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Digitally mediated interaction as a resource for co-constructing multilingual identities in classrooms

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ABSTRACT

The development of smartphones and mobile Internet have advanced tremendously since 2000 and have made the access to communication increasingly available in diverse settings, including classrooms. Today, smartphones are used in classrooms as part of both on- and off-task activities. For multilingual participants, this communication involves several languages. Previous research shows that classrooms are often oriented to and jointly constructed as monolingual settings in which participants orient to the language of instruction. In the research reported here, I focus on the ways that multilingual participants orient to and use mobile digital technology to co-construct multilingual identities in these classrooms, that is, how participants can, in-and-through the use of mobile communication, actively construct multilingual identities and bring them into the classroom. However, the mobile interactions also influence and contribute to classroom interactions and vice versa. Nevertheless, the digitally-local multilingual identity that is co-constructed and expressed in mobile interactions appears not to be problematized in the same manner as explicitly multilingual turns in the non-digital classroom may be oriented to as interactionally problematic. The verbal, non-digital, classroom becomes—in the interactional spaces afforded by the mobile communication—multilingual, as the participants co-construct multilingual identities in-and-through their mediated interactions.

1. Introduction

The development of smartphones and mobile Internet have advanced tremendously since 2000 and have, thus, made access to information and communication increasingly available in many parts of the world. For example, access to the Internet through smartphones overshadowed PCs in 2014 (O'Toole, 2014). Nevertheless, these technologies are still used by human participants that are part of situated social practices and events that are non-digital. This may, particularly, be the case when smartphones are used at school, in classrooms, either to gather information on a task or to keep in touch with friends or other co-participants outside class. For multilingual participants, this digitally-mediated interaction involves several languages (see, e.g., Lam, 2009).

The social space of classrooms is often organized and oriented to as monolingual, which prefers the use of the language of instruction both by teachers and students (Cekaite & Evaldsson, 2008). Previous research shows that this is, for example, visible in-and-through adolescents' use of multiple languages as a resource for resisting the monolingual order and the adult norms for language use in classrooms and at school (Jørgensen, 2005). The orientation toward the language of instruction may, as a result, also lead to a “failure” of admittance regarding a large number of students who are multilingual and, therefore, may not feel included in the spaces where they are not able to actively and explicitly co-construct themselves as multilingual individuals (Piller, 2016). Excluding particular ways of using language(s) necessarily translates into excluding the speakers of these language(s). However, the use of new

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technologies by students provides opportunities for interaction with co-participants outside the classrooms and schools across time and space (Takahashi, 2011). Multilingual students are provided a way of interacting with multilingual co-participants while physically in the classrooms. Hence, constructing and bringing in their multilingual identity without contesting the language of instruction in the classrooms.

Of interest, then, for ethnographic research on smartphone use in classrooms, is how multilingual students bring in, express, and co-construct situated multilingual identities in-and-through the emerging digitally-mediated interactional spaces. The role of digital media in students' private interactions at school remains largely unexplored. The lack of research is especially true for multilingual students and their use of mobile technology to actively construct multilingual identities at school, although the body of research on digitally-mediated literacy outside of school has been steadily growing since the early 2000s (see, e.g., Lam, 2006, 2009).

The digitally-mediated interaction is largely done in-and-through diverse writing practices. One reason for this is that the textual—and pictorial—digitally-mediated interaction does not directly interfere with the classroom interaction by having sound that competes with the classroom talk (see Sahlström, Tanner, & Valasmo, this issue). It also indicates that the access to a variety of free communication channels and social media has caused an explosive increase in young people's digital writing. Young people write, read, and comment on each other's posts, which has also increased the interrelation between oral and written interaction. Today, writing is actively social, and texts in a multimodal understanding and in different languages, are mixed, reused, and responded to at a high rate. This means that writing is collaborative in a completely new way, that knowledge and identity are jointly shared and created, and that there are many recipients that are authentic (Clark, 2012; Erstad, 2012; Ito et al., 2013; Kress, 2010; Lam, 2006, 2009; Lehti-Eklund, Slotte-Lüttge, Silén, & Heilä-Ylikallio, 2012).

This article approaches identity construction from a participant's perspective; that is, the construction of a local identity, regarding (but not restricted to) language, in diverse contexts is a situated interactional process. The process affords individuals space to articulate their identities in their interactions through active negotiation (Hall & Du Gay, 1996). To understand these negotiations and processes, they need to be recorded as they are being done. Research on multilingual practices in classrooms that focus on students' language use in interactions (Bagga-Gupta, 2014; Cekaite, 2006; Cekaite & Evaldsson, 2008; García, 2009; Gynne, 2016) have explored diverse aspects of multilingual interaction in schools, including its effect on learning and students' everyday lives and identity construction. Nevertheless, research has mostly focused on identity construction in-and-through face-to-face interaction. Multilingual identity construction in classrooms in-and-through digitally-mediated interaction has not been investigated, although there are studies on the topic that focus on the everyday outside school (see, e.g. Lam, 2009). It is, therefore, of great interest to investigate if, and if so how, students use digital spaces when actively co-constructing multilingual identities in classrooms.

This article aims to understand the ways that multilingual participants orient to and use the new digital interactional space that is made possible and available in-and-through the use of mobile digital technology with a perspective on identity as actively constructed.

2. Conversation analysis and digitally-mediated interaction

The purpose of this article is to provide a better understanding of how, or if, the possibility for co-occurring mobile communication in the classrooms opens up affordances regarding students' multilingual identity construction in the different settings and contexts of the classroom. This is done by openly approaching participants' practices and actions at school, and narrowing the scope to students' co-constructed multilingual practices in their smartphone-mediated interactions. This means employing an emic (participant's) perspective on the social interaction (Schegloff, 2007). By employing a participant's perspective, the analysis is able to situate interactional practices, including language practices and identity construction, within concrete school experiences and locally situated social actions and practices of the focus students, as well as their digitally and physically local co-participants.

The present article employs an applied form of conversation analysis (CA) to better understand participants' locally situated social practices and actions. CA has not traditionally been used in studies on smartphone-mediated interaction or in studies analyzing both the physically-local interaction and the digitally-mediated interaction. However, to date, there are a growing number of studies that employ an applied form of CA to analyze and better understand the social organization of digitally-mediated interactions (Meredith, 2015; Giles, Stommel, Paulus, Lester, & Reed, 2015; Hjulstad, 2016; Paulus, Warren, & Lester, 2016) and/or the physically local interaction around the screens (e.g. Raclaw, Robles, & DiDomenico, 2016). Nevertheless, this brings forth issues and challenges, such as the ones Giles, Stommel, and Paulus (2017) mention in the introduction to a special issue on the use of CA to study digitally-mediated interaction:

As more researchers in the social sciences and humanities are turning to digital phenomena as their substantive objects of interest, it is becoming increasingly clear that traditional methods of inquiry need considerable adjustment to fully understand the kinds of interaction that are taking place in online environments. (p. 36).

Giles et al. (2017) continue by mentioning that several previous studies on digitally-mediated interaction have often focused on one-way communication (see e.g. Bou-Franch & Garcés-Conejos Blitvich, 2014) instead of more interactional forms of communication. The special issue edited by Giles et al. (2017) is a bold effort to apply and employ a CA perspective on digital communications that afford direct interaction between participants and include fairly well-established platforms and text-based chat software. Giles et al. (2017) agreed with another special issue by Arminen, Licoppe, and Spagnolli (2016) on mediated interaction that strongly criticized approaches to digitally-mediated interaction that hold up face-to-face interaction as an ideal in contrast to digitally-mediated interaction. Arminen et al. (2016) call this a “deficiency paradigm” and continue by arguing that an approach that aims to separate social interaction from digitally-mediated interaction is not fruitful if the intention of the study is to understand the social organization from an emic perspective. This article conforms to this line of argument as it aims to understand and discover

social practices of locally-situated multilingual-identity construction in classrooms in-and-through an emic perspective on both the classroom interaction and the digitally-mediated interaction.

In the current research on students' digitally-mediated environments in their everyday lives at school, there seems to be a need for careful studies of participants' actions using naturalistic data of the interaction, as it occurs, is needed to better understand participants' situated actions and practices at school, both in the digitally-mediated environments and in the physically-local environments of the classrooms (e.g. Giles et al., 2015; Giles et al., 2017; Meredith & Potter, 2014).

I argue that CA suits this purpose regarding both data construction and analysis. In the CA approach, there is a strong framework for detailed microanalysis from an emic point of view (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974; Schegloff, 2007). In-and-through a CA approach, language is not treated as a sovereign system that is autonomous in relation to the context in which it is used (Seedhouse & Walsh, 2010). Instead, language use (e.g. grammar and word choices) is treated as a set of resources that participants “deploy, monitor, interpret and manipulate” (Schegloff, Koshik, Jacoby, & Olsher, 2002, p. 15) as they perform social actions, maintain intersubjectivity, and co-construct their local identities.

The current article conforms to a sort of ‘bespoke’ approach to the data, both with regards to data construction and analysis (Giles et al., 2015). In other words, the present article aims to employ a research design that respects the diversity of the digitally-mediated data types (e.g. different platforms, mediums, and/or apps) and aims at understanding both the physical and digital contexts with a focus on multilingual identity construction.

3. Identity as actively constructed

The relationship between the individual's language(s) and identity is not straightforward. To understand what it is like to be multilingual, it is not enough to know the extent to which participants use multiple languages; the research needs to understand and describe how the languages become resources, for example, categorization, inclusion, and exclusion, both by those who use the language(s) and of others who relate to the language use (Antaki & Widdicombe, 1998, p. 3–4; Hall, 1999, p. 53; Lam, 2000; Mansikka et al., 2013, p. 313). In other words, how participants' language use is related to and talked about affects the language use, socialization, and identity construction (Aukrust & Rydland, 2009; Gynne, 2016; Seeberg, 2004). In studies related to linguistic identity, language use and linguistic networks have been considered significant (Henning-Lindblom & Liebkind, 2007; Lam, 2006, 2009; Liebkind & Sandlund, 2008; Moring & Husband, 2007).

To address the issue of how participants use languages as resources in their linguistic networks, the current project employs a view on identity construction that is derived from a CA participant's perspective (Benwell & Stokoe, 2006; Francis & Hester, 2004). That is, the construction of a local identity, regarding (but not restricted to) culture, language, and gender in diverse contexts is a situated interactional process that is actively negotiated with co-participants (Hall & Du Gay, 1996). Knowledge of how these negotiations are being done, including which identities participants make relevant, can help in building an understanding of how classrooms and students' digitally-mediated interactions affects the language use and identity construction of multilingual students.

The affirmation and support for the multilingual identities of, for example, teenagers, have been shown to further positive identity construction, successful literacy development, and continued educational progress (Baker, 2006; Cummins, 2000). Being allowed, and able, to use several languages functions as a support for communication for multilingual participants in several different contexts and settings (see also Piller, 2016).

This article aims to understand multilingualism as actively done and enacted in participants' talk-in-interaction (both digital and non-digital). Hence, from a perspective of identity construction as being actively done, this article aims to understand the ways and practices through which the focus participants are doing being multilingual, and if so how, the mobile interaction appears to enable or afford doing being multilingual in classrooms.

4. Data and methodology

The use of CA to analyze identity construction in digitally-mediated environments, places certain demands, or requirements, on the data construction (Giles et al., 2015; Meredith & Potter, 2014). CA's aim to study the actual organization of practices in human interaction requires recordings of naturally-occurring activities, including naturally-occurring digitally-mediated interactions (Giles et al., 2015; Mondada, 2012). When relating these requirements to the data construction of interaction in digitally-mediated environments, that data should be collected, at least, as screen recordings of one participant's screen as the interaction occurs. Text and video chats are interactional and screen recordings are, hence, fundamental for a better understanding of participants' situational meaning-making as the recordings provide access to the participants' situational orientations and actions.

The video and screen recordings that constitute the empirical material of this article are participant-centered (Rusk, Pörn, Sahlström, & Slotte-Lüttge, 2014). In other words, the recordings have focused on the focus students' social practices and actions over a period of time at school (e.g. three days). In order to better understand the participants' multilingual identity construction, the approach strives to capture a holistic view of focus students' naturally-occurring digital and non-digital social activities. The point of departure for the recordings is the focus participants and what they orient toward and make relevant throughout their day at school.

The ethnographic data used for the analysis in this article consists of video recordings of focus students during their day at school.¹ Two types of recordings were used in the analyses for this article. The first type focuses on the focus students' social

¹ The data used in this study is part of the data collected by the research project Textmöten [Text Meetings], a collaboration between Åbo Akademi

interaction with peers and teachers, and the second type records the screens of the focus students' smartphones. The application that allowed the smartphones to be recorded was student controlled; that is, they had the ability to turn the screen recording off and on. In other words, they were in control of what was recorded of their smartphone use. The two recordings were, in post-production, synced into one recording.

The use of video recorders provides access to the semiotic resources that individuals use in front of, and around, the screen. The screen recordings provide much information that participants make relevant in the digitally-mediated interaction, which is consequently essential to understanding the interaction per se (Sacks et al., 1974). For example, in a screen recording of a real-time text chat, the analyst receives access to how and when the participant constructs the messages depending on, for instance, when the recipient is writing, which is often shown in chats by an icon (Meredith, 2015). The recordings also provide data regarding how the messages are constructed (copied/pasted from another site, parts of the text erased on account of what the recipient wrote while the message was being written, and so on). This design of the recordings affords better insight into the participant's situated actions and practices and furthers the understanding of the interplay between the resources around and on the screen. In other words, it enables an analysis and understanding of the naturally-occurring actual interaction from a participant's perspective.

4.1. Data selection

The current article focuses on three multilingual students' everyday smartphone use in the classroom to better understand if, and if so how, multilingual identity construction is actively done in-and-through digitally-mediated interaction. The students attend a Swedish-speaking school in a Finnish-Swedish bilingual area of Finland (the majority of the population in the area speak Finnish). The students are all 17 years old and use several languages (Finnish, Swedish, English, and Spanish). The data was collected during a total of six days at the upper-secondary school that they attend.

The focus of the analysis in this article is to provide a better understanding of how, or if, the possibility for co-occurring mobile communication in the classroom opens up affordances regarding students' multilingual identity construction in the different settings and contexts in the classroom, that is, how participants appear to actively construct multilingual identities in-and-through the situated social organization in the physical classroom and in the digitally-mediated interaction. The use of CA in the analysis incorporates a view on sociality and identity construction as actively done, which is why the analysis focuses on more direct and synchronous digitally-mediated interaction. In the data analyzed, the mobile applications used for these purposes include Snapchat and Whatsapp. These apps are the most commonly used in the data (see Paakkari, Rautio, & Valasmo, this issue), and they are constructed around an idea of direct and synchronous two-way or group interaction. The apps are (largely) instant messaging services using both text and images (still and moving), although Snapchat incorporates the use of images on a larger scale. Nevertheless, both apps allow users to interact with their co-participants in real time. The focus of the analysis is, thus, limited to the use of two or more languages in the use of Snapchat and Whatsapp in the classrooms during lessons. With this focus, the collection of instances includes 41 situations of smartphone use and interaction in-and-through Snapchat and Whatsapp.

4.2. Transcription

The data for this article comprises a corpus of both screen recordings of focus students' digitally-mediated interactions and recordings of the social interactions in the classroom. The data was analyzed, according to the aims of the article, using a CA stance (Schegloff, 2007). CA transcripts are designed to include details of both what is said and how it is said (e.g. pitch, volume, speed, and/or prosody) (Hepburn & Bolden, 2012). This article builds on the most common method of transcription in CA for the non-digital interaction, which is the Jefferson (2004) system.

For the digitally mediated interaction data, a transcription system was developed to reflect the research interests of the article and to make the transcripts as accessible as possible to those readers already familiar with CA transcripts. This article employs four modifications to the 'traditional' CA conventions of transcription for the transcription of digitally-mediated data, based on the system created by Meredith (2015): first, a way of indicating that the focus participant is constructing a message through the use of an asterisk beside the focus-participant's name initial in the name column (N*); second, an indicator of chat text being deleted through the use of strikethrough text (~~text~~); third, the use of different fonts for different interactional spaces, *Courier* for non-digital and *Arial* for digital; and fourth, the use of Name1 – > Name2 to indicate a message actually sent (not simply constructed) from Name1 to Name2.

5. Analysis

Of 41 situations in which the students use Whatsapp and/or Snapchat on their smartphones, I present four that showcase the different ways and practices that participants use as they construct multilingual identities. The excerpts include only two of the focus students. Nevertheless, the selection of the four excerpts for closer analysis is representative for all focus students. The excerpts display the diverse forms of interplay between the non-digital social practices (the physical classroom) and the digitally-mediated social practices, including a focus on the construction of multilingual identities.

(footnote continued)

University and the University of Helsinki.

Excerpts 1 and **2** are shorter digitally-mediated interactional sequences that display how the students are clearly orienting differently to the two interactional spaces concerning language use, including how the non-digital social practices (the physical classroom) seem to influence the choices made by students to use or not use the smartphone. **Excerpts 3** and **4** display how the students can be engaged in longer interactional sequences with digitally-mediated co-participants during a lesson, either in one continuous sequence, or in several, shorter linked sequences, that is, how the focus participants engage in social practices in the digitally-mediated interactional space that co-occurs with the activities in the physical classroom.

5.1. Interplay between non-digital and digitally-mediated interactional spaces

Excerpt 1 is a situation in which the situated classroom activity (reading a textbook individually) affords the possibility to switch often, and at one's own discretion, between the two interactional spaces (digitally-mediated and locally-situated classroom). The teacher, or any other participant, is not asking for attention. **Excerpt 2** is a situation that displays how the two interactional spaces can be actively separated by the focus student, depending on active orientation.

5.1.1. Reading

Excerpt 1 displays how students engage in multilingual smartphone interaction during the lesson and shows Malin switching between her work at school and her digitally-mediated interaction. The context of the excerpt is that Malin (and the rest of the class) is reading a Swedish text in a digital school book on her laptop. In other words, it exemplifies how Malin switches between reading the Swedish text on her laptop and engaging in multiple multilingual conversations on her smartphone using both Finnish and English on Snapchat. In the current situation, Malin is scrolling through her received snaps and responds to the different senders. She reads the textbook for approximately four seconds after they have been instructed to read the text before picking up the phone for the first time (lines 1–2 & line 1).

Malin taps on Saraa's snap first, which is a picture of a talk booth and the text “Front row seats” in Finnish. Malin opens up the chat function to Saraa and asks her in Finnish if she's having fun. After this short exchange, Malin closes the chat. However, she still keeps the phone screen on and Snapchat open. In other words, she orients to continuing the digitally mediated interactions at some point. She turns her attention back to the school text (lines 3–4) for 44 s before she again turns her gaze to the phone and taps on another snap. This time, it is Harry's chat, which is an image of a box of fruit in the front and an audience looking at a presentation in the back. The text on the snap says, “Result release” in Finnish (lines 7–8). Malin opens the chat function and sends a chat message asking what results Harry is talking about (lines 9–11). Both of these digitally-mediated exchanges are done in Finnish. In other words, the isolated digitally-mediated sequences are not multilingual. However, when taking both interactional spaces into account from an emic perspective, Malin constructs a situated identity as multilingual since she is reading a book in Swedish and interacting in Finnish on Snapchat.

She continues checking snaps and taps on Pete's chat, which is a selfie of him with a text in Finnish and English asking what plans she has for tomorrow. She answers in a mix of Finnish and English: “Babyshowet and movie xd” and “Of course” (lines 12–16). After these exchanges, she closes the chat (line 17) and continues reading the text on the laptop (line 5). The above described practice—switching between the school text and the multilingual digitally mediated social texts—is continued throughout the entire reading.

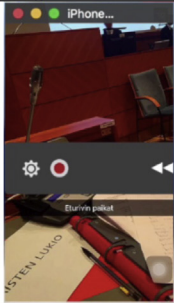
In **Excerpt 1**, Malin switches between engaging in reading a school text and engaging in multiple digitally-mediated interactions with several co-participants on Snapchat. The way in which she switches between the two interactional spaces (digital and non-digital) appears to be seamless, and the practice in itself appears to be non-problematic. That is, Malin is able to read a text in the language of instruction (Swedish) and engage in conversations with several co-participants on topics that are outside of the immediate physical classroom in several different languages that are not the classroom's language of instruction. In this specific excerpt, the languages are Finnish and English. The classroom, in which the use of the language of instruction is preferred, is opened up for multilingual exchanges. **Excerpt 1** is a “tidy” example of the non-problematic co-existence of the interactional spaces and the non-problematic orientation to switching between them during lessons (see Sahlström, Tanner, & Valasmo, this issue). In **Excerpt 1**, the teacher is not doing plenary teaching or demanding attention. **Excerpts 3** and **4** will exemplify in more detail how the focus students attend to both plenary teaching and the digitally-mediated interaction when analyzing longer conversations with the same co-participant.

5.1.2. Raised hand



Excerpt 2 displays a switch between orienting to the classroom's language of instruction, talking its monolingualism into being, and the digitally-mediated multilingual interactional space. Lisa is attending a Swedish lesson, that is, a mother-tongue lesson. She has raised her hand and is waiting for the teacher to come to her desk. While waiting, Lisa picks up her phone and unlocks it. She opens a Snapchat chat with Poss, but does not start reading it. Instead, she keeps her gaze up in an attempt to catch the teacher's attention (lines 1–5). She keeps her hand raised all the time, and when the teacher approaches her desk, she lowers her raised hand and keeps the phone in the other hand. In other words, the phone is in her hand throughout the entire exchange with the teacher (lines 1–30). The exchange with the teacher is entirely in Swedish. Both Lisa and the teacher use Swedish non-problematically throughout the entire 30-line exchange in which they talk about Lisa's abilities and strengths regarding the writing of essays. Toward the end of the exchange the teacher leaves even though it seems that Lisa still had something to ask. Nevertheless, Lisa does not orient to this being a problem and turns her gaze down at her phone and the chat she opened on Snapchat.

Lisa scrolls down in the chat to locate Poss's latest chat message, which says in Finnish: “Are you good in Swedish” (lines 1–2). Lisa

01 Malin: (((reads textbook on PC screen))
 02 [(4.0)

1	Malin	((picks up smartphone, checks Snapchat, taps on Saraaa's Snap))	
2	Saraa → Malin	Eturivin paikat <i>Front row seats</i>	
3	Malin	((opens Snapchat chat function with Saraa))	
4	M*	Onks muksuu? <i>Having fun?</i>	
5	Malin → Saraa	Onks muksuu? <i>Having fun?</i>	
6	Malin	((closes the chat, but keeps Snapchat open and the smartphone in her hand, and continues reading the digital textbook))	

03 Malin: (((continues reading the textbook on PC))
 04 [(44.0)

7	Malin	((gaze down to smartphone, taps on Harry's Snap))	
8	Harry → Malin	Tulosjulkaisu <i>Result release</i>	
9	Malin	((opens Snapchat chat function with Harry))	
10	M*	Mitkä tulokset? <i>What results?</i>	
11	Malin → Harry	Mitkä tulokset? <i>What results?</i>	
12	Malin	((closes the chat)) (2.0) ((taps on Pete's Snap))	
13	Pete → Malin	Mitäs pläänei sul huome? 🤔 <i>What plans for tomorrow? 🤔</i>	
14	Malin	((opens Snapchat chat function with Pete))	
15	M*	Babyshowet ja leffa xd <i>Babyshowet and movie xd</i> Tietty <i>Of course</i>	
16	Malin → Pete	Babyshowet ja leffa xd <i>Babyshowet and movie xd</i> Tietty <i>Of course</i>	
17	Malin	((closes chat and lets Snapchat be open with screen on and continues reading))	

05 Malin: ((continues reading the textbook on PC))

Excerpt 1. snap på fi_TMGG160304MalinSuperMix-01 (HI)_35.19-43.30.

01 Lisa: ((picks up phone with right hand, keeps left hand raised))
 02 Lisa: ((unlocks phone, opens Snapchat chat with Poss,
 03 however she doesn't read it and keeps her gaze up
 04 attempting to catch the attention of the teacher,
 05 which she then manages to do))
 05 Lisa: ja har inga (.) styrkor (.) gällande essä:n tycker jag iallafall
 I have no (.) strengths (.) when it comes to essays I think at least
 06 Teacher: ((arrives at Lisa's desk))
 07 Teacher: nåja okej men då skriver du int in (.) du kanske kommer på senare
 well okay but then you don't write (.) maybe you will think of some
 08 när vi börjar titta på (den) senare också
 later when we start looking at (it) later too
 09 Lisa: ja
 yes
 10 Teacher: ja
 yes
 11 Lisa: [å se[n
 [and the[n
 12 Teacher: [(nog) har du ju jättemånga styrkor
 [(well) you do have a lot of strengths
 13 (1.0)
 14 Lisa: nå int va ja själv tycker [(.) ja e ganska krävande
 well not according to me [(.) I'm pretty demanding
 15 Teacher: [jå:::
 [ye::s
 16 Teacher: du har ju liksom (.) du har ju ett jätte såhå berättande språk å- (.)
 you have like (.) you have like a really good narrative voice an- (.)
 17 å sen: (.) du har ju liksom såhå en egen röst å: ja tycker du ha du
 and then: (.) you have like a voice of your own a:nd I think you have
 18 bruk ändå ha int svårt å hitta på saker att skriva om ändå
 you use don't have trouble coming up with things to write about
 19 Lisa: nå ja ha int ja- a nåja beror [på ämne
 well I have not I- a well depends [on the subject
 20 Teacher: [ja
 [yes
 21 Lisa: men: å sen ja vet int hu ja sku: ja va ja behöva hjälp va såhå
 but: and then I don't know how I should I what I need help with
 22 konkret at va man sku kunna gå:
 is like concretely what one could do:
 23 Teacher: nå (.) men då lämnar du de tomt tills vidare
 no (.) but then you leave it empty for now
 24 Lisa: å:: sen: i:, textkompetensen
 a:nd then: in, text competence
 25 (1.5)
 26 Lisa: nej va va de ja sku fråga om
 no what was it I was about to ask
 27 (0.5)
 28 Lisa: [(hh)
 29 Teacher: (((leaves Lisa's place))
 30 Lisa: nå-åå ((looks at phone))
 we-ell

1	Lisa	((scrolls down in chat to answer Poss))
2	Poss → Lisa	Ooks hyvä ruottis <i>Are you good in Swedish</i>
3	L*	Oon finswe <i>I'm finswe</i>
4	Lisa → Poss	Oon finswe <i>I'm finswe</i>
5	L*	Eli joo (.) ki mä mä+yl mä sitä aujuv ujuv s s s as sujuvasti puhun 🙄 <i>So yea (.) I do do o talk it fluent fluent !!! I do fluently</i>
6	Lisa → Poss	Eli joo kyl mä sitä sujuvasti puhun 🙄 <i>So yea I do talk it fluently</i>
7	Lisa	((closes Snapchat and continues

Excerpt 2. snap på svfieng o snack om att hon kan sve o e fisve_TMGG160209LisaSuperMix-01_58.32-1.02.51

constructs and sends a response in Finnish and English that says “I’m finswe” (lines 3–4). She informs Poss that she is a Swedish-speaking Finn. In other words, she identifies herself, in this particular exchange, as a Swedish-speaking Finn and does this using Finnish and English. She continues constructing a follow-up message, which she sends as “So yea I do talk it fluently: P” and then closes the Snapchat chat (lines 5–7) and continues going through other snaps that she has received.

Excerpt 2 displays how clearly the language of instruction in the classroom is oriented to and how quickly Lisa switches to using more of her language resources as soon as she engages in the digitally-mediated interactional space. In this excerpt, she explicitly expresses that she is a Swedish-speaking Finn, in Finnish, to a co-participant on Snapchat. Additionally, instead of directly answering the question, she provides a response that is designed as her identifying herself as a Swedish-speaking Finn as reason enough to know Swedish. In the turn after that, she states that she speaks it fluently, which, according to her and the way she writes the two messages, should have been self-evident from the previous message. This is also indicated by the use of a smiley sticking out its tongue, which is usually used as a way of indicating a cheeky or playful emotion.

Excerpt 2 also exemplifies how the two interactional spaces are, in fact, not oriented in parallel, but instead, they are switched between by the focus participant; that is, Lisa checks her phone before attempting to catch the teacher's attention, but chooses to pursue the practice in the physical classroom instead of engaging in the digitally-mediated conversation. She has her phone in her hand for the entire exchange with the teacher, but it is not until the teacher has gone, and the sequence has ended, that Lisa switches to engage in the digitally-mediated conversation. In other words, she has the digital interactional space “on hold,” until she chooses to

01 Teacher: *Öö sitte vakiintunut*
uu then established
 02 Malin: *((gaze down on phone))*
 03 Kim: *[(de e som man vet alla orden men man kommer inte på)*
[(it's like you know all the words but you can't figure them out)]
 04 Malin: *[(gaze up on Kim, then to Teacher in front of class)]*

1	Roberto	I felt his pain
	→ Malin	
2	M*	Xdddd
3	Malin	Xdddd

05 Malin: *Öö mitä sä sanoit (()) [seuraava*
uu what did you say (.) [the next one
 06 Kim: *[vakiintunut*
[established
 06 Teacher: *vakiintunut*
established
 07 Malin: *vakiintunut (1.0) vakiin, (2.0) standardiserad .hh (h)rm*
established (1.0) establi, (2.0) standardized .hh (h)rm
 08 Kim: *((smiles))*
 09 *(2.0)*
 10 Malin: *e(hh)e-ei varmaan (.)*
may(hh)-be not (.)
 11 Teacher: *joo (.) to[ta*
yea (.) we[ll
 12 Malin: *[mielikuvitukseni lapsi*
[a child of my imagination
 13 Kasper: *tai sit joku fastslagen*
or then something settled
 14 Malin: *bi:- befäst.*
fi:- fortified.
 15 Teacher: *Ö: nii mul on [tääll*
u: yea I have [here
 16 Kasper: *[eta- (.) etablerad=*
[esta- (.) established=
 17 Malin: *=fastslagen [on hyvä*
=settled [is good
 18 Kasper: *[(*
 19 Kim: *[(*
 20 *(2.0)*
 21 Teacher: *mutta (0.5) jos se ois (0.5) mitä sä sanoit Kasper (.) niin fast-*
but (0.5) if it would be (0.5) what did you say Kasper (.) yea sett-
 22 *mitä se oli*
what was it
 23 Kasper: *ää: [(.) fastslagen tai sit joku etablerad*
aa: [(.) settled or then something established
 24 Malin: *[fastslagen (.) okei no se ehk päättää tai niinku-*
[settled (.) okay well it is maybe decide or like-
[(gestures cut-off)]
 25 *(2.0)*
 26 Malin: *((gaze to phone, sees new msgs))*
 27 Kim: *etablerade ehkä on se*
established maybe it is
 28 Teacher: *etablerad (.) se*
established (.) it
 29 Malin: *((picks up phone))*

30 Kim: *[(gaze to Malin's phone)]*
 31 *[(6.0)*
 32 Kim: *((gaze up))*
 33 *(2.0)*
 34 Teacher: *mut se fastslagen siit tulee mieleen niinku (.) lukkoon*
but settled it kinda reminds more of like (.) locked
 35 *lyöty (.) [tai sit et nyt on päätetty lopullisesti*
(.) [or that now it is decided finally
 36 Malin: *[mmm*
 37 Kasper: *[joo*
[yea

4	Roberto	Ja hajo mest när ja fatta att dedå lincoln brevå va fejk I ffråga most when I realized that the lincoln letter was fake
	→ Malin	
5	Roberto	Don't know why 😊
	→ Malin	
6	M*	Ja tyckte sp synd om dendi jaccen seen ppen = I felt sp sorry for thit dusse usse de =
	→ Malin	((puts down phone))

38 Kasper: *joo (.) joku [(*
yea (.) some [(
 39 Kim: *[nii et ehkä vois sanoo et*
[yea so maybe you could say that
 40 Malin: *[(picks up phone, gaze at Kim)]*
 41 Kim: *[jag har en fastslagen tjänst (.) niinku sillee*
[I have a settled employment (.) like you know
 42 *et mul on vakituinen työ*
I have a permanent job

43 Malin: *((gaze at phone)) mm^{oo}()^{oo} ((cont write msg))*
 44 Kim: *(.) et ehkä on ihan etablerad tjänst ois ehkä parempi*
so maybe it is established employment would be maybe better

8	M*	= som trodde o g p = = who believed o g i =
9	Roberto	Joo domdå två sista ble ba dit å bleed out → Malin Yea those two last ones just stayed there and bleed out

45 Malin: *((gaze to Kim)) briljerar du vähän nu*
showing off some now
 46 Kim: *((smiles))*
 47 Teacher: *okei sanelema*
okay dictated

48 Malin: *((gaze to phone, cont write msg))*
 49 Kim: *min tur ti de*
my turn for that
 50 Malin: *((smiles, gaze to Kim and back to phone)) ja ha:-*
I ha:-
 51 *(2.0)*
 52 Kim: *mikkä se o(li)*
what was it
 53 Teacher: *sanelema*
dictated

10	M*	= p trodde e de ide ide-trodde de = i believe e vede believe it
11	Malin → Roberto	Ja tyckte sp synd om dendi jappen som trodde de Yea I felt sp sorry for thit dude who believed it
12	Malin	((puts down phone))

54 Malin: *((gaze up)) dikterad*
dictated

Excerpt 3. WAsamtal_Eng_13.34-14.45_TMGG5160210Malin1bSuperMix(FI)

engage in it. The classroom constitutes one interactional space, and the digitally-mediated interactions with peers outside of the classroom constitutes another. However, these spaces are not parallel in the sense of how participants orient to and act within them. Instead, the participants appear to switch between the two seamlessly.

5.2. Longer digitally-mediated conversations

Excerpts 3 and 4 show how students appear to uphold and continue digitally-mediated exchanges for longer periods of time; that is, they can be involved in multilingual digitally-mediated exchanges with the same co-participant(s) for a long time, seemingly parallel to the plenary teaching. However, the focus students appear to know when to switch in and out of the digitally-mediated interactional space and back to the plenary teaching (Sahlström, Tanner, & Valasmo, this issue). That is, they appear to seamlessly switch between attending to, and orienting to, the classroom and the digitally-mediated interaction.

5.2.1. Rapid switches between interactional spaces during a long digitally-mediated interactional sequence

Excerpt 3 is an example of Malin engaging in both a digitally-mediated sequence and in the plenary teaching by answering display questions; that is, Malin switches between the multilingual exchange with a co-participant outside the classroom and answers the teacher's questions regarding Swedish translations to Finnish words in the classroom. Although the class is translating from Finnish to Swedish, they are still clearly orienting to the language of instruction, Finnish, and using it as they talk to the class and the teacher. However, in peer-to-peer interactions, they use their multilingual language resources.

The excerpt begins with the teacher asking for a Swedish translation for the next Finnish word (line 1). After the teacher's question, Malin looks at her phone (line 2), reads Roberto's most recent message to her in English, and writes an answer (lines 1–3) to him (Xdddd). At the same time, Kim comments in Swedish to Malin on knowing all the words they are supposed to translate, but not figuring out the translation. When Malin has sent her answer to Roberto, she looks up (line 4), first at Kim, then at the teacher (line 4). Then she orients to the teacher who repeats the question; Malin then repeats it and tries to figure out the correct translation (lines 5–7). However, she treats her possible translation as laughable as both she and Kim smile and laugh at it (lines 7–8).

In the next turn, after a two-second pause, Malin downplays the correctness of the answer by saying it was just her imagination (lines 10–12). The sequence continues with Kasper, Malin, and Kim attempting to answer and providing possible answers, including comments on one another's possible answers (lines 13–19). After a couple of attempts to answer, there is a longer pause (line 20), after which the teacher takes the turn and elaborates on the possible answers the students provided; she then asks Kasper to repeat what he said (line 22). Kasper repeats two of the possible answers, and Malin comments on “settled” and makes a “cut off” gesture, during which her gaze is turned down toward the phone, and she sees that she has received two messages from Roberto (lines 24–26). Kim and the teacher continue discussing the possible answers (lines 27–28), but Malin orients to the digitally-mediated interaction with Roberto and picks up her phone (line 29).


Malin's actions seem to attract Kim's orientation as he gazes at her phone for six seconds (lines 30–32) when she is reading and constructing a Swedish message to Roberto (lines 4–6). The teacher continues to evaluate and comment on the possible answers that the students provided and Malin orients to this as she says “mmm” (line 36). This orientation appears to trigger a switch back to the physical classroom activities on Malin's part. Right after she says “mmm,” she puts the phone down, without having finished constructing and sending the message to Roberto (line 7). Although she puts down her phone and gazes up, she does not contribute to the discussion; it is Kim who provides a strong argument for using the Swedish translation *etablerad* (established) (lines 39, 41–42, 44). Malin picks her phone up again and gazes at Kim (line 40) until she gazes down on the phone again, and mumbles “mmm” and something inaudible as she continues constructing the message to Roberto (line 43 & line 8). While she does this, Roberto sends another message (line 9).

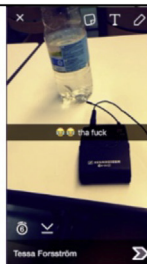

Although Malin switched her orientation back to the digitally-mediated interaction (line 43), she still switches back to attend, and orient to, the activities in the classroom (line 45). Malin orients to Kim's previous turn—his argument for a specific translation—when she gazes at him and comments on it by saying that he is showing off (line 45). The turn on line 45 is multilingual as Malin uses Swedish and Finnish in her talk with Kim. This is an indication that the peer-to-peer interaction in the classroom is multilingual, not only the peer-to-peer digitally-mediated interaction. Kim responds with a smile (line 46), and the teacher continues to the next word that is to be translated (line 47). During the exchange with Kim (lines 45–46), Malin stops constructing the message to Roberto. She continues it again later on (line 48). However, it is quickly interrupted by Kim responding to her playful comment about him showing off (line 49). Malin smiles, gazes up, but quickly switches her orientation back to the phone (line 50). She also attempts to construct a turn in the talk-in-interaction, but leaves it incomplete (line 50). Finally, she constructs the message to Roberto and sends it (lines 10–11). In the next turn, she puts down the phone (line 12) and switches her orientation back to the class as she says aloud the correct translation for the next word (line 54).

Excerpt 3 is an example of a multilingual synchronous conversation in a smartphone interactional space (WhatsApp) with a multilingual recipient outside the immediate classroom. Malin is able to use English, Finnish, and Swedish without contesting the classroom's language of instruction (Finnish, in a Swedish-speaking school, because it's a Finnish lesson) or the current plenary teaching activity. In the excerpt, it may seem that Malin is actually doing the digitally-mediated activities and attending to interactional exchanges in the classroom simultaneously. However, this is not the case. Malin needs to switch orientation between the interactional spaces. That is, the use of the smartphone is affecting her whole-class participation and vice versa. The excerpt displays

01 Lisa: ((walks to her table))
 02 Lisa: [(hehehe)
 [(sits down))
 03 Student1: ()

04 Lisa: ((gaze up)) va?
 what?
 05 Student1: e du mee i dendä ()
 are you in that ()
 06 Lisa: j00o[o.
 yEEe[es.
 07 Student1: [(hehe)
 08 Student2: [>Lisa<
 09 Lisa: ((gaze down at phone screen))

1	Lisa	((unlocks phone screen, taps on received snap by Hanna))	
2	Hanna → Lisa	Perus keskiviikko Basic wednesday	
3	Lisa	((closes snap and replies with Snap to Hanna))	

4	L*	mitä mitä tja du je du tha fuck what what	
5	Lisa → Hanna	tha fuck	
6	Lisa	((continues looking through some other snapstories, then sends another snap to Hanna))	
7	L*	Mikä tunti sull on??? (.) Tuun kuolee fussa usee yssaa What lesson do you have??? Gonna die phussa usee ysis	
8	Lisa	Mikä tunti sul on??? Tuun kuolee fyssaa What lesson do you have??? Gonna die physics	
9	Lisa	((closes Snapchat app, takes out laptop and puts down phone))	

Excerpt 4-1. _snap svfieng före timmen_TMGS160210LisaSuperMix-1(FY)_00.17-01.17

that the use of the language of instruction in class is clearly oriented-to, but that peer-to-peer interaction in the classroom opens up for multilingual repertoires. However, the peer-to-peer interaction may be oriented to as more “disturbing” during plenary teaching than the digitally-mediated interaction (see Sahlström, Tanner, & Valasmo, this issue).

Situations, such as [Excerpt 3](#), were frequent in the data analyzed. The multilingual focus students were able to switch seamlessly between the classroom and the digitally-mediated interaction without anyone (teacher or peer) orienting to it as problematic. In other words, switching between interactional spaces is not oriented to as a problem, and the focus students were able to engage in long multilingual exchanges and sequences with one (or several) co-participants outside the classroom. The next excerpt is an example of how there may be several minutes between the construction of messages to one another.

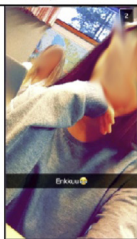

5.2.2. Several returns to the same digitally-mediated interactional sequence during class

Excerpt 4 is another example of a longer multilingual exchange between the focus participant and a digitally-mediated co-participant outside the immediate physical classroom. The first part ([4-1](#)) of the excerpt is at the start of a lesson, as Lisa is walking to her desk.

As she is walking to her desk and sitting down (lines 1–2), she also unlocks her phone and opens a snap from Hanna (lines 1–2). Hanna has sent a distorted selfie of herself with the text “Basic Wednesday” in Finnish. Lisa closes the snap and starts constructing a

01 Teacher: (just det det blir) kortslutning också
(that's right there will be) a short circuit also
02 Lisa: ((gaze down at phone))
03 Lisa: (ja) ha huvvärk
(I) have a headache

04 (5.0)
05 Teacher: när, (.) man kopplar en krets med en voltmätare och en amperemätare
when, (.) you connect a circuit to a voltage meter and an ampere meter
06 (2.0)
07 Teacher: så,
so,
08 (6.0)
09 Teacher: en voltmätare å en amperemätare
a voltage meter and an ampere meter
10 (0.5)
11 Teacher: så mät (.) mätarna vara på rätt ställe
then the (.) meters have to be in the correct spot
12 (0.5)
13 Teacher: Varför (.) och Var (.) e rätt ställe,
Why (.) and Where (.) is the correct spot,
14 (5.0)
15 Lisa: ((gaze up and back down))
16 (2.0)

1	Lisa	((picks up phone, still looks at PC, opens Snapchat and opens snap from Hanna))	
2	Hanna → Lisa	Enkkuu 🤔 English	
3	Lisa	((closes snap and replies with Snap to Hanna))	
4	L*	Mul on tän jälkee 🤔 I've it after this	
5	Lisa → Hanna	Mul on tän jälkee 🤔 I've it after this	
6	Lisa	((closes snap and opens up chat function with Hanna in Snapchat))	
7	L*	Kan vi hå hå gå äta tillsammans Can we ho he go eat together	
8	Lisa → Hanna	Kan vi gå äta tillsammans Can we go eat together	
9	L*	Pm Pm Om du e i grottan fö ja e j j e e j u d e här na a ära 🤔 Pf Pf If you are in the cave cause I a a r r m here cla a ose	
10	Lisa → Hanna	Om du e i grätan fö ja e ju här nära 🤔 If you are in the cave cause I am here close	
11	Lisa	((closes Snapchat app))	

17 Lisa: ((gaze up))

Excerpt 4-2. _snap svfi_TMGGs160210LisaSuperMix-1(FY)_01.42-02.36

reply with a snap of her own (line 3), but she is interrupted by peers in the classroom asking her if she is one of the focus participants in the research project at the school (lines 3 & 5). Lisa orients to these questions and answers them before she continues constructing her snap to Hanna (line 4). She appears to be choosing between the use of Finnish (*mitä/what*) and English (tha fuck). She sends the English version accompanied with a picture of her microphone and two emojis that are laughing so hard they are crying tears of joy (line 5). Lisa continues browsing through other snaps and then starts constructing another snap to Hanna (lines 6–7). This time, Lisa uses Finnish as she asks Hanna what lesson she is in and that Lisa will “die” because she has physics, including a photo of her microphone again (line 8). Then she closes Snapchat, puts down her phone, and takes out her laptop (line 9) as the teacher walks into the classroom and greets the class.

Part two (4-2) of the excerpt plays out approximately 30 s later into the lesson. The teacher has been doing plenary teaching and is continuing this when Lisa gazes down at her phone and sees that she has received a snap from Hanna (lines 1–2). While picking up the phone and waiting for the snap to open (line 1), she comments to her peer in the classroom that she has a headache in Swedish (line 3). But she does not receive a response, so she orients to the digitally-mediated interaction.

The teacher continues the plenary teaching (lines 4–12). Lisa orients to the snap she received (line 2), which is a selfie of Hanna with the text “English” in Finnish. In other words, it is a response to Lisa asking what lesson Hanna is in. Lisa starts constructing a snap in response, saying that she has English after this (line 4) and sends it with a picture of her laptop (line 5). In the next turn, she constructs a Swedish chat message (line 6) instead of a Finnish snap. She asks Hanna if they can go to lunch together (lines 7–8) if she is in the “cave” because Lisa is nearby (lines 9–10). At this time, the teacher asks two display questions to the whole class (line 13), which are followed by a long silence (line 14). Lisa appears to orient to the questions and the silence since she looks up. However, as she seems to conclude that nothing is demanding her immediate orientation or attention, she swiftly orients back to the phone and

<p>01 Lisa: ((gaze down on phone))</p> <p style="text-align: center;"> </p> <p>02 Teacher: o:och (0.5) de har (0.5) ä (.) förmågan hos olika ämnen a:nd it has u the ability in various substances</p> <p>03 att mäta ström olika grad to measure current to various extents</p> <p>04 (1.0)</p> <p>05 Teacher: plast plastic</p> <p>06 (1.5)</p> <p>07 Teacher: har det hög eller låg resistivitet does it have high or low resistivity</p> <p>08 (2.5)</p> <p>09 Student1: hög high</p> <p>10 Teacher: väldigt hög resistivitet (.) för den e very high resistivity (.) because it is sån att den släpper int igenom ström (.) such that it does not let electric current through (.)</p> <p>11 alltså (.) den stoppar elen inte that is (.) it does not stop the electricity</p> <p>12 den bromsar strömmen väldigt mycket it slows down the current very much</p> <p>13 då har den hög resistivitet then it has high resistivity</p> <p>14 Teacher: (2.0)</p> <p>15 silver (.) har låg resistivitet (.) va betyder de i praktiken silver (.) has low resistivity (.) what does that practically mean</p> <p>16 Teacher: (2.0)</p>	<p>=====</p> <table border="1"> <tr> <td>1</td> <td>Lisa</td> <td>((scrolls through the Jodel-app when she receives notification of Hanna having sent a reply to the Snapchat chat, and Lisa taps on it))</td> </tr> <tr> <td>2</td> <td>Hanna → Lisa</td> <td>Joo tuun sinne vaik oottaa sua 🍌🍌 Yea I'll come there and wait for you</td> </tr> <tr> <td>3</td> <td>L*</td> <td>Jess hyvä hyvä ihann n aa (.) kiitos (.) 🍌🍌 Yess good good wonderr r ful (.) thanks (.)</td> </tr> <tr> <td>4</td> <td>Lisa → Hanna</td> <td>Jess ihanaa kiitos 🍌🍌 Yess wonderful thanks</td> </tr> <tr> <td>5</td> <td>Lisa</td> <td>((closes Snapchat and raises gaze and hand to answer teacher question))</td> </tr> </table> <p style="text-align: center;"> </p>	1	Lisa	((scrolls through the Jodel-app when she receives notification of Hanna having sent a reply to the Snapchat chat, and Lisa taps on it))	2	Hanna → Lisa	Joo tuun sinne vaik oottaa sua 🍌🍌 Yea I'll come there and wait for you	3	L*	Jess hyvä hyvä ihann n aa (.) kiitos (.) 🍌🍌 Yess good good wonderr r ful (.) thanks (.)	4	Lisa → Hanna	Jess ihanaa kiitos 🍌🍌 Yess wonderful thanks	5	Lisa	((closes Snapchat and raises gaze and hand to answer teacher question))
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3	L*	Jess hyvä hyvä ihann n aa (.) kiitos (.) 🍌🍌 Yess good good wonderr r ful (.) thanks (.)														
4	Lisa → Hanna	Jess ihanaa kiitos 🍌🍌 Yess wonderful thanks														
5	Lisa	((closes Snapchat and raises gaze and hand to answer teacher question))														
<p>17 Lisa: ((gaze up and raises hand to answer the teacher's question))</p>																

Excerpt 4-3. _snap på fi_TMGG160210LisaSuperMix-1(FY)_05.48-06.26

closes Snapchat (line 11) before she gazes up again (line 17) and orients to the whole-class activity, that is, the plenary teaching.

Part three of the excerpt (4-3) plays out approximately 3 min after part two (4-2).

While the teacher is still lecturing in front of the class, Lisa gazes down at her phone and starts scrolling through Jodel (which is another social media app, see Paakkari, Rautio, & Valasmo, this issue). While doing this, she receives a notification of a received Snapchat message from Hanna, and Lisa taps on it to open it (line 1). This is the initiation of the next digitally-mediated interactional exchange between Lisa and Hanna (lines 2–5).

The exchange is unfolding while the teacher is still doing plenary teaching (lines 2–14) including an IRE sequence with a student (lines 7–10). Hanna responds in Finnish to Lisa's Swedish request of going to lunch together: “Yea I’ll come there and wait for you” (line 2). Lisa constructs a response in Finnish, first using “good” but deletes it in place for a superlative “wonderful,” and sends the message: “Yess wonderful thanks” and closes the Snapchat to raise her gaze and hand to answer the teacher's display question (line 5 & lines 16–17). In other words, toward the end of constructing the message to Hanna, Lisa appears to orient to the whole-class activity to the extent that she recognizes the question and is sure enough of the answer that she raises her hand to request the next turn in the non-digital talk-in-interaction, that is, answer the display question.

Excerpt 4 is another example of doing being multilingual in the digitally-mediated interaction with co-participants outside the classroom and still orienting to the language of instruction in the physical classroom. The plenary teaching activity provides opportunities for Lisa to communicate and interact with her peers outside the classroom using their entire repertoire of languages without having to do it in class where it could be oriented to as problematic. The excerpt also shows how these exchanges do not necessarily have to unfold at once—in close succession—as in face-to-face talk-in-interaction. That is, a sequence regarding a specific adjacency pair, in this case the request regarding lunching together, can be stretched over several sub-sequences, and be continued and put on hold in coordination with the current classroom activities. The turns-at-talk (or write) are not fleeting, and they do not disappear after they have been “spoken” (or written). They are there, waiting for the recipient to read and respond to when they orient to it. In the classroom, it depends on when the classroom activities provide an opportunity to switch orientation from the physical classroom to the digitally-mediated interaction. So, in a way, there are two parallel interactional spaces at work in the classroom: a non-digital space in which they (usually) orient to one language of instruction and a multilingual digitally-mediated space. In other words, there has emerged a new interactional space for students to bring in their multilingualism, which is also different from the peer-to-peer space in classrooms in the sense that participants are less likely to “disturb” the orientation to the language of instruction in the digitally-mediated interactional space. In the digitally-mediated space, they are less likely to compete with the norm of orienting to the language of instruction. However, as Excerpts 3 and 4 also indicate, the focus participants cannot do parallel interactional work in both of these spaces at the same time. They have to switch their orientation between them, and they seem to know—and orient to—the jointly constructed “norms” of language use in both of the interactional spaces.

6. Discussion

The role of digital media in students' private interactions at school (the use of mobile technology that is not planned by the teacher) has remained largely unexplored. This is especially true for multilingual students and their use of mobile technology to actively construct multilingual identities inside and outside the classroom. The purpose of this article is partly to bridge this gap and deepen our knowledge of digitally-mediated and multilingual interactions in contemporary classrooms, across communities of practice, time, and space(s), and seek how the technological affordances contribute to constructing mobile and multilingual identities.

The results indicate that the use of new technologies by students at school provides opportunities for interaction with co-participants outside the classrooms and schools across time and space; that is, multilingual students are provided a way of bringing in their multilingual identity and doing being multilingual without contesting the language of instruction in the situated classrooms in a way that is not possible in peer-to-peer face-to-face interaction in classrooms. It seems that the focus students are able to co-construct their multilingual identities, and build and uphold their linguistic networks, in-and-through using their entire language repertoires in digitally-mediated interaction (Henning-Lindblom & Liebkind, 2007; Lam, 2009; Moring & Husband, 2007).

These multilingual practices are done by the students while also non-problematically orienting to the language of instruction in the classroom. They are able to follow up on the teacher's display questions in plenary teaching (see also Sahlström, Tanner, & Valasmo, this issue). This is true whether the digitally-mediated interaction is a multi-turn sequence or a single second-pair part to a first-pair part of an adjacency pair (e.g. question-answer). It seems that the format of Whatsapp and Snapchat allows the students to construct and read messages when they deem it possible in coordination with the talk-in-interaction in the classroom. The format of sending messages—that do not need to be listened to, and that can be read and responded to when the focus student chooses to—appears to afford the seamless interplay between the physical classroom and the digitally-mediated interactions. In other words, the focus students can choose to read, construct, and send digitally-mediated messages when the non-digital classroom does not demand their immediate attention.

To better understand multilingualism inside and outside of the modern school, we need to better understand the digitally-mediated interaction that is done in-and-through the use of smartphones. In other words, what do children and youth actually use their smartphones for? There is nothing to be gained in normative attitudes toward new technology as either “good” or “bad.” That is, we need more empirically informed research to understand the actual use of smartphones that is empirically grounded in naturally-occurring digitally-mediated interactions. The results of this study indicate that students are active in their use of smartphones and not simply passive consumers. They produce a large amount of text using their entire repertoires of multiple languages in a non-problematic fashion. The ability to use a smartphone opens up possibilities to use all of one's languages as long as one has a co-participant “out there” who also uses them. So, instead of orienting toward “screen-time” and “passive consumption” with regard to smartphones, we need to better understand the actual use.

The classroom, as an interactional space, has a new multi-layered connection to the outside world. In the data as a whole, both students and teachers orient to the use of smartphones as non-problematic (see e.g. Sahlström, Tanner, & Valasmo, this issue). This includes the use of multiple languages parallel to the language of instruction of the collective classroom. In other words, the digitally local multilingual identity that is co-constructed in the smartphone interactions appears to not be problematized in the same manner as multilingual turns in the non-digital classroom may be oriented to as problematic. Thus, the verbal, non-digital, monolingual classroom becomes—on an individual, dyadic, and digitally-mediated level—multilingual, as the participants co-construct, textually, a multilingual identity in the smartphone interactions. This appears to be done without explicitly challenging the language of instruction in the non-digital classroom. This is done in-and-through new digitally-mediated interactional spaces that are emerging inside the classrooms. For many students, these spaces are multilingual. The students are able to (co)construct their multilingual identity and orient to it both individually, as well as with their digital and non-digital peers in-and-through these interactional spaces, which are embodied and enacted parallel to the whole-class interaction.

Appendix A. The transcription system used in the article was developed for the transcription of both screen-capture data and the transcription of the talk-in-interaction in the non-digital, physical classroom. The system was based on the Jefferson (2004) system for the physical classroom, and on the system that Meredith (2015) created for the transcription of digitally mediated interactional chat data

Transcription of the non-digital classroom is in Courier font.

(.)	a micropause less than 0.2 seconds
(0.5)	a silence indicated in tenths of seconds
[text]	overlapping talk or co-occurring embodied actions
<u>text</u>	stress or emphasis
TEXT	louder talk than normal
°text°	markedly quiet talk
:	prolongation/stretching of the prior sound
>text<	faster talk than normal
<text>	slower talk than normal
text-	cut-off or self-interrupted talk
((text))	non-verbal/embodied activity/transcriber's description of events
(text)	likely hearing of talk
(Si) / X	the identity of speaker is not clear
()	inaudible
=	talk/embodied activity latches on previous turn
?	rising intonation
.	falling intonation
,	continuing intonation
hh (hh)	hearable exhale
.hh (.hh)	hearable inhale
<i>text</i>	English translation of Finnish in italics
text	English translation of Swedish in bold font

Transcription of the digitally-mediated interaction is in Arial font.

(.)	pause in writing shorter than 1 second
(1.0)	gap
((text))	descriptions of actions
=	latching
strikethrough	deleted
<i>text</i>	English translation of Finnish in italics
text	English translation of Swedish in bold font
Name1→ Name2	sent message from Name1 to Name2
N*	Name constructing message

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