From Shared Interaction to Shared Language: Learning a Second Language in an Immersion Kindergarten

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ABSTRACT: The article focuses on second language learning in an immersion kindergarten. Within the framework of conversation analysis, the study explores how learning is situated in interaction and evidenced in the participants' verbal and embodied behavior. The data consist of videotaped everyday interaction of a group of Finnish-speaking children during their first two years of Swedish immersion. The children's emerging second language competences are explored by analyzing how they respond to the educator's questions and directives. The production of Swedish is investigated by analyzing how the children recycle lexical items and syntactic structures that the educator has used. In terms of second language understanding, the study reveals that the children orient to the educator's embodied actions at the initial stages. They do not initiate repair even if their response shows that their understanding is partial. During the second term, the children show increasing understanding of the verbal turns, and they also initiate repair in case of understanding problems. In terms of active production of second language, the study shows that the children first recycle lexemes and expressions previously used by the educator. At later stages, they also recycle syntactic structures, and modify the recycled items in Swedish. The focus of the study are the learning processes, but the products of learning are also in evidence, and manifested in the ways the children show understanding of the second language and how they use it.

Keywords: conversation analysis, second language learning, immersion, recycling, repair

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper draws on my doctoral dissertation (Savijärvi, 2011) that investigates second language (L2) learning in an immersion kindergarten (see e.g. Swain & Lapkin, 1982). The study explores how second language learning is situated in interaction and evidenced in the participants' verbal and embodied behavior. It builds on the growing body of research investigating second language learning within the framework of conversation analysis (CA-SLA, see e.g. Firth & Wagner, 1997; 2007; Seedhouse, 2005; Pekarek Doehler, 2010; Hall, Hellermann & Pekarek Doehler, 2011). The current study explores how second language is learnt without formal instruction, through participating in interaction where L2 is used as a medium. Thus, it also connects and contributes to the research of learning outside the traditional classroom (see e.g. Lilja, 2014; Wagner, 2015).

The data come from a kindergarten that implements the method of Canadian immersion, a thoroughly documented and investigated teaching method where children speaking the local majority language are educated in the local minority language. The educators speak the immersion language in all situations but they understand the children's first language (e.g. Lambert & Tucker, 1972; Swain & Lapkin, 1982; for research conducted in immersion kindergartens in Finland see Björklund, Mård-Miettinen & Savijärvi, 2014). In the current study, the children's first language is Finnish, and the immersion language is Swedish. This is a typical situation for immersion in Finland, where Finnish is the majority language in the vast majority of areas, and Swedish is a minority language with official status (e.g. Laurén, 1999).

The data are videotaped everyday interaction in a group of 15 children who are four years old when entering the immersion. Their interactions with the educators are video-recorded regularly during the first two years of the immersion. The study aims at discovering how the

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children's second language competences gradually increase when they participate in interaction with the Swedish-speaking educators. The analytic focus is not only on the learning processes, but also the product of learning is in evidence (cf. Pekarek Doehler, 2010). The focus in this paper is not on individual learners and their achievements, but rather on how learning is achieved collaboratively.

In keeping with the principles of the immersion method, the children start with no knowledge of Swedish (Swain & Lapkin, 1982). Therefore, all their usages of Swedish, as well as their displays of understanding of it, are manifestations of learning that has taken place (Savijärvi, 2011). The current paper shows how the children's emerging second language competences develop in the temporally unfolding interaction with the Swedish-speaking educators, and how the competences are in evidence in the interaction. Thereby, the study also sheds light on the methodological question of analyzing learning processes with CA. Methodologically, immersion data are especially fruitful, because the children's interpretations of the turns produced in Swedish are in evidence even at the initial stages as they can participate in Finnish. Furthermore, the changes in the children's competences are well in evidence: at the initial stages, the children do not understand or speak Swedish but during their second year, they all understand and many of them speak Swedish fluently.

2. DATA AND METHOD

2.1. Data

The data consist of videotaped everyday interaction in an immersion group with 15 children who were four years old when entering the immersion, and two educators. All children have Finnish as their first language (L1), and they are monolingual Finnish-speakers as they enter the immersion. Furthermore, all the children in the group enter the immersion at the outset of term 1. The educators speak the L2 to the children in all situations but they understand Finnish, and the children may use the L1 because all members of the group understand it (see Savijärvi, 2015).

The immersion group form a relatively homogeneous group of peers, consisting of children who belong to same age group, share the same L1 and begin their learning at the same time with no previous competence in L2. Thus, the learning environment differs from those where children start at different ages and have differing L1's, and differing competences in L2 (cf. e.g. Cekaite, 2007; Cekaite et al, 2014).

The data were videotaped during the first two years of the immersion, in 10 periods, each of which lasted one week. During each period, approximately four hours of interaction were videotaped. The term started in August, and the first recordings took place when the children had been in immersion for one month. The last recordings took place in May of the second year, when the children had been in immersion for one year and ten months. In the analysis, the data are divided into 1st and 2nd term, and 2nd year. This is due to the finding that there were clearer changes in the children's competences between those periods than within them.

The group is an all-day group, each day lasting up to nine hours. The videotaped situations are naturally occurring, including indoor activities like breakfast, lunch, morning circle and playtime. In some of the recorded situations, like morning circles and lunch times, the whole group is present but in others, like breakfast and playtime, not all children are participating at once. However, as there are only two rooms available for the group, also those children who do not take part in the same activity can be around, listening and occasionally participating. It is typical for the activities in a kindergarten in Finland that even if the daily

program is scheduled, in many situations the children can choose their activities, and join them if they want to (Strandell, 1994).

2.2. Method

The method of the study is conversation analysis (Sacks, 1992), more specifically, CA-SLA (e.g. Firth & Wagner, 2007; Pekarek Doehler, 2010). In this tradition, the concept of learning is re-defined: most studies lean on Lave and Wenger's (1991) definition on learning as changing participation (e.g. Young & Miller, 2004). Methodologically, the research is typically carried out by analyzing similar types of actions at different points in time, in order to detect the changes in interaction, resulting in an analysis of the learning outcomes (see e.g. Brower & Wagner, 2004; Hellermann, 2008; Savijärvi, 2008; Pekarek Doehler & Pochon-Berger, 2015). Another way has been to look at single episodes, and concentrate on the learning processes (e.g. Melander & Sahlström, 2009). In some studies, the analytic focus is on sequences in which the participants orient to learning, so called "learning tracking behavior", in line with CA's emic perspective, and the relevance of turns and sequences to the participants (see Markee, 2008; Melander & Sahlström, 2010).

The current study focuses on both the learning outcomes and the learning processes. In contrast to most previous studies, the datasets from different points of time were analyzed with different analytical foci, which were detected by unmotivated analysis of the data collected at different time points. This was due to the findings that the prominent features connected to the changes in the children's L2 competences were not identical at different points of time. Furthermore, the children rarely focused on learning, and therefore, the learning tracking behavior (see Markee, 2008) did not seem a relevant analytic approach in this study.

The research questions for the current study are as follows: How do the children show understanding of L2, and how do they start to speak it? The key phenomena analyzed are utterance tying, repair and recycling, discussed in the analytic sections. The findings are presented thematically, although in approximately temporal order. The first analytic chapter (3.1) focuses on the children's displays of L2 understanding from the initial stages (3.1.1) to the second term (3.1.2). In 3.2, the focus is on L2 production, from the 1st term (3.2.1) up to the second year (3.2.2).

3. FINDINGS

3.1. Shared interaction

3.1.1 Child orients to the situation

At the outset of the fieldwork in the kindergarten, one of my first observations was that the interaction proceeded smoothly. The first analytic task was to detect possible problems in the understanding of Swedish. Since Finnish and Swedish are not cognate languages, the children could not rely on their first language when interpreting the second language (cf. Artigal, 1991 of Catalan immersion for Spanish children). I carried out an analysis of the children's responses to questions and directives produced by the educators in Swedish.[1] These turns are interesting in terms of understanding, since a question and a directive form the first pair part of an adjacency pair, and require a specific sort of next action (Schegloff, 2007). In immersion, the children can use their L1, and thus the problem is not in producing the second pair part but in understanding the first.

The analyses reveal that at the initial stages, the children rely on non-verbal cues. They interpret the educator's embodied actions, and lean on their situational knowledge that they have

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[1] Based on a collection of a 100 q-a / directive-response sequences recorded after the first month in immersion.

already acquired. Even if the children do not know the exact words that the educator uses, they know, on the basis of their L1, the actions that are accomplished with words in similar situations (see Nelson, 2014).

Examples 1 and 2 illustrate the typical features of the interaction at the initial stages: in both, the children respond immediately, with an appropriate or possibly appropriate second pair part. In ex. 1, the educator serves tea to four children who are sitting around the table. In ex. 2, she asks a child to hand her the napkins. The focus here is on the basis of their understandings, which, according to my analyses, is more on the embodied than the verbal interaction. In the transcripts, the Swedish items are bolded. The embodied actions are marked with capital letters in italics.

Ex. 1, 1st term, September, breakfast

01 E:	**vill du Ulla ha te**.	
	´do you Ulla want to have tea´	
02	*ULLA SHAKES HER HEAD*	
03 E:	**vill Lea ha te.**	
	´does Lea want to have tea´	
04	((Lea is behind E and her action is not visible))	
05 E:	**ne: du ville int ha.**	
	´no you did not want´	
06 E:	**men Aku du tar te**.	
	´but Aku you take tea´	
07	*AKU TURNS TO E AND NODS*	
08 E:	↑**jå?** *E POURS TEA TO AKU*	
	⌊*JUSSI LOOKS AT E AND STANDS UP*	
09 E:	⌊**å Jussi?**	
	´and Jussi´	
10	(.)	
11	**[(tyckte om te)**	
	[´liked tea´	
12 Jussi:	[j<u>oo</u> (.) m<u>ai</u>↑too ↓sekaa	
	´yes with milk´	
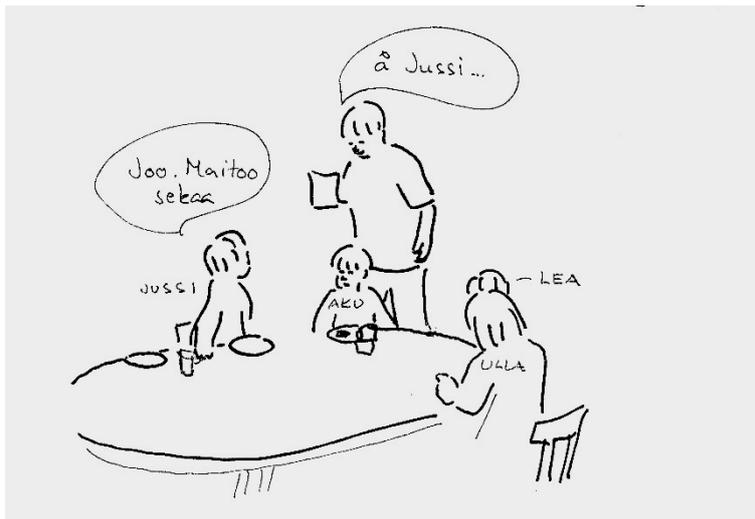
The educator asks every child in turn whether s/he wants to have a tea. The children answer immediately. Even though E speaks Swedish, there are no indications of understanding problems. There are, however, several clues that the children can draw on here. Eating breakfast is a familiar activity for 4-year-old children.[2] Furthermore, E has the tea pot in her hand, and the children can draw on what they see her doing in the situation. Because she produces a similar kind of utterance to every child in turn, and proceeds around the table, from one child to another, the children also know when their turn is to come. Thus, they can understand both what is going to happen and when it will be their turn, on the basis of the situation and the visual clues. Of course, they also see how their peers respond to E's turns.

In these kinds of situations, E's actions are maximally projectable (cf. Auer, 2005). The children do not need to understand the exact words or grammatical formulations because they understand what is going on. This is clearly in evidence in the last part of the sequence: when the educator pours tea to Aku (line 8), the next child in turn, Jussi, stands up and answers even before E has produced a question (picture 2).

Ex. 1 illuminates the interactional features that make understanding possible in any kind of kindergarten. The verbal turns are largely understandable in the situations, based on what the educator does. The embodied actions, including the visible physical objects (such as the tea pot in this case), form a common ground that the children can lean on when interpreting E's verbal turns.

In ex. 2, the child's response shows that her understanding is partial. The child orients to the embodied action rather than the verbal turn. E asks Ulla to pass her the napkins that are on Ulla's side of the table. While producing the request she reaches towards the napkins. Ulla hands over the bread instead.

Ex. 2, 1st term, September, breakfast

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           |E REACHES TOWARDS NAPKINS (AND THE BREAD)
01 E:      |Ulla  kan du skicka di där servettena (.) papp(ren)
           ´Ulla can you hand     those napkins (.) papers´
→          ULLA  HANDS OVER THE BREAD
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Ulla's response shows that she has interpreted the turn as a request. At the same time, it shows that she has not completely understood the exact item. The napkins and the bread are both in the direction where the educator points, and thus, the reaching gesture does not differentiate the items sufficiently – on the basis of the embodied action, the bread could be the item that the educator was asking for. Ulla seems to rely on guessing. She does not initiate repair, even though other initiated repair (OIR) would be the typical way of showing that understanding is problematic or partial (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977; Schegloff, 2007; Kurhila, 2003).

The analysis of the data sets from the first term show that the children orient to the situational knowledge and lean on guessing rather than checking their understanding. They do not initiate repair even if their response shows that they do not understand (see Savijärvi, 2011, p. 87–104). The prototypical open class repair initiator in Finnish, the question word *mitä* 'what' (Haakana, 2011; Haakana et al, 2016), would be unproblematic to use since it does not specify the trouble source and therefore it does not require understanding.

The question word *´what´* is frequently used by the children from the very beginning, in first position questions, e.g. when the children ask E what they are having for lunch. As repair initiators, directed to E's Swedish turns, it becomes frequent at the second term, when the children also show increasing understanding of the verbal turns produced in Swedish.

The research on children's first language acquisition shows that already 2-year-old children with Finnish as L1 have learned to monitor their own and the others' talk by self-repair and OIR (Laakso, 2006; Yatagai, 2017). Thus, the 4-year-old children have already acquired the practices of initiating repair, and therefore, OIR would be the typical way of acting in cases of understanding problems (see also McTear, 1985, p. 164–200). To my mind, the lack of OIR during the initial stages indicates that the children do not orient to the verbal turns but on what happens in the interaction. They lean on the existing common ground and act on that basis. I will now turn to cases where the children show orientation to the verbal turns. As will be shown, there too they start with the most familiar items.

3.1.2 Child orients to the verbal turn

During the first months in immersion, there are only some occasions where the children orient to the verbal turns used by the educator. In these cases, the verbal items are Swedish lexemes that the educator uses in a context that is largely understandable on the basis of the embodied interaction. Typical for the early instances is that the children correct the educator. In the instances recorded during the first collecting period, after one month of immersion, all items are Swedish lexemes that sound similar to Finnish words, even if their meaning is not the same (ex. 3). In those situations, the children seem to interpret the Swedish lexemes according to how they sound in Finnish. They focus on the phonological features instead of the semantics of the words (see also Cekaite & Aronsson, 2004). In later cases, the children orient to the meaning of the words (see ex. 4). During the second term and the second year, they also orient to understanding problems by initiating repair (ex. 5) and by asking the meaning of the Swedish lexemes (see Savijärvi 2011, p. 162–163).

I will discuss three cases. In ex. 3, a boy called Jussi starts a conversation concerning the noun *korv* ´sausage´, and corrects the educator. The correction is based the phonological features of the word. In ex. 4, recorded two months later, the same boy corrects the educator, but the basis is now the meaning of the word. In ex. 5, Jussi initiates a repair and shows thereby that he has not understood what E has said. These cases show how the child's orientation towards E's verbal turns has changed during the first 6 months in immersion.

The conversation in ex. 3 starts when E has served cold cuts to Jussi, and names the one that Jussi has chosen. Jussi repeats the noun, and then he corrects the educator. The basis for the

correction is phonetic similarity: the children interpret the Swedish noun *korv* ´sausage´ based on how it sounds in Finnish, *korppu* ´rusk´. The result is a conversation with several children participating.[3] Despite the orientation towards the phonological features, the example also shows what kinds of learning opportunities the peer group here provides; building on each other's turns, the children end up comparing the two languages.

Ex. 3, 1st term, September, breakfast
01 E: **k<u>o</u>rv aha: de e k<u>o</u>rv**
               ´sausage okay this is sausage´
02 Jussi: £**korpe**£
03 Ulla: sehän   on makkaraa
               3DEM.PRT.CL is sausage.PRT
               ´it is sausage´
04→ Jussi: tää on makkaraa eikä korppua
                ´this is sausage and not rusk´
05 Ulla: se   on tätä   makkaraa   samaa   makkaraa
               3DEM is 2DEM.PRT sausage.PRT   same.PRT sausage.PRT
               ´it is this sausage same sausage´
06 Meri: kyllähän aikuisen pitäis käsittää et tää, se on makkaraa eikä korppua.
               ´an adult should understand that this, it is sausage and not rusk´
07   **korv** kuulostaa ihan korpulta
               ´**korv** sounds exactly like rusk´

Jussi repeats the noun that E has used twice in the preceding turn (line 2). His pronunciation is not exactly similar but it resembles the word that E has used. Another child, Ulla, focuses on the referent, the sausage, and names it in Finnish (line 3). Jussi then continues with a correction; he builds on Ulla's preceding turn, and adds another similar sounding referent in Finnish (line 4). Ulla then continues, and explicates that the referent is the same: it is the same sausage (line 5). In the current interactional context, it indicates that this is something that she realizes at the very moment. It is worth noting that the children who enter the immersion have not yet learnt that things can have different labels in different languages, as opposed to children who grow up with two languages at home (e.g. Rontu, 2005).

Meri concludes with a reflective turn, and ends up comparing the two languages. She gives the reason for the (pretend) misunderstanding, and claims that E has a problem in understanding (lines 6–7). By referring to E as "an adult", she excludes her from the others, the children, who are acting as experts in this situation.

In ex. 4, Jussi again corrects the educator. In contrast to ex. 3, where the basis was on the phonetic resemblance to a similar sounding Finnish word, the basis here is on the lexical meaning of the Swedish noun.

Ex. 4, 1st term, November, morning circle
               |*E HAS A TEA CUP IN HER HAND AND SHE POINTS THE HANDLE*
01 E: |**en mugg har ett sånhänt *öra* här.**
               ´a cup has a sort of ear here´
02   **som man håller i**:.
               ´that you hold´
               |*JUSSI POINTS AT THE TEA CUP*
03→ Jussi: |ei se oo mikää *korva*.
               NEG 3DEM be any ear
               ´it is not an ear´

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[3] This is a shortened version, the whole extract is discussed in detail in Savijärvi 2011, p. 120–123.

E has a teacup in her hand, and she shows it to the group and presents the handle of the cup both verbally and by pointing (line 1). In Swedish, as well as in Finnish, the handle of a teacup can be referred to as an ´ear´. In this piece of conversation, Jussi shows understanding of the lexical item *öra*. He produces the equivalent in Finnish, *korva*, and frames it as a correction: he claims that E has used a wrong term (line 3). At the same time, he displays understanding of the lexeme by translating the word into his L1. Thus, he shows understanding of the lexical item but not the metaphoric use of it in this situation – even if the same metaphor exists in his L1. Spontaneous translations of E's turns become more frequent especially during the second term (see Savijärvi 2011, p. 135–137).

During the second term, the children show increasing understanding of the verbal turns produced in Swedish. They display their understanding of E's turns in the temporally unfolding interaction by tying their turns to the Swedish turns (see ex. 7 in 3.2.2). Tying is the basic means of showing understanding in conversation, and it is an automatic procedure since "you can't *not* tie in talk" (Sacks, 1992, p. 720). At the same time, the children also start showing when and what they do not understand. As discussed in 3.1.1, at the initial stages the children rather guessed than checked their understanding. During the second term, they initiate repair in cases of understanding problems. Ex. 5 represents one such case.

Ex. 5, 2nd term, February, breakfast
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01 E:      ↑var va du i går Jussi du var int alls här        JUSSI LOOKS AT E
           ´where were you yesterday Jussi you were not at all here´
02         på dagis °i går°=
           ´at the daycare yesterday´
03 Jussi:  =mitä?
           ´what´
04         (.)
05 E:      <var va: du i går>
           ´where were you yesterday´
```

E poses a question that requires understanding of the verbal turn, since it concerns an event outside the here and now context. Instead of answering, Jussi initiates repair with *mitä* ´what´, which is the prototypical open class repair initiator in Finnish (Haakana, 2011; Haakana et al, 2016). Even though the trouble source is not automatically in understanding, here it seems that it is not in e.g. hearing, because Jussi is looking at E and thus attending to what E says. Furthermore, E's response shows that she interprets the trouble as an understanding problem: she repeats the core question, ´where were you yesterday´, with slower tempo.

The cases discussed here show how the children's orientation to the verbal turns emerge and evolve during the first and the second term. During the first months, the children pick up nouns that sound similar to their L1, and interpret them as if they were Finnish words (ex. 3). Thereby, they show orientation towards the phonetical features rather than the semantics of the Swedish words. The interpretation according to the meaning in Swedish (ex. 4), however, shows that the child has learnt to understand the word in question. In both discussed cases, the children engage in corrective activity. They claim understanding and correct the educator. During the second term, the children also start showing what they do not understand, by initiating repair, as shown in ex. 5. Interestingly, the children's orientation towards E's verbal turns evolve from claiming understanding to displaying not understanding, simultaneously as they show growing L2 competence in the temporally unfolding interaction.

3.2 Towards shared language: recycling

3.2.1 Swedish lexemes in Finnish frames

I will now turn to the children's productive use of Swedish. The key concept discussed here is recycling.[4] Recycling is the basic method of turn construction in everyday interaction; speakers construct new turns by recycling and modifying elements of previous turns (Anward, 2005; 2015; Linell, 2005). Recycling is a fundamental feature in everyday language. It explains the emergence of the linguistic structures in the temporally unfolding interaction (e.g. Hopper, 1998; Auer & Pfänder, 2011; DuBois, 2014). In the following, I will show that it also explains the emergence of L2 items in the children's turns when they interact with the Swedish-speaking educators.

Previous research on L2 learning has discussed recycling especially at the initial stages of L2 learning. The studies show that recycling provides a way of participating with limited linguistic resources (Cekaite & Aronsson, 2004; Pallotti, 2001; Suni, 2008). In immersion, the children can participate in their first language, and they do not need to recycle in order to take turns. However, recycling is a prominent feature of the interaction during the whole two-year period, which is of course natural given that it is a fundamental feature of everyday talk. As the children gain more linguistic resources, the scope of recycling becomes broader. At the initial stages, the recycled items are lexemes that are mostly recycled as such, and typically attached to turns produced for the most part in Finnish. At the later stages, syntactic structures also become recycled. Thus, the development of L2 competence is visible in both what the children recycle, and whether and how they modify the recycled items.

Example 6 illustrates a typical case during the first term. The recycled items are lexemes, incorporated in Finnish turns: in this case the quantifier *lite* ´a little´ and *mycke* ´a lot´. E's verbal turns are largely understandable based on her embodied actions. She goes around the table and asks every child in turn a similar question, with the same quantifiers in each turn. She also has the tea pot in her hand, and it is evident that she is aiming at serving tea. After serving tea to the children who are sitting around table 2 (in focus here), she moves to table 1, and simultaneously, some of the children in table 2 begin to comment on the amount of tea that each of them has been served. The focus here is on the conversation that follows the question–answer-sequence (lines 12-14), especially on the recycled quantifiers *lite* and *mycke* that are first used by E and then recycled by the children.[5] The recycled items are marked with italics in the transcript. Swedish items are bolded. Thus, the recycled Swedish items are in italics and bolded.

Ex. 6, 1st term, October, snack time
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01 E:          Meri vill    du    ha  (.) mycke eller lite   te?,
               ´Meri do you want to have a lot or a bit of tea´
02 Meri:       °lite°
               ´a bit´
03 E:          °lite te°
               ´a bit of tea´
                 ((8 lines omitted, educator turns towards table 1))
12 (girl):     mullaki         on       lite?
               1SG.ADE.PRT.CL be.3SG a bit
               ´I also have a bit´
13 (girl):     £tytöt otti    lite£.
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[4] Goodwin and Goodwin (1987) discuss the concept as *format tying*. Pallotti (2001) talks about *appropriation*.
[5] The children are sitting around two tables. The camera is first directed to table 1, but the transcribed conversation is from table 2. So it is impossible to tell who of the children is speaking (lines 12 and 13).

             girl.PL take.PST a bit
             ´the girls took a bit´

14 Jussi: k<u>ai</u>kki   *otti* (.) **lite** mutta m<u>ä</u> otin   ***mycke***.
             everybody take.PST a bit but 1SG take.PST.SG1 a lot
             ´everybody took a bit but I took a lot´

        After E has finished serving the tea, the children start to discuss the amounts (of tea) they have been served. The first child who takes the turn (line 12) makes a statement. The clitic particle *-ki*, attached to the personal pronoun, shows here that she is presenting her amount of tea in relation to the amount of the previous child's. Even if the rest of the turn is in Finnish, she uses the same quantifier *lite* ´a little´ as E has used. The next child who takes the turn (line 13) then builds on the previous child's turn. She continues to compare the amounts, and she even uses the same quantifier, but at the same time, she opens up another perspective: she chooses a different verb, *otti* ´took´, and a more generic subject, *tytöt* ´girls´. Thus, on line 12, the comparison concerns the amounts the two children have been served, but on line 13, it concerns the amounts that all the girls have taken. Jussi, a boy, continues the same line of activity, the comparing (line 14). He starts with an even more generic subject, the universal quantifier *kaikki* ´everybody´, and recycles the combination of the Finnish verb and the Swedish quantifier *otti lite* that the previous speaker has used. As the rest of his turn reveals, this provides background information for his own, contrastive behavior.

        It is of interest here that even if the children produce their turns otherwise in Finnish, and build on each other's turns, they use the Swedish quantifiers. The children surely know the Finnish equivalents, *paljon* ´a lot´ and *vähän* ´a little´, but here in this situation they choose the Swedish ones. It is also worth noting that the children choose the Swedish quantifiers even when the educator is not the primary recipient. She probably does not even hear what the children say because she is serving tea to the children sitting at the other table. Even if the children use here some Swedish they mostly build on each other's turns; the Finnish frames are recycled with modifications, but the Swedish quantifiers are recycled as single incorporated items in the Finnish turns.

3.2.2 Swedish verbs and grammatical structures recycled with modifications

        During the second term, the children often use Finnish, but they show increasing understanding of E's verbal turns by tying their turns to E's turns, and showing thereby a detailed understanding of both the meaning and the grammatical structure of the Swedish turns. In case of understanding problems, they initiate repair (see 3.1.2). In terms of L2 production, they recycle verbs and even grammatical structures.[6] During the second year, they also modify the recycled items in Swedish.

        Example 7 illustrates a case of recycled verbs. In the same piece of conversation, two verbs are recycled and adjusted to Finnish. The result is a conventional Finnish verb form *leikin* ´I play´ and an ad hoc formulation *oon klipannu* ´I have clipped´. Two girls, Ulla and Kati, are sitting around the table with the educator. The children have made paper dolls that are the topic of the talk. Kati has just finished her last paper doll, and E suggests that she can now play with her paper dolls (line 1). The focus here is on Ulla's turns (lines 2-3 and 9). I will first analyze her turns in terms of tying techniques (see Sacks, 1992, p. 716–721), and show how she displays a detailed understanding of E's preceding turns. Then I will take a closer look at the recycled verb forms, and discuss them in terms of usage-based theories and make a comparison to language change.

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[6] See Goodwin and Goodwin (1987) for *format tying*.

Ex. 7, 2nd term, February, playtime

01 E: **↑så kan du *leka* me   dem sidu. (.) nu när   du   [har alla.**
             so can 2SG play PREP them PRT   now when 2SG [have all
             ´Look, you can play with them now when you have them all´
02 Ulla: [mä
                                                                            [´I´

03 Ulla: → mä <u>ai</u>naski *leikin*   mun   b<u>a</u>rbeilla.
             1SG   PRT play.1SG 1SG-GEN Barbie doll.PL.ADE
             ´I at least play with my barbie dolls´
             ((3 lines omitted))
07 E: **ja tittar om (.) om: Ulla   *har klippt*   h<u>e</u>lt färdit.**
             1SG look PREP   PREP Ulla   have cut.PPC PRT ready
             ´I check if Ulla has cut everything ready´
08   (.)
09 Ulla: → mä <u>*oon*</u>   *klip*annu.
             1SG be.1SG   cut.PPC
             ´I have "clipped"´

Ulla's turn (line 3) is tied to E's turns with several ways. E makes a suggestion to Kati, and Ulla continues with a declarative constructed of similar elements. She starts with a 1SG *mä* (compare 2SG *du* ´you´ in E's turn) and recycles the verb *leka → leikin* ´play´, although adjusted to Finnish. She then adds a new complement *mun barbeilla* ´with my Barbie dolls´ referring to an entity different from what E has had in mind (the paper dolls that are the referent of *dem* ´them´). The particle *ainaski* ´at least´, which is not recycled, brings in the implication that Ulla declares what she will do irrespective of anybody else. This, in turn, indicates here that she has analyzed E's turn as a suggestion directed to someone else, as is here the case.

Her following turn (line 9) is as well a display of detailed understanding. E states (line 7) that she will check if Ulla has finished the cutting. This implies that she does not know it yet. Ulla provides the missing information. Her turn fits to its sequential position, and to the syntax of E's preceding turn. Ulla uses a personal pronoun (1SG *mä*, E has referred to her with her proper name, *Ulla*, line 7), and then she repeats the verb (*oon klipannu*). The main stress is on the auxiliary *oon,* which fits exactly the current sequential context, because this lexical item expresses the information that E does not have, according to her preceding turn. Thus, even if Ulla uses Finnish, she shows detailed understanding of E's L2 turns.

I will now take a closer look at verb forms *leikin* and *oon klipannu* (lines 3 and 9). The first recycled verb, *leikin* ´play´, is a conventionalized verb in Finnish. It is originally a loan from Old Swedish (SKRK, p. 370; Häkkinen, 2007, p. 589). The second verb form, *oon klipannu* ´have cut´, again, is not conventional but rather an ad hoc formulation that emerges in this speech situation, when the child recycles the Swedish verb stem and adjusts the recycled item into Finnish morphology. The conventionalized equivalent in spoken Finnish would be *oon leikannu*. However, from the child's point of view, it seems irrelevant whether the verb form is conventional or not. Both verb forms emerge in the temporally unfolding interaction that in this case involves two languages. Both forms are also equally understandable in the current speech situation.

Here, I would also like to refer to usage-based theories of language learning and language change. As Larsen-Freeman has put it: "real-time language processing, developmental change in learner language, and evolutionary change in language are all reflections of the same dynamic process of language usage… These processes are not sequential, but rather they occur simultaneously, albeit at different timescales." (2007, p. 783). Thus, the piece of conversation in ex. 7 might also provide a window for how language change occurs. Even if we cannot reconstruct the speech situation where the conventionalized verb *leikkiä* 'to play' was loaned from Old Swedish into Finnish, it is likely that the loan occurred as result of recurrent

interactions of people speaking with each other, in situations where they have at least some kind of common ground.

Example 8 illustrates a case where recycling seems to lead astray: a child starts with a grammatically correct utterance in Swedish but ends up adding a preposition, recycled from E's turn, and resulting in a grammatically incorrect expression. In the situation at hand, the children are sitting in the morning circle, every child in turn takes a piece of colored paper from a box, and E asks the children to find something in the room that has the same color.

Ex. 8, 2nd term, March, morning circle

```
                   |E SHOWS THE PAPER TO ALL CHILDREN
01 E:              |titta va     Mallu fick   för   färg.
                   look  what  Mallu get.PST PREP color
                   ´look what color Mallu got´
                   ((two lines omitted))
04 E:              var      finns   de   brunt
                   where    exist   3SG  brown
                   ´where do you find brown´
                   | RITA POINTS TOWARDS THE CORNER (THE PIANO)
05 Rita:   →       |titta där
                   look there
06 E:      →       titta på väggarna
                   look PREP wall.PL.DEF
                   ´look at the walls´
                   |RITA POINTS AGAIN
07 Rita:   →       | titta på där också.
                   look PREP there too
                   ´look at there too´
```

E asks a question that projects a place reference as an answer (line 4). Rita answers by pointing, and producing a grammatically correct turn in Swedish: *titta där* ´look there´ (line 5). The verb *titta* has been used by E (line 1), although not in the immediately preceding turn. After Ritas turn, E continues with a turn (line 6) that begins with the same verb *titta* ´look´. Instead of the pointing, however, she refers to the place verbally, with the noun *väggana* ´the walls´ preceded by the preposition *på*. The preposition is obligatory in this turn, because the complement is a noun. However, Rita recycles the preposition in her next turn, resulting in a construction *titta på där* that is not target language like. Even if recycling leads to an ungrammatical construction here, the example shows even more clearly that the L2 turns – as well as L1 turns of course – emerge in the temporally unfolding interaction, as collaborative products of the participants.

During the second year, the children show detailed understanding of Swedish and they use Swedish in many situations. However, Finnish remains a natural means of interaction. As the choice of language is free, using Finnish does not mean that the child is not able to participate in Swedish. However, all usages of Swedish, if not direct repetitions, are manifestations of L2 competence – as well as of a willingness to use Swedish.

In the last part of the paper, I will discuss cases where the children recycle and modify grammatical structures in Swedish. The cases discussed here were recorded in December of the second year, after 1.5 years of immersion. The children are baking ginger bread cookies, and this activity seems to promote Swedish use. In ex. 9, a girl called Anu makes use of E's turn in order to get an object[7] back. She has had the object for quite a long time without using it. The example starts when Ulla asks Anu (in Swedish) to give the object to her.

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[7] The object is a hole-punch, to make holes in the ginger cookies.

Ex. 9, 2nd year, December, baking
01 Ulla: **får ja   nu   Anu**?
                     get 1SG   now   NAME
                     ´can I have now Anu´
02   (0.5)
03 Anu: ei.
                     NEG.3SG
                     no
04 E: **jo::**
                     ´yes´
05   (.)
06 E: **Anu   du behöver den int just nu.**
                     NAME 2SG need   it NEG right now
                     ´Anu you don´t need it right now´
07   (.)
08 E: **ger   du den åt Ulla**.
                     give 2SG it   PREP NAME
                     ´give it to Ulla´
09   *ANU PUTS THE OBJECT ON THE TABLE, LEA THROWS IT TOWARDS ULLA AND IT FALLS ON THE FLOOR*
10 Lea: oi. (.) meni vähän pitkälle.
                     ´oh   it went a bit too far´
11 Anu: **ja har en jättestor deg.**
                     ´I have a   very big pastry´
12   (2.0)
13 Anu: →   *NU BEHÖVER JA DE.*
                     now need   1SG 3DEM
                     ´now I need it´

        Anu refuses to give the object to Ulla (line 3), but E does not accept her refusal (line 4). She tells her to give the object to Ulla (line 8), and grounds her directive with the argument that Anu does not need the object at that moment (line 6). A few seconds later, Anu uses the same argument in order to get the object back (line 13). Even if she uses the same lexemes, recycled from E's preceding turn, she modifies the word order. The temporal reference (*nu*) in the turn initial position requires inverted word order, opposed to E's previous turn that does not have the inversion. The use of the inversion evidences learning, because Finnish has no grammatical inversion in the corresponding constructions, nor has E used inversion in her preceding turn. The turn is skillful also in terms of interaction. Instead of arguing with E, Anu waits for a while, and then makes use of the same argument that E has used, in order to get the object back.

        Examples 10 and 11 illustrate cases where a child continues in Swedish with a similar syntactic structure but with different lexemes. These turns show that the children in question have analyzed the syntax of the preceding turn, and that they have acquired the lexemes since those cannot be recycled from the previous turns. In example 10, a child (who does not speak in this example) is looking for his toy, an elf, but he cannot find it. Meri, who starts speaking in line 4, is baking. E comments on the disappeared elf, and Meri continues her turn.

Ex. 10, 2nd year, December, baking
01 E: °>**de (e no) en**< **konsti   tomte**.°
                     it   is PRT a   strange   elf
02   ***just   va de mitt   på golve   här***.
                     just   was 3SG middle PREP floor-DEF here
                     ´it was just a moment ago here in the middle of the floor´
03   (1.0)

04 Meri: **å *nu̠   e de bo̠rta*.**
                  and now   is 3SG away / gone
                  ´and now it is gone´

     E produces an evaluation of the referent, the elf (line 1). She then adds a TCU that provides grounds for the evaluation, the strangeness of the elf (line 2). After a one second pause, Meri adds a TCU that matches E's utterance both syntactically and prosodically. She uses the same syntactic structure as E, and the stress is on parallel expressions (*just / nu̠, mi̠tt på go̠lve / bo̠rta*).

     Both turns have the syntactic form of a clause, and both are similarly constructed: a temporal reference (*just / nu*), followed by a verb (*vara* ´be´, albeit in different tense), and the last item is a place reference (*mitt på glove här / borta*).

E: ju̠st va de mi̠tt på go̠lve här
Meri: å   nu̠ e   de bo̠rta

     Instead of recycling the lexemes as such, the child uses lexical items that represent the same syntactic categories as in E's turn. The only identical lexeme is the pronoun *de* ´it´, referring to the same entity, the elf. The conjunction *å,* produced by the child, expresses the connection between the two turns. This, in turn, shows that the child has learned how to connect turns to the ongoing conversation in Swedish.

     Meri's contribution is a collaborative completion of E's utterance (e.g. Sacks, 1992, p. 56–66). It shows that she has analyzed the syntactic structure of the previous turn in detail, or, at least it shows that she has learnt the idiomatic way to formulate this kind of turn in Swedish. Her turn is also a relevant completion in terms of meaning. Although E's utterance is syntactically complete, it is incomplete in the sense that E starts to explain the "strangeness" of the elf but leaves out an essential part: the elf is not strange because it was in the middle of the floor but because it is not there anymore. Meri adds the missing part and completes thus the verbal action that E has started.

     In ex. 11, E makes a statement concerning Meri's ginger cookies (line 1). A few moments later Anu produces a similar statement concerning her own cookies (line 6).

Ex. 11, 2ⁿᵈ year, December, baking
01 E: →   nå **nu *har du en ma̠ssa små gris-ar***
                 PRT now have 2SG a mass   little pig-PL
                 ´now you have lots of little pigs´
02   (.) **miljo̠ner me   små   grisar**.   *ANU LOOKS AT MERIS GINGER COOKIES*
                 million.PL PREP   little   pig.PL   *AND TAKES A FORM FROM THE TABLE*
                 ¨millions of little pigs´
04 E: **du kan sätta dem här oppe Meri**.
                 ´you can putt hem here Meri´
06 Anu: →   ***ja   gör ganska mycke små   hjä̠rt-or***.
                 1SG make quite many little   heart-PL
                 ´I make quite many little hearts´

     Anu uses lexemes that are not identical but represent the same syntactic categories as E has used. Both turns have a pronominal subject (*du* ´you´ – *ja(g)* ´I´), a verb (*har* ´have´– *gör* ´make´)*,* a quantifier (*en massa* ´lots of´– *ganska mycke* ´quite many´) and a description of the form of the cookies, preceded by the same adjective, and the object *små grisar* ´small pigs´– *små hjärtor* ´small hearts´.

In terms of syntax, the utterances are equally constructed but Anu modifies the inverted word order. Here, she does not use inversion because she does not begin with temporal reference, in contrast to E's turn (line 1). In that respect, her turn is target language-like. However, the plural form of the noun, *hjärtor,* is not. The conventional plural form is *hjärtan* because the noun is a neutrum word, *ett hjärta.* In this case, the plural form that the child chooses resembles the one that E has used (g*risar*), but it is not exactly the same.

How then does the child end up with a plural marking that is not similar to what E has used but not target language like either? A possible explanation could be that she leans too much on recycling (cf. ex. 8) and uses a form that resembles the one that E has used. But why then would she not choose the exactly same marking **-ar**? An alternative explanation, and to my mind more plausible is that she treats the noun as an utrum-word, *en hjärta*. In the Swedish grammatical system, the utrum-words ending with the vovel *-a* have the plural marking *-or.*[8] Thus, *hjärtor* would be the conventional plural form if the singular was *en hjärta*. From the child's point of view, this would be a good guess, as approximately three quarters of the Swedish nouns are utrum words (see Hultman, 2003, p. 48). Elsewhere in the data it is also clearly in evidence that most of the children, including Anu, indeed use the singular form *en hjärta.*

4. DISCUSSION

In this paper, I have illuminated the learning processes of a group of Finnish-speaking children learning Swedish in an immersion kindergarten. I have analyzed how the children show understanding of the second language and how they start to speak it. The key concepts analyzed were utterance tying and recycling. The changes in the children's competences are clearly in evidence: they start with no knowledge of Swedish, and during the second year, they both show detailed understanding of Swedish and use Swedish in many situations.

The focus has been on the collaborative learning processes. Immersion provides for a homogeneous peer group, consisting of children who are the same age, start with no previous knowledge of Swedish, and share the same first language. The educators speak Swedish in all situations, but they understand Finnish, which is a shared resource for the group from the very beginning. The children can build on each other's turns, and understand each other's verbal turns, even if they do not understand what the educators say at the initial stages. From the point of view of learning, the homogeneity of the peer group and the shared first language make the learning processes more collaborative. Methodologically, the data are fruitful because the children's interpretations of the Swedish turns are in evidence even if they do not speak it.

At the outset of immersion, the children interpret situational clues. In most situations, the interaction proceeds smoothly. The children display understanding from the very beginning, but the analyses of their responsive turns reveal that the basis is not verbal: the children orient to embodied interaction at first. However, many activities in the kindergarten are largely understandable even if the verbal language is not. The possibility to understand what is going on appears to be crucial for the learning of the second language. The research on first language acquisition shows that small children learn words more quickly in recurrent situations that enable projection (Farrar et al., 1993). Furthermore, even in test situations, children do not rely on single cues but they actively draw conclusions from the adult's behavior (Tomasello, 2003, p. 67).

During the first months, the children orient to the situation and act on that basis: they rely on guessing and do not initiate repair even if their responses show that their understanding is partial or problematic. During the second term, at the time when they already show increasing

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[8] Finland Swedish has preserved the 3-category plural marking system for utrum-words *-ar, -er* and *-or* as productive, and Finland Swedish is the variety used in the kindergarten that the children are exposed to.

understanding of E's verbal turns, they also start showing what they do not understand. The analysis of the children's orientation to the verbal turns reveals that they first focus on lexemes that sound similar to Finnish. Thus, there too they start from what is familiar to them. Typical for these extracts is that the children correct the educator. Even if direct other-correction is not the prototypical way in adult everyday talk (Schegloff, Jefferson & Sacks, 1977), it is more common in children's conversations. Forrester and Cherington (2009) have also shown in their longitudinal case study how a child from two years onwards exhibits a concern for correct naming. In examples 3 and 4 we saw similar behavior: the child corrects the educator in a context where the educator uses a wrong term from the child's perspective.

The children's productive use of Swedish was analyzed in terms of recycling. At the initial stages, the recycled items are lexemes incorporated in Finnish frames. Even when the children use some Swedish, they do not modify the recycled items, and they express in Finnish how the items connected to the on-going conversation. During the second term and the second year, the scope or recycling becomes broader, and even grammatical structures are recycled. The children modify the recycled stretches of talk in Swedish, resulting in constructions that are (often) target language like, and sequentially well placed. The analyses show that recycling is a powerful mechanism in the emergence of the second language in the children's productive use.

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