelua käytetään aineistona ainoastaan tähän kyseiseen pro gradu -tutkielmaan. Sinulla on halutessasi oikeus nähdä valmis tutkimus ennen sen julkaisua sekä oikeus jäädä tutkimuksesta pois missä tahansa vaiheessa ennen sen julkaisua. Onko tästä kysyttävää? Ovatko nämä äsken mainitut asiat sinulle selviä? Aloitetaan.

Keskusteltavat teemat:

Opiskelijaprofiili

Kielitausta
esim.
Kuinka kuvaisit kielitaustaasi?
Näkisitkö itsesi monikielisenä? Miksi?
Miten kuvaisit kieli-identiteettiäsi?

Kieli-identiteetti ja merkittävät kokemukset
esim.
Tuleeko mieleesi tilanteita, joissa olet ollut tietoinen kieli-identiteetistäsi?
Muistatko tilanteita, joissa kielellä on ollut erityisen merkittävä rooli? Miltä sinusta tuntui tilanteessa?
Tuettiinko kieli-identiteettiäsi mielestäsi kouluaikana? Miten?

Tuleva rooli kielitietoisena opettajana
esim.
Millaisena näet roolisi opettajana monikielisessä tai kielitietoisessa luokassa?
Koetko opintojesi pohjalta olevasi valmis opettamaan kielitietoisesti?
Miten voisit tukea oppilaasi kieli-identiteettiä?