Multilingual Education

Hartmut Haberland
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Bent Preisler *Editors*

Language Alternation, Language Choice and Language Encounter in International Tertiary Education

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Notes on Contributors

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Enric Llurda teaches English and applied linguistics at the Universitat de Lleida, in Catalonia, Spain. His research interests are English as an international language, non-native language teachers, multilingualism, attitudes to languages and language policy related to the internationalisation of European universities. He has published several journal articles and book chapters in those areas and edited a widely referenced volume on non-native teachers: *Non-native Language Teachers. Perceptions, Challenges and Contributions to the Profession* (2005). He has co-authored two books: *La conciencia lingüística en la enseñanza de lenguas* (2007) and *Plurilingüismo e interculturalidad en la escuela* (2010).

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Bent Preisler is Professor Emeritus of English Language and Sociolinguistics at Roskilde University, Denmark. He is the founder and former director of the international research center for the study of Cultural and Linguistic Practices in the International University (CALPIU). Research includes works on the structure and functions of English, English as an international language and its influence on other languages. He is the author of a book, in Danish, on "The Danes and the English language" (1999).

Hedda Söderlundh is a post-doctoral researcher at Malmö University, Sweden, with a special interest in the sociolinguistics of globalisation, multilingual interaction and internationalisation of higher education. Her contribution is based on her Ph.D. thesis *Internationella universitet – lokala språkval: Om bruket av talad svenska i engelskspråkiga kursmiljöer* [*International Universities – Local Language Choices: On the Use of spoken Swedish in English-Medium Courses*] (2010), which deals with language choice in spoken interaction at a Swedish university and the spontaneous use of Swedish in nominally English-medium courses. The study is further developed in English in the article 'Global policies and local norms: Sociolinguistic awareness and language choice at an international university' (*International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2012).

Jacob Thøgersen is an associate professor at the University of Copenhagen. His research interests include attitudes towards the growing importance of English as a lingua franca, the reasons for and consequences of the use of English as the medium of instruction in Danish universities, and language policies and their ideologies and effects. Presently he is working on language ideologies in the media, in particular language change and language policies in the Danish National Radio 1930–2010. His publications include ‘University lecturers’ attitudes towards English as the medium of instruction’ (with Christian Jensen in *Ibérica*, 2011) and ‘Lecturing undergraduate science in Danish and in English: A comparison of speaking rate and rhetorical style’ (with John Airey in *English for Specific Purposes*, 2011).

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Hybridity and Complexity: Language Choice and Language Ideologies

Is English really the only world language today? Blommaert talks about 'the relationship between a "world language" – English – and local speech repertoires or speech communities' (2009: 561), and de Swaan (2010) bases his analysis of English as the single hypercentral language on its communicative potential which surpasses that of all other languages. Others (like Ammon 2010, who talks about 'world languages' in the plural) think otherwise. Rather than trying to find a definitive answer to the question of whether English should be viewed as *the* world language, the case studies in the chapters of this book provide a plausible explanation for why both of these positions have been put forward.

The chapters of this volume can be regarded as contributions to what one could call the sociolinguistics of globalisation, more specifically to a linguistic ethnography of universities in the beginning of the twenty-first century. One of the accompanying phenomena of increased transnational student mobility, university staff mobility and offshore delivery of university education (Hughes 2008) is the emergence of the increased use of English as a lingua franca. A lingua franca is only necessary, however, when participants do not know each other's language. This means that the use of English as a lingua franca always emerges within a *multilingual* community of practice (Kalocsai 2009). The focus of this volume is the interplay between English and the other languages in these multilingual communities, more specifically in international tertiary education.

The exact nature of these multilingual communities, their specific affordances and challenges, depends on at least three contextual levels: the macro level (societal linguistic ecology and language ideologies), the meso level (institutional language policies) and the micro level (individual linguistic resources and locally situated choices).

At the macro level, the linguistic ecology of the particular society plays an important role in determining language practices in the educational institutions. The role of English in society is one important aspect of that linguistic ecology. Traditional models of English in the world distinguish between English as a native language (ENL), second language (ESL) and foreign language (EFL) (McArthur 1998), and place countries into one of three circles: norm-providing countries of the inner circle, norm-developing countries of the outer circle and the norm-dependent countries of the expanding circle (Kachru 1985). Kachru's three circles were from the start tied to the concepts of norm-provision, norm-development and norm-dependency, and the agenda was to reclaim norm-development status for the speech fellowships of the outer (also called extended) circle instead of mere norm-dependency. In the later literature which cite Kachru's work, this seems to have been forgotten; and in focus now is instead the easily visualised circle model which was originally only meant as a backdrop to the classification of speech fellowships according to their relationship to norms.

Furthermore, while such traditional models provide us with a starting point for discussing the role of English, it is questionable whether the traditional tripartite division continues to make sense. First of all, by focusing on countries, the models do not leave room for describing an area such as Hong Kong where the position of English is markedly different from mainland China. In Hong Kong, English has had a historical presence, but is – and always has been – restricted to specialised uses outside a very thin crust of the population, or as David Li puts it, 'English in Hong Kong functions more like a foreign than a (*bona fide*) second language, despite being a co-official language alongside Chinese in this former British colony' (Li 2012: 202). It is a language widely seen, but not nearly as often heard. Thus, Hong Kong combines features of the outer and the expanding circles. As such the case of Hong Kong also points to another problem with the models; that of drawing a clear line between the outer and expanding circle countries. In particular, the expanding circle poses problems. Even though English plays a role in many of the countries placed in this circle, there are huge differences between them with respect to the position of English in society. As such the category appears as something of a left-over category into which 'all the rest' have been lumped, which is not so strange, since the category originally was simply meant to cover all countries that are neither norm-providing nor norm-developing, but norm-dependent. This seems to be the only thing that the countries of the expanding circle have in common. One example is the role of English in the Scandinavian countries, as also noted by Crystal (2003) and McArthur who suggests an intermediate category in the ENL, ESL, EFL model. This category includes Denmark, Norway, Sweden and the Netherlands as countries where English is 'a virtual second language ... which everyone learns and many use for personal and professional purposes at home and abroad' (McArthur 1998: 41). This category contrasts with the category for the rest of the EFL countries, which are described as countries where 'English is learned as the global lingua franca' (1998: 54). For our purposes here, it is very relevant to distinguish between countries where English today plays a large role as a lingua franca and where proficiency in English is quite high (such as Denmark and Sweden) and countries where English is used to a lesser extent and where English proficiency is limited (e.g. mainland China and Spain). Even with such an additional category, the tripartite models remain problematic. The distinction between second and foreign language is not always clear, and the categorisation of countries according to their status as former British colonies has little contemporary relevance and does not necessarily reflect the status or use of English in these countries. As Crystal (2003) argues, English is used much more in some countries within the expanding circle, e.g. Denmark, than in some countries where it has official status as a second language.

An alternative approach to describing the role of English in the expanding circle focuses on the use of English as a lingua franca, often abbreviated as ELF. Within the ELF paradigm (see e.g. House 2003, 2009; Jenkins 2007; Mauranen and Ranta 2009; Seidlhofer 2001, and for a more critical view Berns 2009; Mortensen 2013; Seargeant 2009), focus is on the use of English between non-native speakers. One of the ideological goals of ELF researchers has been to conceptualise ELF as an equally valuable alternative to native-speaker English (Jenkins 2006; Seidlhofer 2004). While understanding the use of English as a lingua franca is central to our concerns in this volume, the ELF paradigm offers only a limited theoretical framework. In ELF research, focus has been on instrumental uses of ELF, as 'a language for communication' (House 2003), but not on its potential as a marker of identity. The instrumental function of English as a lingua franca is an important function, especially in university settings, but it is not the only function of English among non-native speakers (or between native and non-native speakers). On the contrary, English serves several purposes. Berns (2009) suggests that English in Europe has four distinct functions: in addition to the instrumental one, these include the innovative (e.g. in advertising), the interpersonal (e.g. for socialising among exchange students) and the institutional (e.g. as official language in the EU) functions. To that we would like to add an identity function. Previous studies suggest that non-native speakers use English both as a marker of youth identity (Lønsmann 2009; Preisler 2003) and as a marker of international identity, also in university settings, as shown by Ljosland (2008) and Mauranen (2006).

The role of English in any particular wider society is only one aspect of the linguistic ecology surrounding international universities. University internationalisation and the introduction of courses in English adds to linguistic diversity, but often English is added to an already diverse linguistic scenario. In some cases, the diversity has its core in an established regional multilingualism (e.g. in Hong Kong and Spain). This creates situations where three or more languages confront each other, and where language choice and language alternation are not only between a local language and English but between several local, regional and international languages, sometimes including a national language with a history of being a language for regional or international communication.

Also important at the macro level are language ideologies about multilingualism (Gal 1998; Kroskrity 2004; Woolard 1998). Language choice and language alternation are influenced by these language ideological assumptions. Ideologies that position English as *the* language for international communication (Haberland 2009; Lønsmann 2011) are important in this regard, as are ideologies of what could be called 'separate multilingualism', i.e. ideologies that construct language alternation as dispreferred behaviour. Jørgensen (2008) calls this the 'multiple monolingualism norm' according to which people who command more than one language should use one and only one language at a time. In other words, no codeswitching is allowed. Although the relationship between language ideologies and language practices still requires further investigation, language ideologies about the position of English in relation to other languages and about the acceptability of mixing languages certainly do influence the level of language policy in international universities.

At what we call the meso level, these university language policies in turn influence language choice and language alternation. Often this is done by establishing a new language hierarchy or by reversing or levelling out an existing one. At the meso level, languages are most often seen as being in competition, and regulators see the need to define which languages are allowed to or have to be used in specific functions.

In the Scandinavian countries, the increased use of English as a medium of instruction in higher education has led to a concern for 'domain loss' (Danish Language Council 2003; Danish Ministry of Culture 2003; Jarvad 2001). In the endangerment discourse related to this, 'domain loss' is used about situations where the local language is no longer used in an area of society (e.g. higher education) because it is being replaced by English. Although the usefulness and validity of the concept has been questioned (Haberland 2005; Lønsmann 2011; Preisler 2009, 2010), the concept continues to influence language policy debates and decisions. Recently a new concept has emerged, however. 'Parallel language use' was originally developed in Sweden as a response to concerns about 'domain loss' and has since spread to the rest of Scandinavia (Haberland and Preisler forthcoming; Kuteeva 2011). 'Parallel language use' can be defined as 'balanced domain-specific bilingualism' (Harder 2008, our translation), i.e. when 'parallel language use' works, both relevant languages are used in practice and are seen as natural in the domain in question. It is not clear, however, whether 'parallel language use' still refers to a strategy conceived as a protective measure to ensure teaching in the local language, within universities that offer an increasing number of programs and courses in English or whether it can be taken as a description of the *de facto* status of different media of instruction in Denmark, or in Scandinavia in general (Mortensen and Haberland 2009: 8; also Li 2012). In other words, is 'parallel language use' a matter of policy or practice? If the latter is intended, we are certainly not talking about a robust two-column system with two literally 'parallel' languages; the model represented by the Cultural Encounters programme at Roskilde University (as outlined in Risager 2012: 121–129) is rather the exception than the rule. Here, the students can receive all their teaching in either Danish or English, although the language that any particular course is assigned usually alternates between semesters. At most universities, some programmes, or subjects within programmes, are offered in the local language, some in English (or, in foreign language programmes, in the language concerned, e.g. German), some in both. And practices regarding the language in which information is offered to the student, or the extent to which regulations are available in other languages, differ widely. Jacob Thøgersen introduced (in Thøgersen 2010) a distinction between 'parallel language practice' and 'parallel language competence' and pointed out that even if a university aims at parallel language use *in practice*, there will always be members (students and teaching or administrative staff) who do not have a parallel language competence – actually, these people are the very *raison d'être* for a parallel language practice.

Preisler (2009) presents a different take on the relationship between the local language and English in university settings with his concept of 'complementary languages'. Preisler focuses on the user dimension, i.e. the question of who communicates with whom. Following from this, he presents Danish and English in Denmark as complementary languages, which means that English is used when not all interlocutors know Danish, and Danish is used in contexts where all interlocutors are proficient in that language. By designating the relationship as one of complementarity, Preisler moves away from the competition metaphor and focuses instead on the fact that both English and the local language are used in international tertiary education.

While policies of parallel language use have direct influence on language use in university programs, the competition view entailed by both the 'domain loss' metaphor and the parallel language concept contributes to constructing languages as competitors which are best kept apart on the third or micro level. In this view, they are rarely seen as interacting or enabling hybridity. As such the competition view has clear connections to the separate multilingualism ideology referred to above. In this volume, we suggest that this view is too narrow to capture the linguistic practices in international tertiary education today. Rather than viewing language choice as a choice between languages (as discrete bounded entities) in a competitive relationship – in the sense that either one or the other language is chosen – we view language choice in a more dynamic sense as a question of which language or which languages can be used in a given situation to achieve an interactional, communicative or cognitive aim. This can be one of the available languages, but also several of them. García has adapted the term 'translanguaging' for this, which originally referred to a pedagogical practice in bilingual classrooms of performing different tasks (reading, writing) in different languages. For García, 'translanguagings are *multiple discursive practices* in which bilinguals engage in order to make sense of their bilingual worlds' (2009: 45). The point in García is that the purpose of language alternation is 'making sense', not expressing identity or indexing social categories, as is the case with 'polylanguaging', a concept developed in Jørgensen (2008) and Jørgensen et al. (2011). 'Polylanguaging' refers to a different way of strategically drawing upon multiple linguistic resources, which is more oriented to the interpersonal than to the ideational level in interaction.

At the micro level of analysis, participants bring diverse linguistic resources with them into every interaction, and these linguistic repertoires influence language choice. Studies of language choice in stable bilingual communities have found that codeswitching does not happen due to insufficient language competence (Poplack 1980; Gumperz 1982). However, these findings cannot automatically be carried over into lingua franca settings such as an international university because language competence plays a bigger role in language choice in lingua franca settings than in stable bilingual settings. In a lingua franca setting, codeswitching *is* frequently motivated by the speakers' inability to find words in one of the codes (Lønsmann 2011). While bilingual speakers may also have differing abilities in their languages, in a lingua franca setting speakers per definition have diverse language competences, including varying competences in the lingua franca or lingua francas used.

Language competence is not the only factor influencing language choice in lingua franca settings, however. Recent empirical investigations of language choice in university settings (Ljosland 2008; Söderlundh 2012) reveal that genre also has a role to play, particularly the distinction between on-task and off-task interactions. In addition to genre, participants' identity construction also influences language choice. In a reworking of his theory of style as audience design, Bell (2001) emphasises the dynamic nature of language choices. He wants the framework to be able to account for the fact that 'we are continually making creative, dynamic choices on the linguistic representation of our identities, particularly in relation to those others we are interacting with' (2001: 165). In this view, '[w]e are always positioning ourselves in relation to our own ingroup and other groups, and our interlocutors'. Coupland (2001) also emphasises identity construction as a crucial element in stylistic choices. He refers to three core dimensions of communicative purposes: instrumental, relational and identity goals. Especially the last two goals are important in Coupland's suggestion that we see style as persona management, i.e. as identity work. Where the ELF literature suggests that English as a lingua franca is used for instrumental goals, we suggest that Bell's and Coupland's theories of stylistic choices as identity work extend to language choice, including language choice in complex linguistic environments such as those found in international tertiary education.

We have grouped the chapters of this volume into four sections. The five chapters in Part I deal with the local language as a resource in a range of communicative situations in international university education. Hazel and Mortensen as well as Ikeda and Bysouth discuss the role of the local language as a lingua franca in informal, social interactions; Moore, Borràs and Nussbaum cover both administrative encounters and classroom interaction; Söderlundh focuses on classroom interaction and group work while van der Walt explores written academic practices.

In Chap. 1, 'Kitchen Talk – Exploring Linguistic Practices in Liminal Institutional Interactions in a Multilingual University Setting', Hazel and Mortensen explore how linguistic diversity is managed in interactions that take place on the fringes of the university, namely during breaks. Analysis of recordings from the 'kitchen' in an international study programme in Denmark reveals that language alternation between Danish and English takes place fluidly when engagement frameworks (Goodwin 1981; Robinson 1998) change, i.e. when a participant leaves or joins the interaction. Furthermore, language choice plays a key role in identity work in this internationalised setting. Hazel and Mortensen suggest that 'doing-being-an-international-student' involves different forms of positioning and engagement from local and non-local students. While international students can perform this identity either through English or Danish, the local students are 'at home' and feel a stronger need to use English in order to position themselves as 'international'. As such this chapter is an example of the use of both English and the local language as lingua francas for identity work.

Chapter 2, 'Japanese and English as Lingua Francas: Language Choices for International Students in Contemporary Japan', by Ikeda and Bysouth uses participant observation, recordings and interviews in the investigation of the roles of Japanese and English as lingua francas among international students at a Japanese university. Furthermore, Ikeda and Bysouth explore identity work done in a lingua franca, namely, how Japanese as a lingua franca is used in styling and language crossing.

In Chap. 3, 'Plurilingual Resources in Lingua Franca Talk: An Interactionist Perspective', Moore, Borràs and Nussbaum investigate language choice and codeswitching from a conversation analytic perspective and draw attention to how language choice is related to identity work and membership categorisation. The authors show that while English is an important lingua franca in the setting, other linguistic resources are also drawn upon to accomplish a variety of interactional goals: Spanish, Catalan, Greek and Turkish are employed alongside English in both administrative and teaching situations. Moore, Borràs and Nussbaum conclude that 'participants draw on code-switching to solve practical problems in reaching mutual understanding linked to the availability of resources in the lingua franca', but that 'code-switching may also contribute to the accomplishment of goals that extend beyond the mere facilitation of communication'.

Chapter 4, 'Language Choice and Linguistic Variation in Classes Nominally Taught in English', by Söderlundh investigates language choice in an English-medium classroom setting. Through observation, recordings and interviews, Söderlundh demonstrates that although these classes are announced as being taught in English, a broader range of linguistic resources is employed. Since participants generally orient to the language competence of their peers, language choices differ between whole-group teaching, where English is the preferred medium, and talk outside that context, e.g. group work, where other linguistic resources are used, e.g. Spanish and Swedish. Swedish is also used, however, for a variety of goals during whole-group teaching. Söderlundh concludes that 'as the courses bring together students with varying first languages and cultural experiences, other linguistic resources are made relevant in addition to the language of instruction' and that 'the national language Swedish holds a special position'.

In a departure from the other chapters in the volume, Chap. 5, 'Active Biliteracy? Students Taking Decisions About Using Languages for Academic Purposes', explores written academic practices. Van der Walt's point of departure is Hornberger's (2009) concept of 'biliteracy' as an example of bi-/multilingual education where written communication occurs in more than one language. Through an analysis of five semi-structured interviews, van der Walt explores the hybridity of these students' academic literacy practices and investigates the role of beliefs about languages. Van der Walt concludes that despite a widespread belief in separate multilingualism in learning contexts, i.e. the belief that multilinguals should only use one language at a time, these students do 'what comes naturally for multilinguals, which is to *translanguage* (García 2009: 45); drawing what they need from the languages at their disposal to get a difficult job done'.

In Part II of the book, the authors investigate the role of English in one of the few contexts in the international university where we would perhaps not expect English to appear, namely, in (other) foreign language teaching classrooms. While in the first case study by Lee and Ogi about teaching Japanese in Australia, the choice of English can be considered relatively unmarked (it is, after all, the dominant local language), the choice of English in the other two cases (Kirkebæk on teaching Danish in Denmark and Wang on teaching Putonghua in China) might be considered highly marked since a foreign language is most commonly taught *in* the foreign language, i.e. with this as the emerging lingua franca between teacher and students. The three chapters demonstrate, however, that English plays a role in the foreign language teaching classrooms in all these contexts. The chapters in Part II use a range of data to investigate the use of English as a lingua franca in foreign language teaching, including participant observation, video and audio recordings and interviews.

In Chap. 6, 'English as a Lingua Franca: A Case of Japanese Courses in Australia', Lee and Ogi focus on international students learning Japanese in Australia. They explore students' perceptions of learning a foreign language through English in an interview study. The chapter also investigates the link between the use of English as a lingua franca and students' identities, and the connection between cultural diversity and social integration among these international students.

Kirkebæk in Chap. 7, '"Teacher! Why Do You Speak English?" A Discussion of Teacher Use of English in a Danish Language Class', discusses the use of English in the teaching of Danish to international students. In his investigation of the role of English, Kirkebæk looks at translation, scaffolding and topic development. Furthermore, the chapter explores the teacher's use of English to express features about his teacher persona that he feels cannot be expressed in Danish because of what he perceives as limitations in the students' Danish proficiency.

Wang's Chap. 8, 'The Use of English as a Lingua Franca in Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language: A Case Study of Native Chinese Teachers in Beijing', focuses on Chinese teachers' use of English as a lingua franca when teaching Chinese as a foreign language. The case study illustrates three divergent positions on the use of English in teaching Chinese. Wang connects the teachers' attitudes towards the use of English to their own language learning experiences and to their beliefs about language and national identity. Finally, Wang turns her attention to the potential of Chinese as a lingua franca.

Part III, which contains a single chapter, Chap. 9, Thøgersen's 'Stylistic and Pedagogical Consequences of University Teaching in English in Europe', takes up the topic of parallel language use in international universities. Thøgersen's study of parallel language use in practice focuses on the teacher's role in English-medium courses. Through a corpus study of parallel English and Danish lectures by the same lecturer, Thøgersen investigates what the consequences are of non-native English speakers having to teach in English and finds that the stylistic differences between the two sets of lectures may have pedagogical consequences.

In Part IV, *Language Policies and Language Ideologies in International Education*, two chapters by Llurda, Cots and Armengol and by Gu, respectively, deal with language policy and language ideologies in two multilingual communities: Catalonia with Catalan and Spanish as local languages and Hong Kong with its official language policy of trilingualism (Putonghua, Cantonese and English) and biliteracy (Chinese and English). English plays a role in university internationalisation in both cases, but in different ways. While English in Hong Kong is a post-colonial language with a local history of just short of two centuries, and with astonishingly few native speakers, English only became relevant in Catalan universities very recently as one of the languages of internationalisation (alongside Spanish, another world language). In both case studies, the presence of two local languages in addition to English and the presence of language policies promoting multilingualism add to the complexity.

In Chap. 10, ‘Expanding Language Borders in a Bilingual Institution Aiming at Trilingualism’, Llurda, Cots and Armengol compare university language policy with the experiences of international students, finding that the university’s goal of promoting Catalan clashes with the international students’ expectations of a greater presence of Spanish and English. The authors also find that the local students are positive towards the institutional language policy, including the promotion of English-medium courses, which they feel provide them with an opportunity to improve their English. In addition, Llurda, Cots and Armengol investigate the social integration aspect of university internationalisation.

In Chap. 11, ‘Language Practices and Transformation of Language Ideologies: Mainland Chinese Students in a Multilingual University in Hong Kong’, Gu examines language ideologies and their influence on the linguistic practices of Hong Kong and mainland Chinese students. Gu discusses the transformation of language ideologies as students spend time in a multilingual environment, most prominently ideologies about language choice and language alternation. She also explores the relationship between multilingualism and identity construction and the impact of embracing multilingualism on students’ social networks. Gu finds that students’ translanguaging practices promote mutual understanding between the two cultural and linguistic groups and help to remove some stereotypes.

Together the chapters in this volume demonstrate the diversity and complexity that exist at all of the above three levels: macro, meso and micro. By including studies from a range of linguistic ecologies, informants from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds, a number of different universities with different policies, and by including not only classroom interaction but also informal small talk, the volume aims to capture some of this diversity and complexity. Furthermore, with its focus on language choice and language alternation, the volume seeks to confront the often unquestioned language ideological assumption of separate multilingualism: that only one language is (and should be) used at any one time. What we hope to show with this book is how multilingual resources, and a mix of resources in the form of language alternation, are employed for a range of functions in international tertiary education.

To sum up, this volume presents 11 studies that investigate international university education from a number of different theoretical perspectives and methodological angles. Together the chapters present a picture of the international university as a linguistically very diverse site. It is clear from the contributions that while English plays a major role in the ongoing internationalisation of universities, English is by no means the only player. Multilingualism is a resource for the transnationally mobile student, for the local student who meets internationalisation at home and for the teachers and administrators who work in an international environment.

Languages other than English are used in teaching and learning as well as in social and administrative encounters at the international university. And languages are mixed, switched between and borrowed from. Language choice in international university education is not a question of either English *or* a local language, instead it means the freedom to use English, other languages and whatever linguistic resources speakers have at their disposal, and the freedom to combine these as the speakers see fit.

Dorte Lønsmann
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Part I
The Local Language as a Resource in Social, Administrative and Learning Interactions

Kitchen Talk – Exploring Linguistic Practices in Liminal Institutional Interactions in a Multilingual University Setting

Spencer Hazel and Janus Mortensen

1 Introduction

The wave of internationalization that has swept across higher education in mainland Europe over the past 15–20 years has almost invariably been facilitated by the introduction of English as a lingua franca as a supplement to – or replacement of – local languages as the medium of instruction. In other words, English is without a shadow of doubt the dominant language of university internationalization in mainland Europe. However, English is not the only language involved in the process.

One of the defining features of university internationalization is transnational student mobility, and for this reason, internationalization by necessity entails a certain degree of linguistic hybridity and diversity (Preisler et al. 2011). When students travel to foreign countries to pursue academic studies, they bring their linguistic repertoires with them. These repertoires are likely to encompass a certain amount of English – in many cases this is an explicit requirement – but the repertoires will usually also contain other languages, particularly when English is not the first language of the travelling student.

In addition to this, transnationally mobile students will often, outside Anglophone countries at least, find themselves in situations where the lingua franca of their study programme is not the first language of the local students or the surrounding society. The importance of local languages varies from one context to the other, but it seems to be the case that local languages continue to play relatively significant roles at most internationalized universities in Europe, particularly in administrative matters, but in some cases also inside classrooms that are nominally English-only (cf. Söderlundh 2012 and Chap. 4, this volume). So, although English may quite easily be identified as the dominant lingua franca of international higher

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education in Europe, internationalized study programmes at European universities cannot adequately be described as ‘English medium’, quite simply because the linguistic reality of such programmes is much more complex than that. Although it may remain latent and is certainly often overlooked, linguistic diversity lies at the heart of university internationalization.

The present chapter has grown out of a keen interest in how this linguistic diversity is managed and what is it used for (if at all) in social interaction at internationalized universities. The analysis we present is based on a number of illustrative examples selected from a small dataset of audio-visual recordings from an informal space known as a ‘kitchen’, located at a Danish university. The kitchen is a designated social area for a student cohort comprising around 100 ‘international’ students from various places around the world, mainly Europe and Denmark in particular.[1] It is used almost exclusively by students, who come here to make or consume their lunch; to drink coffee; prepare for, or simply wait for, classes, supervision or project group meetings to commence; to engage in serious discussions, small-talk or gossip; to flirt; to conduct student committee meetings and so on.

We were attracted to this setting as a site of empirical research because of its liminal institutional status. Although firmly located within the institution of the university, the kitchen represents a space where institutionally implemented regulations and norms of conduct, including norms related to language choice, are less formalized than for instance in classroom, library or office settings. Unlike the situation in the classroom where English is the established lingua franca, there is no official language policy stipulating which language the students should use when they interact in the kitchen.

When language choice is not a predetermined condition of interaction, *language choosing* (the act of selecting or negotiating a medium of interaction) becomes a relevant activity to engage in for interlocutors, and we see this displayed repeatedly in the data that we treat in this chapter. The kitchen setting thus highlights the fact that an international study programme like the one featured here represents a dynamic language scenario (Mortensen 2010) in which participants must constantly take their bearings and consider the linguistic resources available to themselves and their fellow interlocutors when choosing which language to speak. Our data show that language choosing as an interactional activity is particularly salient in cases where new engagement frameworks (Goodwin 1981; Robinson 1998) are being established or when existing ones are being reconfigured. This happens repeatedly in the data, as the kitchen is characterized by the continual ‘comings and goings’ of students, and constellations of interlocutors are therefore in constant flux. For this reason, the analysis we offer in the following focuses specifically on moments when participant frameworks are changing to include a new configuration of participants.

The chapter provides an exploratory, albeit detailed, investigation and exemplification of the practices of language choice which the students engage in, and aims

[1] Of the non-Danish students in the current group, the vast majority were full degree students (29), with a further three exchange students also in attendance.

to show that language choice is not merely a matter of practical consideration, it is in fact a discursive resource the students utilise to create social meaning. For the students featured here, language choice and the interactional work surrounding it constitute an important part of the very enterprise of 'being an international student'. This goes for Danish (local) students as well as transnationally mobile (non-local) students, although in different ways.[2]

2 Data and Method

The interactional sequences that we analyze below are drawn from a corpus of audio-visual data comprising approximately 10 h of video recordings from the kitchen setting described above. The data were collected by a group of students at the study programme in question and used for a small-scale research project which they carried out as part of their studies under the supervision of one of this chapter's authors. The data were collected in line with procedures developed by the CALPIU Research Center,[3] and subsequently submitted to the CALPIU Storehouse to allow other CALPIU researchers to pursue further analysis of the material.

The kitchen is a multi-space locale of approximately 50 m^2 in total. As can be seen from Fig. 1, the room consists of a small section with kitchen facilities and a larger sitting area with a coffee- and a dining-table section. The interaction in the space was recorded during 5 h on two mornings several weeks apart, using three cameras to provide for maximum coverage of the space, with additional audio recorders placed in closer proximity to areas of engagement.

As an initial analytical step, we identified all instances in the data where participation frameworks were either being formed from scratch or re-organised to accommodate new participants. Each instance was logged and briefly described using ELAN as a digital annotation tool.[4] On this basis, we selected a number of sequences for further analysis that we believe are illustrative of the practices that can be observed in the data. The selected sequences were transcribed in CLAN and analyzed drawing on methods and theoretical insights originating in the conversation analytic tradition (see Sacks et al. 1974), as will be further explained in relation to the specific analyses below.[5]

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[2]As we will argue in the following, the students in the data quite clearly distinguish between what we refer to as 'local/Danish-speaking students' and 'non-local/non-Danish-speaking' students. However, it should be stressed that the labels we use are not based on emic terms.

[3]Information on CALPIU (the research center for Cultural and Linguistic Practices in the International University) can be found at calpiu.dk

[4]ELAN is a software tool for creating annotations on video and audio resources (Wittenburg et al. 2006). It has been developed at the Max Planck Institute for Psycholinguistics, Nijmegen, The Netherlands, and is freely available for download at http://www.lat-mpi.eu/tools/elan/.

[5]CLAN is a software tool which among other things allows researchers to produce transcripts with continual linkage to the audio or video data which the transcript refers to. It has been developed by

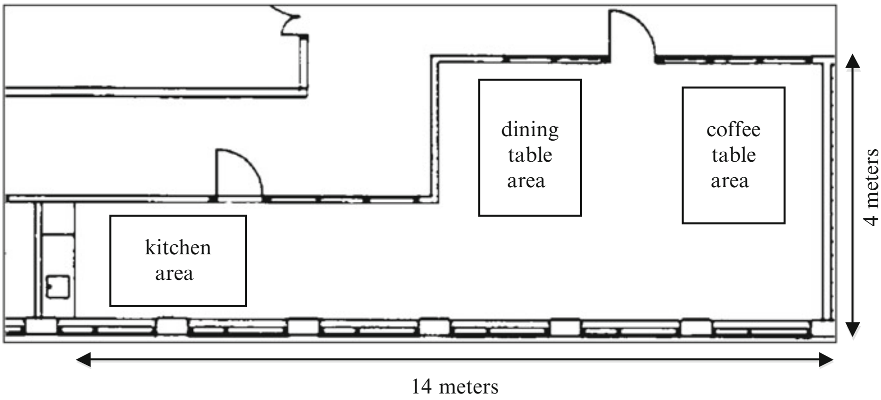

Fig. 1 Layout of the kitchen

3 Analysis

Our analysis focuses on practices of language choice that students display during the formation or reconfiguration of *engagement frameworks* (Goodwin 1981; Robinson 1998) in the kitchen setting. The notion of engagement framework refers to occasions where two or more participants enter into some form of collaborative activity, be it an interview, a poker game or simply a conversation. The notion is related to Goffman's (1981) *participation framework* but differs by stressing the presence of explicit engagement between the participants.

In *forming* an engagement framework, two or more members move from simply being *co-present* to being *co-participants* in some activity, for instance conversation, while *reconfiguration* involves a pair or group of participants reconstituting their engagement framework to include one or more members who were not previously a party to the interaction. Our main focus is on the latter, as reconfigurations allow us to observe language use prior to the establishing of a new grouping of participants and compare this to the language that emerges as part of the new configuration. In doing so, we aim to explicate members' orientations to emergent local norms for language choice.

We take communicative norms to refer to members' background expectations concerning appropriate procedures for interaction (see Garfinkel 1967, see also Hymes 1972). A particular social act may or may not align with a relevant underlying norm. When an act is considered to fall within the range of appropriate conduct, it overwhelmingly passes seen-but-unnoticed by the participants. However, when an act is considered to be deviant, this will typically be displayed by the way co-participants orient to it. Thus, by looking at the way in which participants treat

Leonied Spektor under the auspices of the Talkbank project coordinated by Brian MacWhinney at Carnegie Mellon University. Free download available at http://childes.psy.cmu.edu/.

social acts, we, as researchers, gain some access to the norms that guide interaction in a particular setting, norms which the members themselves are treating as relevant to the circumstances.

The analysis is organized in two sections. First, we present a general overview of the various types of language choice that we see in our data when engagement frameworks are being reconfigured. In the second section, we move beyond the basic typology and give examples of how language choice and the interactional work surrounding language choice can be used by the students to create various types of social meaning.

Changing Engagement Frameworks and Language Choice

When an engagement framework is reconfigured, speakers may either choose to maintain the medium of interaction already established, or opt for an alternative medium. We refer to these two types of language choice as *language consistency* and *language alternation*, respectively. In the following, they are exemplified in turn.

Language Consistency

When students enter into an engagement framework with fellow students in the kitchen, they are faced with the issue of selecting which language to use. Typically the choice is between Danish and English, although these are not necessarily the only options. Where there is already an established medium of interaction in evidence, new participants may simply adopt the same language. This is exemplified in Excerpt 1 where Danish is used consistently before and after the reconfiguration of an engagement framework (EF1 > EF2).

Excerpt 1: Danish Medium[6]

EF1: Lisbet, Gitte (local students)
EF2: + Tina (local student)

48	LIS:	*jeg må lige finde ud af et eller andet med*≈		I have to come up with something
49	GIT:	≈*at proppe et eller andet i*≈		stuff something in
50	LIS:	≈*ja lige putte nogen sokker ned i*		yeah like put some socks in
51		(3.2)		
52		*så de kan blive skubbet op*	⌈ha ha ha⌉	so they can be pushed up
53	GIT:		⌊ha ha *sokker* ha ha⌋	socks
54		⌈(1.5) ⌊Tina enters; Lisbeth and Gitte look up and smile		
55	TIN:	*hva så* (.) *kører det*		what's up … everything ok
56	GIT:	*j*⌈*aa*⌉		ye::s
57	LIS:	⌊*ja*⌋		yes

In the beginning of Excerpt 1, Lisbet and Gitte are engaged in a conversation in Danish (EF1). As Tina enters in line 55, we see that she opts for Danish too and thereby maintains the medium of interaction in the reconfigured engagement framework (EF2).

In Excerpt 2, we have a similar situation to the one in Excerpt 1, except in this case, the medium that is maintained from EF1 to EF2 is English.

Excerpt 2: English Medium

EF1: Henrik, Olga (local student, non-local student)
EF2: + Frederic (non-local student)

[6]Arrows to the right of the transcribed talk give an indication of the separate engagement frameworks. Here, for example, the first arrow contains the timeline prior to Tina entering into co-participation with Lisbet and Gitte.

66	OLG:	⌈did you go⌉	
67	HEN:	⌊going to⌋ hamburg today	EF1
68		(0.2)	
69	OLG:	no:⌈::⌉	
70	HEN:	⌊xx xx⌋	
71		⌈ (1.3) ⌊*Frederic enters; Olga and Henrik look up*	
72	HEN:	morning	EF2
73		(0.3)	
74	FRE:	⌈morning⌉	
75	OLG:	⌊mor⌋ni::ng	
76		(4.7)	
77	OLG:	how are you↘	
78		(0.3)	
79	FRE:	fine↗	
80		(1.1)	
81	OLG:	cameras	
82	FRE:	uh::	
83		(0.8)	
84	FRE:	but of course	

Excerpt 2 involves a different constellation of participants. EF1 is comprised by a local and a non-local student who are using English as a lingua franca. As Frederic arrives, a new engagement framework is established but this does not occasion a change in the medium of interaction. The talk proceeds with English serving as a lingua franca.

Excerpts 1 and 2 constitute examples of language consistency across shifts in engagement framework. In our data, transitions such as these occur regardless of which language is the established medium of interaction, and between local as well as non-local students, in various constellations. Yet, as we illustrate in the following section, the data also contains examples of cases where a reconfiguration in the engagement framework occasions a change in the medium of interaction.

Language Alternation

In the following excerpt, we note an instance of language alternation on the part of two local students, Ida and Signe, as they merge into an engagement framework consisting of one non-local and two local students (Olga, Henrik and Tom). When Ida and Signe arrive in the kitchen (lines 167–173), they are engaged in a conversation in Danish. Olga, Henrik and Tom are at that point already in the kitchen, sitting at the coffee table engaged in a conversation that features English as a lingua franca.

Excerpt 3: Danish to English Medium I

EF1: Ida, Signe (local students)
EF2: + Henrik, Tom, Olga (local, local, non-local)

((Ida and Signe approaching the area where Olga, Henrik and Tom are sitting))

167	IDA:	⁇*vil du ringe til mig*⁇	will you call me?	
168		(0.9)		EF1
169	SIG:	*næ*	nah	
170		(0.6)		
171	IDA:	*nå*	ok	
172		(0.5)		
173	IDA:	*hvor er Jürgen*↗	where is Jürgen?	
174	OLG:	↑morning↘		EF2
175		in h⌈is office⌉		
176	HEN:	⌊morning⌋		
177		(0.3)		
178	HEN:	walking around		
179	TOM:	⌈morning⌉		
180	SIG:	⌊oh you got⌋ ⌈your hair xx⌉		
181	IDA:	⌊he's walking around↗⌋		
182	OLG:	⌈yeah↗ xxx⌉		
183	IDA:	⌊are they⌋ tape recording us again		
184	HEN:	yeah they are		

As Ida and Signe arrive at the coffee-table area and get ready to sit down, Ida asks the others if they know where their supervisor, Jürgen, is (line 173). She does this in Danish. Olga subsequently offers a greeting in English, and follows this with an answer to the question, again in English. This is produced in overlap with a greeting from Henrik in line 176 ('morning'), who in turn elaborates on Olga's turn in line 175, describing Jürgen as 'walking around' (line 178). Signe then produces an observation regarding Olga's new hairstyle, in overlap with Ida producing a confirmation check relating to Henrik's turn. Both these turns are produced in English, and the rest of the sequence unfolds in the same medium. Thus, in this case a change in the make-up of the engagement framework occasions an instance of language alternation. The alternation occurs instantly and fluidly, without appearing to cause the participants any kind of interactional trouble. This smoothness is quite common in the data, although there are also cases where it takes more work (see below). However, the fact that alternation of this kind often passes unnoticed in the data indicates that it is oriented to as a normatively appropriate act within this interactional setting. The kitchen represents a dynamic language scenario where students can rarely be sure which language will be spoken at any given time, and they orient to these dynamic conditions by displaying considerable flexibility in terms of which languages they choose at any given moment and how they alternate between available languages.

As might be expected, language alternation from Danish to English in instances where an engagement framework comprised exclusively by local students is reconfigured to include non-local students is a rather common pattern in the data. Non-local students cannot be expected to master Danish (although many of them learn Danish during their stay in Denmark), so in order to include them in the ongoing activities of the community, it is necessary to use other linguistic means, typically English. Thus, in such cases, the preference for English may be said to have developed from practical considerations regarding the local organization of interactions. Not all norms have such practical grounding, however. In the following excerpt, language alternation in the same direction (Danish > English) occurs at a shift in engagement framework. However, unlike the previous example, there are no non-local participants in attendance in either EF1 or EF2.

Excerpt 4: Danish to English Medium II

EF1: Erik, Lisbet (local students)
EF2: + Hanna (local student)

((Erik and Lisbet look up in direction of Hanna's approach and smile))

19	ERI:	hey		
20	LIS:	hey:↗		EF1
21		(1.2)		
22	LIS:	*hvad er det vi skal læse til i dag*	what is it we are reading for today?	
23		(0.8)		
24	ERI:	*det er* (0.5) *treoghalvfjerds til treoghalvfems*	it is seventy-three to ninety-three	
25		(2.1)		
26	HAN:	you changed your hair		
27	ERI:	what↗		EF2
28	HAN:	you changed your hair		
29		(1.0)		
30	ERI:	yeah		
31		(0.2)		
32	HAN:	can i see		
33	ERI:	i was tired of the		
34		(2.7)		
35	ERI:	blond (0.6) really		
36		(0.3)		
37	HAN:	did you end up in odense this weekend		
38		(0.4)		
39	ERI:	no Lisbet and Signe and (0.2) Tomas did i think		
40		(0.4)		
41	LIS:	yeah		

Erik and Lisbet are sitting on two sofas adjacent to the coffee table. Each has taken out a textbook, and earlier Erik has spent some time reading. Immediately prior to this sequence, they have been engaged in talk about a trip Lisbet went on with some fellow students over the weekend. This conversation passed entirely in Danish. As Hanna, also a local Danish-speaking student, moves into the sitting area, Erik and Lisbet look up in her direction and all three produce a smile simultaneously. This is immediately followed by the greetings in lines 19 and 20 which cannot really be classified as either Danish or English since *hey* is used as a standard greeting in Danish, especially among younger speakers. As Hanna arrives at the table, Erik starts to put his textbook in his bag, and Lisbet opens hers and asks him, still in Danish, what pages they were reading for today, which Erik provides an answer to in line 24. At this point, Hanna leans over the table to look at the audio recording device. As she comes back up to standing, she makes an observation relating to Erik's hair, in English, which she repeats following a 'what' from Erik in line 27, used as an open class repair initiator (Drew 1997). By repeating the utterance, rather than offering further contextualization, Hanna orients to the repair initiation as a problem of hearing rather than of understanding. Erik in turn offers a confirmation token to her observation, and following an explanation from her in line 32 (a post-expansion in Schegloff's 2007 terms) he offers an account for the change.

We note that although Hanna enters into an engagement framework in which the established medium is Danish, her initial observation (line 26) is produced in English. Moreover, Erik's subsequent repair initiator is in English, and the conversation between the three students proceeds from here in that medium. This follows a pattern described by Gafaranga (2011) for language alternation practices between bilingual speakers where a participant switches the medium of conversation by providing a first pair part in the language being offered as candidate medium; a co-participant subsequently ratifies the language alternation in the next position by responding in the same medium; and the first speaker confirms the new medium-of-interaction in a post expansion.

It is possible that the presence of the audio equipment here acts as a trigger for Hanna to occasion the language alternation. The recording equipment may index an ongoing institutional (research) activity, and institutional activities tend to be conducted primarily in English in this particular community. However, the switch passes without appearing to cause any trouble on the parts of Erik and Lisbet (except for Erik's initial repair initiator in line 27), who themselves do not display any orientation to the recording device, and who furthermore have not limited their language choice in their previous talk to English on the basis of being recorded. A short period later, the conversation in fact switches to Danish, with no obvious prompt available to account for this. Again, it appears that it is the *alternation* between languages rather than the use of a single language that characterizes the kitchen setting.

It appears then that the language choice in this particular setting may not be determined solely by clearly identifiable instrumental purposes. Language alternation seems to be a built-in feature of the students' interactional practice. A switch may point to what Gafaranga (2010) has termed an *embedded medium* *repair*, repairing the talk here at the level of language choice, which is oriented to as inappropriate for the interaction-at-hand. If, as Gafaranga (2010) suggests, medium choice[7] constitutes a socially accountable act, then members would display some orientation to a particular norm for language choice having been transgressed. However, returning to our current example, here there is no explicit orientation to the established medium-of-interaction as violating an implicit norm in the setting, nor is there any evidence that Hanna, as a Dane, would have difficulties proceeding in Danish. Except for a slight re-adjustment on the part of Erik in line 27, the language alternation furthermore passes off as an unnoticed act, thereby displaying its normative appropriateness to the setting.

If language alternation in this instance is not the result of attending to some or other trouble, and we are to follow Auer's (1984) suggestion that there is a preference for one language in conversation, or same medium talk (Gafaranga 1999), we are inevitably led to consider what exactly this social act of language alternation is *doing* here. Put more generally: what are the various linguistic resources and the possibility of alternating between them *used for* when engagement frameworks are being formed or reconfigured? It is to this question that we turn in the next sections.

Negotiating Language Choice and Social Identity

Although it is often possible to discern instrumental concerns behind particular language choices, it is clear from our data that language choice is not always merely a matter of practical considerations. As will be evident from Excerpts 5a and 5b below, the process of negotiating a suitable medium of interaction is a complex process that may index shared normative assumptions about the appropriateness of particular language choices for particular purposes and that may contribute to the construction of social meaning through the association of particular social identities or membership categories with particular language choices.

Enforcing English as the Norm

Excerpt 5a is a transcript of a piece of interaction that takes place in the coffee table area of the kitchen. Like Excerpts 3 and 4, it represents a case where the reconfiguration of an existing engagement framework is accompanied by language alternation from Danish to English. A group of four local students have been sitting at the table for a while, conversing in Danish (EF1), but this changes as Antony arrives and the new engagement framework is established (EF2, line 24 onwards).

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[7]Gafaranga prefers the term *medium* over *language choice*, so as to allow for a bilingual medium constituting the medium-of-interaction.

Excerpt 5a: Immigrants Here

EF1: Tina, Lisbet, Gitte, Erik (local students)
EF2: + Antony (non-local student)

24	ANT:	∮good morning (.) good ⌈↑mo::rning⌉∮		
25	TIN:	⌊*det er en sjov ide men*⌋	that's a funny idea but	EF1
26		*en dårlig ide* (.) *folk de hopper i de* *bliver våde* xxx≈	a bad idea people jump in and get wet	
27	ANT:	≈hey ey ey ey in english⌈::⌉		
28	LIS:	⌊ja ⌈he⌋hehehe⌉		
29	GIT:	⌊⁇nå⌋ nå⁇		EF2
30	TIN:	sorry		
31	ANT:	there're some i- (.) immigrants here		
32		Erik↗ (0.5) ⌈is from⌉		
33	TIN:	⌊ah⌋		
34	LIS:	☺hhh☺ huhuhuh		
35	ANT:	ugan⌈da⌉↗		
36	ERI:	⌊yes⌋ please		
37		(0.6)		
38	GIT:	uhuhehe		
39	ANT:	Lisbet (0.4) from singapore		
40		(0.4)		
41	LIS:	yeah		
42	ANT:	er are you going to::: erm		
43		(1.1)		
44	ERI:	*studievalg*≈	choice of studies	
45	ANT:	≈*studievalg*↗	choice of studies	

As Antony draws near to the group sitting at the coffee table, he offers a greeting in the form of 'good morning good morning' (line 24), sung in the melody of the song from the musical *Babes in Arms*, but receives no explicit greeting in return. When he arrives at the coffee table, he looks to Tina who is in the process of producing an extended turn at talk in Danish (EF2, furthest right), and attempts to interrupt her through an attention eliciting 'hey ey ey ey' (line 27). He accounts for this interruption with what is heard as an admonishment, 'in english' (line 27), ratified by Tina's apologetic 'sorry' in line 30. Immediately following Tina's apology, Antony then produces what may be seen as an account for his admonishment (lines 31–40) before he finally proceeds to ask a question in line 42. There are several points of interest in this brief excerpt, and in the following we will deal with them in chronological order.

First of all, it is notable that Tina's switch to English in line 30 is not only produced immediately after Antony's reprimand but also delivered in the form of an explicit apology, 'sorry'. This switch appears to display her understanding of having violated a norm (Butler and Fitzgerald 2011), and her apology can thus be said to index an implicit understanding that Danish may be considered a dispreferred medium (Gafaranga 2000) in this particular context, while English is preferred. The fact that the apology is delivered promptly *in English* rather than Danish can be taken as a clear display of the normative orientation, and is a practice that has also been observed in similar contexts (Mortensen 2010: 115). Drawing on English language data from a range of British and American settings, Robinson argues that "... apologies index particular offenses and embody a claim to have offended someone, which implicitly includes an admission of personal responsibility for the offense" (2004: 292). If we assume that a similar logic is in place in the current data, and we see no reason why it should not be, Tina can be said to acknowledge personal responsibility for having used Danish rather than English in this particular case, which can be construed as a violation of a norm and as such as an offence against Antony. Thus, her language choice, or rather, the fact that she does not switch medium as Antony enters the engagement framework is displayed as an accountable action (Garfinkel 1967) for which sanction may be warranted.

In sum, Tina's 'sorry' in line 30 performs at least three actions: it marks her apology, repairs the trouble source of Antony's complaint, and displays her acceptance of responsibility for some sort of offending conduct, i.e. violating a norm. The norm in question appears to be that English is the preferred language for interaction between non-local and local students. This interpretation is supported by what follows.

The next point of interest concerns the way Antony responds to Tina's excuse. In his data, Robinson (2004) finds that the preferred action for responding to an apology is an immediate 'absolution' that downplays the need for an apology. Individuals who are offered an apology may for instance respond with explicit rejections of the need to apologize ('No problem', 'No, it's okay') regardless of their actual views on the matter. This mirrors Pomerantz's (1984) findings relating to the organization of self-depreciations, where rejection of the negative assessment is the preferred action from the self-deprecator's interlocutor. Such findings show preference organization operating according to a social solidarity principle, rather than necessarily acting as an indicator of personal attitude (Lerner 1996).

Turning to the sequence at hand, we see that Antony's turn in line 31 is indeed produced without delay. However, he does *not* produce any kind of mitigating statement in response to the apology. In fact, what he produces ('there're some i- (.) immigrants here') provides further backing for his admonishment. He contextualizes his complaint by making explicit the norm he is invoking: the presence of 'immigrants' should lead to the use of English rather than Danish. As such, his response *endorses* or *reinforces* Tina's apology, and this might potentially constitute a face-threatening act (Brown and Levinson 1987, for overview, see Haugh 2010). A response of this kind will often "tend to have negative sociorelational implications" (Robinson 2004: 320), but in the current sequence this does not seem to be the outcome. We believe that this hinges on the fact that Antony frames his account in a jocular key that subverts stereotypical social identities, as we will detail below.

Language and Identity: Playing with Stereotypes

Schegloff has described how "the complainability of some form of conduct can be contingent on the identity of the agents and the recipients of the conduct — identities often grounded in category memberships" (2005: 452). From a *membership categorization* (Sacks 1974) perspective, social identities are not essentialist descriptors of people, but resources which individuals utilize in their undertakings with one another (Widdicombe 1998). Social identity is what participants *do* in interaction, not what they *are* (Antaki and Widdicombe 1998). These theoretical insights have a clear bearing on the present example.

In his account in line 31, Antony invokes the category of 'immigrant', which at first take could be seen to amount to self-attributed category membership (Stokoe 2009). As a student from another country, one might expect Antony's non-Danish nationality to be a salient aspect of his transportable identity (Zimmerman 1998) in the present setting. However, as it turns out, Antony is quite clearly not using the term 'immigrant' with reference to himself.[8] As he produces the utterance, he makes a circling deictic hand movement in the direction of the participants to his left, thereby identifying these individuals as the 'immigrants' in question. He extends this argument in lines 32–39, by singling out Erik and Lisbet as representing African and South-East Asian immigrants respectively. Interestingly, the categories dished out by Antony seem to be ratified by Erik and Lisbet who accept them in turn in lines 36 and 41. However, since Erik and Lisbet are both Danes (or at least Danish-speaking Caucasians),[9] Antony's categorization is presumably intended as a joke, which is supported by laughter tokens from Gitte in line 38.

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[8]If the term *immigrant* is taken at face value, it is not even a category that Antony can be said to belong to since he has probably not come to Denmark with the intention of taking up permanent residence.

[9]It is, of course, possible that Erik and Lisbet have spent time abroad in the countries mentioned, or even lived there on a more permanent basis. We do not have the data on this. However, the participants quite clearly treat Antony's indexing as a joke.

By designing his account for the initial admonishment as an absurdist role-play, where the Danes are categorized as immigrants and the non-local student is excluded from the same category, the initial complaint is implicated as being an element of a jocular ruse. Through this jocular subversion, the switch from Danish to English has been occasioned seemingly without impacting negatively on social group relations. Indeed, it could be suggested that Antony's jest affirms in-group solidarity, as it displays a certain level of trust that the others will recognize and appreciate the in-joke. Furthermore, it could be argued that admonishing someone about his or her language choice may constitute a face-threatening act, which may in turn be mitigated by adopting a joking frame, as Antony does here.

Our analysis of this excerpt suggests that the practice of language choice and language alternation, while often a mundane matter in this particular setting (cf. Excerpts 1, 2, 3 and 4), may also occasionally amount to an activity through which participants negotiate social meaning, in this case in the form of membership categorization.

Identity Potential and Potential Problems with Using the Local Language

The account that Antony gives in Excerpt 5a for why English should be used rather than Danish contains an implication that 'immigrants' – presumably understood as students with non-Danish backgrounds – are not proficient in the local language. However, in the interaction that follows, Antony implicitly undermines this logic. Immediately after having successfully changed the medium of interaction in favour of English as a 'sharable code' (Blommaert et al. 2005), he proceeds to introduce a new topic of conversation while – surprisingly, perhaps – using Danish quite extensively in the process:

Excerpt 5b: Studievalg

Antony (non-local student)
Erik (local student)

ANT:	er are you going to::: erm	
	(1.1)	
ERI:	*studievalg*≈	choice of studies
ANT:	≈*studievalg*↗	choice of studies
ERI:	no:: ⌈::⌉	
ANT:	⌊*hvad betyder det*↗⌋	what does that mean?
	(0.5)	
ANT:	wh-wh-what is it↘	
ERI:	choice of studies	

In line 42, Antony turns to face Erik and starts to pose a question. The question is not brought to completion, as he initiates what appears to be a word search activity (Goodwin and Goodwin 1986). Following a pause, Erik produces a 'candidate completion' (Lerner 2004: 229) to Antony's turn by proffering the Danish word 'studievalg' (study choice), which designates a particular event taking place at the university that day. Antony accepts the candidate and recycles it with rising intonation in line 45 to complete his question. Although the collaborative word search is successfully negotiated between the two, additional questions from Antony (lines 47 and 49) indicate that the meaning of the Danish word is beyond his grasp. Rather than producing any kind of receipt token to Erik's answer in line 46, Antony asks the group what *studievalg* means. Saliently, he does this initially in *Danish* (line 47), not English, with a marked alteration in speech style at a higher pitch than the rest of his speech. His question contains the anaphoric *det* 'it', which displays an understanding that the others, as bystanders or overhearers, have had access to the preceding talk between Antony and Erik, and know what *det* refers to. By displaying this understanding, he also demonstrates awareness on his part that the others must have witnessed his using Danish.

We believe that this may be a quite conscious act of identity claiming on the part of Antony. Woolard suggests that "[l]anguage choice can be intended to be overheard, and thus potentially mobilized for identity claiming" (2007: 201), and this is likely to be the case here. By recycling 'studievalg' in line 45, Antony makes it clear to his co-participants that he has at least some competence in Danish, and that he is willing to engage with the language. This is strengthened further when he switches fully into Danish to ask for clarification from the others in the group in line 47. By doing this in Danish, Antony is able to present himself as a user of the language, thereby perhaps disaffiliating himself from the social category 'immigrant' made relevant immediately prior to this.

Activating social categories in interaction can result in their antonymous categories becoming relevant by implication (Sacks 1974), with the two categories constituting a *standardized relational pair*, which "exhaust the population universe to which they are applied" (Eglin and Hester 1999: 263–264). In this vein, the category 'immigrant' in the current context can be said to invoke 'Danish-born resident' as its antonymic category. Danish-born resident is linked with 'proficiency in Danish', while immigrant is not.[10] However, by resisting clear-cut membership of either category, first through the subversion of the categories in Excerpt 5a, and secondly through his use of Danish in Excerpt 5b, Antony may be said to emphasize a third category which may potentially amount to a shared social identity: that of being 'an international student' among other international students, no matter which L1s and national backgrounds they may or may not have.

[10]These categories are obviously not as clear-cut in practice as common stereotypes invite us to believe. But that does not prevent speakers from utilising the stereotypes and their simplified versions of reality to create social meaning.

An in-group identity claim needs to be validated by others in the proposed group for it to hold. In the current case, this proves to be somewhat problematic for Antony. By soliciting the help of the others in Danish, Antony is potentially trying to involve them in a Danish language activity. However, this may present a dilemma for the addressees. As mentioned above, Auer (1984), for bilingual conversation, has described a preference for same language talk between turns[11] (see also Li 1998, and Nevile and Wagner 2008). In our data, the upshot of such a norm is that the students Antony addresses are placed in the position of having to offer an explanation in Danish. This, however, as we have seen earlier in the sequence, would be a violation of a separate local norm for language choice that promotes English in engagement frameworks that include non-Danish speaking members (or members who are not considered *sufficiently proficient* in Danish; it is difficult to tell where the cut-off point is). In addition, to provide the answer in Danish, the students would be further challenged by the fact that they would need to design their talk to fit Antony's limited Danish proficiency. This last point is further underscored by the type of question being posed, i.e. a request for explanation of a Danish lexical item. In the event, nobody produces a response.

Following a short pause during which there is no uptake or indication that a response may be forthcoming, Antony pursues a response (Pomerantz 1984), rephrasing the question in English. Doing so, rather than pursuing the response any further in Danish (for example, by repeating the question, expanding on it, rephrasing or contextualizing it), seems to constitute a medium repair: Antony seems to be displaying an understanding that his use of Danish is a potential trouble source, or conduct in need of repair. By switching to English, Antony is able to constitute the propitious conditions for the question to be responded to in the same language, and the second pair part is duly produced by Erik in line 50. Interestingly, however, Erik's response is more aligned with the Danish version of the question, than with the English. When Antony switches to English, he reproduces the initial Danish question from line 47 (*hvad betyder det*, literally 'what does it mean'), in a slightly modified format. In line 49 he asks what it *is*, rather than what it *means* (*betyder*). Erik immediately produces a literal translation, 'choice of studies', which provides an answer to the question regarding the meaning of the word *studievalg*. However, it does not explain what the particular event constitutes (what it 'is').

We see then that even though participants may display awareness and understanding of talk produced in the local language, there are constraints regarding what they are able to do with it. We may hypothesize that the acute normative awareness of English as the preferred medium for interaction between local and non-Danish students displayed by Tina and Antony in Excerpt 5a overrides the potential Danish

[11] Auer is actually more specific since he is writing about *turn constructional units* (Sacks et al. 1974). However, the particular level of detail is not paramount for the argument we want to make here.

may have as an additional medium of interaction in Excerpt 5b. This, however, is not always the case. In the following two sections, we will highlight cases in which non-local students are in fact – to some extent, at least – successful in using the local language in engagement frameworks that include local students.

Language/Medium Alternation as Proficiency Practice

Although we have seen evidence of a local norm which in some cases involves local students refraining from using the local language, Danish, in engagement frameworks where there are non-local ratified participants, this is not a blanket rule. Indeed, there appear to be engagement frameworks where a local student's choice not to use Danish may constitute an accountable absence of engagement. As indicated in Excerpt 5b where none of the local participants respond to Antony's Danish question, the change into Danish by non-local members may not be treated as a full switch to the local language, but instead as a partial, temporary detour into a different kind of activity. Auer has termed such temporary switches *transfers* (1984) or *insertions* (1998), while Torras and Gafaranga have expanded on this, describing *medium suspension* (Torras and Gafaranga 2002) and *medium repair* (Gafaranga 2000; Gafaranga and Torras 2002) as two activities constituted by interim switches to an alternative medium.

We suggest that the lack of uptake displayed by the group members following Antony's overly-emphatic question produced in Danish, may point to an understanding of his performance as being *a language practice activity*, a side sequence (Jefferson 1972) to the ongoing conversation, where the main instrumental activity is momentarily put on hold while an alternate line of business is attended to, in this case concerning language proficiency (see also Brouwer 2004; Theodorsdottir 2011). We see some support for this elsewhere in our dataset, where non-local students introduce Danish into interactions with their counterparts from Denmark. In the following sequence, a Danish student, Dorte, enters the kitchen area where two non-local students, Katerina and Maria, are speaking in their shared L1,[12] while waiting for the microwave oven to heat their food. Katerina and Dorte exchange smiles, following which Dorte proceeds to open a kitchen cupboard and the dishwasher in the search for a cup. Katerina turns to Dorte, who is facing the other way, and initiates a conversation, thus establishing a new engagement framework (Excerpt 6).

[12]For reasons of maintaining anonymity, we refrain from naming the language.

Excerpt 6: Frokost

Katerina, Maria (non-local students)
Dorte (local student)

25		(3.8)	
26	KAT:	*hvad laver* ↑*du* (0.3) heh heh	what are you doing
27	DOR:	*hvad laver* ↑*du*	what are you doing
28	MAR:	⌈*hvad la*↑*ver du*→⌉	what are you doing
29	KAT:	⌊xx xx⌋	
30		(1.3)	
31	UNK:	⁇m eh::⁇	
32	KAT:	*hvad la*↑*ver du*→	what are you doing
33	UNK:	huh ↑huh	
34		(0.7)	
35	KAT:	ja	
36		(0.6)	
37	KAT:	*jeg spis*↑*er*	I'm eating
38		(1.6)	
39	KAT:	*fro*↑*kost*	lunch
40	MAR:	oo↗	
41	KAT:	xx xx	
42	MAR:	heh	
43	KAT:	⁇hey⁇	
44	KAT:	wonderful	
45	MAR:	xx xx xx	
46	KAT:	wonderful pronunciation	
47		(4.6)	
48		((resumption of L1 conversation between Katerina and Maria))	

In line 26, as she initiates a body rotation in the direction of Dorte, Katerina says *hvad laver du* 'what are you doing?'. The utterance constitutes a change in speech style for Katerina, with a marked shift to high pitch on *du*, and increased volume, and the utterance produced in what can be heard as a 'smiley voice'. The pitch contour of the turn displays a distinct arc (Fig. 2) which is clearly – and hearably – marked compared to her surrounding talk. She follows the question with a number of laughter tokens as she turns back to her original position. The laughter appears to be picked up upon by Dorte who produces a sharp rotation of the head so it is now in profile to her co-participants. Dorte then repeats the initial question, mimicking, with only a few Hz difference, the exaggerated intonation contour originally produced by Katerina (see Fig. 2).[13]

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[13]From the recording, we can not be entirely sure that Dorte does not say *hvad laver I*, with *I* being the Danish 2nd person plural pronoun. However, whether she says *du* or *I* does not change the subsequent analysis.

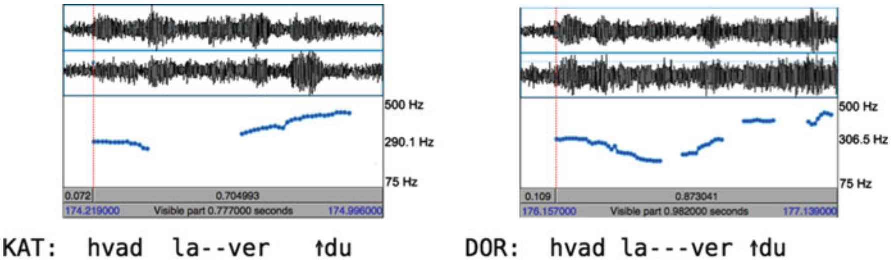

Fig. 2 hvad laver ↑du (KAT and DOR)

As she does this, she further displays attentiveness to Katerina, extending her body torque (Schegloff 1998) towards the two non-local students, keeping her lower body, however, positioned in the direction of the cupboards and her hands active in opening the doors. Katerina momentarily turns her head back to Dorte, as Maria, the third student produces the same phrase in the next position (line 28), again with the very same curved pitch contour. Dorte subsequently rotates her upper body back in line with her lower body, and for the rest of the sequence and after, displays no further orientation to the other students. In the subsequent stretch of talk, Katerina and Maria collaboratively produce a number of Danish words and phrases, with Katerina offering commentary on their pronunciation in lines 44 and 46. The two international students then resume their conversation in their shared L1, reverting back to low volume and more neutral intonation patterns.

We observe then that what could very well be taken as a genuine query on Katerina's behalf ('what are you doing?'), seems to be treated as interactionally non-consequential by Dorte, at least as regards it representing an instrumental, genuine, question. Dorte in fact displays her understanding of the question and subsequent talk, both through her own verbal contribution, repeating the question in the very manner it was initially produced, and through her postural orientation. However, by not following through her body rotation in the direction of her co-participants, remaining torqued instead, she shows that she treats the interaction as a temporary engagement framework (Schegloff 1998), rather than a move to establish a facing formation (Kendon 1990) and subsequent extended engagement framework.

Neither Katerina nor Maria treat this reading as problematic, and indeed build upon the brief interaction with the Danish student with a more extended 'language proficiency training activity' of their own, starting with Katerina restating the question in line 32. Interestingly, although Katerina's *jeg spiser* 'I'm eating' in line 37, and the subsequent increment *frokost* 'lunch', work as a second pair part to the question, repeated by Dorte and Maria back to Katerina in lines 27 and 28, Katerina patently is *not* eating at this point, but is rather waiting for the microwave to run its cycle. Maria's subsequent 'oo↗' cannot be heard as marking the receipt of information. Indeed, standing next to Katerina, she is more than likely aware that Katerina's food is still in the microwave. We can speculate that

Maria is really commenting on Katerina's language skills in Danish. The meta-commentary is extended by Katerina herself in lines 44 and 46, where she remarks on her 'wonderful', 'wonderful pronunciation'. What is noteworthy here is that the assessment, produced in a 'smiley voice', is in English, rather than in her and Maria's L1, and therefore still geared towards Dorte's presence. Although Dorte is no longer involved as a ratified participant in the interaction, she is arguably still treated as a ratified overhearer (see also Bell 1984; Lønsmann 2011). As the L2 language activity is brought to a close, Katerina and Maria move to a more proximal position in relation to one another and switch again to their L1.

Although in this and the previous example (if indeed we take Antony's question in Excerpt 5b to constitute a case of language practice), the 'doing language practice' sequences show minimal uptake on the part of the local members, conversational sequences in Danish between local and non-local students do occur. In the following excerpts taken from a separate occasion from that discussed previously, non-local Antony initiates two separate greeting sequences with Danish counterparts (Excerpts 7 and 8), and here we see more developed sequences unfolding.

Excerpt 7 'Hvordan går det, Part 1'

Antony (non-local student)
Erik (local student)

19	ANT:	hey	
20	ERI:	hey antony	
21		(1.4)	
22	ANT:	*hvor*⌈*dan går det*⌉	how's it going
23	ERI:	⌊⁇whatsup⁇⌋	
24		(0.6)	
25	ERI:	*det går godt hvad med dig*↗	it's going well how about you
26	ANT:	are you studying↗	
27	ERI:	yeah	
28	ANT:	i didn't ↑∮study at a::ll∮↘	
29	ERI:	you didn't↗	
30	ANT:	no: ⁇shit⁇	
31		(0.9)	
32	ANT:	°what are you reading°	
33	ERI:	°'s boring that's all°	

As Antony enters through the kitchen and wanders over to the coffee table area where Erik is sitting with a book open on the table in front of him, he initiates a greeting sequence with an English sounding 'hey', which Erik responds to with a second pair part 'hey Antony' (also English sounding). On reaching the coffee-table area, Antony then produces the somewhat formulaic *hvordan går det* (translated literally as 'how's it going' or pragmatically as 'how are you'). In what seems like a follow-through from their initial English greeting sequence, Erik offers what from the recording sounds like ‘whatsup’ in overlap with Antony’s turn, but subsequently continues in Danish to attend to Antony’s query. He does this with a rather formulaic answer himself, *det går godt hvad med dig?* ‘it’s going well how about you?’. At this point the greeting sequence is discontinued, with Antony failing to produce a second pair part to Erik’s question. Instead, he produces another question of his own relating to Erik’s activities, and this time in English. Erik responds to this in English also, and the conversation unfolds from there on without any further language alternation. Although brief, Antony in this case manages to engage his local interlocutor in a conversation that is partly conducted in the local language.

At a certain point, Lisbet enters the room and makes to sit in the seating area where Antony and Erik are talking. When Antony becomes aware of her, he turns and instigates a similar greeting sequence as the one featured above (Excerpt 8).

Excerpt 8 ‘Hvordan går det, Part 2’

Antony (non-local student)
Erik, Lisbet (local students)

51	ANT:	oh hey≈	
52	LIS:	≈hey:≈	
53	ANT:	≈☺*godmorgen*☺	good morning
54	LIS:	*godmorgen*::	good morning
55	ANT:	*hvordan går det*	how’s it going
56	LIS:	*det går godt tak*≈	it’s going well thanks
57	ANT:	≈*godt*	fine
58	LIS:	*hvad med dig*↗	what about you
59		(0.2)	
60	ANT:	*de:t det går* ↑*fint*	it’s going fine
61	LIS:	*det var da godt*	that was good
62	ANT:	*men*:: uh:	but
63		(1.4)	
64	ANT:	hey what time is it	
65		(1.3)	
66	ANT:	i’ve got to go: really	
67		(2.9)	
68	ERI:	*var det godt på fyn* (0.3)	was it good on Funen
69		⌈*på fyn*⌉	on Funen
70	LIS:	⌊hi hi hi ye ah⌋ ⌈ahahaha⌉	
71	ANT:	⌊SEE YOU LATER⌋	
72	ERI:	see you antony	
73		(0.5)	
74	LIS:	*ja det var ⁇meget⁇ sjovt*	yes it was great fun
75		hh hu ⌈huhuhuhuhuhuhu⌉	
76	ERI:	⌊*det var en ret fed idé*⌋	it was a great idea
75		hi *ja* eh ·hhh (0.4) *ja*	yes yes

As Lisbet approaches the seating near to where Antony is standing, they briefly establish mutual gaze as they enter into the initial greeting adjacency pair (lines 51 and 52). Antony then restarts the greeting sequence in line 53, this time in Danish (saying ‘good morning’), and now turning his body completely away from Erik by this point, aligning it relative to where Lisbet is displaying her intention to sit. The extended formulaic greeting sequence in Danish unfolds while Lisbet places her bag on the sofa, positions her coffee cup on the table, sits down and adjusts herself in her seat. For the duration of this activity, Antony orients his gaze to her, although there is no further occasion where mutual gaze is established between the two. Antony eventually withdraws gaze from her too (from line 60 onwards), and following a lengthy pause in line 63, makes his excuses to leave. As he removes himself from the coffee-table area, Erik establishes mutual gaze with Lisbet, produces a smile and inquires after her trip to Funen. This leads to an extended topic development in Danish, which is also markedly different vocally and visually from the preceding interaction between Antony and Lisbet: eye contact is frequent and facial expression more animated and open, with collaborative laughter being further occasioned in conjunction with more vibrant vocal production. The contrast in Lisbet’s level of engagement is striking, and could suggest that she never really took the conversation with Antony seriously.

We see then in these two greeting sequences that the norm for Danish participants not to speak Danish in participant frameworks where non-Danes are present may be modified in certain circumstances. The choice of Danish by the local students in these sequences with non-local students displays an understanding of a particular type of activity being initiated, as well as reflexively constituting that activity through the particular language choice. In the engagement frameworks at hand, the activity, which we have suggested consists in language practice, is ratified by Danish students through their adopting of Danish as a medium of interaction. However, the local students’ relatively low level of engagement indicates that they *exclusively* see the activity as *practice* or a *game*, not as a full-fledged attempt to communicate in Danish. This may obviously be grounded in a realistic assessment of the Danish proficiency of the non-local students, but it may also, as we suggest below, be grounded in certain expectations about what it means (for a local student) to be an international student.

4 Discussion

All who feature in our data are members of the same international study programme which promotes academic development within a linguistically and culturally diverse community. In this sense, all students involved in the programme are characterized as a single, international group. However, our analyses suggest that *doing-being-an-international-student* involves different forms of positioning and engagement from local and non-local students, and that language choice plays a role in this. Non-local students are in the position of being able to use either English *or* the local language (to the extent that they master it), in this case Danish, with their local counterparts, in settings where there is no explicit institutional norm to adhere to (for example, Excerpts 2, 3, 5a, 5b, 6, 7 and 8). Neither language choice seems to compromise their social identity as *international student*. Either English or Danish, or indeed a bilingual medium featuring both, may be utilized without impacting negatively upon their status as internationally engaged members of the student community.

The same language choices, however, have different implications for local students. Danish students who have opted to join an international programme at a Danish institution may do so for similar reasons as their non-local counterparts – to conduct their studies in an international academic community. However, the implication for them may well be that there is an expectancy *not* to use Danish in their engagements in that community, or at least only to do so within restricted language scenarios or interactional sequences. Interactions between Danish students may proceed through a Danish medium (as in Excerpt 1), but may equally feature English as the vehicle (for example Excerpts 3 and 4).[14] When Danish students engage in interaction with non-Danes (especially where there is evidence of a low level of proficiency in Danish), they may opt for English as a lingua franca, and indeed may resist any attempt to introduce Danish into the conversation (Excerpt 5b). When they do allow for Danish in their encounters with non-local students, the types of interaction appear restricted, with language proficiency practice sequences, typical of second language classroom interaction, deemed acceptable, though not necessarily sustained (Excerpt 7), nor encouraged (Excerpts 5b, 6 and 8). Interest in the use of the local language as an international medium appears to be overwhelmingly one-sided, since it is mainly used for this purpose by the non-local students. The local students seem much less inclined to use Danish in this way. Though there is no explicit rejection of the use of Danish on the part of the local students, it is very salient that our data does not contain a single case of a local student initiating a conversation with a non-local student in Danish.

Different types of connection to the local environment may contribute to the differentiation of the students. Although all students have equal membership rights with regard to the community in question, Danish students are not visitors to a host country. They are ‘at home’, and might therefore feel that they need to do something ‘out of the ordinary’ in order to be ‘international’. Speaking English to non-local students may be seen as a way of achieving this. The visiting students, on the other hand, may be motivated to display a willingness to align themselves with their Danish counterparts through participation in the local language (for a discussion of a similar trend in a Danish multilingual workplace setting see Lønsmann 2011: 191–193). Ironically, this clash of orientations may lead them

[14]Hartmut Haberland (personal correspondence) mentions a heated discussion between Danish students in the same international study programme, where some expressed the opinion that they felt cheated when other Danish students in the programme did not support their attempts to improve their English. As international students they objected to Danes using Danish.

to experience the local students' reluctance to speak with them in Danish as a rejection in its own right, excluding them from 'the community of Danish speakers' (however elusive that notion might be). If local students themselves could come to consider the local language as a language for internationalization, we might be able to see a broadening of its usage across the different participant constellations and engagement frameworks.

Heritage describes "… a 'bias' intrinsic to many aspects of the organisation of talk which is generally favorable to the maintenance of bonds of solidarity between actors and which promotes the avoidance of conflict" (1984: 265). In the current setting, we see language choice as an aspect that must receive round-the-clock attention to achieve this end. Differing background expectations and conflicting norms must be attended to on an ongoing basis as constellations of participants fluctuate from one moment to the next, and members within these constellations display shifting levels and types of engagement in the activities at hand. The sensitivities involved in managing such emergent engagement frameworks require of members that they develop interactional competencies which enable them to recognize and respond appropriately to shifting patterns of normativity, not least as far as language choice is concerned. We would argue that this is especially salient in institutionally liminal settings such as the one described above. Here, in comparison with for example classroom settings or study group seminars, institutional regulations governing norms of conduct, including language choice, are less formalized, and therefore need ongoing monitoring and negotiation.

Although a great deal of effort is invested in qualifying students for participation in international study programmes, such preparations are overwhelmingly directed at developing students' skills in *academic English*. However, our analysis suggests that to be able to fully function as members of local international communities through which such study programmes are constituted, students must also develop the interactional competencies related to their encounters within less institutional settings. One of the interactional competencies required in this connection is the flexibility to navigate in dynamic language scenarios, and to be able to make the most of what the latent linguistic diversity of internationalized universities has to offer.

Acknowledgements All illustrations in the chapter have been supplied by the authors. The illustrations for Excerpts 1, 2, 5a and 6 are anonymized frames from video recordings held in the CALPIU storehouse (www.calpiu.dk). Figure 2 has been produced in Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2013).

Appendix: Transcription Conventions

The transcription conventions are based on the conventions developed by Gail Jefferson (1972). Some are used in modified form for the benefit of the CLAN software tool.

Identifier	TOD:
Pause	(0.2)
Overlap markers top	⌈ ⌉
Overlap markers bottom	⌊ ⌋
Intonation: rising	↗
continuing	→
falling	↘
Pitch shift	↑
Latched turns	≈
Smiley voice	☺see you☺
Singing voice	∮good morning∮
Unsure	⁇Unsure⁇
Inbreath	·hhhh
Stress	<u>now</u>
Raised volume	SEE YOU LATER
Comments	((provided in double parentheses))
Translations	*glossed items are italicized*

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Japanese and English as Lingua Francas: Language Choices for International Students in Contemporary Japan

Keiko Ikeda and Don Bysouth

1 Introduction

In January 2008, the then Prime Minister Fukuda put forward a "Plan for 300,000 Exchange Students" as a policy measure to create "A Japan that is Open to the World." The government initiative (named "the Global 30 project") was undertaken in order to boost the number of foreign students to 300,000 by 2020 to address the issue of Japan lagging far behind the United States and major European countries in the recruitment of international students. The plan was approved by the cabinet in July. The plan entails supporting universities to hire more English-speaking teachers, offer more courses in English so that degrees can be earned through English-only classes, enhance systems for receiving/hosting international students, and to increase the number of Japanese language classes for foreign students in order to help students find jobs in Japan after graduation. The idea is to further promote internationalization of not just higher education in Japan, but indeed the entire country, by establishing systems that encourage highly qualified foreign residents to stay long term within Japan.

Of particular research interest with regard to this most recent trend for internationalization of Japan is a question relating to what kind of new linguistic ecology (Mühlhäusler 1995) is going to be requested of the international students in such a context. At least for international students in the Global 30 programs, English will be the dominant and expected language to be used. However, students are going to live in a new country where another language is spoken by the local residents, and will clearly have strong incentives (and pressures) to speak (and use) it. What has not

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been explicitly addressed in the initiative or the proposals by the core universities is how extensive the need for the local language of the society (i.e. Japanese) will be for the prospective students.

In this regard, the Japanese Ministry of Education only suggests that high quality language training in Japanese is “important,” but this leaves open the question of how each institution is to interpret and implement this in terms of both policy and practice. Further, what remains unspecified is how hosting institutions are to incorporate the views and perspectives of one of the key stakeholders - the international students. What language choices do they actually face every day, and how do they use the languages available to them in different interactional settings? In what situations do they find the need to use the local language, and what kind of linguistic competencies (and which languages) do they need to have so that they can manage their daily interactions? To this date, these questions remain unanswered.

The aforementioned may appear surprising to readers, given the strong emphasis that has been placed on the importance of promoting and nurturing “internationalization” in the Japanese higher education sector since the 1980s. One reason why this line of investigation has not been well explored may stem from underestimating the importance of developing a multi-linguistic ecology for international students in Japan. The notion that Japan is a monolingual society is perhaps a ubiquitous and well accepted truism both within and outside of Japan; “multilingual Japan” would perhaps be a rarely used term to explain the society. With regard to scholarship on this issue, a rich literature can be found on Japanese language education for foreigners (e.g. Hashimoto 2000; Kubota 2002 for a review) and English language education for Japanese-speaking residents. The multilingual landscape in Japan has received some attention (e.g. Maher and Yashiro 1995), and ethnic and linguistic diversity within Japan certainly exists and is growing rapidly. Still, we are not considering the extent to which international students actually may experience multilingualism in their daily lives in Japan.

In order to investigate language choice and language use in the daily lives of international students in contemporary Japan, the current study details findings from a case study undertaken in the first author’s institution (Kansai University), a large private university with over 30,000 students and approximately 670 international students (as of May 2011) in the second largest city of Osaka. While the Global 30 students have just begun their residence in Japan (or will start their program in the very near future), we present the following as a preliminary case study, with further investigations to follow.

2 The Current Study

Participants

The participants in this case study are categorized as “foreign exchange students,” to differentiate from the international students who are studying at Kansai University for a longer period of time (e.g. at least 2–3 years for graduate students, and at least 4 years for undergraduate students). Exchange students study for either one or two semesters. While the majority of the degree-seeking international students at Kansai University are East Asians (China, Korea, and Taiwan), participants in the current study are diverse. The foreign exchange students who participated in this study are from Australia, Belgium, China PRC, England, France, Germany, Haiti, Hong Kong SAR, New Zealand, Switzerland, Taiwan, Thailand, USA, and Vietnam (alphabetical order). During their stay in Japan, these students are responsible for maintaining their student visa status, and in order for them to do so, Kansai University requires at least two courses in Japanese language and three or more courses taught in English on Japanese culture (history, society, law, economics, etc.). Some students who come in with already very high competency in Japanese language can take courses in Japanese, offered in the 13 academic departments at the university.

Methods of Data Collection and Analysis

In this study two kinds of analysis were conducted, namely (i) micro-ethnographic analysis drawing on conversation analysis (e.g. Sacks et al. 1974), and (ii) critical sociolinguistic analysis (Heller 2006) of LF choice (lingua franca choice) by international students. Drawing on the emic approach to language use in conversation analysis (hereafter CA), our conceptualization of individual and social behaviours (including language usage) requires that they be empirically investigated and with careful attention directed toward how they are assembled, produced and performed as social action. We draw our analytic references from ethnomethodology and conversation analysis and expand the arguments based on the observations from the data analysis. Conversation analysis (CA) affords a rigorous analysis of the sequentiality of discursive interaction and enables detailed analyses of moment-to-moment interactions that take place in a wide variety of settings (Schegloff 2007). The focus of CA is on examining a broad range of interactional practices, particularly those involving turn taking (sequential organization of multiparty interactions), repair (interactional problems with speaking, hearing and displayed understanding) and the organization of preference (structural constraints on the interactional availability of particular social actions). In this regard CA is particularly useful for empiricial investigations of interaction in multilingual and intercultural settings (Schegloff et al. 2002).

Conversation analytic studies have investigated a range of classroom talk settings and examined social interactions such as teachers' questioning acts (e.g. Koshik 2005), turn-taking structures, role-plays (e.g. Ikeda and Ishihara 2008), and interactions with guest native speakers (e.g. Mori 2002; Tateyama and Kasper 2008).

For the present study, the authors also draw on critical sociolinguistic ethnography as being highly integral for understandings of locally developing social interaction. Critical sociolinguistic ethnography (e.g. Heller 2006) and linguistic ethnography (e.g. Rampton 2001, 2009) show how situated language practices, such as language choice or language alternation, are shaped by sociocultural and historical contexts. These approaches originally draw on the tradition of Dell Hymes and John Gumperz (e.g. Gumperz and Hymes 1972) and adopt the concepts from studies of the socioeconomic system such as “field” and “market” or “discursive space” (reviewed in Pérez-Milans 2011). The framework pays attention to how the local organization of communicative practices is linked to wider social processes of change (Pérez-Milans 2011). Recent sociolinguistic studies have begun to examine situated discursive practices in more detail. The present study also follows this trend by compiling ethnographic and interactional data for a critical sociolinguistic analysis.

The data we have examined for this particular study are (1) participant observation and audio-recordings of Japanese language classrooms, and (2) two informal interviews with foreign students. We observed language classes which the students undertook during the fall of 2009 and the spring of 2011. In addition, we audio-recorded students’ group work interaction during classes in the fall of 2009, in order to examine the actual language use in social interaction. The interactional data amounted to a total of 18 h of recording. The first author was the instructor of the classrooms used for audio-recording. All the exchange students participating in this study took Japanese language courses during their residence. The main medium of communication as well as the target of the discussion for these courses was Japanese, which is the dominant first language used by the instructors of the courses (i.e. so-called “native speakers” of Japanese). However, this does not automatically specify what language choices were made in students’ moment-to-moment communication, particularly when they engaged in talk among themselves. In the past 10 years or so, studies have shown that various types of “classroom talk” (Markee and Kasper 2004) take place in a single class hour, and the ways in which the students and the teacher participate vary accordingly.

One type of talk which takes place within the classroom which this chapter has targeted is what has been characterized as “off-task talk” (Cook 1998; Markee 2005). Language classes often involve the use of task-based group work in which students are put in groups of three or four and given a language-learning task to pursue collaboratively. In order to encourage spontaneous use of the target language (in this case Japanese) by group members, the instructor withdrew from participating in their communication. When the students were “left on their own” to carry out their talk, interaction in the interstices of the main tasks talk emerged; the students would talk with each other about things off-tangent from the main topic.

Two informal interviews with a total of four students were conducted. Both were audio- and video-recorded. The four students comprised one female student from Switzerland, one female student from Belgium, and two male students from Haiti. The authors of this study requested that these students participate in an informal interview (group interview, two at a time) since they spoke (a) local language(s) from their country and English as a lingua franca, and since, in addition, they were studying Japanese at a relatively high level at Kansai University. The interviews were conducted by a male researcher from Denmark. Since the interviewer speaks multiple languages (English, Japanese, Danish, and French) and the participating students knew that, we did not limit or set which language to use for the interviewing occasion. Each interview is approximately 40 min in duration. The interviewer had brought a few topic-initiating questions for further discussion (e.g. "When do you find yourself using Japanese, English, or your local language in your daily lives?" "Do you sometimes get indecisive (i.e. not sure of decision) about which language to use to communicate? What kind of situation would that be?"). However, they were not restricted only to talk about the given questions.

Language competence in Japanese and English varied among the participating students. For the audio-recorded data, all the students had at least B1 level in Japanese (CEFR[1]). Those who spoke English as their L2 had studied it as part of their primary and secondary school education in their home countries. In other words, it is safe to claim that all informants had fairly good competence in both languages in the classes observed by the researchers.

3 Data Analysis

A lingua franca is generally understood as a language systematically used to make communication possible between people not sharing their first language (L1). Thus, the use of a LF then can be simply instrumental at times, in order to communicate; the speakers would necessarily choose one systematic code. The situation is even further complicated when the participants of the context share a third (LF) language other than Japanese or English as LF choices. In our study, we found a case where the participating foreign students shared Chinese (Putonghua) as another potential language for interaction with each other, yet they opted for other LF choices, Japanese and English. In our analysis, we sort our findings into three patterns of language choice. They are (i) insertive use of English as a LF in Japanese as a LF talk, (ii) preferred use of English as the LF, and (iii) persistent use of the same LF (Japanese).

Insertive Use of English as a LF

In Example 1, the students were one male student from Hong Kong (HM), one female student from Shanghai (SF), and another female student from Beijing (CF). After a class discussion activity to discuss *sooshoku danshi* 'herbivorous men' (an increasingly used social categorization of young men in contemporary Japan who can be characterized as men who are not interested in any intimate relationship with

[1]The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages: Learning, Teaching, Assessment, known as CEFR, is a guideline used to describe achievements of learners of foreign languages across Europe and, increasingly, in other countries including Japan. It was put together by the Council of Europe as the main part of the project "Language Learning for European Citizenship" between 1989 and 1996.

others, men or women) students were asked to provide a list of characteristics of these young men, which they had heard or seen in the media or from their Japanese friends. After this on-task talk, and a few minutes before the instructor cut them off to guide them on another task, one group consisting of three students from East Asia briefly had the following casual social talk among themselves.

Example 1

1	SF:	*demo HM wa: renai ni tsuite sekishoku- (.) sekkyokuteki de wa nai. De sho?*	You are not really aggressive about relationships, are you?
2	HM:	*hanbun*	Half (correct).
3	CF:	*han⌈bun?*	Half?
4	SF:	*⌊hanbun? nande.*	Half? Why (half correct)?
5 →	HM:	*d-* *[1] *kono kono* sentence, >you know< *hanbun.*	Wh- this, this sentence, you know, (it's) half (correct).
6	CF:	*hanbu:n.*	Half (correct, I see).
7	SF:	*ja* (.) *ryoori kaji yoku shiteru ne.*	So (that's why) you often take care of the house and cook by yourself.

*1 HM points to the note, in which a sentence in Japanese language is jotted down. The sentence says *renai ni tsuite shookyokuteki de, ryoori ya sooji ga suki* 'not interested in relationships and likes things such as cooking and cleaning'

The participants in this example also share Putonghua as a common language in this group (although HM speaks mainly Cantonese, he understands Putonghua). However, as we can observe, they choose English, not Putonghua, for an insertion into a response in Japanese. In this example, HM was asked by SF in line 1 if he also had the same characteristics as these Japanese young men (*sooshoku danshi*). In line 2, HM jokingly answers "It's half correct" in Japanese, which invokes puzzlement in SF and CF, as expressed in lines 3 and 4. In line 4, SF seeks a repair (Sacks et al. 1974; Schegloff 2007) of the answer from HM by asking *nande* 'why'. In the next turn (line 5), HM points to a sentence in Japanese in the memo in front of him. This sentence in Japanese was produced by these three as a group during the task, and it says "not interested in relationships and likes things such as cooking and cleaning." Along with the pointing gesture to the sentence, HM says *kono kono sentence* 'this this sentence', then recycles a Japanese word *hanbun* 'half' from their previous sequence (lines 2–4). Here, HM implies that half of the sentence is describing him correctly, but the other half is not, through the use of a deictic pointing gesture rather than the use of language (e.g. Goodwin 2000, 2007). Here HM implies that while he *is* interested in relationships, unlike a typical herbivorous man as described in the memo, he also likes to do other things such as cooking and cleaning, in common with a herbivorous man. We learn this from SF's response in the next turn (line 7), where SF re-formulates HM's answer *hanbun* 'half' as *"so (that's why) you often take care of the house and cook by yourself."*

We can observe that the self-repair turn upon his audience's puzzled reaction (SF), where he attempted to quickly recover what he had meant, featured the use of English. The word 'sentence' is used, then HM inserts a pragmatic attention getter 'you know' while he points at the written sentence in the memo. The use of English here symbolizes a quick shift of footing (Goffman 1974), with HM performing an insertive social action rather than carrying on the main social action.

Another example (Example 2) is drawn from interaction involving another group of three male students, two from Belgium (Dutch-speaking but they could also speak French and English), namely BK and BU, and one from France (FA). The discussion below in Example 2 occurred while they were engaged in the discussion task (Example 1). They stopped making a list to describe *sooshoku danshi* 'herbivorous men' and started to engage in bantering about each other.

Example 2

1	FA:	BK *wa itsumo monku o itteru.*	BK always complains.
2	BU:	*monku: shoku. monku-shoku danshi.*	Complaints-monger. Complaints-mongering male.
3	BK:	he⌈heh	
4	BU:	⌊heh .hh heh! HEH!	
5	FA:	⌊° hehe °	
6	BK:	$*suimasen.*$	Sorry.
7	FA:	*atarashii taipu ga dekita.*	We created a new type.
8	BK:	$*suimasen.*$	Sorry.
9	BU:	*sooshoku danshi. mo* ⌈*nku bakkkari*⌉	Herbivorous man too. (He) complains a lot.
10	BK:	⌊*suimasen* (.) ⌋	Excuse me.
11		↑*gatsugatsu wa nan no imi desu ka.*	What does *gatsugatsu* mean?
12	FA:	*[1] *e?* *[1]	What?
13	BK:	*gatsuga*⌈*tsu.*	
14	BU:	⌊*[2]greedy*[2]	
15		(1)	
16	FA:	*[3]greedy.	
17	BK:	hh ↑ ah::↓	
18	BU:	yeah.	
19	FA:	*[4]g⌈reedy*[4]	
20	BU:	⌊*[5]greedy*[5]	

*1 BU looks down and checks the word with his electronic dictionary
*2 BU looks up away from the dictionary
*3 FA gazes towards BU
*4 FA gazes towards BK
*5 BU gazes towards BK

In this example, BK is the target of a tease (Drew 1987); BU has named him "complaints-monger," and jokingly BK responds back with "sorry." FA comments "we created a new type," displaying his participation in this bantering social interaction (line 7). After this conjoint laughter over a tease, BK initiates a shift of topic by asking the others about unfamiliar vocabulary (lines 10–11). BU looks it up in his electronic dictionary quickly, and then looks towards BK. BU says in English "greedy," which is a good translation of *gatsugatsu* in Japanese. After one second, FA recycles BU's translation in line 16, acknowledging that this translation is correct. In line 17, BK produces a change of state token in Japanese *ah::* (Heritage 1984; Ikeda 2007; Nishizaka 2001), which serves to display his acknowledgement. Upon this, BU and FA further confirm that the particular Japanese word does translate to mean "greedy" in lines 19 and 20, in the form of collaborative chorus-like production (Ikeda and Ko 2011; Lerner 1993).

Asking for the meaning of a word in one language in a multilingual context would often become a moment of language choice for participants. Their linguistic background suggests to us that both French and English are shared among them, and they are quite aware of this. The chosen code is English in this particular context, and the sequential development of the segment shows that the mission was accomplished with that choice. Various contextual factors are relevant in participants choosing English over French in this excerpt; first, BK's electronic dictionary only had a Japanese-English option, which is a common issue for foreign students who purchase electronic dictionaries after arrival in Japan. Another remark to be made here about this example is that if this word-meaning search had taken place as on-task talk, they might have chosen to explain the meaning in Japanese instead of English. The students were often told in the class that they should try not to opt for English or their first language in a similar context. However, in this interaction, these three were engaged in "off-task" talk. Even though they are doing the same type of activity, their language choice (or choice of lingua franca) for pursuing it may represent a kind of display to each other as to precisely what *kind* of social action (on-task talk vs. off-task talk) this activity is embedded within.

Although we were unable to collect it as an actually recorded datum, we have witnessed sentence-level output in English during the students' social talk as well. In this regard, consider the following ethnographic memo from the participant observations.

Example 3

Date: June 24th, 2011 10:40–12:00

Two female students, both in a course which takes place in a PC room, are given a task to research about a particular topic (Japan's new adoption of a jury system). A female student, Grace, from Hong Kong is sitting next to a Malaysian (Chinese-heritage) female student, Sofie. They spend a few minutes facing their individual PC monitor, then the Malaysian student turns to the Hong Kong student and says **in English: "Oh, I forgot my homework in the dormitory."**

Grace, while still gazing at the PC monitor, replies in lower volume of voice, again **in English: "Ask her" (referring to the instructor).**

Sofie quickly turns to the instructor and says **in Japanese: "*Sensei. Shukudai domitorii ni arimasu. ato de motteitte-mo ii desu ka?*"** (Teacher, my homework is at the dormitory. Can I bring it to you later?)

In this particular case, we learn that Sofie had used two lingua francas in accordance with the linguistic competencies of her respective addressees (Li 1998). Note that Sofie is a Chinese-heritage Malaysian as well as speaking fluent Putonghua. This exchange took place while the instructor was walking around collecting the students' homework. Both the first and second utterances produced by Sofie indicate more or less the same message: she has forgotten her homework. However, the different identities of the recipients of these turns are made obvious. The first utterance was interactionally addressed to her peer, Grace. In the second production, in Japanese, Sofie has "officially declared" her homework missing, addressing the instructor. The choice between two lingua francas in this case does not indicate competition; rather, it shows how this choice enables the speaker to carry out a variety of social actions.

These three examples all show that English comes into an interactional scene when interactants engage in off-task talk, insertion of an activity that occurs beside the main interactional project. Example 1 shows English use in a repair sequence while interactants were conversing in Japanese. Example 2 shows the moment of language choice in an interaction in which an unknown word is Japanese, one of the lingua francas available to interactants. In both of these examples interactants utilizing Japanese have "failed" to achieve (or maintain) intersubjectivity and switch to a second choice, English, in order to effect repair. In Example 3 students engage in a quick interaction among themselves before officially addressing their teacher in the classroom, with the interstice exchange also done in English.

What is interesting in the collections here is that the participants had another choice of language besides English available. Why would they opt for English, but not the other language choice (besides Japanese)? One plausible account would suggest that what is of importance is the *physical* location in which the interactions are undertaken. These exchanges took place where other foreign students and the instructor were present in the room, and very frequently the researchers were able to witness their interaction and the others could overhear (Goffman 1981) them talk. In other words, while the primary participants of the talk in each excerpt are involved in closed, "private" interactions, these interactions are nonetheless undertaken and performed in *public* spaces. This sense of "public" interaction may have led them to choose a widely accepted language they had in common, that is, in this case, English. As mentioned in the beginning, the dichotomy of Japanese or English permeates these specific incidents.

Preference for English as LF

In the interview data, we examined the students' perspectives on language use in their lives in Japan, and observed an oft repeated claim that they mostly use English for their communication. Such a claim occurred frequently in interactions featuring two students from European countries (those whom we interviewed for this study did not speak English as their L1). English is, according to BA, "always" spoken among the exchange students.

Example 4

BA: "I guess, our daily life language is mostly English—because just;; among the exchange students, we're always speaking English. Only when there are Japanese students involved, then we use Japanese."

The above commentary implies that the exchange students see the need to speak Japanese only when Japanese students are around. Probing into why this is the case, BA further elaborates on this issue in Example 5:

Example 5

BA: "because everybody's level in Japanese is different. So you have people who can't speak Japanese; and people whose Japanese is really good (.) so kind of English is the easiest."

According to her, the Japanese language competency of the foreign students has more variability than their English language competency; thus in order to avoid any conflict they opt to speak English throughout. In other words, they are not just casually opting to speak English, but are under pressure to choose English.

A student from Switzerland (SR) suggests that she would use English even with German speaking European students. She says that sometimes dialectal differences of German may present an obstacle to use, so that English becomes the choice of students.

Example 6

SR: "I'm the only exchange student from Switzerland. There are others from Germany, and I normally try to talk in German but they don't understand that it's German. And the German exchange students more or less understand English."

Example 6 suggests another possible solution for our earlier puzzle as to why at times some students with another language besides English in common do not choose to use it. In Examples 2 and 3 we observed that students employed English in Japanese-based interaction even when Putonghua was a viable option. As SR points out for her own case, perceived linguistic competency (particularly in the case of those who are bilingual in two local languages in their own country, for example in Malaysia) may depend upon accentual differences among the participants which can be quite salient. Choosing German or Putonghua for the cases discussed would bring about a different social consequence for these students. Despite having an awareness of linguistic varieties within German or Putonghua, students' choice of language is not likely to be treated as involving an intentional adoption of a lingua franca, rather such choice will be oriented to as involving the use of their mother tongue, "commonly shared" among them. As in SR's comment, soon they would encounter some difficulty in interaction due to the variability within that "mother tongue," thus they would have to utilize some other code. On the other hand, English is regarded as an L2 for all the participants and as such would also present interactants with similar challenges with regard to variability of use (e.g. Kachru 1986; Lowenberg 2002; Pakir 1991). Because English is a foreign language acquired in addition to their local language(s), it is often the case that the speakers' level of proficiency varies. However, interactional approaches to lingua franca communication have suggested that a cooperative attitude is strongly present in lingua franca communication (e.g. Firth 1996; Knapp and Meierkord 2002), perhaps because the chosen medium is everyone's "foreign" language (Firth 1996: 240). Therefore, we can perhaps say that choosing English would become indeed the "easiest" in both a social psychological and sociolinguistic sense.

From the interview data, we also observed that English can be the preferred choice of communication medium even when the exchange students (whose local language is not English) encounter Japanese local students at university. Contrary to BA's claim (in Example 4), SR says that there are some cases when English is the chosen lingua franca even with the local Japanese students:

Example 7

SR: "I think it depends more on the person; because with Japanese people we speak Japanese and sometime because they wanna learn English they try to speak English to us which does (.) not always work. And then we go .h either to a mix between the two or we speak Japanese, but they still speak English. We'll just try to communicate."

Example 8

SR: "there are a lot of students who approach you and say >let's be friends, teach me English hehe .h so. I-I I had that in my last exchange here, she tried to speak English and normally the beginning of the sentence was in English and then the end was in Japanese because she couldn't go through with it."

The comment here reveals that any language choice for the international students is deeply interrelated with the linguistic ideologies of Japanese students. The dominance of English serves to influence the Japanese language and people's views of language, culture, race, ethnicity and identity (Kubota 1998; Tsuda 1990). SR's description of local Japanese students is worth commenting upon here. We learn that, in first encounters, the local students assume that SR is an English speaker. They approach her asking her "to teach them English." Note that SR has a relatively high proficiency in Japanese and that her first language is Swiss German.

In this regard, consider that Wada (1999) has argued that English demonstrates a *linear logic* whereas Japanese has a *circular logic*, and that Japanese students need to learn to think according to the English logic. Now, despite recent criticisms of this view (e.g. Kubota 2002; Pennycook 1998) we would argue that such extreme interpretations of internationalization still linger in Japan. *Kokusaika* 'internationalization' emerged as economic conflicts between Japan and its trade partners became intense in the 1980s. A strategy that Japan employed in order to fulfill the need to communicate better with its overseas partners was to accommodate the "hegemony of the West" (Kubota 1998). The discourse of *kokusaika* implied learning the communication mode of English. The broad and ambiguous definition of the West was adopted in Japan's rhetoric of *kokusaika*.

Learning English and *kokusaika* would appear to be inextricably bound up together, with anecdotes such as those provided by SR ubiquitous in daily exchanges on Japanese university campuses (at least in the authors' experiences). As one (anecdotal) example from the first author, in an exchange with a Japanese school teacher in an elementary school, in which she discussed planning an event for her third grade students and the foreign students from Kansai University, the teacher commented that "it is such a great opportunity for the kids to get to speak English." However, the students who signed up to participate in this particular event turned out to be mainly from South Asia and East Asia, where English may or may not be spoken so fluently.

To return to Example 8, note that SR says that even with her ideologically motivated decision to speak English, a local Japanese friend failed to achieve communication. As a "second option" after this failure, her Japanese came back into use so she could interact with SR. Once termed the "English allergy" (Tsuda 1992) this phenomenon would appear to be alive and well in contemporary Japanese society.

Persistent Use of Japanese as the LF

Thus far, we have seen illustrations of cases in which the foreign students are making use of English as a lingua franca over other options. Of course, not all students are opting to use English for daily communications. There are those who "stick to" Japanese in all daily interactional settings, even when English is available for them to utilize relatively unproblematically. In interactional settings where all speakers are exchange students, Japanese is indeed a foreign language. When chosen as a lingua franca code among them, it has been suggested that various socio-pragmatic aspects of LF interactions may be observable in their talk. In the following section we explore such aspects by consideration of relevant phenomena observed in actual interactional data.

Example 9, for example, provides an interesting fragment of conversation taken from an interview with two male Haitian students, RH and SH. Here they are telling the interviewer that they use various languages in their daily lives, depending on the context and whom they are talking with. SH takes the initiative in explaining his case as an example, using Japanese. Their stance to "stick to speaking Japanese" reveals what we are conceptualizing as a third type of linguistic attitude among international students.

Example 9

1	SH:	*hai.eto*:: (1) hmmm. *eto: soo desu ne. Saikin wa:*	yes uhm:: hmm let me see. Recently we
2		*eto watas- watashitachi wa* (.) *nihongo de*	speak in Japanese.
3	RH:	*nihongo de*=	in Japanese.
4	V:	=*nihongo de hana* ⌈ *su*	you speak in Japanese.
5	RH:	⌊ >*hai hai hai*<	yes yes yes.
6		(1)	
7	SH:	*nihongo- nihongo hanashite*, *kara*: *eto dondon*	Since we speak Japanese, we rapidly get
8		*dondon joozu* (.) *narimasu kara*:, creole *to*	better in Japanese. So we have not used
9		*furansugo*: *chotto* (1) *tsukaimasen*.	much French or Creole.
10	V:	hmn. Hm.	
11→	SH:	*eto*: *eego wa, sun- hmm: sun*, °*san*° *sangen*?	Uhm, for English, three-three- third period?
12→		>*Ye no*< not *sangen*? *Go jugyoo*? *arimasu*?	no not third period, five classes? We have.
13→	RH:	*eego no jugyoo*?	English classes?
14→	SH:	*eego no jugyoo*.	English classes.
15→	RH:	*itsu nan-na- nanyoobi desu ka*.	When- which- which day of the week do you mean?
16→	SH:	*eto* (1) *isshuukan*?	Uh in one week?
17	RH:	.h a: uh *k- kansai kansai de*?=	Oh at Kansai University?
18	SH:	=*hai kansai* ⌈*de*	Yes at Kansai University
19	V:	⌊*so so so so* >*kore wa*<	Right right right, this one
20		*kono* (.) (*ta*⌈*me ni*)	is for this (university)
21	RH:	⌊*eh:: san*	Well three
22	SH:	*san*? *yon*?	Three? four?
23	RH:	*ima san*.	Right now three.
24	SH:	*san*. *Kore wa eego* (.)	Three. These are (taught in) English.
25	V:	hm	
26→	SH:	*o tsukaimasu, demo uchi. Uchi de*: (.) *tokidoki eto*	We use English, but at home, sometimes we
27→		*eego to furansu go to* creole*go to nihongo*.	use English, French, Creole and Japanese.
28→		*Zenbu de* (.) *eto* (.) mix (.) ⌈*mitainahanashimasu*.	We mix them all and talk.
29	RH:	⌊hehe °he °	

Here SH tells V (interviewer) that they mainly use Japanese, so their language skills are rapidly improving (lines 7–8). When he attempts to inform V of how many courses they take that are taught in English, SH initiates an inserted exchange with RH to make sure exactly how many classes they have this term. This is a quick action initiated by SH to seek correct information with his friend from the same country, Haiti. Here, while the participants had many language choices in which to engage in this activity (e.g. French, Creole and English) their choice is to stick to Japanese, the exchange being performed in front of the interviewer. Note that in the later turns (lines 26–28), SH tells V that they do use all the languages at home, often all mixed in one setting. Here too, SH and RH do not shift to use other languages but continue their exchange using Japanese. Their determination to stick to Japanese for communication is worth commenting upon, as these students only started learning the language just 8 months prior to the interview, and their language level has improved to an intermediate-high level in a short length of time. Interestingly, two other students from Europe with a much higher proficiency of Japanese (SR and BA) opted for English for this interview, while SH and RH with lower proficiency in Japanese (and higher proficiency in English for both of them) had opted to use Japanese as the LF with the interviewer. We observed that it was common for some students to prefer *not* to speak any other languages, including English, with SH and RH a good illustration of such a case. This ties in with the authors' anecdotal experiences of daily interactions with foreign students in Japan. For example, during office hours students may try to discuss a highly complex problem (e.g. about a housing contract with a real estate agent) in Japanese, yet their skills may be at the low-intermediate level (below B1).

To account for this pattern, we must consider the details of multilingual dynamics for foreign students in Japan. Japanese is indeed the local language of the community of their residence, and most of the foreign exchange students consider acquiring Japanese language skills their primary mission. For many of them, Japanese is a "target" language to learn, as well as the lingua franca which they would resort to in order to communicate with those who do not share any other common communication medium. Thus, their social identity as language learners (Block 2007) may always be in competition with another relevant social identity, that of being a member of a group of international peers.

4 Beyond a Matter of LF Selection: Styling in Lingua Franca Talk

Regardless of L1 or L2, speakers will construct and employ some kind of linguistic styles as social practice to manage their social and personal identities and relations, affiliation or disaffiliation with a particular social community or persona. In our collection of interactional data, we observed some revealing examples of how the LF speakers made use of linguistic styles to facilitate particular kinds of social projects, particularly when such projects required the sophisticated management of interactional business. Before turning to an examination of such examples, it is worthwhile to briefly review previous work which has examined how speakers' application of particular linguistic styles affords or constrains a range of social acts and how such styles can serve to enable a particular social identity to become highlighted and foregrounded against the background of its immediate context. Coupland (2007) has termed this "styling," emphasizing that use of styles should be understood as occuring in (inter)action. In this study, we were able to observe styling in the participants' LF interactions, particularly when they were engaged in an extensive use of Japanese with each other.

Interactional approaches to lingua franca interaction in the literature have generally focused on examinations of how two non-L1 speakers of the LF code cooperate with each other, and on capturing the process of code selection in multilingual interaction. Such literature has shown that LF speakers make use of various social and multimodal cues in interaction to choose which language code should be used in each context. However, the lingua franca literature to this date has not explored in any detail what takes place *after* a selection of language. In the case of international exchange students in a Japanese university context, speakers may choose to use Japanese as the LF on one occasion, for example in off-task talk during class, and not on another. What we would want to investigate further at this point is how they would present themselves vis-à-vis each other for that LF talk, particularly in terms of social identity construction (e.g. Block 2007; Bucholtz and Skapoulli 2009; Norton 2000), participation stance (e.g. Goodwin 2007), or in the particular conduct of a social act (Coupland 2007; Rampton 2009). In other words, we would want to go beyond merely treating the LF speakers as L2 speakers.

LF speakers, at least those featured in our present analyses, can be considered to comprise part of the community of practice in Japan, and they are constantly engaged in the local language. As they spend more time in Japan as exchange students, they would become more sensitive to "the purchase of different linguistic resources on the linguistic market" (Jaspers 2010: 196). Importantly, speakers of a language are also simultaneously creators of the language they utilize. They can transcend the boundaries of their linguistic repertoires by drawing upon their knowledge of local associations between particular linguistic forms and their social meanings. In this sense, they are learning to style themselves in the language as they negotiate social meanings with other people and engage in the construction of identities.

In examining styling in the LF talk among foreign exchange students in Japan, we draw upon Rampton's notion of "language crossing" (1995), since it is indeed a language use that indexes groups of which the speaker does not claim membership. No speaker *a priori* "owns" any code as their L1; therefore, the right to cross must be negotiated in interaction. Rampton's examples were the use of Panjabi by young people of Anglo and Afro-Caribbean descent, the use of Creole by Anglos and Panjabis, and the use of stylized Indian English by all three groups (1995). Another example of language crossing is the case of European Americans' use of stereotyped African American English (e.g. Bucholtz 1999). Importantly, what speakers do by language crossing is highly dependent on varied contexts and human relationships, and their social accomplishment by making use of a particular social style/dialect/language is not necessarily the same over time.

Turning back to a consideration of our examples, here we would like to present some illustrations that evince the creative use of linguistic styles by LF speakers of Japanese. In Example 10, the students in a group have just discussed one criminal case as if they were "jurors" themselves. The group consisted of one male student from New Zealand (RB), one female student from Belgium (KR), another male student from Belgium (GT), and one female student from Taiwan (CH). They decided that the defendant was to be sentenced to life-in-prison. One of the students, RB, was not quite happy with the decision made by the group and decided to continue to disagree after the task was officially finished. RB in Example 10 makes a point that the defendant just wanted to kill, and that money was not his motivation.

Example 10

1	KR:	*ni-nihongo de doo ieba ii no*? *ma sono*	How can I say in Japanese? The money was stolen
2		*hanzai no ato de ma:*	after the crime, so (he) had an intention.
3		*sono koroshita hito wa*	Well the man who killed
4		*doo de mo ii* (.) *to omotta.*	thought it doesn't matter.
5		*okane* (.) *wa daiji. ga kibun ga su-*	Money is important. (his) feeling was-
6 →	RB:	*gya-*(.)*gya- gyaku ni na*:?	On the contrary, you know?
7		(1)	
8		*moshi*: *-tk*! (.) *okane totte*, a!	If (he) took money, (then) oh!
9		*mirarete, koroshite*,=	(He) was witnessed, so killed (that witness),
10		=*n de okane nao- naoshitara* (.)	then if he put the money back, wouldn't it be
11		*yabaku nai*?	suspicious?
12	GT:	*u*⌈*ee* ° (*so desu* ⌈*ne*) °	Yeah that's right, isn't it?
13	CH:	⌊hmm	
14	RB:	⌊*sore wa tada dareka o*	That's, (he) simply killed someone.
15		*koroshita.*	
16	CH:	*un soo ma: bideo de sono:* (.) *uh:*	Right well I think in the video it shows that (he) stole
17		(.) *okusan o koroshita ato de, okane o*	the money after (he) killed the wife, I think.
18		*toraretato omou*=*misete miseta to*	
19		*omou*	

For our purposes the key line in this stretch of interaction is line 6, where RB inserts his disjunctive objection to how the group decision is about to go. Here, RB makes a use of local dialectal style *gyaku ni na?* (On the contrary, you know?). The use of dialectal style (note that the interactional particle *na* is used instead of a standard *ne* in line 6) is found in the prefacing phrase as a singular insertion in this context. At this point, RB is about to pursue an extended version of his opposition against his peers, in order to make a point that the money stolen by the defendant is not really a concern, with such a version clearly arguing against what KR has just said immediately before *okane wa daiji* (the money is important). Lines 10–11 show that RB designs his turn as being rather offensive (hostile) with the use of a negative yes/no interrogative structure to make his point (e.g. don't you think X?, cf. Heritage 2002). Here we can say that as an initiator of this rather disrupting action, RB has made use of a local (Kansai) dialectal form in his turn. However, the sudden use of this particular style is likely to be oriented to as a marked usage (rather than embedded or expected as a regular occurrence) to an L1 speaker's ear; the dialectal use appeared just in this particular phrase and not elsewhere in their talk.

To understand further the style change in his production at this point, we can draw upon Rampton's (2001, 2009) notion of interactional ritual. In the context of an offensive social action, dialectal stylization (Coupland 2007) is inserted to remedy the "moment of jeopardy" of the relations on hand and social order among the participants (Goffman 1974). People generally amplify the symbolic dimensions of their conduct, shifting briefly away from the appropriately modulated/hedged production of propositional utterances geared to truth and falsity (Rampton 2001). In this regard, Kansai dialect is (as with other local Japanese dialects) known for its informality, and many speakers of the dialect use it as a marker of positive affective stance (Ochs 1993) when engaged in everyday, mundane conversation. RB's adoption of such a style in his usage of Japanese (as a lingua franca) may well reflect his sociolinguistic knowledge about it.

We present another example of the use of Japanese as a lingua franca in Example 11. This is a stretch of interaction featuring three female students, one from Vietnam (H), one from Hong Kong (J), and one from Germany (G). G did not speak in the following segment, but she displayed appreciation of the on-going conversation by smiling. They had just finished watching a brief film in Japanese as a task in class. In the drama, two friends (one male and one female) have attended a mutual friend's wedding, and they worry about their own marriage in the future. After this task the three students engaged in talking about these characters casually. H, who seemed to have a vivid imagination for how these two characters would end up in the future, spoke about her thoughts from line 1 in Japanese. Our interest in this example is with how J, a Hong Kong student, makes use of various linguistic politeness styles in her utterances.

Example 11

1	H:	*tabun ato min* ⌈*na yoku.*⌉	Maybe everyone often does (it) afterwards.
2	J:	⌊*doram-* ⌋ *dorama wa*	In dramas,
3 →		*kitto soo*	surely (it) will be
4		*yuu huu ni*: ((smiley voice))	like that.
5	H:	*soo soo soo.* ⌈*tabun*	That's right, maybe.
6 →	J:	⌊*okonai**masu**kedo* ((smiling	(It) happens but
7 →		voice)).hh ↑ *genjitsu wa kanoo deki**masu**-=*	in reality, can they do (it)?
8 →		*=kanoo**ka na***. hehe	(Is it) possible, I wonder.
9	H:	° *tabu-* °	Maybe.
10 →	J:	hehe *kanoo**ka na***..hh	Hehe (is it) possible, I wonder.
11	H:	*demo tabun kono ka-uh sono kanojo wa* (.)	But maybe this woman that woman
12		hm (.) *chotto toshi na n dakara*	has aged a bit now so
13 →	J:	*toshiyori hehe >nanka<* ***toshiy(h)ori***. hehe	Elderly hehe well elderly.
14	H:	*minna*: *aite no hito wa minna*:	All (possible) partners are.
15	J:	uh	
16	H:	*kekkonn shite-=shichatta kara hh*	(All) have gotten married so.
17 →	J:	*shichatta chotto ko-=*	(They) have married.
18	H:	*=tabun sono hito wa* hh .hh	Maybe that person is.
19 →	J:	*kanashii heh a ma daijobu.* ° ***da*** ⌈***to ii kedo*** °	How sad, oh well (it's) okay. Hope that's the case.
20	H:	⌊*saigo sono*	(I) think (he's) the last
21		*hito wa saigo no hh hito to omou k(h)ara*	person (left) so.

A switch from a distal politeness style to casual style in Japanese is observed in this example. A mix of politeness styles in talk is commonly found in L1 interaction (e.g. Cook 1998; Okamoto 1998). However, the shift which we find in the above example shows a rather different phenomenon. J has commented that in a fictional drama a situation which H has talked about is possible, but doubts that can be true in reality (lines 6–8). J uses a distal polite style for the first part of this utterance (lines 2–6 *dorama wa kitto soo okonaimasu* 'in the drama that happens'), then she switches to casual style in lines 7–8 (*kanoo ka na* '(I doubt) it's possible'). While addressing the same recipient (H) J has shifted a politeness level drastically, which would entail that there has been a shift in her social stance from being polite and formal to being informal and rather blunt.

However, if one considers how this style use could be seen as an example of creative styling, another possible description can be proposed for her conduct. In line 8, J could be marking her talk as comprising an initiator for "digressive talk" off the topic, with a switch from polite linguistic style to plain style in Japanese, saying *kanoo ka na* '(I doubt) it's possible.' Note that in line 10, J repeats this again, however this time prefacing it with a short laugh. With a style shift, she is introducing a special interactional frame (Goffman 1974) for their conversation, that is, it can be oriented to as light-hearted, bantering talk.

There is some evidence in the sequence to support this formulation. Across lines 11–13, H says in a playful mode that since these two people are getting “too old” (*chotto toshi na n dakara*), everyone else around them has been married already and so no one is left for them but each other (lines 14 and 16). Note the use of smiley voice (Jefferson 2004) across these turns, indicating that H is in a digressive, joking mode. J goes along with H’s joking. She appropriates the words from H’s turn, e.g. *toshiyori* ‘elderly’ (line 13), (*kekkon*) *shitchatta* ‘(they’ve) done it (=married)’ (line 17), displaying her appreciation of H’s formulation. Furthermore, J uses plain linguistic style this time in order to display her affective assessments in line 19 *kanashii* (so sad!) *ma daijobu* (well it’s alright), *da to ii kedo* (hope (it’s) okay).

What we see here is the use of a politeness level shift to conduct a spontaneous social act (e.g. joking, bantering). In both Examples 10 and 11, the speakers of a lingua franca (in both cases Japanese) have demonstrated a creative use of linguistic styles to bring about a certain performative effect (Rampton 2009). In our collection of data, we were not able to witness the students’ creative styling in English, the other LF for them. We might have expected that these participants would be doing similar styling work (Coupland 2007) when choosing English as the lingua franca alternatively. Further investigation may well afford some clarification.

5 Conclusion

This case study has sought to provide a preliminary exploration of the linguistic lives of foreign exchange students attending a Japanese university, with a particular focus on how students employ two lingua francas, English and Japanese. Our findings indicate that students routinely utilized English as a lingua franca in interactions with other international students, and in interactions with the local Japanese students on campus, because English was oriented to as being a “trouble-less” communication medium for the participants. However, Japanese was also routinely utilized by international students as a lingua franca in interactions with other international students when such students were determined to speak the “local” language. When we examined actual language use by international students among themselves, we found that they were creatively employing Japanese with rich styling, which suggests that for these language users the code for lingua franca communication has gone beyond mere mutual intelligibility. They are, instead, constructing a community of practice using Japanese as the LF with each other.

This chapter has illustrated a small piece of realistic linguistic ecology for international students at university level institutions in Japan today. With an increase in the number of foreign students on Japanese campuses, and in the context of a broad public discourse on the Japanese government’s efforts to increase international student participation, our interest is in further exploring if and how this form of ecology might integrate dynamic changes. However, returning to the macro issues raised at the start of our chapter, it may be prudent to explicitly examine various competing discourses of how “internationalization” (*kokusaika*) is understood and dealt with pragmatically in contemporary Japan in order for any analyses of linguistic ecology to have critical purchase. Given that Japan appears to be resolutely committed to continuing to engage in a rapid process of internationalization of higher education, in the absence of clear policy or grounded empirical studies of what might actually be taking place within and around university campuses, *kokusaika* may remain an unrealized blue print for internationalization of higher education in Japan.

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Plurilingual Resources in Lingua Franca Talk: An Interactionist Perspective

Emilee Moore, Eulàlia Borràs, and Luci Nussbaum

1 Introduction

This chapter draws on conversational data from classroom and service interactions involving local and international students and staff at two Catalan universities. It describes, on the one hand, how speakers from different language backgrounds agree to use a common medium (Gafaranga 2000), such as a lingua franca, in accomplishing mutual understanding. On the other, it explores how students and staff draw on resources from other languages – through procedures such as code-switching (Auer 1984) – in managing their lingua franca interaction and in accomplishing other locally relevant goals that extend beyond the mere production and comprehension of talk. However, in order to situate the research within a broader sociolinguistic framework, the chapter begins with a brief overview of the dynamics of multilingualism[1] in Catalan higher education, especially in view of recent internationalisation strategies.

In Catalonia in general, and at the two universities at which the research was carried out in particular, two languages – Catalan and Spanish – are legally regulated as co-official. The common use of these two languages within the

[1]We distinguish between multilingualism, understood as a state or area where two or more languages are official, and plurilingualism, understood as effective practices in two or more languages. This distinction is particularly relevant to Catalonia, a region in which code-switching is common, even in highly ritualized situations (Moore 2011).

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same communicative event has been described both in the literature concerned with everyday conversation in Catalonia (Nussbaum 2005) and with interaction at universities (Moore 2011; Pujolar et al. 2010).

However, in addition to the co-official status of the two languages, policies in Catalonia since the restoration of democracy in Spain have also defined Catalan as the region's 'own language' (*llengua pròpia*). Woolard (2008) describes how this categorisation is linked to the local and national identity values of the language, or what Gal and Woolard (2001) refer to as a discourse of authenticity – an ideology to which many minority languages owe their survival. At the same time, language policies have striven for the institutionalisation of Catalan through discourses of anonymity (Gal and Woolard 2001; Woolard 2008). The aim is to neutralise the Catalan language and to make it public and accessible to everyone, regardless of language background. Such institutionalisation has had a significant impact on the maintenance of the minority language (Nussbaum 2005).

In this regard, universities in Catalonia have taken on a significant role in promoting and guaranteeing the use of the *llengua pròpia* in their administration, teaching and research activities, which has in turn contributed to increasing the prestige of the language (Pujolar et al. 2010). However, more recently, dynamics of internationalisation – or deliberate initiatives undertaken by university systems and institutions in seeking a commercial, scientific and/or linguistic edge within a globalised society (Altbach and Knight 2007) – have brought about increasingly complex scenarios. Such internationalisation responds, on the one hand, to the new demands of the twenty-first century knowledge-based society and, on the other, to the creation of a European Higher Education Area (EHEA), or the so-called Bologna process (Altbach and Knight 2007; Sayós i Santigosa 2007).

One of the outcomes of these dynamics is the growing international mobility of students and staff. Another is the increasing emergence of situations – in university administration, research and teaching – in which not only Catalan and Spanish, but also other languages valued as commodities (Heller 2003) on globalised academic markets come into contact (Altbach and Knight 2007). In this regard, the concentration in recent history of military and socio-economic power in English-speaking nations and English-dominated multinational corporations has contributed to that language becoming central to internationalisation (Pennycook 1994).

Such processes linked to internationalisation place new pressures on the bilingual university community to acquire competences in "very large languages" (McArthur 2005: 55) in order to participate in intercultural scenarios and to compete for future employment. In this regard, the ability to interact in an international lingua franca (LF) – most commonly English – becomes both a solution at universities to the practical problem of participating in international education and a competence they increasingly need to develop in their graduates.

In his well-cited definition, Firth (1996: 240) defines lingua franca as "a 'contact language' between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common (national) culture, and for whom [the LF] is the chosen foreign language of communication". Thus, lingua franca interaction is understood to be a form

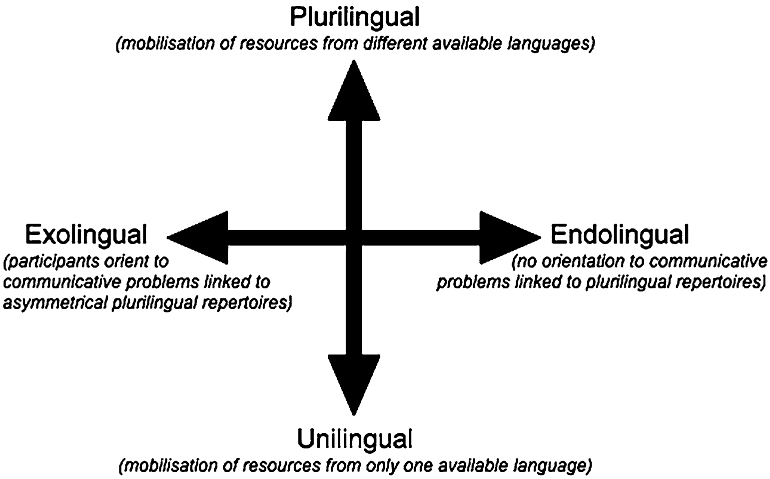

Fig. 1 Heuristic model of available modes in plurilingual interaction. Based on Alber and Py (1985), and others (All stills and diagrams are supplied by the authors)

of exolingual communication (Seidlhofer et al. 2008) – or talk between people who by definition have asymmetrical competences and in which communicative obstacles arise and need to be overcome (Alber and Py 1985; Lüdi 1989; Lüdi and Py 2009; Py 1991; see Fig. 1). Using a lingua franca is, moreover, just one form of plurilingualism available to individuals who have more than one language at their disposal; the choice to use a lingua franca is thus understood to be an interactional accomplishment or the result of situated negotiation (Mondada 2004; see Sect. 2). This is in line with the position that lingua franca is a scenario of language use (Mortensen 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013). Other authors have conceived of lingue francas – such as English as a lingua franca or ELF – as emergent, *ad hoc* varieties, constructed in the very course of interaction (Firth 1996; Seidlhofer 2005; Seidlhofer et al. 2008). Both of these perspectives are congruous with the understanding that hybrid constructions and plurilingual features such as code-switching are intrinsic to lingua franca interactions (Böhringer and Hülmbauer 2008; Hülmbauer et al. 2008; see Sect. 3).

Nevertheless, in the Catalan higher education context, English (or ELF)[2] is but one of two international languages available for use in intercultural scenarios. Spanish – introduced previously as a co-official language at Catalan universities – has also been linked to international education (Grimshaw 2007; *Instituto Cervantes* 2010). According to the *Instituto Cervantes* (2010), 6 % of EU citizens report speaking Spanish as a second language and 16 % consider Spanish to be one of the most useful languages in their daily lives, apart from their mother tongue.

[2] In the remainder of this chapter, the terms 'English' and 'ELF' will be employed interchangeably.

Furthermore, according to that same institution, Spain is the main destination for Erasmus students in Europe, with one of the major declared motivations for this choice being to learn Spanish. Although specific data is lacking in this regard for the two universities studied, different authors have suggested that international students arriving in Catalonia are competent to some extent in Spanish, while this is usually not the case for Catalan (De Bofarull 2005; Leprêtre 1997; Pujolar et al. 2010). In fact, Framis and Salellas (2007) claim that that internationalisation has meant not only '*anglització*' ('Anglicisation') but also increasing '*espanyolització*' ('Spanishisation') of universities in Catalonia.

Conversation analysis (CA) (Sacks 1992) – and in particular research on institutional-educational, plurilingual, lingua franca and multimodal talk-in-interaction – allows the intricacies of everyday practices in these emerging scenarios to be examined and explained. Taking such an approach, in this chapter our aim is two-fold. On the one hand, in Sect. 2, we describe how the agreement to use English comes about in interaction and helps organise activities in two different settings at the two universities (identified as University A and University B). These include service encounters at two registration offices for international students and group work interactions in two classrooms (Educational Psychology at University A and Leather Technology at University B). Both of these settings involve talk between local and international students and staff. On the other hand, in Sect. 3, we explore if and when other plurilingual practices – in particular code-switching (CS) – emerge in interactions in ELF and what particular situated goals they help attain.

The data drawn on in this chapter was collected within the framework of the Dynamics of Language Management (DYLAN) project, an interdisciplinary European 6th Framework project made up of teams from 18 European universities.[3] Over the period 2006–2011, researchers sought to identify the precise conditions in which Europe's linguistic diversity may be considered an asset across three terrains: European companies, political institutions and universities. The authors participated in the latter field, undertaking qualitative investigations in different settings at two universities in Catalonia. The classroom research initiated within the DYLAN project is continuing from 2011 to 2013 as part of a different project entitled Academic Discourse in a Foreign Language: Learning and Assessment of Science Content in the Multilingual CLIL Classroom (DALE-APECS) financed by the Spanish Ministry of Science and Innovation.[4]

[3]Project reference: CIT4-CT-2006-028702. For more information, see: www.dylan-project.org. The following researchers are acknowledged for their participation in the collection and treatment of the data presented in this chapter: Vicky Antoniadou, Laia Canals, Eva Codó, Víctor Corona, Adriana Patiño-Santos and Claudia Vallejo.

[4]Project reference: EDU2010-15783. For more information, see: http://grupsderecerca.uab.cat/clilsi/content/dale-apecs.

2 Lingua Franca Talk and Interactional Accomplishment

It has been suggested already that two languages (or varieties of them) – English and Spanish – are likely candidates for participating in intercultural communication at Catalan universities. However, ELF – as well as other forms of plurilingual talk – has also been conceptualised previously as not only raw material for, but also as a product of conversation. The materialisation of talk in ELF is, furthermore, inextricably linked to the sequential organisation of interaction (Firth 1996; Mondada 2004). In the literature, this has been shown to be so even in instances where a working language has been previously defined by an explicit or implicit norm (Mondada 2004), such as a language policy or a teaching/learning proposal.

In the corpus presented in this chapter, two aspects help exemplify the relationship between the emergence of talk in ELF and aspects inherent to the accomplishment of talk-in-interaction in the two settings. First, in section "The Accomplishment of Lingua Franca Talk", the way that the use of English is negotiated and how the possibilities for its use are assessed in terms of participants' self-categorisations is explored. Second, in section "Lingua Franca and the Accomplishment of Interaction", the link between the initiation of talk in ELF and the broader organisation of the interactional activity in process is investigated.

The Accomplishment of Lingua Franca Talk

Choosing a Lingua Franca

Research into plurilingual interaction has demonstrated how participants in situations of language contact display and orient to a "preference for same language talk" (Auer 1984). In plurilingual-exolingual situations, this can imply the need to agree to use a common resource, including a lingua franca. However, in our corpus, and in particular at the registration offices, the fact that at least two international languages are available for communicating in international scenarios means that the very establishment of this resource is necessarily a product of negotiation. Openings are a crucial interactional moment in this regard, at the same time as they provide information about how participants categorise or interpret settings, plurilingual resources, and others (Sacks 1974, 1992). As Mondada writes:

> Openings have been described within the literature as the *locus* where relevant identifications [. . .] and context descriptions [. . .] are achieved; openings are also the *locus* where a recognizable boundary is drawn between some previous informal talk and the beginning of an official event [. . .]. Therefore, they are a crucial place to observe the way in which the event and its features are defined and oriented to by the participants (Mondada 2004: 22).

For this reason, it is openings that are explored both here and in the following section of this chapter (section "Assessments of Competence").

In some cases, negotiation over what plurilingual resource to use at the registration offices is both straightforward – in that it takes place over very few turns – and explicitly verbalised (Auer 1984; Codó 1998; Mondada 2004; Torras and Gafaranga 2002), such as in Fragments 1 and 2 below.[5] These interactions take place at the international student office at University A and involve the same local employee – Lídia – who has to register the students – Katarina from Poland (Fragment 1) and Uriana and Costas (Fragment 2) from Greece – into the computer system in order to provide them with an international student ID card.[6] The fragments begin when the previous students attended by Lídia have left and Katarina, Uriana and Costas take their seat at the table across from the employee.

---

[5]Transcription conventions:

1. Speaker: ABC:
2. Intonation:
   a. Falling: \
   b. Rising: /
   c. Maintained: _
3. Pauses:
   a. Timed: (n° seconds)
   b. Micro (less than 1 tenth of a second): (.)
4. Overlapping: [text]
5. Latching: =
6. Interruption: text-
7. Lengthening of a sound: te:xt
8. EMPHATIC
9. °soft°
10. Incomprehensible fragment: xxxx
11. Approximate phonetic transcription: +text+
12. Dubious transcription: (text?)
13. Language:
    a. **Catalan**
    b. English
    c. *Spanish*
    d. ***Catalan or Spanish***
    e. Greek
    f. Turkish
14. Continuation of a previous turn: speaker>
15. Transcriber's comments: ((comment) text)
16. Symbolic and photographic transcription of multimodality:
    a. Participant: *abc:*
    b. Approximate instant when action starts or finishes: *
    c. Action described continues across subsequent lines: *-->
    d. Action described continues beyond end of fragment: *-->>
    e. Description of action: abc: *-*description*->
    f. Approximate instant when screen shot was taken: fig 1

[6]The employees' work at the computer is a significant feature of the interactions at the registration office at University A. It structures the questions that are asked, is a major focus of the employees' gaze and body alignment, and gives rise to long, unrepaired silences (Moore 2011).

Fragment 1

LID: Lídia (employee), KAT: Katarina (Polish student)

1. LID: *fig 1* ah: do you speak English/

fig 1

2. (.)
3. KAT: yes\
4. (0.1)
5. LID: yes\

Fragment 2[7]

LID: Lídia (employee), URI: Uriana, COS: Costas (Greek students)

1.	LID:	*chicos os importa:-*	guys do you mi:nd-
2.		(0.2)	
3.	LID:	*en* [*inglés*\ *no/* (.) *inglés*\]	in [english\ no/ (.) english\]
4.	URI:	[*inglés*\ (.) *en inglés*\]	[english\ (.) in english\]
5.	LID:	do you mind if/	

In Fragment 1, Lídia asks Katarina whether she speaks English. On receiving confirmation from Katarina that she does, the interaction continues in that language. In Fragment 2, although the negotiation over what resource to use is also explicit, the procedure is slightly different. Lídia initiates the interaction in Spanish, but then interrupts her talk to ask the students, also in Spanish, whether they prefer English. On receiving confirmation from Uriana, who is speaking Spanish, that they prefer English, Lídia switches to that language. Thus, in both fragments, English is unproblematically established as the lingua franca for doing the business at hand.

However, at other times in the corpus, negotiation over which resource to use is much more complex. The following sequence from a similar office for international students at University B serves to demonstrate this complexity. Students register at the office on a self-service basis, entering personal information into a computer.

[7]No image is available for this fragment, as the video camera was not focused on the interaction at this point. The transcription is based on the audio recording only.

Occasionally, when they encounter a problem or need assistance, they ask for help from the local staff, e.g. in Fragment 3 below. In the first line, Elka, a Swedish student, requests help from Pau and Jordi, the local student interns employed at the office.

Fragment 3

PAU: Pau, JOR: Jordi (employees), ELK: Elka (Swedish student)

1. ELK: *fig 1 perdón\ (.) (no?) me ayuda* — excuse me\ (.) (can't?) you help me

fig 1

2. *perdona/=* — excuse me/=
3. PAU: =one [minute please\]
4. JOR: [*sí: sí:*\] — ye:s ye:s\
5. ((Pau and Jordi speak with their boss in Catalan, 21.7'))
6. PAU: yes/
7. (0.4)
8. ELK: *ehm:::* *fig 2* (*1.1*) *no tenemos una* address\ — ehm::: (1.1) we don't have an address\

fig 2

9. (0.1)
10. PAU: *pienso que no*\ — I think not\
11. (0.4)

12.	ELK:	*eh: es el hostal*\	eh: it's the hostel\
13.		(0.7)	
14.	PAU:	*bueno*\ (*0.3*) *igual*\ (*0.7*)	well\ (0.3) no worries\ (0.7)
15.		we won't be sending you:=	
16.	ELK:	=anything [ok_]	
17.	PAU:	[ordinary mail] ok the most	
18.		important is if you have a: well the:_	
19.		(0.2) the mail account/	
20.		(0.1)	
21.	ELK:	hm hm\	
22.		(0.4)	
23.	PAU:	and if you have a: telephone number	
24.		it's the most important and anyway_	
25.		(0.7)	
26.	ELK:	*pero no tenemos el* telephone-	but we don't have the telephone-
27.		*el número de* [*teléfono*\]	the telephone [number\]
28.	PAU:	[*ya es un poco-*] *(0.1)*	[yeah it's a bit-] (0.1)
29.		*tampoco pasa nada porque como*	it doesn't matter anyway because as
30.		*sois europeos_ (0.4) no hay que:*	you're European_ (0.4) there i:sn't
31.		*no hay que hacer muchos trámites*	there isn't much paperwork to do
32.		*ni nada así que en principio no os*	or anything so in principle don't
33.		*preocupéis*\ *(0.3) es solamente para cosas*	worry\ (0.3) it's only for statistical
34.		*estadísticas* [*o sea*] *que:_*	things [so] tha:t_
35.	ELK:	[hm]	

In lines 1–2, Elka addresses the interns in Spanish to ask for assistance in filling out the computer form. Pau asks Elka to wait a minute in English (line 3) and Jordi briefly acknowledges her in Spanish (line 4). The two interns then continue their conversation in Catalan with their boss. On ending that conversation, Pau turns around and physically and verbally orients to Elka, initiating a conversation with her in English (line 6). In line 8, Elka responds in Spanish and tells Pau that she and her friends do not have an address.[8] Pau affiliates with Elka's language choice by responding to her in Spanish in line 10. In line 12, Elka explains that they are currently living in a hostel, to which Pau responds that it doesn't matter. He here continues to orient to Elka's displayed preference for Spanish (line 14).

However, in that same turn, Pau elaborates on his response, switching back to English in doing so. Elka, completing his turn in line 16, also switches to that language. The conversation continues in English until line 24, with Pau telling Elka

[8]Elka's insertions (Auer 1984) in English ("*una* address", line 7; "*el* telephone", line 22) during turns in Spanish are linked to her using that language to fill out the computer registration form. Like at the registration office at University A, the computer is thus a key participant in the service encounters at University B.

that the most important thing is that she has an email account and a phone number. However, in responding to Pau in line 26, Elka again uses Spanish to announce that they do not have a phone number. By using Spanish at the end of the fragment, Pau again accommodates to Elka's language choice, which is clearly linked to her preference for using Spanish rather than her lack of competence in English, a language she has proven herself capable of both understanding and using. Pau explains that it does not really matter that the students' contact details are incomplete; since they are Europeans, there is little paperwork and little need to contact them.

The three fragments analysed until now, all taken from two registration offices for international students where there is no explicit policy as to what language should be used, demonstrate different explicit and implicit procedures for agreeing on a common language. At both offices, Spanish and English emerge as available plurilingual resources, and the employees choose one or the other of those languages or varieties according to how they categorise their interlocutors' linguistic competence and/or preference.[9] However, the analysis until now has also demonstrated that initial categorisations may be mistaken, contrasting with interlocutors' actual competences or possible preferences for practicing a particular language, resulting in complex sequences, such as in Fragment 3. In all of the fragments analysed so far from the registration offices, it can further be claimed that negotiation over whether to use ELF or another form of plurilingual talk takes place locally in the individual interactions. That is, there is no underlying norm as to whether English, Spanish or any other language (or variety) should be used. However, at other times in the corpus this is not the case as the language that is to be used is stipulated *a priori*. It is to situations of this type that the discussion now turns.

Assessments of Competence

In certain courses at the two universities in which both local and international students are involved in learning the subject content, English is explicitly defined as both a lingua franca for integrating students from different linguistic backgrounds and as a potential learning object (Moore 2011). This is the case in Fragment 4, below. The interaction takes place during a Leather Technology class at University B. The students – Laia, a local student, and Fatma and Ahmet, Erasmus students from Turkey – are required to do a task provided by their teacher, Caterina, in English. The sequence takes place at the initiation of the task, after the teacher has explained the instructions to the class. It demonstrates that – as argued previously – even in cases where the particular plurilingual resource to be used for communicating

[9]This point has been confirmed in informal interviews carried out with the employees in the registration offices.

in international scenarios is previously defined, the conditions for its employment may be subject to negotiation. Such negotiation is linked to emerging membership categorisations (Sacks 1974, 1992).

Fragment 4

CAT: Caterina (teacher); LAI: Laia (local student), AHM (Ahmet), FAT (Fatma) (Turkish students)

1. CAT: [fig 1]Laia/ (0.2) ah: is also_ (.) studying

fig 1

2. leather [technology_]

3. FAT [(°yes i know\?°)]

4. (.)

5. CAT: so it's going to be helpful ok/

6. (0.2)

7. LAI: bu:t i don't understand english\ [((laughs))]

8. AHM: [((laughs))]

9. FAT: [((laughs))]

10. i help you understand\

11. (1.0)

12. CAT: this hopefully is going to be a

13. collabora[tive] project\

14. FAT: [yeah\]

15. (0.2)

16. CAT: okay/

17. (1.4)

18. LAI: ***vale***\ ok\

19. (0.3)

20. AHM: [xxxx]

21. FAT: [let's fill] the blanks\

22. ((the students continue working on the task in English))

In lines 1–5, the teacher addresses the students, explaining that Laia is studying Leather Technology – the subject of the task – and is thus a "helpful" (line 5) expert. In line 7, however, Laia produces her own self-categorisation as a poor English speaker. The group laugh together, which both mitigates Laia's negative description of her competence in English and displays the other students' affiliative stance towards her. This stance is further evidenced in Fatma's offer to assist Laia in line 10. After the teacher's comment that the task is intended to be collaborative, Laia agrees to using English, and the group begins to work on the task. Thus, despite the explicit role of English in the teaching/learning proposal, the actual agreement to use it is clearly a local accomplishment.

Until now, we have focused on how ELF talk itself is accomplished and linked to processes of negotiation and membership categorisation. However, using a lingua franca may further be seen to be a part of the very organisation of interactional activities in our corpus, and it is this aspect to which the focus now turns.

Lingua Franca and the Accomplishment of Interaction

The ethnomethodological and CA concept of indexicality refers to the unspoken, shared common-sense understandings drawn on by speakers and hearers in the course of accomplishing orderly social action. In this regard, it is very similar to the notion of contextualisation (Gumperz 1982, 1992) in interactional sociolinguistics, whereby speakers and listeners are understood to produce and interpret cues or indices to bring order to their social activities. The juxtaposition of different languages – or code-switching – has been shown to be an indexical resource available to plurilingual speakers, mobilised to cue changes in activities and participation frameworks (Goffman 1981; Goodwin and Goodwin 2004, see also Mondada and Nussbaum 2012), among other aspects of interactional organisation (Auer 1984; Gumperz 1982). As Mondada writes:

> De manière générale, les indices de contextualisation sont des pratiques par lesquelles les participants mettent en évidence, reproduisent, transforment, effacent des éléments du contexte qu'ils rendent pertinents pour l'interprétation de l'énoncé en cours. Le CS est l'une des ressources qui accomplissent ce travail de guidage interprétatif, notamment en créant un contraste entre un segment énoncé dans une langue et le segment suivant énoncé dans l'autre: ils soulignent ainsi une transformation dans les détails à prendre en compte pour l'interprétation. (Mondada 2007: 174)[10]

In Auer's (1984, 1998, 1999) intrinsically emic account of code-switching, the juxtaposition of languages may be discourse-related, in that it indexes speakers' interpretations of some aspect of the communicative situation. Such changes include

[10]Translation: "Generally, contextualisation cues are practices through which participants reveal, reproduce, transform or delete elements of the context that are relevant for the interpretation of the utterance being produced. CS is one of the resources that perform this interpretive guidance work, creating a contrast between an utterance in one language and the following utterance in another: in this way, CS highlights a change in the details to be interpreted."

the initiation of a new activity, or a change in the participant constellation; for example, when participants use code-switching to broker (Skårup 2004) the participation of someone they categorise as lacking competence in the language being used.

Fragment 5 is one example of how code-switching between plurilingual resources – and in particular into a lingua franca – operates indexically in the corpus. It takes place during a sequence of student group work as part of an Educational Psychology class at University A. It involves two local students – Ariadna and Gisela – and two Erasmus students – Camilla and Emine. The students have met outside of class time to plan a presentation about an article they have read in English, which, like in the Leather Technology class presented in Fragment 4 above, is both the pre-defined lingua franca and a potential object of students' learning. The sequence takes place at the beginning of the recording while participants negotiate how to position the video camera.

Fragment 5

ARI: Ariadna, GIS: Gisela (local students), CAM: Camilla (Dutch student), EMI: Emine (Turkish student)

1. ARI: ah: i don't appear\
2. (0.2)
3. GIS: *fig 1* **perquè no la fiques de l'altre manera**\= — why don't you put it the other way\=

fig 1


4. ARI: =eh/
5. (0.1)
6. ARI: i don't appear\
7. (0.4)
8. ARI: i [don't appear ((laughs))]
9. CAM: [no you can] show it xxx[xxx]=
10. EMI: [it's just Gisela\]=
11. ALL: = ((laugh))
12. (0.7)
13. ALL: ((laughs))
14. (1.4)
15. STU: ahm hm: hm hm:/
16. (5.1)

17. GIS: *fig 2*I read something of the article in the internet

fig 2

18. but_ (1.02) i don't understand very well *fig 3*\\

fig 3

19. (0.5)
20. ARI: no/
21. (0.9)
22. GIS: because of the concepts\\

Speaking English, Ariadna comments in the first line that she is out of the camera's view. Gisela addresses her in line 3, but in Catalan, to suggest that she position the camera differently. Her choice of code is related to the recipient design (Sacks 1992) of her turn, which is meant for Ariadna. In line 4, Ariadna acknowledges Gisela's suggestion ("eh"), but continues in English, repeating the problem. Her use of the lingua franca indexes the presence of the Erasmus students – who are non-Catalan speakers – and modifies the framework to broker their participation. After Camilla makes a suggestion about how to position the camera and Emine makes a joke about Gisela being the only person in the camera's view, there is laughter from all members of the group.

In line 15, one participant prompts a change in activity ("ahm hm hm hm"), from setting up the camera to doing the academic task, followed by a long pause. Gisela cues this change more explicitly, by commenting, in lines 17–22, on a difficulty she has experienced in understanding the article. This time, although she selects Ariadna as the recipient of her turn through the direction of her gaze and body position (see fig 3 in the transcription), she speaks in English, unlike in her only other turn. Thus, her use of the lingua franca is both indexical in that it cues a change in activity and affiliative, in that it reorganises the participation framework in order to include the two Erasmus students in the talk.

Until now, the analyses have demonstrated that lingua franca is not an *a priori* phenomenon determining language use, or the only available form of plurilingual talk available to participants in our corpus. Rather, the use of a lingua franca –

English – emerges locally and is thus a situated accomplishment in itself, as well as being a resource for organising interactional activities. In the remainder of the chapter, we consider another feature of the corpus – the mobilisation of other languages during talk in ELF through code-switching – and consider how such mobilisation of different plurilingual resources may support the local accomplishment of socio-institutional and educational goals.

3 Plurilingual Resources in ELF Talk

ELF has been described as an emergent variety, with no native speakers, lacking many features of standard languages that are not crucial for international intelligibility (Seidlhofer 2005; Seidlhofer et al. 2008). ELF has further been portrayed as being categorised by interlocutors as 'ordinary', with non-standard features being 'let pass' or 'made normal' in the course of interaction (Firth 1996). As mentioned earlier, a common characteristic of ELF talk is the presence of transcodic features at the phonological, lexico-grammatical and pragmatic levels, as well as code-switching (Böhringer and Hülmbauer 2008; Hülmbauer et al. 2008). In this discussion, we are primarily concerned with the emergence of the latter feature in ELF talk.

Fragment 6 demonstrates how during interactions in English in our corpus, plurilingual resources may be drawn on by participants in accomplishing mutual understanding. The interaction takes place at the office for international students at University A, between the employee, Lídia, and the two Greek students, Uriana and Costas. Prior to the fragment, Lídia had been explaining to the students that she plays soccer. The fragment begins with Costas asking her about her position.

Fragment 6

LID: Lídia (employee), URI: Uriana, COS: Costas (Greek students)

1. COS: *fig 1* what is what is your position\

fig 1

2. (0.6)
3. LID: a:hm\ (0.1) well ri::ght no i'm:

4. ***defensa*** _li:ke_ defense_li:ke_
5. (.)
6. URI: *fig 2* ah άμυνα άμυνα\ (.) [hm hm\] ah defense defense\ (.) [hm hm\]

fig 2

7. COS: [ναι άμυνα άμυνα\] [yes defense defense\]
8. (0.1)
9. LID: ***ya/*** ***yeah/***
10. (.)
11. URI: yes [we know\]
12. COS: [i was] playing as goal keeper\

In line 3, Lídia initiates a word search (Goodwin and Goodwin 1986; Sacks 1992; Schegloff et al. 1977) and unable to find it in English, she inserts the word – "*defensa*" – in what could be Spanish or Catalan (line 4). In line 6, Uriana turns to Costas and demonstrates her understanding by translating the word to Greek. Costas, in line 7, also shows his understanding and his agreement with Uriana by repeating the Greek word. In line 9, Lídia checks the students' understanding of what she is trying to say, which Uriana confirms in the following turn, after which the interaction continues without further 'fuss'.

Fragment 6 is thus a clear example of how participants in lingua franca interactions may draw on participant-related code-switching (Auer 1984) to solve problems in reaching mutual understanding linked to the availability of resources in English. That is, it demonstrates how code-switching may serve as a facilitating device in lingua franca talk. Similar regulative use of code-switching has also been described in interactionist studies of exolingual conversation, or talk involving people with asymmetrical competences in the language being used (Alber and Py 1985; Nussbaum 1990; Py 1986), as well as in psycholinguistic studies on communication strategies in second language learners' interlanguage (Bialystock 1990; Tarone 1980). However, often in our corpus, code-switching is mobilised to accomplish goals that extend beyond the solution of problems related to communication. In the next two sections, the way that participants draw on code-switching pragmatically to contribute to the accomplishment of socio-institutional goals at the international student offices (section "Code-Switching in Lingua Franca Interactions and the

Accomplishment of Socio-institutional Goals"), and to fulfill teaching/learning tasks in classroom interactions (section "Code-Switching in Lingua Franca and the Accomplishment of Teaching/Learning Goals") are explored.

Code-Switching in Lingua Franca Interactions and the Accomplishment of Socio-institutional Goals

As alluded to already, the CA model of code-switching builds on an understanding of code-switching as both a contextualisation cue and a form of practical social action (Mondada 2007). That is, plurilingual speakers draw on resources from different languages in order to achieve goal-related activities. In this regard, Moore and Patiño-Santos (2010) and Moore (2011) have linked the use of code-switching in different institutional settings at University A to the accomplishment of socio-institutional objectives such as displaying the university's 'friendly' face.

Fragment 7 is an example of how this occurs. The interaction takes place between the employee, Lídia, and the two Greek students, Costas and Uriana. It begins with Lídia asking the students for their street[11] number (lines 1–3).

Fragment 7

LID: Lídia (employee), COS: Costas, URI: Uriana (Greek students)

1. LID: *fig 1* so consell de cent/

fig 1

lid: **--typing-->*

2. (4.7*)

---->*

3. LID: ***ay\(0.3)i el número/*** ay\ (0.3) and the number/

4. (1.3)

[11] Consell de Cent is the name of the street where the students live.

5. COS: *fig 2* σαράντα [τεσσάρων] — forty [four]

fig 2

6. LID: **[la por]ta/** — [the do]or/
7. (1.1)
8. COS: *fig 3* eh\=

fig 3

9. URI: =e:h\
10. (0.3)
11. COS: [this is the:] +*eskwaleta*+ *b*_ — [this is the:] +stairwell+ b_
12. URI: [*cuarenta y cuatro*\] — [forty four\]
13. (0.6)
14. LID: *no*\ *fig 4* *pero el número es cuarenta y cuatro/* — no\ but the number is forty four/

fig 4

15. (0.1)
16. URI: hm hm\
17. (*0.1*)
lid: *-*typing*-*
18. LID: [*vale*\] — [ok]
19. COS: [*piso*] τρία *cuatro* [αλλά] — [flat] three four [but]
20. LID: [*no*\]
21. COS> i don't know [how to-]

22.	LID:	[*fig 5* *no no*] *aquí*\=	[no no] here\=

fig 5

23.	URI:	=ναι \	=yes\
24.		(0.1)	
25.	LID:	[*cuarenta y cuatro*\]	[forty four\]
26.	URI:	[*cuarenta cuatro hm*\]	[forty four hm\]
27.		(0.1)	
28.	COS:	the door of xx\	
29.		(0.2)	
30.	LID:	*sí*\	yes\
31.		(.)	
32.	COS:	ναι ναι forty four yes\	yes yes forty four yes\
33.		(.)	
34.	LID:	*jr jrjr jroña que jroña ya*\	jr jr jr jroña que jroña enough\
35.		((laughs)) *no sé nada*\ *no*	((laughs)) i don't know anything\ no
36.		*porque digo lo hacen con las palabras*	because i say they do it with the words
37.		ah: with the words he was saying and i	
38.		was like hm well what\	
39.		(.)	
40.	URI:	((laughs))	
41.		(0.7)	
42.	LID:	*fig 6* so forty four/	

fig 6

At the start of the fragment, Lídia switches from English (line 1) to Spanish/Catalan – linked to her work at the computer – to ask the students for "the number" (line 3). Costas provides her with their street number in line 5, speaking in Greek – his and Uriana's first language. In line 6, Lídia elaborates on the question, asking for the door number, but using Catalan ("*la porta*"). After hesitating, in lines 11 and 12 both Costas and Uriana respond by providing different information. Costas in a mix of English and Spanish gives the number of the stairwell (his "eskwaleta" is presumably meant to be the Spanish word *escalera*). Uriana – in Spanish – provides the street number ("*cuarenta y cuatro*"). Lídia confirms Uriana's response in line 14, also using Spanish, before entering it into the computer.

Lidia's "*vale*" in line 18 cues a change of activity. However, in line 19, Costas continues to respond to Lídia's previous question – providing the door number in a mix of Spanish and Greek (*"piso τρία cuatro αλλά"*). This intervention reopens the negotiation over the information required, which continues trilingually until line 32, where Costas confirms that the street number is "forty four".

In lines 34–38, Lídia displays her friendliness by making light of the preceding confusion and the evidently exolingual nature of the talk. She draws on the knowledge she has of the students' first language and makes a joke – she says what she understands as the first line from a Danone Greek yoghurt advertisement that was once popular in Spain (*"joña que joña"*).[12] Similar uses have been observed in other places in the corpus of interactions at the registration office (Moore 2011; Moore and Patiño-Santos 2010) and across different university settings, e.g. official, institutional ceremonies (Moore 2011), suggesting that code-switching is indeed considered by students and staff to be a resource for accomplishing socio-institutional goals of various natures. Of these, uses that may be linked to the accomplishment of teaching/learning objectives are of particular interest to our research objectives.

Code-Switching in Lingua Franca and the Accomplishment of Teaching/Learning Goals

Results from a growing body of research in second language classroom settings have highlighted how code-switching is systematically drawn on by learners in accomplishing collective learning tasks (Duff and Kobayashi 2010; Masats et al. 2007; Nussbaum 1990; Nussbaum and Unamuno 2000; Py 1991; Swain and Lapkin 2000; Unamuno 2008). Such research lends support to the affirmation that plurilingualism scaffolds (Wood et al. 1976) the development of communicative expertise (Hall et al. 2006) in a new language. Swain and Lapkin write:

> [R]esearch examining the relationship between first language (L1) and second language use in the context of bilingual education [...] makes it quite clear that the development and maintenance of the L1 supports the development of the second language. This leads to the seeming paradox that the more use made of the L1, the higher becomes the learners' L2 proficiency. (Swain and Lapkin 2000: 251)

[12] See: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=JWeU-QPFjiY.

Such research also suggests that plurilingual resources support academic task completion in a second language. For example, Duff and Kobayashi (2010), examining the preparation of a university class presentation in English by a group of Japanese ESL students, found that they commonly code-switched into Japanese. However, the students gradually shifted to English as the presentation got closer. Recent research into plurilingual interaction in Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL), ELF and immersion classrooms at different levels of education has demonstrated that plurilingualism may also be a resource facilitating the construction of non-language knowledge (Borràs et al. forthcoming; Gajo 2007; Gajo and Berthoud 2008; Gajo and Grobet 2008; Moore and Dooly 2010; Moore and Nussbaum 2011; Moschkovich 2002; Müller and Pantet 2008).

Fragment 8 from the Leather Technology class at University B is a first example of how students in our corpus in courses nominally taught in English draw on code-switching both to overcome gaps in their second language competence and to construct knowledge of the subject at hand. In the fragment, the students – Laia, a local student, and Ahmet and Fatma, from Turkey – are comparing textile and leather processing.

Fragment 8

LAI: Laia (local student), AHM: Ahmet, FAT: Fatma (Turkish students)

1.	FAT:	and eh: you said but [eh:] more complicated_	
2.	AHM:	[more_]	
3.		(.)	
4.	AHM:	more compli[cat]ed/	
5.	LAI:	[eh\]	
6.		(0.7)	
7.	FAT:	*fig 1* from textile/	

fig 1

8.		(0.3)	
9.	LAI:	***sí:***\	ye:s\
10.		(0.9)	
11.	LAI:	ahm:\	
12.		(1.0)	
13.	LAI:	is: hm: ***bueno*** more complicated	is: hm: well more complicated

14.		is₋ (0.9) +delikate+\ *fig 2*	

fig 2

15.		(0.2)	
16.	LAI:	((laughing) deli- *fig 3*	

fig 3

17.		**ja parlem en italià aquí:/**)	we'll speak Italian here:/
18.		(.)	
19.	LAI:	((laughing) **com es diu** de-)	((laughing) how do you say de-)
20.		(1.1)	
21.	LAI:	((laughing) +delikat+\))	
22.	FAT:	[+delikat+\ (.) +delikat+\]	
23.	AHM:	[deli- (0.5) bili]yordum\ *fig 4*	[deli- (0.5) I] knew it \

fig 4

24.		sözlük ver\ (.)	give me the dictionary\ (.)
25.		[sözlüğüm ver\ ]	[give me my dictionary\]
26.	FAT:	[+delikeit+\]	
27.		(0.3)	
28.	FAT:	ok we will- ((laughter) xxx)	

29. (1.1)
30. FAT: [explain] explain ok delicate explain\
31. AHM: [yeah use-]
32. (1.8)
33. LAI: [((laughs))]
34. FAT: [fig 5][with your hands\]

fig 5

35. (0.5)
36. AHM: if you want you can use_
37. (0.8)
38. AHM: spanish turkish\
39. (0.4)
40. LAI: *delicado*\ delicate\
41. (0.6 [fig 6])

fig 6

42. LAI: *delicado*\ delicate\
43. (14.6)
44. LAI: *delicado*\= delicate\=
45. AHM: =narin\= = delicate\=
46. FAT: =ah_ [ok] [fig 7] yes\

fig 7

47. LAI: [ok/]
48. (0.6)

49.	LAI:	for me is: this:_	
50.		(0.5)	
51.	LAI:	((laughs)) *delicado* hm: is more *delicado*\	((laughs)) delicate hm: is more delicate\
52.		(0.5)	
53.	LAI:	[hm:] process the: the the: leather\	
54.	FAT:	[yes\]	
55.		(0.4)	
56.	LAI:	on comparison the textile\	

The fragment begins with Fatma and Ahmet seeking clarification from Laia about a suggestion she has made that leather processing is “more complicated” than textile processing. Laia – in line 9 – confirms her idea then hesitates, before modifying “more complicated” to “delicate” in lines 13–14. However, she orients to her pronunciation as non-standard – supposedly Italian – before switching to Catalan to ask explicitly for help pronouncing the word. Fatma appears to understand the word that Laia is trying to say in English, demonstrated by her standard pronunciation of the word in lines 22 and 26. However, Ahmed does not. Two resources are thus suggested: on the one hand, Fatma encourages Laia to use hand gestures to get her meaning across and, on the other, Ahmet takes out a bilingual Spanish-Turkish dictionary and encourages Laia to use it. In lines 40–44, Laia refers to the Spanish word – “*delicado*” – with its Turkish translation in the bilingual dictionary and shows it to Ahmet, who verbalises the Turkish word – “*narin*” – in line 45. Following this, Fatma demonstrates her understanding. In lines 49–56, Laia completes the scientific argument that provided the sequential context for attention to a linguistic aspect of the discipline (Barwell 2003, 2005), a process facilitated by the students’ mobilisation of their plurilingual repertoires, among other resources such as gesture and the dictionary.

A slightly different use of code-switching during ELF talk to accomplish learning objectives is observed in Fragment 9 from the Educational Psychology class from University A, involving two local students – Gisela and Ariadna – and two Erasmus students – Camilla and Emine. The students have read a scientific article in English[13] and have met outside of class time in order to prepare a presentation about it for their class. The fragment begins with Gisela expressing an uncertainty.

[13] Wendy Patton and Peter Creed. 2007. The relationship between career variables and occupational aspirations and expectations for Australian high school adolescents. *Journal of Career Development* 34(2):127–148.

Fragment 9

ARI: Ariadna, GIS: Gisela (local students), CAM: Camilla (Dutch student), EMI: Emine (Turkish student)

1. GIS: *fig 1* i read something of the article in the

fig 1

2. internet but_(1.0) i don't understand very well\
3. (0.5)
4. ARI: no/
5. (0.9)
6. GIS: because of the concepts\ (0.5) occupational
7. aspirations_ (0.2) career status aspirations_ (0.4)
8. i don't kno:w\
9. (0.5)
10. EMI: hm:\
11. (0.3)
12. GIS: the difference between_ (0.3) occupational/
13. (0.5) and career status/ (0.1) i don't know\ (0.1)
14. what is the difference\
15. (1.3)
16. CAM: let me see:/ (0.1) *fig 2* occupational and_


fig 2

17. (3.0)
18. GIS: a::hm::\
19. (2.3)
20. CAM: occupatio[nal aspira:tions_]
21. ARI: [i don't know] but that is related
22. with the skills you have\ if you have go to
23. the university: only to the hi:gh schoo:l only
24. primary:_ (0.4) s- (0.3) studies_ (0.6) [i don't] know
25. if it has- if it's related to this\

26. STU: [hah ah\]
27. (0.2)
28. GIS: it's related to the:_ (0.3) *fig 3*trajectory/


fig 3

29. (0.1)
30. ARI: hm:_
31. (0.1)
32. STU: ah_
33. GIS: it's corr[ect/]
34. EMI: [ok\]
35. (1.3)
36. GIS: it's correct tra- ((laughing) trajectory/)
37. (.)
38. CAM: [wha:t the:/]
39. EMI: [traject]o[ry (no?)\ ]
40. ARI: [((laughs))]
41. GIS: [the *fig 4*tra[ject-]] the ay\


fig 4

42. **com se diu això/=** — how do you say that/=
43. STU: [xx]
44. CAM: =tra[ject/]
45. ARI: [the:_] the the per- the:- (0.4)
46. what do you mean/
47. (0.6)
48. GIS: **la trajectòria** — the trajectory\
49. (0.3)
50. ARI: **però: acadèmica/** — bu:t academic/
51. (0.3)

52. GIS: **sí**:\ ye:s\
53. (0.1)
54. ARI: like the: e: e:_ (0.2) a[ca]demic history
55. well [*fig 5*the:_]

fig 5

56. CAM: [ok\]
57. EMI: [yea:h [yea:h xx [xx\]]
58. CAM: [yeah yeah yeah [yeah\]]
59. GIS: [yes\]

The uncertainty expressed by Gisela in relation to her understanding of "the concepts" (lines 1–14) is two-fold: on the one hand, she does not understand the difference between 'career' and 'occupation', and on the other, between 'aspirations' and 'expectations'. Camilla skims over the article with Gisela in lines 16–20, looking for the concepts in question. In lines 21–25, Ariadna suggests that 'occupational aspirations' and 'career status aspirations' are related with one's level of studies. In line 28, Gisela initiates a word search, evidenced by her sound stretching and gesturing (placing the palms of her hands parallel to each other at a distance, as though to indicate a time span) asking if the concepts are related to one's "trajectory".

There is consensus in the group, however, that "trajectory" is incorrect in English; thus the word search continues. In line 41, Gisela looks to Ariadna and, facing her palms toward each other and moving them up and down (fig 4), she repeats the word, before producing a self-interruption and switching to Catalan to seek repair (line 42). Ariadna continues the word search. In line 45, she begins to suggest a word – "per(iod?)" – before self-interrupting and asking Gisela to clarify what she means (line 46). Gisela translates the word into Catalan, "*trajectòria*" (line 48), and Ariadna, also in Catalan, seeks further clarification as to whether Gisela is referring to the academic trajectory (line 50). Gisela assents in her next turn, and Ariadna continues the word search. She suggests "academic history", then uses a gesture to clarify, raising her arms and delimiting a circle in the air (lines 54–55). Assent from her peers at the end of the fragment suggests that the word search has been successful.

The four fragments presented in this section of the chapter provide clear evidence that plurilingualism – and in particular code-switching – is drawn on by participants in lingua franca interaction for fulfilling a variety of goals. Beyond the simple facilitation of exolingual talk, in the corpus presented code-switching is also drawn on by participants as an asset in achieving complex socio-institutional and educational objectives. The latter two uses are arguably of much interest to universities seeking to capitalise on and improve the plurilingual competences of students and staff as resources for 'doing internationalisation' (Moore 2011).

4 Conclusions

The objective of this chapter has been two-fold. On the one hand, it set out to describe how a common interactional medium was negotiated by plurilingual participants in international settings. On the other, it aimed to analyse how plurilingual resources – and code-switching in particular – emerged in lingua franca interactions and how they could be related to the situated accomplishment of multiple goals.

Situations of language contact data from two distinct settings – service encounters and classroom interactions – at two major Catalan universities have been explored. In a context of increasing internationalisation, a growing number of international students and staff are joining the Catalan higher education system. At the same time, universities are increasingly promoting 'internationalisation at home' (Nilsson 2003) by encouraging local students and staff to improve their competences in international languages, most prominently English. Added to these processes of internationalisation, other factors which play a part in the Catalan sociolinguistic environment – such as the university's ongoing promotion of Catalan and the co-official and 'international' qualities of Spanish – contribute to a very interesting scenario for the study of the dynamics of multilingualism.

The analysis presented has argued that lingua franca talk – and in particular talk in ELF – may be considered one of several forms of plurilingual talk available to plurilingual staff and students. The way that this medium is (re)negotiated and linked to processes of membership categorisation has been explored. In this regard, even in the classroom setting where English is defined *a priori* as the medium of communication, its use is locally conditioned by participants' assessments of their own competence or possibilities. Similar findings are reported by Söderlundh (this volume).

The analysis has further explored how plurilingual practices such as code-switching – a common phenomenon in our corpus as well as in interaction in Catalonia in general – are mobilized by participants in ELF interactions. The data reveals how participants draw on code-switching to solve practical problems in reaching mutual understanding linked to the availability of resources in the lingua franca. However, the analysis goes a step further in exploring how code-switching may also contribute to the accomplishment of goals that extend beyond the mere facilitation of communication. In this sense, code-switching is linked to participants' achievement of socio-institutional goals such as the presentation of a 'friendly' face of the university. It is also linked to students' task accomplishment – both in terms of their participation and in terms of constructing knowledge – in courses nominally taught in English.

It should be noted that such hybridity (Woolard 2008) in situations of internationalisation does not tend to be reflected in official policies in Catalan higher education, which generally embrace the use of English as a lingua franca and fail to recognise the significance of other plurilingual practices – including code-switching. Such practices, however, are very familiar to the bilingual population and are common in interactions taking place at universities in the two local languages (Nussbaum 2005; Pujolar et al. 2010). Keeping in mind the analysis presented in this chapter, it may be argued, however, that the plurilingual competences of students and staff can be conceptualised as strategic assets that *should* be drawn on by universities in achieving their specific goals in terms of internationalisation.

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Language Choice and Linguistic Variation in Classes Nominally Taught in English

Hedda Söderlundh

1 Introduction

Exchange programs and other initiatives aspiring for mobility are fundamental in the internationalisation process taking place in higher education today. Universities wish to attract students from different parts of the world and the number of students spending a period of time abroad is increasing (see, for example, Coleman 2006). The language for this academic encounter is often English, as it is one of the dominating lingua francas of today. By using English, universities can offer education to both domestic and foreign students and internationalise their study programmes. English as a lingua franca is in itself talked about as one of several tools in obtaining more global, less local perspectives in courses and study programmes.

Language-oriented studies on internationalisation processes in higher education tend to focus on the English language. This is not particularly surprising, given that universities themselves seem to regard the process as monolingual rather than multilingual (Ljosland 2005). Yet, English is the *official language* of the courses or programs, and in addition to English other non-authorised languages may be used as well. Student mobility implies that individuals with varying cultural and linguistic competence meet, and in Europe, in particular, English may be just one option among other languages in interactions between students from different countries. The multilingual character is confirmed by Ljosland (2008) in a study of a Norwegian English-medium master's programme. The study shows that the national language holds a special position as the language of the surrounding society and the mother tongue of the majority of the students. Similarly, a study by Nevile and Wagner (2008) of an oral group examination in Denmark demonstrates that choice of language at an international university is always a pertinent issue for participants. Language choice is not something that can be done "simply and easy, once and

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for all, and subsequently taken-for-granted, but rather is oriented to by participants throughout, and is dependent on moment-to-moment interactional contingencies for speaker designation and participation", as the authors conclude (2008: 168).

In this chapter, I give further examples of how non-authorised languages are used in English lingua franca settings at the internationalised university. The data comes from a study of language choice in English-medium courses at a Swedish university and my focus will be on students' use of the language of the surrounding society, namely Swedish.[1] The following questions will guide my investigation: In what situations and contexts are other languages than English – particularly Swedish – visible in connection to teaching? What attitudes surround the languages used in the courses? And what kind of linguistic milieu is shaped in these English-medium courses where students with diverging cultural and linguistic competence meet and interact?

The structure of the chapter is as follows: Section 2 provides a short background presenting the example of Sweden and how English is used as a tool for internationalising higher education. Section 3 presents earlier studies on multilingual practices at the internationalised university, and I discuss how English-medium courses can be understood in the light of sociological theory. Section 4 provides the empirical basis for the chapter by describing the study of language choice that was conducted at the Swedish university. Section 5 presents results concerning use and functions of Swedish and other languages than English, and highlights attitudes surrounding languages in the observed courses. In Sect. 6, I take a wider perspective and go beyond the findings on patterns of language choice by discussing participants' norms for language choice, as indicated by what they say and do. I also discuss theoretical understandings of the findings by asking whether the courses are to be regarded as international or national, and what significance this has for language choice.

2 The Example of Sweden

Swedish universities offer a comparatively large number of courses and study programmes in English. A count of all such programmes across Europe puts the country in fourth place, after the Netherlands, Germany and Finland (Wächter and Maiworm 2008: 11). In 2009, 18 % of the individual courses and 25 % of the programmes in Sweden were offered in English. At master's level 65 % of the programmes were offered in English (Salö 2010: 35–36).[2] Roughly half the students were Swedish and half from abroad. In 2009, undergraduate studies in Swedish higher education were still predominantly in Swedish (Salö 2010), and a survey (Bolton and Kuteeva 2009) from Stockholm University shows that students as well

[1] This chapter is based on the results of my PhD project, presented in Söderlundh (2010).

[2] The usefulness of that figure is unclear, however, as there is no indication of how many of those courses and programmes were actually run.

as staff in science, social sciences, humanities and law rate English-medium courses as more important at postgraduate level than undergraduate level.

As in other parts of Europe, most of these programmes are new, having come into being in conjunction with the European standardisation of university education following the Bologna Declaration (Coleman 2006). Mobility and improved contact between institutions for higher education have been stressed by national governments and interest organizations since the early 1990s, but also by universities themselves. Indeed, as noted by Ljosland (2008: 321), the internationalisation of higher education occurs through both top-down and bottom-up processes; through external political initiatives as well as internal initiatives from students and teaching staff at institutions for higher education. Coleman (2006: 3–4) observes that English-medium education is also a matter of economics. The introduction of English-medium instruction has not uncommonly been compared to a market adjustment – albeit to an English-speaking market – in the wake of internationalisation.

The Swedish university that is focused on here stresses that English is primarily used as a contact language. In the English prospectus distributed before the beginning of the term, the university states that by providing education in English it wishes to "enable students from abroad without prior knowledge of Swedish to study at [the university]". English is thus associated with exchange students and described as a tool for attracting students from different parts of the world. Nevertheless, the university falls within the category of international universities which, according to Roberts (2008: 9), act globally, but think locally. The content, educational approach and syllabi are still largely national products and the courses are *nominally taught in English* in the sense that the course language is designated as English in prospectuses and course syllabi.

At the time of my investigation the university had no regulations concerning the language of instruction. Likewise, there were no guidelines for English-medium teaching or directives about how such teaching was best carried out. Instead, each department determined the extent to which English was to be used and the design of the individual courses. In practice, it was down to individual lecturers to handle language issues of various kinds as they arose in their teaching. Not particularly surprising, a case study by Airey (2011: 43) on Swedish university lecturers' experiences of teaching in English shows that lecturers experience the change from Swedish to English as "unreflected and haphazard", rather than as a considered decision. However, during the last few years, the Swedish agency for higher education has recommended that all universities adopt language policies and regulations concerning the use of English in connection to teaching.

3 Earlier Studies and Theoretical Views

Earlier studies on language choice in Scandinavian higher education demonstrate that a multilingual environment permeates international university education, even though syllabi and policy documents may give a different picture. In particular, Ljosland's (2008) study of language use in a nominally English-medium master's programme in Norway should be mentioned. In her ethnographic case study Ljosland shows that lecturers and students have a pragmatic attitude towards the official course language English, adapting their choice of language to what participants understand and feel comfortable with. In informal oral situations especially, other languages are common, but even in study-related contexts code switching occurs, in particular to Norwegian. The switches function as a framing device or a tool for addressing certain participants. In some cases, Ljosland (2008: 246) indicates that the use of other languages depends on a lack of vocabulary in English.

The structuring functions of language choice are also stressed in the abovementioned study by Nevile and Wagner (2008) of an oral examination at a Danish university. The examination was conducted according to a locally "here and now" policy of language choice, allowing participants to choose freely from the available languages of the group. By using conversation analysis the authors noted two practices for language choice: "one speaker – one language" and "language consistency across turns" (Nevile and Wagner 2008: 170). Language choice was inevitably tied to participation, or as the authors put it, "for establishing whom could contribute, on what they could contribute, when and how they could contribute, and how their contributions could be responded to and acted upon" (Nevile and Wagner 2008: 171).

Together with Ljosland's study, the results of Nevile and Wagner imply that language choice and linguistic milieus cannot be predicted, but emerge in interaction on a local moment-to-moment basis. It is not possible to predict – for example, from the English name of the course – what language choices will characterise the linguistic environment. Rather, there seems to be a tension at the internationalised university between language policy on the one hand, which prescribes monolingual English interaction, and language practices on the other hand, which make evident multilingual interaction.

In sociological theory this tension can be understood as an effect of the relationship between structures and individual actors. My theoretical understanding of the courses nominally taught in English – and the use of different languages in them – is that they must be seen as a product of both the actions of individual actors and broader, recurring patterns of social action. This approach to social structures and agency coincides with what Coupland (2001) calls an *integrationist* view of structure and agency. The integrationist view sees the individual as a social actor who, in the process of action and interaction with others, builds up and recreates everyday social life, but who at the same time is influenced by more overarching systems and routines of social action (see also *structuration theory*, Giddens 1984). At the internationalised university, this means that the actions of lecturers and students are assumed to produce and reproduce the structures forming the entity we call a university. When they act, however, they follow existing structures, both social and linguistic, and they act largely habitually, guided by their knowledge of earlier university teaching. Since participants have knowledge from different countries, competence in varying linguistic systems and experiences from diverse cultures, multilingualism and cultural diversity will permeate the interaction. At the end of the chapter I return to this theoretical perspective and discuss it in the light of the study presented.

4 A Study of Language Choice

The study was conducted at one of the largest Swedish universities in 2007. The aim was to investigate language choice and the use of the national language Swedish in English-medium courses. Three areas were studied, and in this chapter I will present them in broad lines: the use of Swedish in courses nominally taught in English, functions of Swedish in that context and attitudes of students and teaching staff to Swedish, English and to the choice of one language or the other. As Nevile and Wagner (2008) make clear, close analyses of social interaction can uncover norms and attitudes affecting language choice. In this study I also draw on social interaction data in the form of talk from classrooms and study situations outside class in my analyses of norms and attitudes. Like Ljosland, I make use of ethnography, and the combination of the research fields of sociolinguistics and ethnography distinguishes the investigation from that of Nevile and Wagner.

As in other studies that combine ethnography and linguistics, a basic assumption is that language, in the form of texts or interactional sequences, is part of a larger social and cultural context, and that knowledge about that context is important in understanding language use (see, for example, Creese 2008: 232). The use of other languages was thus observed in the social context by means of participant observations. In total six courses were observed and video recorded,[3] of which half were offered within a faculty of science and technology (in the subject areas engineering and computer science), half in a social sciences faculty (in the area of business studies). The courses were followed both by Swedish students and by foreign students on exchange programmes, although the number of participants from abroad varied from one course to another. In the engineering courses, two out of 23 or 24 students were foreign, whereas among the business students the proportion was between one in three and one in four. None of the exchange students spoke Swedish within or outside the teaching situation, and on no occasion did they show that they understood the language. All the teaching staff included in the study speak Swedish.

Most of the interaction in the data is institutional in purpose. The institutional character comes from the participants' orienting to tasks and identities that are associated with the institution in question (see, for example, Drew and Heritage 1992: 22–25). The topic of discussion is almost always related to the teaching subject, and the participants exhibit either a teacher's or a student's perspective. However, students also talk about other, non-institutional, subjects, and goals, roles and topics often shift between institutional and non-institutional as interactions proceed. It is not uncommon that sequences and phases of seminars differ in character. The situational context depends on the actions of the participants and is not a fixed part of the environment (Drew and Heritage 1992: 22).

[3]In all, 38 teaching sessions (of 2 × 45 min) and 13 group work situations (12 h of video or audio recordings) were observed and documented with field notes and video or audio recordings (34 h in total).

As will become clear from my analysis the manifestation of an institutional or non-institutional context affects participants' language choice, and the aspect of context is of particular importance here. That alternation of languages can serve as a framework for interaction is well documented in studies that adopt a socio-functional approach to multilingual communication (see, for instance, Gumperz 1982: 98 *situational switching*; Auer 1995: 125 *discourse-related code-switching*). Language choice, or alternation between languages, is regarded as a *contextualization cue*, i.e. a means by which "speakers signal and listeners interpret what the activity is, how semantic content is to be understood and *how* each sentence relates to what precedes or follows" (Gumperz 1982: 131). In the courses studied, the use of a language other than English may thus signal a specific context or give prominence to other social functions in the interaction.

When presenting the results I refer to the presence – or absence – of an institutional context in terms of two situational contexts, which are *on-task talk* and *off-task talk*. As indicated above, the contexts are distinguished on the basis of the participants' actions (Drew and Heritage 1992). On-task talk is most clearly institutional in character and involves at least one of the participants orienting to institutional tasks, topics and identities. Off-task talk is non-institutional and is characterised by participants orienting to private or social topics, tasks and situational identities.

5 Patterns of Language Choice

How then are non-official languages used in the observed courses at the Swedish university? In what situations and contexts are Swedish and other non-official languages visible in connection to teaching?

As will be demonstrated, students and lecturers speak other languages than English in certain situations and contexts in connection to teaching. Non-official languages are first and foremost employed outside of whole-group situations, between participants that share competence in a particular language, and there is a consistent pattern of orienting to the linguistic competence and identity of one's peers. However, Swedish holds a special position and sometimes the Swedes speak Swedish in whole-class teaching sessions even though some of the participants present do not understand the language.

A Multilingual Milieu?

To sketch a broad perspective of the milieus studied, I begin by discussing language choice in relation to other participants, the context and what students are doing or talking about at the time. The research question for this section is: *With whom, about what, and when are other languages than English used?*

The students first and foremost base their language choice on the competences and identities of the other participants. As a rule, English is used in interactions with students from different parts of the world and other, non-official, languages – such as Swedish, German or Spanish – are used among participants with shared competence in the particular language. This holds true for all interactional contexts studied, and non-official languages are thus used in on-task talk as well as off-task talk in connection to teaching. For instance, Swedish is used as medium of instruction when students without knowledge of the language are not present and, similarly, exchange students from Spain speak Spanish during breaks and group discussions but English in whole-class situations including students without competence in the Spanish language. This pattern, i.e. accommodation to the linguistic competence of one's peers, indicates that language choice cannot be linked to specific situations or contexts, but rather is dependent on the participants and the linguistic competence and linguistic identities they exhibit. Similar results have recently been reported by Lønsmann (2011) in a study on English as a corporate language in Denmark. Even though the corporate context investigated by Lønsmann is different from that of a university, both employees and students have to manage the official language and a number of non-authorized languages in their daily interactions. Lønsmann (2011) shows that instead of talking English all the time, the employees base their language choices on the perceived competences of their direct addressees. Similar to the study reported here, the immediate local context of the interaction is thus more important for actual language choices than English being the official language.

The orientation towards the linguistic competence and identity of the participants means that language use differs between whole-group teaching, in which participants from different countries are present, and talk occurring outside that context. Outside whole-group teaching, Swedish predominates in the interaction. The reason for its dominance is that Swedish speakers are in the majority and that course participants chiefly associate in groups consisting entirely of either Swedish-speaking or foreign students. Contact between these groups is limited, and it is not uncommon that group work and small-group discussions take place in monolingual Swedish groups or groups made up only of exchange students. Swedish-speaking students who already know each other often form their own groups. In these situations the Swedish language has two different functions: it serves as an unofficial medium of instruction (in talk between lecturers and students) and as a study language (in talk among students). As an unofficial medium of instruction, Swedish is used in the contexts and situations that involve only Swedish speakers, such as interactions between Swedish-speaking lecturers and students. As a study language, it is found during group work, but also in group discussions during classes, lectures and seminars. Even though it has not been observed in this study, it is likely that for instance Spanish, French and German can play similar functions for the exchange students when they interact with students from their home country.

The data also includes situations where the Swedes depart from the otherwise consistent pattern of orienting to the linguistic competence and identity of their peers by speaking Swedish in whole-class teaching sessions. When this happens, the language is injected into the English that is spoken, in the form of isolated words, short phrases or questions addressed to the lecturer. For instance, a Swedish-speaking student might ask the lecturer how a group discussion will be designed, when they will get back comments on an assignment, or what chapters in the course book they will be examined in. The questions are posed in Swedish in front of the class and most of the time the lecturer translates the question and answers in English.

In quantitative terms Swedish plays a very minor role in these whole-group teaching sessions. But interestingly, the use of Swedish can be related to particular kinds of interactional context, namely interactions that are preparatory to the learning or teaching of the course subject. These contexts are to be thought of as between on-task talk and off-task talk, and I refer to them as *procedure-related talk*. The aim of and roles involved in such interactions are institutional, but the topic is 'off-task', in that the participants are not talking about the actual course subject.

The use of Swedish in contexts preparatory to the teaching is interesting to note since no other non-official languages are spoken in procedure-related contexts. However, there are notable differences between the courses concerning the use of Swedish in whole-group situations. In the business studies courses Swedish is seldom used in these contexts, while in the engineering courses Swedish-speaking students also use Swedish in on-task talk. Although this is largely limited to two of the engineering lectures, the pattern indicates that participants take local contextual circumstances into account in their language choices.

The Functions of Other Languages

In this section I deepen the analysis and give examples of language switches as they appear in the classroom interactions observed. By discussing functions of language switches I seek to understand, and to some extent explain, the use of Swedish and other languages. I ask: *Can other languages be said to have any special interactional functions in whole-group teaching?*

It is clear that students and lecturers make use of their competence in other languages to solve problems arising in the production or understanding of the course language English. The function is seen in *language-related episodes* (Swain and Lapkin 1998), where students talk about the language they are producing, question their language use or correct themselves or others. In the courses, the switches are marked by metalinguistic comments, hesitations or pauses that indicate problems in the interaction. The episodes normally follow a three-stage structure in which the student (or the lecturer) in the first stage interrupts herself, points out that she does not know a certain word and then says the word in another language. In the second stage, someone in class gives the missing word and, in the third stage, the first person confirms that she has heard the word and repeats it in English. After the third stage participants resume speaking about the subject discussed before the language question.

Example 1 illustrates a typical language-related episode from one of the courses I observed. A Swedish student named Elin is using her first language Swedish when she cannot formulate the English word for "compete". She says the Swedish word and looks at the lecturer and at her immediate neighbours on either side (lines 4–5). Elin's metacomment clearly signals her awareness that she is switching languages and that Swedish is not expected in this context (cf. Gafaranga and Torras i Calvo 2001). The three people she looks at respond by giving the English equivalent of the word. Elin confirms that she has heard the word by saying *ja*, the Swedish for "yes", and then continues in English, repeating "to compete" (line 10) before giving her reasons. Later in her answer, in line 14, she returns to the word, linking it to the earlier language-related episode by another short *ja* that marks continued uncertainty about the word. Clearly, she is not entirely comfortable with this new piece of vocabulary. Indeed, this is the only time Elin speaks during the seminar, and I get the impression that she finds it difficult, even unpleasant, to express herself in an English-medium classroom.

Example 1

Compete. L: Lecturer. E: Elin. S1 and S2: Swedish-speaking students 1 and 2.[4]

L:	what is it- why would it be a management idea?	
	(1.2)	
E:	°e:° (1.0) ((looking at S1)) it it can be a way to: (0.5) >I	
	don't know how to say in English< ((turning her head	
	towards lecturer, then towards S1 and S2)) *konkurrera*	compete
	(1.4)	
S2:	co[mpete	
L:	[°compete°	
S1:	[compete hh	
E:	*ja:* ((looking at lecturer)) to compete because now it's	yes
	e:: so yes many f- firms and ( ) between so many	
	things e: (1.4) so ( ) ((waving her hands)) so (0.6)	
	maybe the CSR can be a way for the corporations to:	
	>*ja*< to compete [with each other	yes
L:	[m: (1.0) so it's like a competitive	
	advantage	
E:	yes ((nodding)) I think so	

When other languages are used in language-related episodes, metacommunicative comments almost always precede the switch (see lines 3–4 in Example 1). The comment makes the episode into a kind of linguistic interlude which briefly shifts the focus from the task-related discussion to a language question. But the episode is short, and the interaction does not lose its institutional character. Thus, in the example Swedish becomes a temporary element in the institutional situational context, and as the metacomment often is in English, everyone present in the room is included in the situation.

[4]For transcription conventions, see Hutchby and Wooffitt (1998). The transcripts show only the beginning of overlapping speech. As regards intonation, only rising inflection is marked, by the symbol ?. Laughter is indicated by the symbol £.

In the data language-related episodes including translations into English are only found in the business courses and in sequences of on-task talk. The pattern indicates that other languages than English are perceived as deviant in these particular interactional sequences and that English is the preferred language in whole-class teaching sessions focusing on on-task talk. It is noteworthy that language-related episodes in the data seldom include other languages than Swedish. Only a few times do the exchange students use one of the other unofficial languages as resources in the classroom. One such example is when a Spanish student uses her competence in Spanish, asking for help with the English word for "fault". On another occasion a student from French-speaking Canada asks for help with the production of English by switching to French. Swedish, in turn, is used in more than 30 language-related episodes in the data. The difference highlights the special position of the language of the surrounding society.

Another interactional function in whole-group teaching is found in the above-mentioned use of Swedish in procedure-related contexts. By frequently speaking Swedish in these contexts – but not in contexts of on-task talk – Swedish is used as a tool for signalling contexts of off-task talk or procedure-related talk in whole-class teaching sessions (i.e. *contextualisation cue*, Gumperz 1982). When this happens, Swedish is often multifunctional, fulfilling several parallel functions. As illustrated in Example 2, a switch to Swedish may for instance both reinforce a context and address what is said to another Swede in the classroom. Example 2 comes from the very beginning of a lecture in engineering and starts with the lecturer (L) looking for his notes. A student (S) answers his question in Swedish. As will follow from the analysis, the switch from English to Swedish underlines the preparatory character of the context and addresses the answer directly to the Swedish-speaking lecturer.

Example 2

Where are my papers? L: Lecturer. S: Swedish-speaking student.

1	L:	((standing in front of teacher's desk. Moving papers	
2		on the desk)) hm: (1.0) where are my papers?	
3	S:	((waving a paper above his head))	
4	L:	((laughs))	
5		((laughter in class))	
6	L:	e: (.) someone took them? (.) extra copy?	
7		(5.0)	
8	S:	*kanske jag tog dom*	maybe I took them
9	L:	m:	
10	S:	*vill du ha dom*	do you want them back?
11	L:	*ja* [*så länge*	yes just for a while
12	S:	[*kan ta dom sen*=	can have them later
13	L:	=*du får- du får igen dom sen* ((moves towards S and	you'll have- you'll have
14		takes the notes))	them back later
15		(6.0)	
16	L:	where are we ((moves towards the blackboard))	

As the transcript in Example 2 shows, the sequence starts with the lecturer looking for his notes saying *where are my papers* (lines 1–2). After asking a second time (line 6) a student sitting in the back of the classroom says out loud in Swedish *maybe I took them* (line 8). The search for the lecturer's notes establishes a shared procedure-related context, and by switching to Swedish the student underlines the particular context as preparatory to the teaching of the subject. As in similar situations in the recorded data, the utterance is directed from one Swedish-speaking person to another, in this case from a student to the lecturer. The fact that the lecturer is addressed is visible through the choice of language, gazes and participants' bodily orientation in the room. When the student says the he might have taken them, he answers the question and directs his answer towards the lecturer. The lecturer, in turn, confirms the student's orientation by giving an answer and by speaking Swedish. After getting his notes back, the lecturer re-opens the institutional context and marks the contextual switch by talking in the shared course language English, saying *where are we* (line 16). Thus, in Example 2 English is both introducing on-task talk and closing the sequence of procedure-related talk. Swedish, on the other hand, is used as a tool for highlighting the procedure-related character of the preparatory talk and as a tool for addressing the utterance to the Swedish-speaking lecturer.

When Swedish is used for signalling a procedure-related context, the language has an exclusionary function. Asking questions in Swedish to the lecturer or to other Swedish-speaking students is one of several ways in which Swedish students manage participation in the interaction. When students speak Swedish in class the lecturers most often translate into English, but this is not always the case. Exchange students do not protest against this exclusionary dimension of Swedish in procedure-related contexts, and their behaviour indicates that there is a shared understanding among Swedish and non-Swedish course participants of the functions of Swedish, even though primarily Swedish students make use of the interactional functions, and even though they exclude non-Swedish-speaking participants. If Swedish is used in interactions on the subject being taught, however, non-Swedish speakers clearly signal that they do not understand the language and ask the Swedes to switch to English.[5]

Attitudes to Languages and Language Choice

Attitudes can offer insights into participants' understanding of the linguistic situation. They can also – to some extent – explain why a given language is used in some contexts, but not in others. Below I discuss attitudes, as manifested in talk or expressed in interviews with students and teachers, and search for explanations of

[5]Violations of a shared norm for language choice in the courses studied are further discussed in Söderlundh (2012).

the special position of Swedish by posing the following questions: *What attitudes surround Swedish, in particular? How do students and teaching staff talk about Swedish, English and language choice?*

In the interviews, Swedish-speaking students and lecturers talk about participants' linguistic competence and identities as significant for the choice of language. English is associated with students from other countries than Sweden and exchange students are treated as English-speaking students, whether they come from Spain, France or Britain and regardless of their actual linguistic skills and identities. The communicative need for English is exemplified by a lecturer, who says: "There's no reason to speak English just for the sake of it. We should use English as a tool for communicating with people we would not be able to talk to without using English." The lecturer thus clarifies that English is a language for exchange students and a means for teaching international students. The Swedish students, in turn, are not as clearly associated with English, even though their relationship to the language is in fact similar to that of their German and French peers. The Swedes are rather associated with English *and* Swedish, and in interviews the Swedes even say that it is "natural" to speak Swedish with other Swedes, while it is considered "strange" to talk English if all addressees understand Swedish. Surprisingly, one exchange student from Spain consents with this attitude, saying that it would be "weird" if friends who share competence in a particular first language spoke other languages with each other. Together the students indicate that language choice is more than just a question of communicating with students from other countries. English functions as a lingua franca in the courses studied, but it is also a language that indexes certain values and meanings (cf. Hult 2012). The associations do not necessarily appear in situations other than the courses studied; rather they are firmly local constructions affecting language choices among the groups of students.

Another significant attitude among the Swedish-speaking participants is that Swedish is said to be a more efficient language than English, and one that is easier, more convenient and less demanding in study situations. The attitude can be linked to an *instrumental orientation* (Gardner and Lambert 1972: 132), where the medium of instruction can be replaced by the first language of the students for higher efficiency in the study situation. In the courses this instrumental orientation, among other things, implies an assumption that Swedish-speaking students prefer talking Swedish. One interviewed Swedish student even says that "it's not okay to speak English all the time", since that would make you feel like a 'know-it-all'. By saying so, the student sheds light on the social game among the Swedes, where English is not always an accepted language choice – even though the courses are nominally taught in English.

The fact that attitudes to Swedish are consistently positive can be linked to a sense of community among Swedish-speaking course participants. Not uncommonly, this sense of community is expressed in relation to the foreign students, and the use of Swedish is one of the ways in which it is made visible. Swedish students talk about exchange students as a separate group and collaborations between local students and foreign students are rare. The exchange students seem to have lower social status than the local students, and being in the minority arguably affects their attitudes towards language choice. For instance, one interviewed student from Spain says that she first experienced the use of Swedish as rude: "Maybe they are talking about you, maybe they are talking about another thing – you don't know". But after a while she got used to the situation and at the end of the semester she has accepted the use of Swedish. In the courses, exchange students are outnumbered by Swedish-speaking students whose attitudes to the two languages and language choice, by consequence, predominate. It is clear that attitudes of the local students influence language choice generally in the courses studied.

6 Characteristics of the Milieu

The study indicates that the international university is characterised by a creative tension between the course language English and the linguistic competence and identities of the participants. English is the language of instruction, but as the courses bring together students with varying first languages and cultural experiences, other linguistic resources are made relevant in addition to the language of instruction. In the Swedish case presented here, the language of the surrounding society holds a special position and, in the courses investigated, competence in two particular languages – English and Swedish – is what matters. With this in mind it would possibly be more correct to describe the milieus as spontaneously bilingual rather than spontaneously multilingual. However, as the results demonstrate, patterns of language choice differ somewhat between different course environments, and it is more or less accepted to make use of Swedish in whole-group teaching sessions.

Norms for Language Choice, What Are They Like?

Bringing norms into the discussion is, I believe, a way of raising the perspective beyond the findings on patterns of language choice, giving prominence to participants' understanding, and accentuating the holistic view that is the goal of ethnography and ethnographically inspired research. By *norms*, I mean shared – explicit and implicit – expectations concerning social and linguistic behaviour (Gafaranga and Torras i Calvo 2001: 198), and like the discourse analyst Gafaranga (2000), I assume that norms are made visible in interaction. Expected actions are "seen but unnoticed", as Heritage (1984: 116) writes, and they pass without comment. Violations of norms, on the other hand, are noticed by participants, and make visible a sociocultural context to outsiders not familiar with the group's norms, such as a researcher.

The linguistic milieus studied reveal both general and group-specific norms. The first are shared by all the students, extend across the different courses, and give rise to certain fundamental patterns of language choice. One such general expectation is that English is the shared lingua franca among students with varying first languages. English is the official medium of instruction and the expected medium in interactions among students from different countries, both in class and outside class. However, students sharing competence in other languages than English can use their languages in addition to English, and this is a second general expectation influencing language choice in the courses. Since Swedes dominate the courses, the local language Swedish is frequently used and Swedes normally speak Swedish when foreign students are not present. The two expectations give the Swedish students the possibility to speak both English and Swedish, and as shown in the analysis they are not as clearly associated with the English language as the foreign students.

Group-specific norms, meanwhile, differ between the courses and give rise to certain differences in the data considering the use of the national language Swedish. For instance, it was noted that Swedish is not used in on-task talk in the business studies courses, but that it does occur in that situational context in the courses in engineering. Clearly, the different groups have differing expectations as to when it is permissible to speak Swedish. When considering the differences, the expectations can be linked to two particular course-specific circumstances, namely the number of exchange students present and the teaching methods employed. In the engineering courses, only two out of 23 or 24 students are foreign, whereas among the business students the proportion is between one in three and one in four. Furthermore, the courses in engineering are characterised by a traditional, individual-based approach to teaching, built around lectures and classes followed by individual examinations. The business studies courses, on the other hand, rely largely on group-based methods, involving seminars and group work. In the latter context, social pressure arises regarding language choice and it is not socially acceptable to use a language which the foreign students do not understand. In this way, course-specific conditions affect language choice and give rise to local norms for the use of English and other languages. According to these local norms, it is deviant to speak Swedish when a large number of exchange students are present and when learning is group-based, but it is also deviant *only* to speak English when there are few such students present and when learning is based on students' individual achievements.

At first glance, the general norms, common to all the courses studied, seem to represent an accommodation to the listeners and their linguistic competence and identities. Students describe their actual language choice in terms of taking the "path of least linguistic resistance", and often – but not always – they adapt their language to the linguistic competence and linguistic identity exhibited by the other participants, in line with Giles and Coupland's (1991) *Accommodation Theory*. Similar accommodation is observed in Lønsmann's (2011) study of English as a corporate language at the Danish company and in Ljosland's (2008) study of language choice in an English-medium master's programme in Norway. Ljosland describes the attitude to the official course language English as pragmatic, in the sense that participants consistently adapt their language use to what the individuals involved understand and feel comfortable with. The norms emerging from the present study, however, cannot be said to be pragmatic – other than possibly for the

Swedish-speaking students who switch between Swedish and English in this setting. Rather, the norms are shaped by the special position of the Swedish-speaking students in the courses and the fact that they constitute the majority. Although the norms put non-speakers of Swedish at a disadvantage, the exchange students adapt to the expectations of the majority, and it is those expectations which mould the interaction.

Together with the attitudes discussed above, the revealed norms make clear that language choice at the internationalised university has to be understood against the backdrop of local conditions. Even though courses are nominally, and ideologically, monolingual English, students and teaching staff make use of other languages in addition to English in connection to teaching. What languages this will be, and how they will be used, depend on the participants, their linguistic competence and their expectations as to when it is permissible to use non-official languages.

International or National Context?

Before closing the chapter, I would like to comment on the fact that the national language Swedish is used extensively in the courses. In literature dealing with the increased use of English and – more specifically – with language and language choice at universities, the trend towards internationalisation seen in the 1990s is repeatedly put forward as an explanatory factor. Indeed, English is said to be a way of attracting foreign students to universities, reducing local perspectives in teaching and internationalising domestic education (for an example from Sweden, see *En högskola i världen* 2008). As such, the current trend of internationalisation constitutes an initial, expected macro-context and interpretive framework for studies of the kind presented here.

In the light of the language patterns revealed, there are reasons to reconsider the value of internationalisation as an interpretive framework, however. Rather than being international products, the courses studied seem to be local products, shaped by a Swedish educational environment. For instance, internationalisation is not mentioned in course descriptions or syllabi. Extranational approaches are rarely encouraged in the teaching, and the content is aimed primarily at Swedish-speaking students, while exchange students are by and large treated as guests – albeit important ones. Competence in English and Swedish is what matters, while foreign students' language skills are not made visible in class.

One conclusion is that the trend towards internationalisation may possibly explain the existence of English-medium programmes, while actual language choices must be understood against the backdrop of more local conditions. Perhaps internationalisation is a concern of universities – as public bodies and overarching organisations – while, as pointed out, language choice in individual courses always has to be understood with reference to more local conditions. This interpretation is supported by the theoretical framework guiding the study, i.e. by an integrationist view of structure and agency (see Coupland 2001), which explains human action in terms of routines and experiences. In the nominally English-medium courses, the majority of students and lecturers primarily have experience of and routines from Swedish society and the Swedish education system. When they act, they bring with them routines from courses taught in Swedish, and these old routines influence language and language choice in the new context. The participants' experience base is thus primarily Swedish, even if international students also contribute their experiences. In the milieus that are created, the national language is used and treated as a natural part of the teaching sessions, even though the courses are nominally taught in English. In theory as well as practice, then, the university studied is an example of the kind that Roberts (2008: 9) refers to as thinking locally, but acting globally.

7 Conclusion

This chapter gives examples of multilingual practices at the internationalised university, focusing on students' use of the language of the surrounding society in English-medium teaching. The point of departure is an ethnographic study of language choice in six courses at a Swedish university where students from different parts of the world meet and interact. It is clear that the national language Swedish holds a special position, and I argue that actual language choices must be understood against the backdrop of local circumstances. English is the language of instruction, but as the courses bring together students with varying first languages and cultural experiences, other linguistic resources are made relevant beside English. Swedish students are in the majority and their attitudes, norms and patterns of language choice predominate – to such an extent that they influence language choice generally in the courses. The study shows that besides accommodation to the linguistic competence of one's peers, language choice is affected by course-specific social and structural conditions such as the status of the local students, number of exchange students and teaching methods employed. These conditions affect interaction, and students as well as lecturers relate to them when acting socially and linguistically in connection to the courses.

The study confirms the results of Ljosland (2008) and Nevile and Wagner (2008), underlining that language choices and linguistic milieus cannot be predicted, but are handled in interaction on a local moment-to-moment basis. English-only-ideologies are not found in the milieus studied; rather, participants accommodate to the linguistic competence and identities of their peers, which gives room for spontaneous usage and mixing of different languages. I conclude that the trend towards internationalisation may possibly explain the existence of English-medium programmes, but not the actual language choices made within those programmes. Indeed, when studying multilingualism and linguistic milieus in internationalised settings, language choice has to be understood in relation to the local conditions recognized as meaningful by the participants themselves.

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Active Biliteracy? Students Taking Decisions About Using Languages for Academic Purposes

Christa van der Walt

1 Introduction: Moving from One Academic Language to Another

With increased migration across the world and the opening of borders, the movement of children and adults from one educational context to another increases. Whether these movements take place in Africa, where refugees cross borders, or in Europe, where open borders allow job seekers and their children to move from one country to another with relative ease, the fact remains that children increasingly move from one language of learning and teaching (LoLT) to another.

At the same time higher education institutions worldwide are increasingly involved in managing the process of internationalisation by marketing the institution as internationally relevant and creating programmes to attract international students. Altbach and Knight (2007: 290) trace the motivation for and realities of this process and claim that in the past two decades the phenomenon of internationalisation has "dramatically expanded in volume, scope, and complexity", encompassing "traditional study-abroad programs, allowing students to learn about other cultures, providing access to higher education in countries where local institutions cannot meet the demand [. . .] upgrading the international perspectives and skills of students, enhancing foreign language programs, and providing cross-cultural understanding". The emphasis on culture and language in such programmes is logical when one considers that students need to survive and thrive in a foreign university culture as well as in the foreign community in which the university is situated.

Students who make use of opportunities to study at higher education institutions outside of their country will have used another language of learning and teaching (LoLT) up to that point. They will have developed literacy and academic literacy

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strategies which are available in the new university context to be accessed for academic purposes. However, they may not access other literacies for various reasons: they may believe that languages should be separated to accelerate the learning of the academic language in the new environment. Another kind of language separation occurs when foreign students feel that each language has its place: the academic language is used in academic domains and their other language(s) are limited to talking to friends or family, so that a kind of diglossia develops. If the switch to another LoLT occurred at school level, a variety of reasons could prevent learners from using the LoLT in which they became literate to mediate the new literacy. Such reasons include the pressure and desire to fit in, attitudes towards the original language of literacy and the feeling that they have not developed beyond a certain level in the original LoLT to deal with new and advanced content.

In this study some of these reasons will be examined as they emerged from interviews with five higher education students who changed from one LoLT to another at some stage of their academic lives: at school or at higher education level. This qualitative investigation forms part of a bigger project that studies the way in which multilingual, higher education students use the languages at their disposal when they study in a language that is not necessarily their dominant or only academic language (Van der Walt and Dornbrack 2011). The purpose of the project is to investigate what successful, multilingual students do when they engage in academic activities, with or without teachers/lecturers sanctioning their practices. The lens through which these practices are seen is that language is a resource rather than a problem (Ruiz 1984); a perspective that becomes prominent in debates on internationalisation of higher education, since most “transnationally mobile students” (Haberland and Risager 2008: 42) will have developed academic literacy in a language different from that used in so-called international (mostly English) programmes. As such they are not only bi-/multilingual but also biliterate.

Hornberger (2009: 198) describes biliteracy as an example of bi-/multilingual education where written communication occurs in more than one language. She is concerned with (among others) the spaces that teachers or lecturers can open up for multilingual learners by encouraging the use of other languages for academic purposes, for which she proposes the continua of biliteracy model. The model requires “attention to the diversity of standard and nonstandard language varieties, orthographies, and communicative modes and the range of contextualised, vernacular, minority knowledge resources that learners bring to the classroom” (Hornberger 2007: 187). In the context of this chapter the multilingual literacy and learning practices described by the interviewees take place without recognition by teachers or lecturers. However, by describing these practices some guidelines may emerge for teachers or lecturers to open up opportunities for multilingual students to consciously use biliterate practices in academic work.

When students actively and consciously use more than one language while they engage with text, they activate the languages at their disposal and for that reason, and within the limits of this project, I use the term *active biliteracy*. The term ‘active biliteracy’ is proposed in this chapter to explain my impression that certain conditions need to be met for students to actively make use of their linguistic resources. As the discussion below will show, individual circumstances and personal beliefs are important conditions for making use of different languages in academic contexts, or for acknowledging their use.

2 The Design of the Study

The data elicitation technique used in this study was a semi-structured interview (Appendix) conducted during a short research period at a university in Germany. The interview schedule was also used in the Van der Walt and Dornbrack study (2011) but was adapted slightly for the German context. The purpose was to elicit students' coping strategies when they change from one LoLT to another, either at secondary school or at university level. A general call went out in a department of English for students who had switched over from one language of instruction to another at some stage in their lives – thus not only at university level. Three German students and two former South African students (studying in Germany and New Zealand) volunteered.

How one uses a language for learning is not easy to put into words, especially when one has done so successfully for a long time, as in the case of the students in this study. As will be reported below, research participants often indicated that they do not know how or why they learned in a certain way or even if they used other languages when preparing for tests and assignments. It is, therefore, very important to ask probing questions and approach the matter from various angles so that teachers and lecturers can build on these tentative attempts to make automatic and subconscious processes explicit. Just because students are unable to verbalise their use of linguistic resources does not mean that they do *not* use their languages or multilingual abilities!

Interviews took between 45 min and an hour. In the case of the three German students, the interviews took place at a time and place on campus chosen by the interviewees. The interview with the two ex-South Africans were conducted by telephone. All of the interviewees were given the choice of using German or English when appointments were made with them, so that the interview schedule and informed consent forms could be translated into German, if necessary. Two of the German students, Victor and Karin, chose to speak German, John used English and the two South Africans used Afrikaans. All interviews were recorded (with the permission of the interviewees) and transcribed.

It is not possible to claim in my analysis of these interviews that I approached the transcripts with no expectations or with a (more or less) objective mind. I used the same interview questions (with slight adaptations) as I did for the South African participants and by the time I conducted the interviews, I had already analysed the South African data. The data were coded, as was the case with the South African students, with the South African data at the back of my mind. The questions themselves represent a specific categorising of the data and I had certain expectations based, firstly, on the South African part of the project and, secondly, on what I knew about German higher education. Firstly, based on the South African project, I expected to find support from family as well as experiences with other languages from an early age. I thought the participants would probably have had extensive experiences with print materials from an early age. From my limited knowledge and experience with German higher education I thought participants would probably have found the university environment to be monolingual (i.e. German), in terms of lectures and administration, with very little accommodation to other languages by lecturers in the form of e.g. code switching or translation of study materials.

The questions focused on the interviewees' language biography, their earliest experiences with different languages, their performance at school and university and their learning strategies. In cases where possible advantages of bi-/multilingualism emerged, this matter was also discussed. An important part of the data was the final question which asked them to give advice to students with their language background and experiences. This question was designed as an additional measure to probe their own language strategies and practices.

In the discussion below, interviewees' words have been translated into English with the original words presented in square brackets directly afterwards. Round brackets, i.e. (. . .), indicate points at which I said something like "Yes?" or "Hmmm?" They are therefore not omissions of students' words.

3 The Research Participants

In the discussion that follows a brief description is offered of each participant with some indication of the language challenges they chose to share with me. The cases are not comparable; the only thing they have in common is the switch which they made at different points.

Victor

Language Background

Victor was born in the Ukraine. He described the language spoken at home variously as a 'dialect' or a 'mixture' (in German a 'Mischmasch') of 70 % Ukrainian and 30 % Russian words, where the Russian words were pronounced in a Ukraine way. His first eight years of schooling were spent in a school where Ukrainian was the main language of instruction, although Russian was the second language used for teaching Russian history and literature. He also started learning English in the fourth grade. At age 15 he changed to a boarding school (*Internat* in German) where Russian was the main language of instruction and where he started learning German and continued his study of English. As he notes self-deprecatingly (knowing two languages already),

> We always had one foreign language, not two or three like here in Germany, only one. [... *aber wir hatten immer eine Fremdsprache, nicht so wie in Deutschland zwei oder drei Fremdsprachen, hatten wir immer nur eine Fremdsprache.*]

After two years at a Ukraine university, he was granted entry to a German university and continued his studies in German and Russian literature, using mainly German as a language of learning and teaching. He was required to add another Eastern European language and he chose Polish. He uses German, Ukrainian, Russian and Polish with friends, family and colleagues.

Language Challenges

Switching to the boarding school in grade 9 where he could learn German 'intensively' was a deliberate strategy, since he wanted to go to a German university and required preparation (which the school offered) for university entrance examinations which the Ukraine system required at that stage. He mentions the use of a 'high' Ukrainian and 'high' Russian at school as a particular challenge, since the home language was a 'dialect'. He mentions struggling a little with subject terminology in Russian (specifically Chemistry and Mathematics) after moving to the boarding school:

> But you needed some time to understand [the terminology] and when you had to answer a question, you had to think for a while about the word that you had to use. [... *aber man brauchte bisschen Zeit um das zu begreifen und da war auch oft wenn man im Unterricht Antwort auf eine Frage geben musste, hat man bisschen überlegt, welches Wort man jetzt benutzt.*]

He did not find writing (at school) much of a problem because Russian and Ukrainian both use Cyrillic script. He had also learnt to use the Roman alphabet when he started learning English. His biliterate abilities therefore include not only different languages but different scripts which, as a student of Slavic Studies, he uses at higher education level as well (see section "Personal Beliefs About Language and Language Acquisition" below).

According to Victor he does not know why he chose German rather than English but this topic brought about an interesting discussion about the nature of these languages and his experiences learning them:

> England and English didn't fascinate me as much as German and Germany did, I don't know why. But English, I've always found English relatively easy to learn, as far as everyday speaking is concerned – the things I wanted to say and understand were relatively simple and so that [language development] went quickly. At university it was always the case that students who had English as their first foreign language could already speak fluently after two years. And those who learnt German needed much more time to be able to speak German. [*England und Englisch hat mich jetzt nicht so, nicht so fasziniert wie Deutsch in Deutschland, ich weiß nicht, warum. Aber Englisch, ich fand Englisch immer so relativ einfach zu lernen, was jetzt nur normale Umgangssprache angeht, weil ich jetzt etwas einfachen sagen will und verstehen will, das ging relativ schnell. Und bei uns da an der Universität da war's so, dass die Leute, die Englisch als erste Fremdsprache hatten, konnten schon nach zwei Jahren frei sprechen. Und diejenigen, die Deutsch gelernt haben, brauchten viel mehr Zeit um Deutsch sprechen zu können.*]

When he responded later in the interview to the question what his best advice would be for somebody from a similar language background as himself, a possible reason for the time lag in speaking German emerged. He admired the teacher who focused only on the structure of the language, without requiring any conversation practice, in the first year that he learnt German and he ascribes his success in using German, once he started his studies in Germany, to his "well-developed knowledge of grammar" [*gute Grammatikkenntnisse*], although he also noticed that his spoken German required more practice.

He describes his interaction with Russian and Ukrainian friends in Germany as follows:

> When I'm talking to a Russian home language speaker or a Ukrainian home language speaker who have lived here for a long time, then one often thinks in German, so one would say two or three words in German and then one would carry on in Russian. Some words and ideas would come to you in German and then, since you don't want to think about it and look for a word, you simply say it in German. [*Wenn ich jetzt hier mit jemandem spreche, der auch russischer Muttersprachler oder ukrainischer Muttersprachler ist und lange Zeit hier lebt, dann denkt man glaub ich oft, weil man viel Deutsch spricht, denkt man oft auch zum Teil so auf Deutsch, dass man da sagt zwei, drei Wörter auf Deutsch und dann weiter auf Russisch. Einige Wörter und einige Begriffe kommen zuerst in Deutsch und dann, um nicht jetzt nachzudenken und um nicht ein Wort zu suchen, sagt man einfach das auf Deutsch.*]

Since Victor's friends and fellow students seem to share his multilingual background, code switching is typical of everyday interaction.

John

Language Background

John was born in Germany and regards his primary language as German but he has family members in the USA and had contact with English from an early age. In the third and fifth grades of primary school he lived in the USA but went to a German school there, where he started learning English formally in the fifth grade. He points out that although he was in a German school, his family had English-speaking friends and he had to interact with speakers of English outside the school, "so it's not like you can hide in a hole and say I am going to keep my German and I am not going to learn English", according to John. He went back to the USA for his twelfth grade but this time it was, according to him, "a real school", by which he presumably means a mainstream English school. Here he was in the English second language class but was moved to the mainstream classes after a week. John still moves between Germany and the USA because his father re-married a Spanish-speaking citizen of the USA. His undergraduate study is being completed in Germany, in German.

Perceived Language Challenges

John indicates that he struggled with English, particularly written English up to grade 8, despite the fact that "I read a lot more than my peers". In high school and college he got "straight A's" for English. He notes that his spoken English "has become rusty" because he has been in Germany for four years despite the fact that he has English friends and still reads far more English than German. He notes that, when writing in one language, a word in the other language would come up and he would struggle to continue in one language:

> Well it doesn't bother me when I talk with friends but it is really a bad situation when that happens during a presentation because most of the time I have a sentence that forms in my head and then it is just one word maybe that forms in English, I can say English words when I speak with my friends but I can't do that in a presentation. So it's also kind of embarrassing moments when I have to say 'what's that again?'

When this happens while writing, he consults online dictionaries. He mentions that the 'other' language does not only have an influence on his language production at word level, but also at sentence level:

> … sometimes I mix up parts of a sentence like grammar parts and then just turn them around and when it comes out in German it sounds all wrong.

The only academic texts that he claims to have had trouble reading were English texts for a philosophy class where "I had to break up … the philosophical essays and just analyze sentence by sentence".

Karin

Language Background

Karin was born in Kazakhstan and used Kazakhstani and Russian for the first four years of school, with German as a "second language" (in Karin's words). When she was 11 (presumably the fifth year of school), she moved to Germany with her parents and they started using German from that point onwards. The point from which they started speaking German is a distinct one:

> My parents spoke Russian when we were not present, but my mother said that from the minute that the aeroplane landed she did not want to hear another word of Russian again; from today she wanted us to speak German. And she stuck to that decision. [*Also, meine Eltern haben Russisch gesprochen, wenn wir nicht dabei waren, wenn sie unter sich waren, aber sonst hat meine Mutter von der Landung des Flugzeugs an gesagt, ab heute will sie kein Wort Russisch mehr hören, und ab heute möchte sie, dass wir Deutsch sprechen. Und das hat sie auch durchgezogen.*]

She also learnt English as a second language from the fifth year of school in Germany and says that she reads mainly German books (fiction and non-fiction) but increasingly also books in English. She completed her doctoral studies in intercultural pedagogy. As far as her spoken language ability is concerned, she still uses Russian:

> …but there are words that I know from my home environment, words that one can in no way translate into German, or I don't know of any German words; I haven't heard any. [*…aber es gibt so Wörter, die ich aus dem Russischen kenne von zu Hause, die man auf Deutsch gar nicht, die kann man einfach überhaupt gar nicht übersetzen, oder ich kenn keine Übersetzungen, ich hab' noch nie eine gehört.*]

Although Russian therefore still features in her speech, she does not use it for academic purposes and seems to concentrate her attention on mastering English.

Perceived Language Problems

The sudden switch to German is described as follows:

> In the beginning I didn't understand a thing; I cannot remember a thing about the stuff we had to learn at school; I just know that there were situations, I sat in class and didn't understand a thing. … That was the case for the whole of the fifth grade. In the sixth grade it was a bit better. And by grade 7 I believe I managed quite well. [*Am Anfang, ja, hab ich nichts verstanden, da kann ich mich, klar, auch an den Schulstoff gar nicht erinnern, ich weiß nur, dass ich eben Situationen, dass ich in der Klasse saß, nur… und nichts verstanden habe* (…) *Das hat die fünfte Klasse komplett angedauert, sechste Klasse ging dann schon besser. Und so ab der Siebten kam ich, glaube ich, ganz gut mit.*]

To my question whether she used Russian (at this stage) to try to translate to herself what was happening in class, she said that this happened up to a certain point,

> …but my impression was actually that I could not think … I remember that for a long time it was very difficult for me to put into words that which I had in my mind because I simply had no words for that. [*Also ich hatte eher den Eindruck, dass ich gar nicht denken kann. Also ich kann mich an eine lange Zeit erinnern, wo's mir sehr sehr schwer gefallen ist, das was im Kopf war, in Wörter zu fassen, weil ich einfach keine Wörter dafür hatte.*]

The problem for her was that the Russian 'got stuck' at the point where they left Kazakhstan and did not develop further. Although she can still use Russian, she feels that it does not compare to that of an adult and says that "when an adult uses adult Russian, I understand only half of it". [*Wenn jetzt Erwachsene in der Erwachsenensprache auf Russisch reden, dann versteh' ich nur die Hälfte.*]

Since she is studying English, she increasingly uses English and describes how she would try to write in English, "but of course, many words present themselves in German and I would write them in pencil and then afterwards try to see how this can fit in or how I can translate them". [*…aber, klar, viele Wörter kommen auf Deutsch, dann schreibe ich sie erst auch mal mit Bleistift auf Deutsch… und gucke dann hinterher, wie das reinpasst, oder wie ich das übersetzen kann.*] She seems to follow the strategy of getting her thoughts down, using whichever language appears, and then refining and editing her text. This is a very clear example of a biliterate strategy.

Francois and Yolande

Language Background

This brother and sister pair is discussed together in this section because they share a language biography although the way in which they perceive and use their languages differs. Francois and Yolande grew up using both Afrikaans and English since they have English-speaking families and attended a bilingual pre-school institution. They accompanied their South African parents to Germany on an academic sabbatical when Francois was in the sixth grade and Yolande in grade 5. They attended a German school for eight months. After this time they moved to New Zealand where they attended English schools but kept their Afrikaans and German alive at home and by taking German as a subject at school. Francois capitalised on his knowledge of German by applying for and receiving a scholarship to follow an exchange programme at a German university. Yolande is learning Italian.

Perceived Language Problems

Both experienced their time in Germany as an interlude when they learnt German but did not progress much in terms of their school subjects. From their perspective they did not advance much in terms of school work, although they were following the expected school subjects. Francois claims that this was because they realised the move to Germany was temporary and "marks were not that important". Both described the move to English-only schools in New Zealand as a shock, despite their familiarity with English. Part of the reason seems to be that they were placed in an accelerated programme which included subjects that would normally have been dealt with in the next school year. Subject terminology, the study of a full scale Shakespeare play and writing in English were the main concerns, according to Francois, and Mathematics and Science were mentioned as problems by Yolande.

4 Learning in a New Language

As is clear from the brief description of the participants, their circumstances differ widely but there are trends that emerge from the data and that will be discussed as themes below. Differences from the South African part of the project will be pointed out in the course of the discussion.

The Role of Cultural Intermediaries

The interviewees, with the exception of Victor, pointed to a person or persons (other than their parents) who played a significant role when they made the switch from one language environment to another. A detailed picture of the importance of such a person emerged in the case of Karin, who says,

> In those days it was the case that we, as late repatriates,[1] so to speak, were sent a carer by the Cologne city council. He came to our house twice a week and taught me everything that was important, for example we read 'The little vampire', that is a children's book (...) he showed me how a fountain pen works – I didn't know that at all – or what a Barbie doll looked like, what you can do with it, that the knee bends (...) which magazines people read, for example 'Bravo'... [*Das war damals auch noch so, dass wir ... so ... Spätaussiedler, sag ich mal, von der Stadt Köln einen Betreuer bekommen haben. Der kam dann zu mir nach Hause, ich glaub zweimal die Woche, und hat mit mir alles das gelernt, was wichtig war, also, wie zum Beispiel, wir haben* DER KLEINE VAMPIR *gelesen, das ist so'n Kinderbuch* (...) *er hat mir gezeigt wie ein Tintenfüller funktioniert, das wusst' ich ja alles gar nicht, oder wie eine Barbie-Puppe aussieht, was man damit machen kann, dass das Knie sich verbiegen, das* (...) *Ja, was man so für Zeitschriften liest,* BRAVO ...]

When I asked her if he also helped her with homework, she was very clear that this was not the primary task, that he was not providing homework support, but cultural support. [... *aber das war eigentlich keine Hausaufgabennachhilfe in dem Sinne. Es war eher eine – ja, kulturelle Nachhilfe.*]

John mentions his grandmother (from his mother's side, who was English-speaking) as somebody who provided his first contact with English by using English words even though his primary language at that stage was German. She not only read him stories in German and English but also helped him with homework, particularly Mathematics.

Yolande mentions a cousin who came to visit them in Germany and who helped with homework because he could use German fluently and had been on an exchange programme in Germany. He could therefore help her and her brother with their school work.

Coping Strategies in the New Academic Environment

Since they were asked directly to describe the ways in which they coped with academic texts and contexts, it is to be expected that the interviewees spent time on this aspect.

[1]Descendants of ethnic Germans who emigrated to Russia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, mostly to the Lower Volga. Many of them were sent to Kazakhstan by Stalin during WWII. Since the 1980s they were allowed to leave the Soviet Union and its successor states and many of them repatriated to Germany.

Support from the School and the Family

As was the case with the South African part of the study (Van der Walt and Dornbrack 2011), participants reported that they depended on their fellow students and on the teacher for help when they did not understand. In the case of Francois and Yolande, the fact that they were together in the German school created the opportunity for them to help each other but Yolande reported that in Germany they also asked fellow students for help when they did not understand what was going on. Francois notes that everything at school happened in German and that they could not depend on people helping them in English. He sees this as an advantage because they were forced to learn German: "If we didn't learn German we would not have got anywhere". [*As ons nie in Duits geleer het nie, sou ons nêrens daar kon klaarkom eintlik nie.*] In New Zealand their peers and the teachers were mentioned as a support system. Francois notes that the class stayed the same (presumably because this was an 'accelerated group') and they all had the same subjects and spent much time together. The class and the teacher were "reasonably helpful". [*ons is die heeltyd dieselfde groep kinders en dan al die vakke saam gedoen het, so ons het redelik baie tyd saam met mekaar spandeer en het ons voog-onderwyseres en so aan en hulle was redelik hulpvol, met alles behulpsaam.*]

Karin mentions the fact that her class formed a tightly knit community of 24 learners who "stuck together", as her "biggest stroke of luck"; "I knew that I would never be left behind if I didn't know how to carry on". [*Wir hatten eine relativ kleine Klasse, 24 Schüler waren wir, und der Zusammenhalt war sehr groß in der Klasse. Also ich weiß, dass ich nie alleine stand wenn ich nicht mehr weiter wusste.*] She also advises speaking to fellow learners and asking for help. At my question whether she thought a bilingual teacher would have helped, she was adamant that this was not necessary:

> Bilingual education? Not strictly necessary in my opinion. The teacher should in any case be open to different approaches, open to different ways of thinking and should be able to present matters from different perspectives; in other words to not only explain but also use pictures and interaction to clarify matters. But that she should have used this language [Russian] I don't think is strictly necessary. [*Zweisprachige Bildung? Wär jetzt nicht unbedingt nötig aus meiner Sicht. Also, die Lehrerin sollte schon auf jeden Fall offen für andere Zugangsweisen sein, für andere Denkweisen und fähig sein, die Sachen aus verschiedenen Perspektiven darzustellen, also nicht nur zu erklären, sondern vielleicht auch mal auf ikonische oder interaktiver Ebene die Sachen auch deutlich zu machen, aber dass sie unbedingt in dieser einen Sprache auch fit wär, das halt ich jetzt nicht so unbedingt für nötig.*]

John mentions friends at school who currently help him to maintain fluency in English but as he notes, "it is more chatting than real talking".

John, Francois and Yolande reported on the support from their parents and grandparents, noting help with homework in particular.

Biliterate Practices in Academic Tasks

Using one language to make sense of academic material in another language seems to be a strategy that is used initially, until the participants felt that they had enough control over the dominant academic language. This is different from the South African part of the project, where moving between English and Afrikaans seemed to happen constantly, mainly because the two languages were used constantly by lecturers and in study materials (Van der Walt and Dornbrack 2011). John, Francois and Yolande write notes and summaries in the language of the text that they have to study. Francois notes that he will use English when he has to prepare to write something in German because his academic English is more advanced than his Afrikaans. He does note, however, that if he speaks to himself (while planning and thinking about the writing task) it would be in Afrikaans. Victor also thinks that it is better to start planning and writing in the target language but he describes his own development as follows:

> In the beginning this was indeed the case; I thought in Russian or Ukrainian and then tried to translate this into German. But that was wrong because it was often even more difficult [. . .] because you can't simply translate sentences that you said in Russian into German. It often didn't make any sense and that was the problem. [*Gut. Am Anfang war es so, dass ich tatsächlich am Anfang auf Russisch oder auf Ukrainisch gedacht habe, und dann versucht habe, das ins Deutsche zu übersetzen. Aber das war falsch, weil, oft war das eigentlich so viel schwerer wenn du dann sagst, ok, ich denk jetzt auf Russisch und versuche ins Deutsche zu übersetzen, ist natürlich schwerer, weil Sätze, kann man nicht gleiche Sätze wie ich das auf Russisch gesagt hab, und ins Deutsche übersetze, manchmal gibt das gar keinen Sinn und das war die Schwierigkeit.*]

At the moment Karin is making another language switch at higher education level; this time to further postgraduate studies in English. When writing in English, she would use German words – writing them in pencil in her text – so as not to interrupt her thoughts. She would then edit and refine her sentences by either looking up words or asking people to help her. It seems that using more than one language when reading and writing is everyday practice or was a strategy that they used initially. The South African students also reported that they would translate much more in their first academic year than at more advanced levels (Van der Walt and Dornbrack 2011). Writing in both languages, whether for planning purposes or just to get a draft on paper, is a biliterate strategy that these students report using.

The specific nature and complexity of academic language is mentioned by all the participants, not only at the level of terminology (see Victor, Francois and Yolande above) but also at sentence level (see John and his Philosophy lectures above). A condition for the use of the home language or other languages alongside the dominant LoLT seems to be participants' perception of the state of their 'other' language(s). Depending on the time when they moved from one LoLT to another, some participants note that one language 'stayed behind' as it were and did not 'develop' further, so that it could not support learning in an academic environment anymore. In Karin's case, there was a clear-cut break with the home language. She expressed her perception that, rather than having access to Russian, she could not think at all and she had no language with which to express the thoughts in her head (see section "Karin" above). The imagery that she uses for her home language is strikingly visual:

> Because the Russian [language] was left behind as I drove away at eleven years of age; it did not develop further from that point onwards ... [*Weil das Russische ja da stehen geblieben ist wie ich weggefahren bin mit zehn, elf, eben, also elf, das hat sich ab da nicht mehr weiter entwickelt.*]

She compares her knowledge of Russian to that of her parents, who were both academics, and concludes that "their vocabulary is quite different; I understand only the most basic (elements)". [*Nur wenn meine Eltern jetzt auf Russisch sprechen, die sind beide Akademiker, die dort auch studiert haben, deren Wortschatz ist dann schon anders, sag' ich mal, da versteh ich wirklich nur ... so das Grundlegendste.*]

Francois explained that he would initially translate German into Afrikaans and if he had to respond, he would think in Afrikaans and translate into German. Later on, however, he was thinking in German (see section "Support from the School and the Family", though) and he made the claim, "I don't even know if I think in a specific language anymore, I think it's, if I have to speak in a language I basically think in that language". [*Ek weet nie of ek eers in soos'n spesifieke taal eintlik meer dink nie, ek dink dis, as ek in daai taal moet praat dan dink ek in daai taal basies* ...] It seems here as if he is speaking about his current command of German and English. Yolande also refers to using Afrikaans to guess the possible word in German, thereby capitalising on the fact that the languages are related. The move to secondary school in New Zealand made extra demands on the siblings' academic language proficiency and, when I asked Francois whether he would think or formulate ideas in Afrikaans, he expressed doubt whether his Afrikaans was at a high enough level:

> I guess it (his level of Afrikaans) would be higher than primary school but I wouldn't know if it is at matric (school exit) level or grade 10 level if I had to write an essay. [*Ek sou raai dat dit hoër is as'n laerskool kind of so, maar ek sal nie weet of dit matriek vlak of op standerd 8 vlak of so-iets sou wees as ek'n opstel moes skryf nie.*]

Both Francois and Yolande use conversational Afrikaans fluently with their parents and other speakers of Afrikaans. However, their recent academic contact has been with English and German, which may be the reason for their conviction that they cannot use Afrikaans.

As mentioned above, John refers to the difference between chatting with friends and presenting his work in German, in class:

> I can say English words when I speak with my friends but I can't do that in a presentation.

Two aspects of academic language use are evident here: the perceived language level required by reading and writing academic texts as well as the perceived level of formality, where code switching between English and German (or other languages) is seen as not possible in an academic presentation.

Similarities with Participants in the South African Part of the Project

An Awareness of Time Linked to Control Over the Language

Since the context of the South African study is completely different, it is to be expected that the participants in the German part of the study would have different time concerns. Whereas the South African students had the option to use English or Afrikaans for making notes and writing assignments and tests, their concerns were mainly with making a choice that would result in the optimum use of time. In contrast, the participants in the current study referred to the time it took to gain control over the new LoLT.

Karin noted that it took her two years to ‘keep up’ (see her reference to the seventh grade above). Although Victor knew Russian, the switch to schooling in *only* Russian as a LoLT meant that it took time to understand and to produce subject terminology. He mentions Chemistry and Mathematics in particular. When he started at a German university, it took him two semesters before he was used to writing in German. John only attended a school where he had to use English in an academic context after extensive contact with English. It is not clear from his interview whether he refers to his first time or subsequent visits to the USA, but he notes that it took him two months to develop enough proficiency to *understand* what people were saying to him. The two South Africans refer to time pressure when moving to New Zealand because they had to deal with much prescribed reading material.

Study Strategies and Support Materials

There is little difference between the strategies and materials used by the participants in this study and the South African students reported on by Van der Walt and Dornbrack (2011). The questions in the interview schedule attempted very directly to elicit bilingual strategies or strategies that exploited participants’ bi-/multilingual repertoire.

For all participants print and online dictionaries are important sources when reading and writing and with the exception of Yolande, they all summarise texts that they need to study. All participants use highlighters and marginal notes, mostly in the language of the text, to note important aspects.

Growing Up with Print Materials

Like the South Africans, all the participants report that their parents read books and stories to them when they were small and like the South Africans, the books were never in one language only. In Victor’s case, Ukrainian and Russian books were read, in Karin's, Russian and "sometimes German", although she notes that Grimm's fairytales were read "without either of us understanding anything". [... *aber ohne, dass wir beide irgendwas verstanden haben.*] Her mother seemed to have been preparing them for the move to Germany. As a result of her current study, she increasingly reads English books. John's grandmother read German and English books to him from an early age but he reads mainly English as an adult. Francois and Yolande's parents read mostly Afrikaans and some English books to them but their introduction to the Harry Potter books meant, for both of them, a move to reading mostly English books. They indicate that they read some German books and currently Francois reads mostly online newspapers in German.

Personal Beliefs About Language and Language Acquisition

Participants' views of how language should be learnt and used for academic success emerged mainly in response to the question what they would advise somebody (regarding academic studies) in their position to do. This question was designed to elicit more information about their own coping strategies but in a less personal way. In the process their personal beliefs about how languages are learnt also emerged.

Partly as a result of their academic context (where one language dominated) and partly because of a widespread belief in language separation, participants transferred notions of how languages are learnt to how languages could be used for learning. Victor felt quite strongly that the languages should be kept separate. At my question what the advantages of being multilingual would then be, he said that people develop more "flexibility in their minds" and that "people are more open for learning new languages; one doesn't think in fixed patterns". [*Man ist offener, wenn man neue Sprachen lernt und man denkt nicht mit festen Mustern.*] Despite his belief that languages should be kept separate, his description of becoming increasingly fluent in academic German shows how he used Russian in the process:

> [...] and then I tried to write a bit in German and then in Russian [...] and then I noticed, since I started with this practice, but I read and spoke a lot [of German], that, after a few years, it started, it got to the point from which one simply started thinking in German and that when one wrote something, that one explained it to oneself in German. But then one has to, and I insist on this, read, speak, listen and reading a lot is very, very important. [... *und dann hab ich versucht, mal auf Deutsch, mal auf Russisch zu schreiben. Da hatte ich auch dieses Switchen damals zwischen Deutsch und zwischen Russisch ... und diese Schwierigkeiten, wie gesagt, hatte ich im Grundstudium und dann hab ich gemerkt, seitdem ich damit angefangen habe, oder ich hatte auch im Grundstudium noch viel gelesen und gesprochen, und dass nach paar Jahren kommt es, kommt es dieser Punkt, ab dem man dann einfach auf Deutsch denkt, wenn man was schreibt, für sich auch etwas auf Deutsch erklärt. Man muss dann nur, ich sagte das, lesen, sprechen, hören und viel lesen ist sehr, sehr wichtig.*]

Victor does not think that he has much space to use his Slavic languages in his academic context:

> I think it is a rule in Germany that, when I do Slavic Studies, then I have to write the final examination in German. [*Ich denke das ist, ich denke, dass in Deutschland ist das so festgelegt, wenn ich jetzt Slawistik studiere, dann muss ich das auch auf Deutsch schreiben, diese Abschlussprüfung.*]

A keen awareness that academic language use has very specific demands can be seen in the participants' descriptions of how they manage their available languages. As pointed out above, participants note:

- problems with terminology (Victor);
- they have to stick to one language and a formal register when presenting (John);
- they need online dictionaries when words are unfamiliar (Francois); and
- their language(s) may not have 'developed' to a point where it can be used for academic purposes (Karin and Francois).

Beliefs about the formality of academic language use are usually inculcated by academic institutions themselves, as is evidenced by ubiquitous academic language centres and academic writing courses. Some space is opening up to use other ways of organising text and using different varieties of English (see for example Canagarajah 2002). John's conviction that formal presentations need to be in one language only can be contrasted to the case of Swedish students, described by Söderlundh (2008, 2013). In the presence of non-Swedish-speaking students, the Swedish students switch back and forth between Swedish and English when they are supposed to use only English for classroom presentations. Clearly the "rights and obligations" (Myers-Scotton 1993) in a particular setting would determine whether code switching is acceptable, and lecturers who want to open up spaces for multilingual students would clearly play a determining role in the process.

Francois notes that learning to use academic German is linked to socializing with German students. He warns against only sticking with other international students who use English for communication purposes. In her survey of international students Schumann (2008) found that they lamented a lack of contact with German students, and blamed this on their lack of language proficiency. When one looks at the importance of fellow students helping with academic problems, as pointed out by Victor, Karin, Francois and Yolande, this belief seems well-founded. Since parents and family will probably not be able to support students at a higher education level, this kind of academic integration seems important.

Linked to socializing is participants' belief in sustained contact with and immersion in the new language, which is best captured in Viktor's words when he advises students to just 'throw' themselves [*stürzen*] into the language. There is something of this belief in John's observation that, even when he attended a German school in the USA, he was not going to 'hide in a hole' and avoid English. Like John, Victor describes how he listened to the radio and read books and newspapers to improve his language proficiency. Francois perceives their immersion in the German school as a situation where they had little choice: they were 'forced' to do everything in German. He sees this type of immersion as an advantage because they 'had to' learn the language.

Personal choice and agency is relative in this case, since Karin, who was 'thrown' rather dramatically into German, gave her advice to other people in her situation as follows:

> I think I would advise somebody to develop their first language further. In other words Russian. I wished later that my parents had continued to speak Russian to us at home ... for it [Russian] to have developed further. Because then it would at least have been easier to translate into the new language ... so [for us] there was simply nothing there. [*Ich würde, glaube ich, auf jeden Fall raten, erst mal die Erstsprache auch weiter zu entwickeln. Also Russisch. Ich hätte mir jetzt im Nachhinein gewünscht, dass meine Mutter, oder meine Eltern beide das Russische mit uns weiter zu Hause gesprochen hätten.* (...) *Weil, dann hätte man zumindest leichter übersetzen können in die neue Sprache.* (...) *So war halt einfach gar nichts da.*]

Karin's case is different from the other participants who all had their home languages as resources, or a fall-back option, even if they only used it to talk themselves through their academic work or to plan their writing, like Francois.

5 Concluding Thoughts on Active Biliteracy for Higher Education Practitioners

The biliteracy practices of the students described here provide a complex picture of how various languages are used for academic tasks and, in the spirit of Hornberger's continua of biliteracy (Hornberger 2007, 2009) these practices can be placed on a continuum of time as well as a continuum which traces the extent to which one language is used to facilitate academic tasks in another language. There is Karin who does not or cannot use Russian for academic tasks but, since she is starting to use academic English, she depends on German when writing in English. At school level Victor depended on his home language when he switched to Russian as a LoLT. When he moved to Germany, he depended on translation activities from Russian to German (a stage that is comparable to Karin's English and German practices), but he then moved further along the continuum as he seemed to gain confidence in German by composing, according to him, in one language. This is also the case for Francois and Yolande. I do not wish to create the impression that the end of this continuum would be a monolingual process; rather that translation would not be the biliterate practice of choice anymore.

Although Francois reports that he thinks and composes in the language of the text, he also mentions using English when writing in German and using Afrikaans when he talks himself through his work. He finally points out that he is not sure what language he uses – that he would think in the language in which he needs to communicate. John's language worlds seem to be physically separated in that he uses German in Germany and English in the USA. However, the fact that he reads much more English while in Germany means that English is present when he deals with academic tasks.

The picture that emerges of multilingual language use in academic settings is a rich and complex one. With the exception of Francois and Yolande, who share a language biography but who still have different learning strategies, all the participants reached higher education in different ways. Although the belief that languages should be kept separate emerged, it is clear that the participants still use their original languages, even when this is limited to words, as in Karin's case. Without any explicit encouragement, these students exemplify Hornberger's continua of biliteracy (as revisited in Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester 2000) by doing what comes naturally for multilinguals, which is to *translanguage* (García 2009: 45); drawing what they need from the languages at their disposal to get a difficult job done. Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester (2000: 98) remind us that "the more their learning contexts allow learners to draw on all points of the continua, the greater are the chances for their full biliterate development". This is a salient point for higher education institutions that are becoming increasingly multilingual because of international student mobility. Although Hornberger and Skilton-Sylvester's point of reference is education at primary and secondary school level, my argument is that higher education institutions would be foolish to ignore the high levels of academic literacy that students have developed in home or second languages, particularly since there is increasing pressure to increase throughput rates. By becoming more conscious of their students' linguistic resources and allowing for "multiplicities of language practices" (García 2009: 196) rather than a strict separation or total ignorance of other languages, higher education institutions can tap these linguistic resources explicitly.

My argument for active biliteracy is that conscious and productive activation of other academic languages may be inhibited or suppressed either by the student or by a dominant and monolingual university culture, thereby (possibly) disadvantaging the student's academic progress. For the participants in this study the active use of other languages to access and manage academic work, i.e. active biliteracy, seems to have depended on two conditions: the perception that a language needs to have developed up to a certain point to be useful for academic use and the belief that languages should ultimately be kept separate.

Firstly then, the view that language development 'stopped' at a particular point and would therefore not be useful for academic purposes may sound logical but Francois (who, with Karin, raised this point) still uses his home language when he plans his writing or talks himself through his academic work. Setati et al. (2002) uses the concept of *exploratory talk* to explain the way in which groups of students at school level use their home language to discuss English texts and problems posed in English. Although exploratory talk in the home language is not enough to develop academic language proficiency in either the home or another language, it seems to be a first step for many multilingual students who try to make sense of academic texts and may be a useful strategy that lecturers could encourage.

Secondly, the belief that languages should be kept separate can be the result of popular notions of language interference or it could be that students feel comfortable enough in their 'new' academic language to dispense specifically with translation activities. This was certainly the case for the South African students (Van der Walt and Dornbrack 2011) and it seems to have been the case for Victor and Francois in this case in particular. However, for both of them their other languages are still present and a more linguistically tolerant environment could allow them to tap into the obviously high levels of literacy that they have in their other languages. Karin's practice of using German when writing in English so as not to interrupt the flow of writing is one of the good reasons why a separation of languages would be counter-intuitive for multilinguals and detrimental to their development of academic arguments.

The variety of strategies mentioned by the participants in this study points towards possible directions for further research that may help to develop students' awareness of the academic capital that they developed in another language which in turn may help them in their new academic environment. More importantly however, these strategies suggest ways in which lecturers can support multilingual students more explicitly in their academic work.

Appendix

Semi-structured Interview Schedule: Bilingual Learning

1. Language background:
   (a) Home
   (b) Language use at school – school exit examination results
   (c) Language use at university
2. What kind of student are you? What is your average score across modules?
3. Growing up:
   (a) Parents'/extended family's use of language?
   (b) Were you read to? Encouraged to read? Did this happen in different languages?
   (c) What did *you* read? In which languages?
   (d) Your earliest memory of another language/different languages?
4. Parents'/adults' influence on reading? Was there easy access to books in your home?
5. Study habits: parents helped with homework?
6. How do you study? Summarise? Memorise?
7. If you struggled to understand difficult academic texts, what did you do?
8. Do you have different patterns of study in different languages?
9. Do you find some texts more difficult than others? Why? How do you cope?
10. Do you translate when reading/studying/writing?
11. Your advice to first year students in your position:
    (a) The best way to deal with complex texts/assignments?
    (b) Best way to study material not in L1 or best language?

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Part II
Using English as a Lingua Franca in Teaching a Foreign Language

English as a Lingua Franca: A Case of Japanese Courses in Australia

Duck-Young Lee and Naomi Ogi

1 Introduction

This chapter explores the use of English as an academic lingua franca in elementary Japanese courses in Australia. According to Haberland (2011), the original lingua franca was a trade or contact language developed in the Middle Ages in the Mediterranean. Later the term was extended to refer to "a language which is used habitually by people whose mother tongues are different in order to facilitate communication between them" (UNESCO 1953: 46, quoted in Haberland 2011: 937). Similarly, Gnutzmann defines a lingua franca as "a language that is used as a medium of communication between people or groups of people each speaking a different native language" (2000: 356). The objective of the present chapter, 'English as an (academic) lingua franca', refers to the use of English as the medium of instruction in Japanese courses in which the students' mother tongues are diverse.

As noted in many studies, English has become the dominant global lingua franca in a large number of domains (e.g. Björkman 2011; Jenkins 2011).[1] This is also true for the domain of education, in which English-medium teaching has increased along with increased academic mobility and more student exchange programmes. Reflecting the overwhelming dominance of English as a lingua franca in education, English-medium instruction has gained momentum in universities in many non-English-speaking countries (Wächter and Maiworm 2008). Many universities, particularly but not exclusively, in Europe and Asia offer English-medium programmes: for example, Björkman (2011) states that most Swedish

[1]Haberland (2011: 939) refers to the conventional wisdom that English is used more often as a lingua franca than it is used in encounters of, or with, first language speakers of English.

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universities have introduced English-medium programmes; Mortensen (2008) deals with the case of Roskilde University and notes that English-medium programmes are common in Danish universities; Ljosland (2011) discusses language policies in Norway and remarks that the number of English-medium master's programmes is on the increase; Tsuneyoshi (2005) remarks that a number of Japanese universities offer English-medium short-term exchange programmes following the government policy; Byun et al. (2011: 432) report that, of the approximately 410,000 courses offered by Korean universities during the first and second semesters of 2006, about 9,000 courses, or roughly 2.2 %, were taught through English-medium instruction; and there are many other examples.

Along with the rapid increase of English-medium programmes, research has been undertaken on a variety of issues regarding English as a lingua franca in education in the last decade, for example, the effect of English on the teaching and learning of the subject matter (Airey 2009; Klaassen 2001; Shaw and McMillion 2008), issues of assessment (Hellekjaer 2009; Hellekjaer and Westergaard 2002; Ljosland 2008; Smit 2009), type of speech event and type of pragmatic strategies (Björkman 2011; Cogo 2009; Mauranen 2006; Smit 2009), characteristics of English-medium learning (Cogo 2009; Kaur 2009; Mauranen 2006), teacher roles (Preisler 2008), and teacher beliefs (Wang 2013, this volume).[2] However, while these studies have made great contributions to our understanding of English-medium teaching and learning, it is fair to say that the use of English as a lingua franca in education is yet to be fully explored. Adopting insightful findings of previous research, the current study attempts to elucidate some aspects of English-medium teaching and learning in Japanese courses in Australia.

Our study is distinct from the majority of the aforementioned previous studies in the following two respects: (i) it involves English-medium learning in the context of an English-speaking country, i.e. Australia; and (ii) it deals with a language course, i.e. Japanese. As English is the major language in Australia, its universities naturally provide an English-medium internationalized study environment in which students from diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds meet and interact with each other. This environment is an excellent venue for both international and local students to experience and participate in internationalization. Such an experience could be advantageous to them in later life in both professional (Boud and Falchikov 2006) and personal contexts (Montgomery 2008). However, while studying overseas is a unique opportunity, it also carries with it the potential for alienation, depression and loneliness (Rajapaksa and Dundes 2002; Sanner et al. 2002; Wang 2000), and international students often have more difficulty in adapting to academic life than domestic students (Andrade 2006; Ramburuth 2001; Ramsay et al. 1999). Bearing in mind concerns that international students may face, we have investigated students' thoughts and feelings about studying the Japanese language through English-medium instruction in the Australian context. Before discussing the findings, we first present an overview of Japanese education in Australia.

[2] Björkman (2011) provides a good digest of previous studies.

2 Japanese Language Education in Australia – An Internationalized Learning Environment

From the late 1980s there has been an enormous boom in Japanese language education across the world, the impact of which was so dramatic and powerful in the relevant areas that it was often referred to as the 'Tsunami' phenomenon. In Australia, too, the number of Japanese learners increased dramatically in the early 1990s and has consistently increased throughout the 1990s and 2000s. In 1990 there were approximately 60,000 Japanese learners. This number increased nearly three times to around 180,000 in 1993. In 1998 there were more than 300,000, and by 2006 there were more than 366,000. Australia has had the second or third largest number of Japanese learners in the world since 1990 (Table 1).

While Australia has enjoyed the continuous success of Japanese language education, at least in terms of the number of learners, two points are particularly important for characterizing Japanese language education in the country. First, the boom of Japanese language education in Australia relies to a large extent on the boom at the primary and secondary levels. The number of Japanese learners at these levels was 55,091 (or 89 % of total learners) in 1990; 161,185 (or 90 %) in 1993; 299,170 (or 97 %) in 1998; and 352,629 (or 96 %) in 2006. This means that only 3 or 4 % of all Japanese learners in Australia study at the tertiary level.

This small portion of learners at the tertiary level is not a problem limited to Japanese, but is a concern with regard to all foreign languages. In 2007, a National Language Summit was held in Canberra. The theme of the summit was 'Language in Crisis', and it brought together teachers, scholars, government officers and other interested parties in order to identify and address structural problems in foreign language education in Australia. One commonly identified problem was the small number of foreign language learners at the tertiary level. Similarly, the Australian Academy of the Humanities (2008) points out that less than 10 % of all 1st year university students learn a foreign language. Cardona et al. (2008) also report that a number of languages have disappeared from the university syllabus: 66 languages were taught in 1966, and this number was reduced to 29 in 2007.

The second point is the fact that the language backgrounds of Japanese learners have become more diverse throughout the 2000s. The number of Japanese learners at the tertiary level was 18,056 in 1993. This decreased to 8,590 in 1998; that is, the number was reduced to less than half. The number then increased again to 13,536 in 2006. Underlying this trend is an increase in the number of international students,

Table 1 Number of Japanese learners[a]

Rank	1990		1993		1998		2006	
1	S. Korea	447,610	S. Korea	820,908	S. Korea	948,104	S. Korea	910,957
2	China	288,177	China	250,334	Australia	307,760	China	684,366
3	Australia	62,023	Australia	179,241	China	245,863	Australia	366,165

[a]These figures are based on Japan Foundation (1994, 2000, 2009)

Table 2 Number of international students in Australia[a] (Higher = Higher education sector)

	1994	1998	2002	2007	2010
Higher	35,290	56,810	124,666	192,223	243,591
Total	93,722	128,906	274,060	450,521	619,119

[a]These figures are based on information released by the AEI (2010)

particularly from the Asian region in the 2000s, who have undertaken Japanese as part of their study requirement. Table 2 shows changes in the number of international students in Australia.

The table shows that the number has consistently increased during the past two decades. In particular, there has been a sharp increase since the end of the 1990s; from 128,906 in 1998 to 274,060 in 2002, and 450,521 in 2007.

With these trends, the backgrounds of learners of Japanese have changed significantly. For example, based on our own records and experiences of teaching elementary Japanese courses at the Australian National University since 1991, there was only approximately 10 % of students whose language background was not English throughout the 1990s and until the early 2000s. However, in the 2000s, there has been a rapid increase in the number of students with a non-English-speaking background. For the past several years, more than 50–60 % of course enrolments have been international students with a non-English-speaking background, mainly from Asian countries.[3] For example, of the 75 students in the second semester in 2010, 25 (33.4 %) were from Australia, 19 (25.4 %) from China, 11 (14.7 %) from South Korea, 9 (12.0 %) from Hong Kong, 4 (5.3 %) from Taiwan, 2 (2.6 %) from Singapore, 2 (2.7 %) from USA, 1 (1.3 %) from Indonesia, 1 (1.3 %) from Lithuania, and 1 (1.3 %) from the Philippines.

3 The Interviews

As international students move from one cultural and social environment to another, they tend to face a number of challenges socially and academically during the course of adapting to the new environment. Wang (2000) reports that students from China in the USA tend to persevere because of their strong determination and cultural values about 'saving face'. Sanner et al. (2002) investigate the case of Nigerian nurses studying in the USA and reveal that they experience social isolation and language barriers. It has also been reported that international students feel more lonely and homesick than domestic students (Rajapaksa and Dundes 2002).

[3]Through communications with lecturers in other universities, we found that this is a general trend in Australian universities, and that in some universities, more than 70–80 % of students of Japanese were from non-English-speaking backgrounds.

Studies further point out that international students have greater academic adjustment problems than domestic students. For example, Ramburuth (2001) investigated the academic writing work in one department at an Australian university and found that 76 % of the NNSE (non-native speaker of English) students were judged to require intensive English support, compared with only 20 % of NSE (native speaker of English) students. Ramsay et al. (1999) also report that first-year international students at an Australian university had difficulties understanding lectures in terms of vocabulary and speed. Domestic students also found problems in various courses and with various instructors, but primarily because they disliked the instructors' policies. Further, Zhao et al. (2005) discovered that international students felt less satisfied with their academic achievement than their domestic counterparts.

Regarding our own first-year Japanese courses, we had a number of questions with regard to the situation in which students with diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds learn Japanese through the medium of English. For example, are there any particular challenges the students encounter while learning Japanese in this situation; how do they perceive their learning progress compared to an environment where they can learn Japanese in their own home country; and how do they perceive or present their identity in this multilingual and multicultural environment? In order to explore these questions, we interviewed the students during September and October 2010. The interviews were based on open-ended questions about the students' linguistic background and their feelings and opinions about learning Japanese in an internationalized context using English as a lingua franca. The questions were:

– Given that the course (class instructions, grammar explanations, administrative announcements, etc.) is conducted in English, do you think that you have an advantage or a disadvantage over the Australian students in learning Japanese?
– Do you think your Japanese would have advanced more if you studied it in your own language environment (i.e. instructed in your first language and/or in your country)?
– Do you think your personality or character has changed by coming to Australia? If you think it has, how has it changed?
– When you are speaking in English, do you think your personality or attitude changes from when you are speaking in your own first language?
– How do you feel about the fact that you are studying in a multicultural environment with people from many different cultures?

At the time of the interview, the students were at the final stage of the elementary level. In total 68 students were interviewed and provided their thoughts, feelings and opinions about these issues as well as other additional issues that arose naturally from these questions. For the purpose of the current study, which discusses the issue of using English as a lingua franca, we have focused on the interviews of 46 students who identified themselves as international students and whose first language was not English.

These 46 NNSE students were aged between 18 and 25, and all of them except one who was from Lithuania came from Asian countries: 18 from China, 11 from

Korea, 8 from Hong Kong, 4 from Taiwan, 2 from Singapore, 1 from Indonesia, and 1 from the Philippines. The period they had stayed in Australia varied from less than 1 to 7 years:

- 3 had stayed for less than 1 year
- 14 between 1 and 2 years
- 12 between 2 and 3 years
- 6 between 3 and 4 years
- 8 between 4 and 5 years
- 2 between 5 and 6 years
- 1 between 6 and 7 years

As shown above, 3 students came to Australia in early 2010 and entered the university straight after their arrival (the Australian National University starts its new academic year in February). They had cleared the English language requirement (i.e. IELTS or TOEFL) before their entry to the university. Other students studied Foundation courses, which are offered by English language schools or secondary schools as preparatory courses before entering a university. Upon the successful completion of these courses, the students were not required to meet a separate English language requirement. Most students who had stayed for less than 2 years confessed that they were not confident about their English proficiency.

It should also be noted here that the current study is explorative in nature and the interviews were intended to assist our understanding of the students' perceptions and opinions about studying Japanese in Australia, and not intended to provide a quantitative analysis.

4 Findings and Discussion

Influence of Students' First Language

What underlies the issues of English as an international language is its role and value as a tool of communication between people who have different mother tongues. The use of English as a lingua franca in an international educational environment is further valued for its role as a learning tool, beyond a general communication tool between the participants. Lectures and class instructions are given in English. Students read books in English, write essays in English, and present and discuss their work in English. As noted earlier, international students have greater academic adjustment problems than domestic students. It may be expected that the NNSE students would consider the situation negatively or feel at a disadvantage compared to the domestic NSE students.

Based on this hypothesis, we asked the NNSE students how they feel about the learning environment in which they need to compete with NSE students; and whether they feel that they are at a disadvantage compared to NSE students.

– Given that the course (class instructions, grammar explanations, administrative announcements, etc.) is conducted in English, do you think that you have an advantage or a disadvantage over the Australian students in learning Japanese?

Answers varied among the students, depending on how they relate the learning objectives to their language background. Some of them remarked that they found some English words unfamiliar, for example, in the weekly quiz questions and assignments. Also, several Korean students confessed that they were sometimes confused by some grammatical items in Japanese when those were explained in English. For example, they said that it was difficult to understand the exact difference between the particles *wa* ('topic') and *ga* ('subject') as English does not have the equivalent grammatical items. The difference between these particles would in fact be easily understood by Korean students if explained in Korean which has the equivalent grammatical items with meaning and usage very similar.

However, that was a comment from only a small number of students, and the majority of students from Korean and Chinese language backgrounds strongly believed that the situation was in fact advantageous for them compared to NSE students. Many students with a Chinese background emphasized these advantages:

> Yes, I already have knowledge of *kanji* (Chinese characters) and this helps me a lot when I am studying Japanese.

> I know that other Australian students spend lots of hours and effort to learn *kanji*. I think I have an advantage over them.

Most Korean students also felt that the fact that their language has many aspects in common with the Japanese language was an advantage for them. In particular, they felt that it was advantageous that Korean had many grammatical similarities to Japanese, such as particles, word order, etc.:

> Japanese grammar is very similar to Korean and I easily understood the structure and meaning of sentences.

> I found that the usages of individual Japanese particles were very similar as those of Korean.

As we expected, NNSE students with language backgrounds other than Korean or Chinese said that they did not have any advantage in particular over NSE students. Interestingly, they did not feel they were at a disadvantage either.

> When we enter a university in Australia, we are supposed to understand English, and I am quite happy to study Japanese in English.

> I sometimes have some difficulty to understand what we study in lecture, but I do not think it is because of my English.

Our findings are interesting in that students' perceptions of the learning environment using English as a lingua franca are not necessarily negative. Recall that it was reported that international students in general had greater academic adjustment problems than domestic students (Ramburuth 2001; Ramsay et al. 1999), and tended to feel less satisfied than their domestic counterparts (Zhao et al. 2005). While these reports were based on the observation of various aspects of the students' university life in general, the current study suggests that NNSE students may have a positive view of the learning process and feel that they even have an advantage compared to NSE students, depending on the nature of the course they undertake. To be more specific, our findings show that a foreign language course is a typical example of this, in which students are influenced by various aspects of their mother tongue during the course of learning a foreign language.[4] The above answers reflect the influences of the students' mother tongue in a positive way. This is a unique feature of a foreign language class in an international educational environment, compared to a non-language class where NNSE students undertake learning activities in English, and might feel at a disadvantage compared to NSE students.

Next we asked the NNSE students how they feel about their learning progress in Japanese:

– Do you think your Japanese would have advanced more if you had studied it in your own language environment (i.e. instructed in your first language and/or in your country)?

We expected the students in general to answer in the affirmative since it would presumably be easier and more comfortable for them to understand the learning objectives if the course was conducted in their own language rather than in English. Some students indeed replied as expected:

> Yes, I agree that my Japanese would have been better if I have studied in China, and could have used grammar books explained in Chinese.

> I think I could have improved my Japanese more quickly if I have studied in Korea, since it would have been easier to understand grammar and pronunciation of kanji.

Approximately a quarter of the NNSE participants answered that their Japanese would have advanced better had they studied in their own countries. As indicated in their comments, these students tended to consider studying Japanese grammar as very important for mastering the language. This makes sense because reading grammar books or listening to detailed explanations of grammar would require a high proficiency in the language, and their mother tongue would be the best option for them.

The remaining three quarters of NNSE participants answered that their Japanese would not have been improved by studying in their own countries:

> I heard from my friends who were studying Japanese at a university in China that they focused much on grammar, rather than spoken conversation. I don't think my Japanese communication skills would have been improved a lot.

> I studied Japanese a couple of months in Korea before I came to Australia. The teachers spent most time on explaining grammar and reading/making up sentences, and I quitted learning it as I didn't like the way of studying there. I don't think my Japanese would be better if I have kept studying there.

[4] Influences (or transfer, or interference) of the first language is well known among linguists of second language acquisition. Nitschke et al. (2010), for example, show that native speakers of English tend to be influenced by their first language, English, when they are learning German relative clauses.

> I know some friends who are studying Japanese in Hong Kong. They say that they do not learn as widely as we do here. For example, they do not study Japanese conversation and culture much.

As shown in the above comments, their opinions are based on their perceptions of the methods or approaches of Japanese courses in their own countries, which have been gained either through their own experiences, or from secondary sources such as their friends. In other words, these students tend to consider teaching methods/approaches more important than the medium of instruction (i.e. whether it is English or their own language). Furthermore, students' opinions are influenced by their preferred learning style (e.g. while some students focus on grammar, others focus on the importance of learning conversational skills).

Students' Identity

Kramsch (2006) sees language as social scaffolding for the development of the mind in interaction with others. Language and interaction are at the centre of development of our sense of self and perceptions of others. In this regard, studies suggest that international students' personality traits such as cultural empathy and interpersonal skills are important for the effective functioning of individuals in the host society (Guzman and Burke 2003; Van Oudenhoven and Van der Zee 2002). We wondered how international students in our Japanese courses adjusted to the new environment in Australia through the adaptation process. We first assumed that the adaptation process might have affected their personalities and characters in some way. In order to clarify this point we asked the following open question to the NNSE students:

– Do you think your personality or character has changed by coming to Australia? If you think it has, how has it changed?

The most common response was that they felt they became more 'independent'. The main reason for this was that many international students left their families in their own country and were living alone while studying in Australia.

> I have had to decide where to live, and pay fees for electricity, gas and water all by myself. I never did these things when I was living with my parents in my country.

> I feel I became more independent. I decide everything by myself.

In addition, the students' proficiency level in English is thought to play an important role in their successful adaptation to Australian society. As reported by Stoynoff (1997), the students' proficiency level in the language of the host country has a positive correlation with the ease and stability of their adjustment as well as their academic achievement. In this connection, we were interested in knowing how confident the students were with regard to speaking English, and how they perceived the influence of using English on their personality and character. We therefore asked:

– When you are speaking in English, do you think your personality or attitude changes from when you are speaking in your own first language?

Many NNSE students, especially from China and Korea, replied that their personality and/or attitudes changed when speaking in English.

> I am more confident when I speak in Chinese. I become nervous when I am speaking in English because I think my English is not so good.

> I become less confident when I am speaking in English. I do not know much about Australian culture and people.

> I am worried that Australian people might think I am stupid because I cannot express small details in English.

They confessed that they became more nervous, tense or shy when speaking in English as they did not think their English could sufficiently convey their thoughts and feelings. As could be predicted, they also worried that other people would not fully understand them, or that they would even misunderstand their intentions.

There was another interesting finding which we did not expect. Some students, more specifically, 11 students (5 Chinese and 6 Korean students) said that they became more confident when speaking in English compared to speaking in their own language.

> When I am speaking in Korean with other Korean people, I have to consider many things such as their age, social status, etc. I consider about these things much less when I am speaking in English. So I feel I am more confident when speaking with Australian people in English.

> I have much more confidence when I speak in English. I can say whatever I like to more directly in English.

Some of these students had lived in an English-speaking country for a period when they were young. Other students had not lived in another English-speaking country before coming to Australia, but had stayed in Australia for more than 4 years. What was commonly observed in both groups was that they were very confident about their English proficiency.

The above findings confirm the general view that the students' proficiency in English plays a crucial role in relation to their self-confidence. Some students, depending on their culture, feel a certain liberation that further adds to their confidence. In Korea, for example, speakers are sensitive to the hierarchical interpersonal relationship with others, especially when talking with their seniors. This often affects, or restricts, their attitudes and manner of talking, as well as the use of language expressions, while talking with other Koreans. It seems that the students enjoy a certain freedom to speak more straightforwardly when they speak in English compared to speaking in their own language.

Cultural Diversity

Language is bound up with our social identities, and our use of language aligns with social groups and cultural practices (Byram and Fleming 1998). The importance of the cultural dimension in language education has been widely acknowledged. For example, Bock (1974: 51) maintains that "Learning a language parallels the more general process of learning a culture. [. . . T]he ability of human beings to develop and transmit complex cultural patterns is clearly dependent on language". Similarly, Heath (1986) and Casanave (1992) also note that individuals first gain much of their understanding of the world through language-mediated experiences by which individuals become members of their primary speech community, and thus language learning is cultural learning.

Our Japanese courses provide international students with a rich multicultural environment. They deal with the Australian culture along with the use of English as a lingua franca, as well as the Japanese culture which is associated with the target language (e.g. in class, they often compare Australian culture and Japanese culture). In addition, they may further connect these cultures to their own cultures, as well as to those of students from different cultures. It is quite usual in our class to discuss a certain cultural issue with reference to four or five different cultures. Given this culturally rich environment, we wanted to know how students feel about it, and what we can do in order to maximize this opportunity of experiencing multiculturalism. We asked all 68 NSE and NNSE students the following rather direct question:

– How do you feel about the fact that you are studying in a multicultural environment with people from many different cultures?

None of the students answered that they were uncomfortable or had problems studying with people from different cultures. On the contrary, 47 students remarked that they were very comfortable and in fact liked studying in this context. Domestic students said that they were already familiar with living and studying in a multicultural environment. Some international students who came to Australia and went to high school and college there were of a similar opinion. Other international students also said that the multicultural environment was what they expected as they knew that Australia was a multicultural society. Many of these students said that they enjoyed living and studying in this multicultural environment:

> There were many Asian students in my class when I was studying in high school and college. So I'm used to work together with them.
>
> Before I came to university, I studied at English school and there were many students who came from many different countries.
>
> I understand that Australia is an immigrant country and this is something I expected before I came here to study. I like it.
>
> When I was studying in high school in my own country, all students were Korean. But here many students came from different cultures and using different languages. I enjoy this.
>
> [remark of a Korean student] I am also taking Environment Science courses in which most students are Australian. I feel a sort of wall between me and them. In Japanese classes, there are lots of Asian students and I feel more comfortable here.

In contrast, 21 students said that they did not have any special feelings about studying in a multicultural environment.

> I do not have any particular feeling about this situation. I came to Australia seven years ago and I think I have already been well adapted to this situation.

> I like studying alone. The current situation does not really mean much to me.

> I am shy and it is difficult for me to make Australian friends. I always work with my Chinese friends in class.

We found that students' linguistic and cultural backgrounds, the length of their stay in Australia, and their English proficiency level did not affect their particular preference for the multicultural learning environment. Rather their study style (i.e. whether they liked to study alone or together with others) and personality (i.e. whether they were shy or outgoing) seemed to be the primary factors influencing their perception of the learning environment.

Next, we asked the following questions in order to see to what extent students make use of this environment:

- Do you think our Japanese courses give you more opportunities to meet and talk with people from different cultures than other non-language courses?
- Do you often have tea or lunch together with your friends who are taking the same Japanese classes? If you do, are they from different cultures from yours?

The background for these questions was the fact that our Japanese courses involve many interaction-based activities, such as role-play-type and communicative-exchange-type exercises, between class participants working in pairs or groups. Moreover, in a typical beginners' course, such as our Japanese courses, students often undertake tasks of exchanging information about their personal particulars such as their hobbies, family details, and thoughts/opinions about various issues. We expected that these interaction-based activities would create more opportunities for students to exchange personal information, through which they could build up a close friendship.

Our interviews with the students revealed that this expectation turned out to be true as a general tendency:

> Yes, I agree that I often feel a sort of personal connection with other students in the Japanese course. We talk lots about our personal things with each other.

> In my Accounting classes, there are also many Asian students but I rarely talk with them. I sometimes have a discussion with them in tutorials, but it is not a conversation.

> Japanese classes obviously give me lots of opportunities to talk with other people. I have talked about my family members in conversation classes, which I have never done in my Politics classes.

Despite these opportunities, however, many students, both domestic and international, also replied that they actually could not make the most of these opportunities, and failed to make close friends from different cultural backgrounds.

> I think that we have lots of opportunities to make friends from different cultures. But I normally work with my Chinese friends in tutorials. It is hard to make Australian friends.

> I normally have lunch with my Korean friends. It is more comfortable.

> I just came from China last year. At the beginning of the first semester, I made a couple of Chinese friends in Japanese classes. I have then attended the same tutorials, and always worked together with them.

> I know there are many students from different countries in the Japanese course, but I think many people tend to get together with people from the same cultural background.

These answers revealed that the students' linguistic and cultural backgrounds have a strong influence on their decision as to whom they want to work with in the classroom, or to associate with outside the classroom. Many of the students seemed to appreciate the multicultural environment. Students also realized that the Japanese classroom provided opportunities to interact with others from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Nonetheless, the students tended to do things together with those from the same linguistic and cultural background because they felt more comfortable with them.

Earlier research shows that the adaptation process international students have to go through does not occur simply by being on foreign soil, rather the individual must interact with the host population in order to develop more than a superficial understanding of the culture (Tomich et al. 2003). The students' comments shown previously suggest that the individual's willingness to make contact with people from other cultures is also crucial for making the most of the opportunity to gain a multicultural understanding even in a culturally rich internationalized environment. Further, the teacher is also considered to play an important role in maximizing the opportunity of multicultural exchange, as will be discussed shortly.

5 Implications: The Teacher's Role

Japanese classes in the Australian context provide a unique multilingual and multicultural environment in which individuals can practice internationalization. The present study limits its scope to Japanese classes in Australia. Further investigations within a wider range of contexts (e.g. non-language classes or European language classes in Australian universities) are required to fully understand the influence of the English-medium instruction on the learning processes of students with non-English background. Nonetheless, the present study suggests the following two general points for consideration by teachers in language courses in an internationalized educational setting. Firstly, the significance of the teacher's role as the course designer should be considered. Teachers in foreign language courses in which the majority of students are monolingual may basically focus on the distinction between the target language and the students' native language, and only consider influences of the native language on the students' learning process. However, the internationalized setting involves a far more complicated situation in which the target language, the academic lingua franca and the students' diverse language backgrounds are intertwined, affecting each other in many different ways. It is thus expected that the linguistic influences on the students' learning progress differ from those of the monolingual situation. Teachers should take these complex linguistic influences into account when they prepare foreign language courses.[5] Understanding the special features of the NNSE students' first languages, having sessions to explain the similarities/differences between Japanese and the NNSE students' first languages, and preparing materials in the NNSE students' first languages are some examples of supporting NNSE students in the internationalized class.

Secondly, the teacher's role as the class conductor should be considered. As consistently noted up until now, the multilingual and multicultural educational setting is an excellent venue for practicing globalization. Students' experience of spending time in such an environment with other students from different cultures, countries and communities may help them to develop intercultural competence (Byram 1997), which could be advantageous to their future lives. However, in reality students tend to group with other students from the same linguistic and cultural background. Many students confessed that it was difficult to make Australian friends. As revealed through our interviews, many international students study, eat lunch and do homework with friends from the same linguistic and cultural background. This is in a sense natural and is perhaps the most comfortable situation for the students, but it is also the very reason that some international students do not make friends with the local students or students from other cultural backgrounds during their university life.

In order to make the most of the opportunity presented by an internationalized environment, the individual students' willingness and effort to get involved and work together with people from various linguistic and cultural backgrounds is crucial. Teachers and academics should also take an active role in this process, however, and develop strategies and programmes to support these efforts. It is suggested that teachers design and implement class activities and tasks in such a way that students are encouraged to exchange their own linguistically and culturally unique features with those from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds. Deliberately grouping the students from different languages and cultures together when they are undertaking class activities could be a good way of exercising international exchange.

Furthermore, according to Preisler (2008), in a multinational lecture room, a teacher must be perceptive of the many varieties of English present in the classroom, which include different interactional styles and manifestations of role relationships, conventions of formality and politeness, etc. The teacher's ability to communicate in English becomes even more crucial than in a class of English native speakers. Thus, teachers in the multilingual and multicultural learning environment need to be aware that they are required to be more perceptive and patient than in a monolingual educational setting.

[5] We have asked foreign language teachers at the Australian National University how much they incorporate the students' diverse linguistic influences into their courses. The general feeling was that they were aware of the students' diverse linguistic backgrounds, but did not consider these aspects systematically and comprehensively when designing their courses.

6 Conclusion

In this chapter we have discussed the use of English as a lingua franca in elementary Japanese courses in an Australian university. Compared to the majority of previous studies, which have mainly concentrated on English-medium programmes in non-English-speaking countries, our study is special in that (i) it involves English-medium teaching and learning in the context of an English-speaking country, and (ii) it deals with a language course. These features have brought up several issues regarding international students, which are summarized as follows:

(i) Students from Korean and Chinese backgrounds tend to feel that they have an advantage compared to NSE students.
(ii) Students tend to think that their Japanese would not have been improved by studying in their own countries, and consider teaching methods/approaches more important for their learning than the medium of instruction.
(iii) Many students, especially those from Korea and China, confess that they become more nervous, tense or shy when speaking in English.
(iv) However, some Korean and Chinese students who are very confident in their English proficiency remark that they become more comfortable when speaking in English compared to speaking in their own language since they can speak more straightforwardly in English.
(v) All students answer that they are comfortable or enjoy studying with people from different linguistic and cultural backgrounds.
(vi) Students' study style (i.e. whether they like to study alone or together with others) and personality (i.e. whether they are shy or outgoing) seem to be the primary factors influencing their particular preference about the multicultural learning environment.
(vii) Students tend to think that interaction-based activities would create more opportunities to exchange personal information through which they could build up friendships with fellow students.
(viii) However, students tend to feel that they actually did not make lasting connections with students from different cultural backgrounds.

Among these findings, (i) and (iv) deserve special attention since these reflect unique aspects of our study (i.e. Japanese language course in Australia) with regard to the academic adjustment issues of international students. Previously, studies have found that international students had greater academic adjustment problems than domestic students (Ramburuth 2001; Ramsay et al. 1999), and that proficiency in the host language (English as a lingua franca in our case) was the primary factor for the academic achievement of international students (Andrade 2006; Stoynoff 1997). However, the above findings show that it is not always the case, but could be dependent on the nature of the course the students are enrolled in, as well as their mother tongues.

Finally, insights gained from findings of the current study have implications for teachers in the internationalized learning environment where English is used as a lingua franca. To be specific, the teacher has an important role in providing opportunities for students to exercise internationalization by designing a course that considers various aspects of the students' backgrounds in conjunction with the nature of the course; and by encouraging students to get actively engaged in communication with students from different cultural backgrounds during class activities.

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“Teacher! Why Do You Speak English?” A Discussion of Teacher Use of English in a Danish Language Class

Mads Jakob Kirkebæk

1 Introduction

“Teacher, why do you speak English when you teach us Danish?” a student asked. I answered briefly that I found English useful for fast translations, and continued teaching. However, after the lesson the student’s question made me think. Why do I actually speak English in my Danish class for transnationally mobile students at a Danish university?

One or More Languages in the Classroom?

Teachers of Danish as a Foreign Language do not agree whether the language of instruction in a language classroom should always be the target language, or if other languages – e.g., a lingua franca – are admissible to use. In my experience, in most staff rooms in Denmark, one will meet at least two different (and conflicting) positions. One group of teachers – here called the language purists – believe that Danish is the only language to be used in teaching Danish. Another group – here called the language pragmatists – will use any language that may help them get their message through.[1] Both groups of teachers have good arguments for their views on language use.

Language purists put forward three main arguments for only using Danish during class. Firstly, Danish is often the only lingua franca available. In the public system

[1]These positions are, of course, not only found in Denmark, cf. Wang (2013, this volume).

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of Danish language schools for foreigners, many students share some lingua franca, but it is far from always the case that all students share one and the same lingua franca. Besides English, there are other languages that some but not all students in class may share: French, Swahili, Spanish, Russian, German and *Pŭtōnghuà*. This being so, and in order to treat students equally, the language purists argue that the teacher should teach exclusively in Danish.

Secondly, language purists use "limited class hours" as an argument for only speaking Danish. Lessons are few, and students' exposure to the target language is relatively limited. Therefore, time in class should not be used on languages other than the target language.

Thirdly, some but not all language purists believe that the use of other languages than the target language during class may confuse students and disturb or even "pollute" their language acquisition. These teachers often come under attack for subscribing to an ideology of what one may call "linguistic isolationism". This ideology is most probably inspired by or based on a view of cultures as well-defined, relatively static entities that must be kept separate from each other.[2]

For this group of teachers, the ideal model for language instruction is total immersion. This concept has a long tradition (probably going at least back to the teaching of Latin in the Middle Ages) and has become fashionable throughout the history of language teaching again and again. Many would refer to the Canadian immersion programs for French developed since the 1960s, although there immersion was not mainly practiced in language classes but in content learning (mathematics, geography etc.) through the use of French as a medium of instruction.

Language pragmatists seem, in my experience, to be more common than purists at Danish universities and other institutions of higher education, and there may be a simple explanation for this. All university students that have gone to school in Denmark know, as a minimum, English as a foreign language. The same is true for most transnationally mobile students at Danish universities. They typically study in Denmark for one or two semesters and if they do not know Danish before they arrive, they have to know the language of instruction of most courses not taught in Danish, which is English. There are a few transnationally mobile students that come to Denmark in order to follow courses taught in Danish, and some of them might not able to speak English, but they would not go to beginners' classes in Danish, because their Danish proficiency would be far higher than the Waystage A2 level of these classes.[3] This means that, in their teachers' experience, there is at least one language other than Danish that all transnationally mobile students understand. Therefore, English can be used as a lingua franca if the teacher decides so: it is an option.

Language pragmatists also use "limited class hours" as an argument, but as opposed to the language purists they use it as an argument for *not* only speaking

[2]For an introduction to different concepts of culture, see Risager (2006: 32–53).

[3]For the definition of the A2 (Waystage) level, see *The Common European Framework of Reference for Languages* (CEFR), www.coe.int/lang.

Danish. Since all or most of them are trained in Denmark, their own English proficiency is rather high, and in their experience, most foreign students also know some English. So language pragmatists argue that costly time can be saved if they use English to explain e.g. grammar instead of simpler, but also longer and slower explanations, which are possibly dependent on gestures and drawings on the blackboard.

Finally, language pragmatists do not seem to believe that simultaneous use of different languages during class will affect students’ language acquisition in any negative way. They see drawing clear borderlines between languages neither as an aim nor as a real possibility. On the contrary, in my experience, these teachers will argue that noticing similarities and differences between already known languages and the new target language may help and support language acquisition. Although such a comparison could equally well be done in Danish (but maybe not at the A2 Waystage level), it should obviously be a comparison between Danish and another language the students already know. Danish shares with all other Germanic languages except English the typological feature of “verb second” (V/2), i.e. in declarative main clauses, the finite verb follows the initial constituent (while in English, the finite verb follows the subject). But a comparison with Dutch, Swedish and German would only help those few students who know these languages beforehand. Because of the existing similarities between English and Danish, an English sentence like “I come from Denmark” is thus believed to help students acquire and retain the Danish equivalent “Jeg kommer fra Danmark.” Language pragmatists seem to presume that students already know the English sentence and therefore are able to use it as a shortcut to acquisition of the Danish equivalent.

A teacher’s view on language use may be influenced by many factors, including the composition of his classes. If he has no single lingua franca at hand he will have to make do with the target language and then be driven in a purist direction. If, on the other hand, he has one or more lingua francas to choose from, it may make him more pragmatic with regard to language use. Another factor influencing teacher attitudes towards language use in the classroom is the language environment. If Danish as a Foreign Language is taught in Denmark, students will have plenty opportunities to speak and listen to Danish outside class. If taught in the German city of Frankfurt, students do not have the same opportunities, and this may influence teachers’ attitudes towards use of languages other than the target language during class.

A teacher’s view on language use may also be influenced by factors outside the classroom, not least by prevailing paradigms in language acquisition theory and fashions in language didactics and pedagogy. Pierre Bourdieu maintains that all positions within “the educational field” – the education system in its broadest sense – are shaped by the tensions between two extreme poles or positions: the autonomous pole and the heteronomous pole. The position associated with the autonomous pole would be that the purpose of teaching is the spiritual and intellectual growth of students. It is teaching and learning for its own sake, isolated from the rest of society. At the heteronomous pole, the other extreme, one might find the position that the purpose of teaching is to add economic value to society.

It is teaching for a purpose that will pay. Following Bourdieu's line of thought, as explained by Jen Webb et al. (2011: 107–8), it may be argued that language purists that resist use of English as an aid during their Danish classes and language pragmatists that support any measure that may save time and increase the speed of language acquisition are linked to the autonomous and the heteronomous pole respectively. (It has to be noted, though, that also the 'purists' use the argument that their using Danish as the exclusive medium of instruction saves time, and is, hence, more efficient.)

In an even broader sense, a teacher's view on language use may also be influenced by – and intertwined with – views on culture, identity, and national mind. Johann Gottfried von Herder (1744–1803) introduced the view that there is not *one* culture but several, different cultures, which he saw as well-defined, stable and very slow-changing entities with a definite number of members sharing the same values, rules, norms, and language. This descriptive view on culture seems to be very much alive in the minds of at least some language purists. Many language pragmatists, on the other hand, seem influenced by a complex concept of culture fitting well into the fashionable global paradigm of today: no clear borders exist between cultures, and cultures, languages and identities are constantly changing, intertwining and shifting form and focus: as situations and relations change, culture(s), language(s) and identities change too.[4]

Research Question and Hypotheses

The main aim of the chapter is to examine the language practices of a Danish language teacher (me) teaching transnationally mobile students Danish as a foreign language.

The main research question is: For what purposes does the Danish language teacher use English in his Danish class?

The main hypothesis is that the Danish language teacher uses English for different purposes related directly to his teaching of Danish, including translation, scaffolding and development of topics spoken of in Danish at first. However, it is also hypothesized that the teacher uses English in a number of cases where, at least from a purely communicative point of view, he does not have to do so and that some of these cases may be explained as attempts to compensate for the teacher's perceived "reduced personality", when he speaks Danish to his students, and to better express his "teacher persona".

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[4]For a brief, but illustrative discussion of the descriptive and complex concepts of culture see Jensen (2007: 17–22).

Context and Data

Data was collected in a Danish as a Foreign Language class at Roskilde University, Denmark in autumn 2010. The members of the class were 12 transnationally mobile students mainly from European countries. All students had studied Danish before they came to Denmark and had an estimated Danish language proficiency level at *Waystage* A2 of the Common European Framework of Reference for Languages. Most students were exchange students within the framework of the ERASMUS Program,[5] although a few planned to do their entire Master program in Denmark. The students were transnationally mobile, young, mainly urban male and female students – they could certainly not be labelled NORMs (non-mobile, older, rural males), a tongue-in-cheek label coined by Chambers and Trudgill for the preferred informants of dialect studies (Chambers 1993: 133). The background information for each student was collected before the data collection started, and this information is kept in the CALPIU Storehouse together with video and audio recordings.[6]

Data was collected by video and audio recording 2 weeks of teaching in an A2 Waystage level Danish language class at the beginning of the autumn semester 2010 and again 2 weeks in the last part of the semester. As the language class was taught 4 hours a week, data collection resulted in 16 hours of recordings. However, in this chapter I will only look into data from the first week of teaching. Besides video and audio recordings, I also used a logbook to take down observations during class, and first comments after class.

2 Action Research for Language Teachers

The term action research is used within different fields of society and with different meanings.

Within the social welfare field, action research has been defined as “the systematic collection of information that is designed to bring about social change” (Bogdan and Biklen 1992: 223). Action research practitioners that follow this tradition are actively involved in their research subject and collect evidence or data to expose social injustice or dangers to the environment and recommend actions for change.

Within the educational field, action research is, by contrast, commonly understood as a strategy or investigation method that teachers use to solve problems and improve professional practices in their own classrooms. An often cited definition of this understanding of action research is: “Action research is simply a form of self-reflective enquiry undertaken by participants in social situations in order to

[5]ERASMUS is the European Union’s “flagship education and training programme” for student and staff mobility, http://ec.europa.eu/education/lifelong-learning-programme/doc80_en.htm.

[6]For an introduction to the CALPIU Research Centre project and its data collection, see Fabricius (2008).

improve the rationality and justice of their own practices, their understanding of these practices, and the situations in which the practices are carried out" (Carr and Kemmis 1986: 162).

In the present study, I use action research in the sense of Wallace (2010). In his work on action research for language teachers, Wallace defines action research very similar to Carr and Kemmis, as a way of making sense of your teaching experiences, making structured reflections on your teaching and thereby contribute to your continuous professional development (CPD): "It is done by systematically collecting data on your everyday practice and analyzing it in order to come to some decisions about what your future practice should be" (Wallace 2010: 4).

Action research represents an inductive, problem-focused approach and is intended to have a practical outcome (Wallace 2010: 15). The motivation to do action research is often an interest in or anxiety about some aspect of the teacher's professional performance (Wallace 2010: 10). In my case, it was my use of English when teaching Danish. I wanted to find out what I was using English for.

In an educational context, the purpose of action research is to allow teachers to reflect on their teaching practice. It differs from more traditional types of research in that it is less concerned with making general statements (Wallace 2010: 17–18). Action research is mainly meant to help teachers in their personal, continuous and ongoing professional development, but I believe that my concern and research question may also appeal and be of interest to other language teachers.

Even though the scope of action research is limited and findings and explanations do not pretend to be of general value, an action research approach and a more traditional research approach seeking "universal truths" may not be as different as they seem at first sight. If you leaf through conclusions in research articles belonging to the latter category, the frequency of formulations like "Further research is needed to . . . ", "This article is a first step to . . . ", and "Longer-term research into this issue with a larger number of learners would be useful" at least indicates that the difference between action research and more traditional types of research may be smaller than is often imagined.

The author of this chapter participated both as teacher and as a researcher in all the video and audio recorded teaching lessons. This double role is not unproblematic. Firstly, because the students knew that I was both teacher and researcher, they may have used language different from the language they would have used with classmates in another class or with another teacher. Secondly, I might have adopted a less (or more) formal register if I had not been recorded. This problem, known in sociolinguistics since the 1970's as the observer's paradox, occurs in situations where the observation of an event or experiment may be influenced by the presence of the observer.[7] However, Bucholtz points out that the double role as participant and observer "is often believed to have the secondary advantage of minimizing the disruptive effects of the research situation" (Bucholtz

[7]On the observer's paradox, see e.g. Bucholtz (2003: 406) and McNamara (2000: 9).

2003: 406). Yet another role that may have influenced my judgments as researcher is that of a language educationalist. As a language educationalist I am used to looking for “best practice” in class, and this may have made it difficult for me, as a sociolinguist, to restrict myself to observing and analyzing what was going on in class. Any teacher is guided by his own normativity, that is his personal norms for good language teaching, and to the extent that the teacher is not aware of these norms himself, they are impossible to reflect on and may eventually prove difficult to change.

Furthermore, as self-representations are almost always positive, there is a danger that I, as researcher, would tend to explain my language behaviour as teacher in a positive way. Even though I have tried to look at my own language objectively, there is still no guarantee that I have actually been able to do so.

Another limitation of the research method has to do with “authentic speech”. The aim was to capture what sociolinguists traditionally call “naturally occurring speech”, and in one sense of the definition of “naturally occurring speech”, the data collected were certainly “naturally occurring”, since the classes also would have been taught if the data were not being collected. Another question is, how authentic an interaction can be with three video cameras running and five microphones recording any sound in the classroom. Not very close at first, I believe, but after some time both the students and I forgot the cameras and microphones as it usually happens. I therefore dare say that we at least approximated “naturally occurring speech” in the research situation.

Finally, it may be argued that it is problematic to look at teacher language in isolation and not as part of the teacher-student interaction so common in class. This argument is difficult to rebut, although I have tried to minimize the problem by focusing on speech events where the teacher speaks to and not directly interacts with his students.

The above mentioned limitations cannot be changed. What can be done, however, is to present them openly and invite others to consult, explain and possibly reinterpret the data presented here.

3 Two Useful Concepts

In this study, I have made use of two different concepts to explain and interpret data: Harder’s concept of “reduced personality” and Bucholtz’s “tactics of intersubjectivity”.

Peter Harder’s “Reduced Personality”

When a language learner wants to get around a problem in which he finds himself because of insufficient command of the target language, he may apply various 'communication strategies'. Mitchell and Myles define *communication strategies* as "tactics used by the non-fluent learner during L2 interaction, in order to overcome specific communicative problems" (1998: 94–98). The learner could, e.g., insert extra vowels to make consonant clusters easier to pronounce. But some communication strategies have more serious consequences: the learner could, e.g., avoid talking about topics for which he does not have the words. Such 'topic avoidance', Harder writes, "… is not merely an instance of 'learner deviation', it is an instance of a learner's role in events being *reduced*. The learner is not as free to define his place in the ongoing interaction as he would like; he has to accept a role which is less desirable than he could ordinarily achieve." (Harder 1980: 267–8). Because the language learner constantly feels the need to say more than his resources permit, he is suffering from a reduced personality.

In a study of language practices at the international university, Bent Preisler (2008) argues that not only the personality of students, but also that of teachers may be affected by using other languages than the L1. Preisler has analyzed how it affects the professional identity of a teacher that he has to authenticate himself through language which is restricted by limitations in his own active and the students' receptive language proficiency (Preisler 2008: 107–108). He finds indications that a teacher who is speaking another language than his L1 and who therefore cannot participate in teacher-student interactions to the extent that he would like and who lacks the ability to express his teacher persona may also suffer from a feeling of being "reduced".

In this study, I have used the concept of "reduced personality" to describe and explain situations in which the teacher switches from Danish into English to compensate for an imagined future "reduced personality". When the teacher assumes he cannot express his teacher persona through Danish because of what he perceives as limitations in his students' Danish language proficiency, he sometimes chooses to do it through English.

The teacher seems to assume that his students' level of proficiency in English is higher than in Danish and that the use of English therefore will enhance his chances of getting the intended message and persona across. Another possible explanation is that the teacher feels that his proficiency in his L2, English, has reached such a level that his L1, Danish, is not always his "natural", first choice for expressing his persona. He may, e.g., feel that he expresses himself better through his L2 English, when it comes to brief, humorous remarks.

Mary Bucholtz's Authentication of Teacher Identity

According to Bucholtz (2003), teachers may use three pairs of tactics to authenticate themselves as teachers.[8]

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[8]Bucholtz calls these tactics "tactics of intersubjectivity". See Bucholtz (2003: 408).

The first pair of tactics a teacher may use to authenticate himself as a teacher is to play down or emphasize differences between him and his students. Bucholtz terms these two ploys “adequation” and “distinction”, respectively. The teacher can choose to focus on similarities instead of differences between himself and his students and to emphasize or play down his position of power and other intersubjective differences. He may for instance put himself down by telling jokes or silly stories about himself.

The second pair of teachers’ tactics consists of “authorization” and “illegitimation”. Bucholtz writes: “*Authorization* concerns the claiming or imparting of a culturally recognized powerful status, while *illegitimation* is the denial or rejection of such a claim.” (2003: 408). An example of the authorization/illegitimation tactic would be a teacher who insists that students call him by his surname to emphasize the difference in power and status between him and them or, on the contrary, asks students to call him by his first name to diminish that same difference.

The third and last pair of teacher tactics is about “authentication” and “denaturalization” of a proposed teacher identity. In class, the teacher proposes a certain role or identity to the students which they may accept (authorize) or reject (denaturalize). If, for instance, a teacher wants to authenticate himself as a careful, conscientious teacher, but forgets to bring his textbook or to correct the students’ assignments, or forgets the name of the very same student three times in a row, it is not very probable that this identity will be accepted by his students without serious reservations.

In this study, Bucholtz’s approach has helped me to understand how the teacher tries to authenticate himself and construct his identity as a teacher.

4 Findings

In the data, English is used for a multitude of purposes. I had originally grouped the examples of use of English by the teacher in my data into three groups: use of instant translations of central concepts as a kind of scaffolding, the further development of topics already introduced in Danish, and the use of English for side sequences acting as comments. However, there were examples of the teacher’s use of English that did not fit into any of these categories, which turned out to be the most interesting ones.

Scaffolding

In some cases, the teacher uses English for what I call “instant translations”. The teacher speaks Danish, but translates from time to time a word or an expression into English, before he continues in Danish, as in Extract 1.

Extract 1

1	LEC	*til* (0.4) *øh*	for er
2		(1.8)	
3	LEC	*til* (0.3) *testen* (0.6)	for the test
4		for the exam	
5		(1.2)	
6	LEC	*skal I*	you must

The teacher tells the students that they need something for the upcoming test, and explains the Danish expression *til testen* 'for the test' in English as *for the exam*. This shifting into English may be explained as a means to make sure that words or expressions which are particularly important for a message to get through are understood by everybody. In other words, it is a kind of scaffolding.[9] Scaffolding is when a teacher helps students accomplish a task by providing support. In Extract 1, the teacher provides the students with keywords in English and thus enables them to understand sentences in Danish they might otherwise not have been able to understand. The words in English function as "language oases" that allow students to "rest", infer the meaning of the whole sentence and prepare for the next input in Danish.[10] The following is another example of this use of English:

Extract 2

1	LEC	*så skal I* (0.4)	then you have to
2		*I skal jo hele tiden tænke på* (0.4)	you have to consider all the time
3		*det man kan kalde jeres*	what one may call your
4		(11.8 ((while LEC writes "personligt	
5		ordforråd" on the blackboard)))	
6		*det man kan kalde for jeres*	what one may call your
7		*personlige ordforråd* (0.5)	personal vocabulary
8		*det er rigtig vigtigt*	it is really important
9		your personal (0.4) vocabulary	
10	ST4	okay ⌈yeah⌉	
11	LEC	⌊yeah ⌋	
12		*og det vil sige*	and that means

[9]For an introduction to the concept of scaffolding in L2 pedagogy see Mitchell and Myles (1998: 145–7, 155–60).

[10]In conversation, gambits are used for similar functions. Gambits like "OK?", "Let me think", "Well", and "Don't you say so?" allow the speaker to "rest", think and concentrate cognitive resources on the next input or output. As communicative tools, gambits "grease" the conversation and make it go smoothly. This use of gambits is quite similar to the use of English in Extracts 1 and 2. On the use of gambits, see Henriksen (2009: 210–212).

Here the teacher again gives an instant English translation of what may be considered a key to understanding the whole sentence: *personligt ordforråd* "personal vocabulary".

Developing a Topic in English

In the data, the teacher also uses English to "unfold" and develop topics that he speaks about in Danish first, as in the following example:

Extract 3

LEC	*og det vil sige at når nu fordi*	and that is to say that when now because
	når nu vi læser en historie	when we now read a story
	så vil der være øh (0.3)	then there will be er
	rigtig mange nye ord (1.1)	quite a lot of new words
	som I ikke kan huske (0.8)	that you cannot remember
	I kan ikke huske alle	you cannot remember all
	de nye ord der kommer (0.2)	the new words that appear
	så hver gang I møder et nyt ord	so every time you encounter a new word
	så skal I tænke hm (0.2)	then you should think mm
	er det et jeg ønsker	is this one I want to
	have med i mit (0.8)	include into my
	personlige ordforråd (0.4)	personal vocabulary
	is this one of the words I	
	want (0.3) I I wanna try	
	to remember or should I	
	just (0.2) let it go eh?	
	because you will meet so	
	many new words you cannot	
	remember all of them (0.5)	
	and I will suggest that	
	(1.6 ((while LEC writes on	
	blackboard)))	
	this word you just ask about	
	(3.4) *et emne*	a topic
ST4	*emne*	topic
LEC	that you should include that	
	into you- into your personal	
	vocabulary	
	because (0.4) erm (0.5)	
	here at university	
	and you will have to (1.3)	
	think of new topics all the time	

In the above extract, the teacher first sums up in English (in lines 13–16) what he had just said in Danish (in lines 10–12). Then he continues and develops the topic in English, but does not translate the word *emne* “topic” into English when it appears again in line 24. This use of English may be an example of a speaker’s language alignment with himself. The term language alignment is used here to describe a situation where a speaker chooses to use a specific language because that language is already being used. Nevile and Wagner (2008, 2011) have described language choice in a bilingual (German-English) exam in the international program of a Danish university. In a situation where students and examiners are all allowed and able to speak either German or English (but have varying abilities in, and preferences to choose, both languages), two competing practices for language choice seem to be at work. Speakers seem to do what I call aligning language choice with themselves – try to stick to the same language, German or English, if possible (2008:168) – but also try to avoid language change at speaker shift (2008: 169). Since these practices may contradict each other, language choice sometimes has to be negotiated. Apparently these same competing principles seem to apply to the students in this class well, which can only be seen in glimpses in the extracts focussing on the teacher presented here; this would be worth another study.

In Extract 3, the teacher continues and develops the topic in English, simply because he is already using it and because neither topic nor register prompts him to switch back into Danish. An indication that he is not only using English out of fear that his students cannot understand him in Danish, such as in Extracts 1 and 2, is that he does not translate the Danish word *emne* into English when it appears again.

English as a Comment

The next two examples of the teacher’s use of English that I have included are ‘side sequences’ which can be categorized as ‘use of English for comments’.

In the first lesson of the new Danish class, the students introduce themselves in Danish. One student tells the class that she is single and the teacher comments:

Extract 4

1	LEC	*og der er jo rigtig mange som siger*	and there are quite a few who say
2		*hm jeg skal aldrig giftes*	hm I am never going to marry
3		*jeg skal være single*	I will remain single
4		*sådan er det!*	that’s how it is!
5		too late for me huuh!	
6		*ja, rigtig fint, ja.*	yes, very fine, yes.

In this extract, the teacher uses English to comment on himself. He speaks in Danish, but switches into English to comment on what he just said in Danish. English offers him “a second voice” that allows him to change footing within the same speech act and show distance towards the previous part of the speech act in Danish. Alternatively, the teacher’s comment in English can be seen as an example of Bucholtz’s “tactics of intersubjectivity”. The teacher uses the implicit reference to his marriage in his English comment to authenticate himself as an adult, married teacher different from his young, unmarried students and as a grown-up for whom life as a single is no longer an option.

Extract 5

LEC	*mit mit mit ur er gået i stykker*	my my my watch is broken
	my watch broke erm	
	so and you see I am old, so I	
	have to look at this	
	((LEC points at the mobile phone in his hand))	
	it is not because I’m looking for	
	a new message from my wife	
	no, but but you know this is so small	
	((LEC looks at display on his mobile phone))	
LEC	so actually I it is a little difficult	
	for me to see what’s in here	
	but OK, 10:30 something,	
	is that right, yeah?	

In Extract 5, the teacher uses English to comment on his own behaviour. He has just looked at his mobile phone and seems to fear that students think he is checking it for new text messages. Here, he seems to use English to authenticate himself as a Danish teacher speaking English because it allows him to express features about his teacher persona (a teacher that does not read text messages during class) that he doubts he can express in Danish because of what he perceives as limitations in the students’ Danish language proficiency.

Compensation for ‘Reduced Personality’ or Expression of Teacher Persona

The above extracts from my data are examples of what I expected to find before I started my investigation. The data, however, also included examples of uses of English that I could not immediately explain. An example from this category is given below.

In Extract 6, the teacher gives the students practical information in Danish about the upcoming test. Then the door into the classroom slowly opens, but nobody comes in. The teacher stops talking, looks at the door and switches into English while he walks through the class to close it. When he has returned to his original position in front of the blackboard, he switches back into Danish and continues to talk about his original topic:

Extract 6

LEC	erm hm (2.7)	
	til (0.3) *testen* (0.6)	for the test
	for the exam (1.2)	
	skal I	you must
	(1.4 ((LEC cuts himself short as	
	something happens by the door)))	
	a ghost (0.4) it's coming in	
ST4	*nej*	no
LEC	*nej* ha ha	no
	no (.) now all these (0.5) dead old	
	students they're coming here (0.8)	
	to say hello to me that's nice yeah (0.6)	
	er (0.2) erh hm (1.7)	
	som jeg sagde så (.) *hm så skal I*	as I said then mm then you must
	vælge to øh to (0.2) *emner* (0.7)	select two er two topics

The use of English in Extract 6 may be explained in various ways. Firstly, it could be explained as a means to compensate for a perceived "reduced personality". When something unexpected happens, and the teacher wants to make a funny remark, he switches into English to make sure that his students get his point. He speaks English to avoid a perceived risk of becoming "linguistically reduced" because of his students' perceived insufficient command of Danish.

Another explanation, closely connected to the first one, is that the teacher authenticates himself as a Danish teacher speaking English because he assumes that it will allow him to express features about his teacher persona (a teacher able to see the funny side of the unexpected) that he may not be able to express in Danish because of what he perceives as limitations in the students' Danish language proficiency.

The above findings support the hypothesis that the teacher sometimes uses English where, from a purely communicative point of view, he does not have to, in an attempt to compensate for a perceived 'reduced' personality or teacher persona. Further research is needed to clarify whether that is only true for the teacher in question (me), or for language teachers in general. However, there are indications that it may also be the case for some teachers teaching foreign languages for beginners abroad. Let me use a Chinese teacher and colleague of mine as an example.

The Chinese teacher came from China to Denmark to teach beginners' Chinese at primary school, high school and at university. She had several places of work and often shifted between different schools during the day. As a part-time teacher teaching a few hours a week in each school, she was left almost unnoticed by the permanent staff, and even though she initially was invited to participate in staff meetings, she did not go, because the meetings were held entirely in Danish. The Chinese teacher, therefore, ended up having most of her interactions with people during class. When I first met her, she was sick and tired of saying and hearing the same simple Chinese sentences again and again and longed for a 'higher level' conversation on any topic other than "Greetings", "Family" and "Shopping". She felt very 'linguistically reduced' because she could not express herself in Chinese as she would like to and did not have many opportunities to compensate for that outside class. Her 'solution' to the problem was from time to time to give in to the temptation to speak English with her students even though she felt bad about doing so; she actually talked about "feeling guilty" (in English). However, that was the only way she could express her teacher persona and learn more about her students than their very limited Chinese vocabulary would otherwise allow them to share.

Finally, the teacher's switch into English in Extract 6 may also be explained as a means of signalling a change of topic (and register). The switch into English marks the beginning of a digression with no connection to previous talk about the test. When the digression ends in line 13, three boundary markers ("er", "erh", and "mm") as well as a short (0.2) and a long (1.7) pause mark the switch back into Danish and the return to the original topic.

While switches into English often occur without any other boundary marker than the language shift, switches back into Danish are often much more elaborate. They are accompanied by longish pauses (often up to almost 3 seconds), explicit discourse markers (*okay we continue*) and filler noises (*er*, *hm*, *em*). This is not the preferred sequential pattern in the case of English words used for scaffolding discussed in section "Scaffolding", or for comments as in Extract 4 in section "English as a Comment".

5 Conclusion

The intention of this study has been to examine the language practices of a Danish language teacher teaching Danish to transnationally mobile students and give a tentative answer to the question: For what purposes does the Danish language teacher (me) use English in a Danish language class? Secondly, the intention of this study has been to contribute to the teacher's continuous professional development. The study concludes that the teacher uses English for different purposes related directly to his teaching of Danish, including translation, scaffolding and development of topics spoken of in Danish first. However, the study also reveals that the teacher sometimes uses English in situations where, from a purely communicative point of view, he does not have to, and that the single most important reason for that seems to be a wish to compensate for an imagined "reduced personality", and to express features about his teacher persona that he fears he cannot express in Danish because of what he perceives as limitations in the students' Danish language proficiency. He uses English as a "second voice" to elaborate, comment on, and back up his "first voice" Danish. The study contributed to the teacher's continuous professional development, because it made him reflect on part of his teaching practice he was not consciously reflecting on before: his use and shift of language. The study helped the teacher realize that he not only uses English for linguistic, but also for strategic purposes: to compensate for an imagined "reduced personality", to fully express his teacher persona, to make students understand faster, to save time (and money), and last but not least to diminish the power distance between teacher and students and to create a positive, relaxed study atmosphere that is perceived to be beneficial to the language learning process. However, the study also made the teacher aware of the unavoidable cost: less Danish spoken during Danish classes.

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The Use of English as a Lingua Franca in Teaching Chinese as a Foreign Language: A Case Study of Native Chinese Teachers in Beijing

Danping Wang

1 Background

This chapter provides a case study of how native Chinese teachers use English as a lingua franca (ELF) when teaching Mandarin Chinese as a Foreign Language (henceforth, CFL) in Beijing universities. In this study, the term ELF is used to describe interactions among mainly non-native speakers of English who use English as their chosen tool for communication in international and intercultural settings. Often in these interactions, only a minority of 'native' speakers of English are involved (see House 2003; Murata and Jenkins 2009 for the definition of ELF).

With the rise of China's economy, CFL teaching has prospered in the last decade. The large influx of international students into Beijing has brought with it different cultures and languages. Meanwhile, English has spread widely around the world, and the number of English speakers is increasing, especially in what Kachru calls the 'expanding circle' (Graddol 2006; Jenkins 2009: 18; Kachru 1985: 12–13, 1992: 356). In CFL classes, Chinese teachers use ELF to assist the teaching of Chinese language, to introduce Chinese culture and to communicate with students who come from many different countries. I will refer to the use of English for these three aspects of teaching as 'ELF pedagogy'. The popularity of the Chinese language and the fast development of ELF worldwide mean that a new cultural and academic milieu of foreign language teaching and learning has evolved which requires more empirical attention.

As the most populous country in the world, China also has one of the largest populations of English students and a history of more than seven decades of English language teaching and learning. The learning of English as a second language started to flourish at all levels from the end of the 1970s, including the school and

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university systems, commerce and the wider population (Lam 2005). More people are now learning English in China than in any other country. The number of people who desire to learn English outnumbers the total populations of the United States and Britain combined (Kirkpatrick 2007: 146). The recent Asia Society's report (Norman 2011) finds that there are more than 300 million Chinese students learning English in China; and according to another study, China now produces more than 20 million new users of English each year (Graddol 2006: 95).

China's huge investment in English, together with its promotion of Chinese as a foreign language, must be seen in a global context. One reason for investing in English is that English is seen as a means of internationalizing both the student community and teaching staff. Another reason is that in CFL teaching, English proficiency is now one of the most important requirements when recruiting qualified Chinese language teachers in and outside China. The growing international importance of Chinese has increased demand for more qualified CFL teachers to be able to teach the language around the world. The global gap between CFL teachers and international Chinese students was estimated to be 1:1,000, which means that four million more CFL teachers are needed (Chinese Ministry of Education 2006: 203). To meet the demand for qualified CFL teachers, the Master of Teaching Chinese to Speakers of Other Languages (MTCSOL) has been established in around 200 universities in China since 2007, and it has already become one of the most popular master programs in China's universities. In terms of foreign language competence, the MTCSOL program guide states that half the core curriculum should be taught in a foreign language (mainly English). By the end of the 2-year master program, graduates are expected to teach and communicate fluently in English. Furthermore, the Qualification Test for CFL Teachers was re-launched in late 2011. Only those with a high proficiency in foreign languages now qualify. To be certified, candidates need a minimum English score of band 5 in IETLS or 500 in TOEFL. This shows that English (or other major languages such as French, Japanese, German and Spanish) are considered a basic requirement for teaching CFL.

2 Previous Research

Previous research has focused on the tension between the Chinese-only principle and experiments of promoting an ELF pedagogy, a judicious use of English as a mediation tool. Article 20 of the Law on the Commonly Used Language and Script in China covers the policy for CFL teaching across China. It states that Putonghua (modern standard Mandarin Chinese) and the standardized Chinese characters should be taught in classes for foreigners who are learning Chinese (Rohsenow 2004: 41). Moreover, in a collection of teaching syllabuses for CFL, editor Yang Jizhou explicitly states that ELF and other foreign languages should be forbidden in CFL classes (1999: 5). Following this, Hanban (2002: 3), the government office managing Chinese studies, issued a new set of teaching syllabuses saying that CFL teachers should 'maximize target language and diminish the use of [English] as a medium of instruction'.

Despite a rigid state policy of using Chinese-only pedagogy, there have been intensive debates on whether or not to use ELF in CFL classes. Two schools of thought have formed on whether to allow or disallow the use of ELF. Proponents of Chinese-only pedagogy have argued that Chinese is best taught through Chinese only, and that the use of ELF or other languages the students are familiar with always results in negative transfer in the process of acquiring Chinese (e.g. Liu 2006: 118; Lü 1993: 84; Sun 2003: 101). Some Chinese scholars have challenged the lingua franca status of English (Ma 2003; Wang 2007, 2009). They argue that the use of English in the CFL classroom will only help to spread English to CFL students, which would distort the purposes of teaching and promoting Chinese to the world.

On the other side, opponents of the Chinese-only pedagogy have argued against this position by providing empirical evidence that CFL teachers have in practice successfully applied the ELF pedagogy to varying degrees. Xu (2008) has argued for using ELF sensibly and judiciously in CFL teaching. Danping Wang (2010a) has suggested that CFL teachers need to become bilingual in Chinese and English in the increasingly globalized teaching contexts. Corresponding to the promotion of English language education in China (Lam 2005), teachers' English language competence is becoming as important as their comparative linguistic knowledge of English and Chinese (Zhang 2006). In some studies (e.g. Chen 2010), CFL teachers are portrayed as messengers who spread Chinese culture in addition to the role of language educator. This has increased the importance of ELF to keep the class communicative and interactive. But how do CFL teachers perceive the role of ELF in teaching Chinese to international students in a multinational and multilingual CFL class? Until now, empirical research on language use in CFL classrooms has been limited. The present study seeks to add to our knowledge.

3 The Present Study

This chapter is based on a preliminary case study of CFL teachers' beliefs and attitudes towards using ELF in CFL teaching. Specifically, this qualitative study was informed by principles of grounded theory (Creswell 2008) and, most importantly, narrative inquiry (Clandinin and Connelly 2000). The overall aim was to tell each participant's story and explain their beliefs and attitudes towards using ELF in CFL teaching.

Research Questions

For this reason, the study sought to answer the following two research questions:

1. What are native Chinese teachers' beliefs and attitudes towards the use of ELF in CFL teaching?
2. What factors contribute to these beliefs and attitudes? How and why?

Conceptual Framework

Conceptually, the study was guided by theoretical discussions of teachers' beliefs, attitudes and knowledge or belief systems, and the ways in which these belief systems are formed. That teacher beliefs could have a direct effect on their teaching is not new. Ghaith described the construct of teacher beliefs as "comprehensive of several dimensions relative to beliefs about learning, teaching, program and curriculum, and the teaching profession more generally" (Ghaith 2004: 280). Borg (2006) summarized by saying that teacher beliefs are teachers' pedagogical beliefs or those beliefs of relevance to an individual teaching situation. Richards argued that teachers' beliefs are "working principles or maxims which teachers consciously or unconsciously refer to as they teach" (1996: 282). In describing what teachers' beliefs are and how they are formed, a number of language educators (e.g. Carless 2008; Crawford 2004; Levine 2003, 2011; Macaro 2001; Rolin-Ianziti and Brownlie 2002; Tsui 2007) have provided insightful examples. Teachers' beliefs can be shaped by many factors, including their own experiences as L2 learners, teacher training, teaching experiences, official policies, and through exposure to the perspectives of colleagues and superiors.

In the present study, teacher participants' opinions were classified into the three categories identified in Macaro's (2005, 2009) 'continuum of perspective'. The continuum illustrates three distinct personal beliefs that teachers might hold regarding their potential language choice in the L2 classroom: (1) the virtual position (a monolingual perspective, supporting an exclusive use of the target language); (2) the maximal position (acknowledging that exclusive use of the target language is not attainable, yet feeling guilty when resorting to students' L1); and (3) the optimal position (a multilingual perspective).

Participants

Interview participants were chosen using purposive sampling (Glaser and Strauss 1967) as the main goal of qualitative sampling is to find individuals who can provide rich and varied insights into the phenomenon under investigation so as to maximize what we can learn (Dörnyei 2007: 126). Based on the purposive sampling, 24 native Chinese teachers from universities in Beijing were selected to participate in one-on-one in-depth interviews. Their perspectives were classified into three groups in accordance with Macaro's (2005, 2009) 'continuum of perspective'. In this chapter one representative from each group has been chosen and his or her perspective presented. The demographics of the three participants are summarized in Table 1.

Table 1 A summary of CFL teachers' demographics

Name	Gender	Qualifications	Qualified areas	Teaching experience
Zhang	Male	Ph.D.	Chinese	10–15 years
Liu	Female	M.A.	MTCSOL	less than 5 years
Gao	Female	M.A.	English	5–10 years

Data Collection

Prior to the interviews, participants signed a consent form and agreed to have their conversations recorded for research purposes. Taking into account the heavy workload and each teacher's timetable, the face-to-face interviews were limited to 40 min each. In order to increase the richness and depth of the responses and to help in tracking and identifying themes from the transcripts, notes and memos were taken while the participants were talking. Pseudonyms were used to protect the participants' identity.

Data Analyses

During transcription of the interviews, emerging themes and similarities or differences among the three teachers' beliefs and strategies were noted. In keeping with grounded theory methodology, transcripts were reviewed several times and any questions which arose during analysis were clarified with the participants. Field notes and interview transcripts were analyzed using systematic and thematic open coding techniques.

4 Findings

We now move to a summary of the findings from this study. This section begins by describing the participants' beliefs and then turns to an analysis of the factors that shaped and influenced these beliefs. Interviews were done in Chinese and translated to English. The words are italicized when the English words were used by the interviewees. If Chinese is used to present certain Chinese symbols, the character is shown first, followed by pinyin and the English gloss in parentheses: 翻译 (fānyī, translation). The three participants, Zhang, Liu and Gao, represent three distinct perspectives on the issue of ELF use in CFL class: virtual position, maximal position and optimal position.

Case One: Zhang

Zhang's perspective corresponded to what Macaro (2001) refers to as the virtual position. He supported the Chinese-only pedagogy and believed that Chinese could only be taught through exclusive use of Chinese. For example, he responded with certainty to the question of 'Do you use Chinese only when teaching CFL students?' Zhang said:

> Yes. I speak Chinese only . . . As you can see along the corridors, posters and banners are plentiful on the walls reminding our students about speaking Chinese only. My school has a very strict rule prohibiting the use of English. Every teacher knows it. Chinese teachers should never forget that international students are here in China to learn Chinese, not English.

Zhang's remarks show that CFL teachers are expected to practice what the language policy and teaching syllabus dictate. Zhang's perception was that 'students are here in China to learn Chinese, not English', so he believed that English should never be spoken or used in the context of CFL teaching. He felt that learning Chinese through Chinese only is the best method. On the basis of his understanding of second language acquisition, he explained:

> That is undoubtedly the best way to learn a foreign language. Recalling how we learnt Chinese as children, we became native speakers by ear and imitation. There were no other languages helping us understand, right? So all that students need to do is to keep practicing with us, and then they will become native speakers like us.

Zhang rejected the use of ELF and argued that L2 learning can be equated with L1 learning. However, it has long been known that L2 learning is by no means equal to L1 acquisition (Auerbach 1993; Cook 2001). For students with little or no prior knowledge of Chinese, a Chinese-only pedagogy could result in teaching consisting only of drills of language forms. However, Zhang's insistence on speaking Chinese only was based on the belief that the use of ELF would cause interference when learning Chinese. Zhang argued:

> Translation is a very bad idea! I'll never ask my students to waste time on it. What they need to do is to forget their mother tongue as much and as quickly as possible. They should activate a part of the brain to speak and think in Chinese only. They need to drop all 'crutches' and learn to walk on their own. If I use English to translate for them, they would rely on it and expect me to translate for them all the time.

Zhang saw translation as unnecessary or even harmful. 'Crutches' is a metaphor here for using ELF as a translation tool. In Zhang's eyes, CFL students were seen as handicapped in speaking Chinese, and hence ELF as a source of interference or cause of confusion in learning Chinese. He also believed that if he were to use ELF, his students would in turn probably increase their use as well. With a very firm belief in the virtual position, Zhang expressed his strong antipathy towards English:

> The Noble Prize winner, Ding Zhaozhong (Samuel Ting), delivered his speech in Chinese at the Award Ceremony and this broke the convention. He's the pride of all Chinese people . . . Chinese is a great language. We should defend ourselves against the invasion of English.

> For me, I don't use a single English word in my class. I've heard that some scholars are developing a pedagogy which helps us teach Chinese through Chinese only... That's exactly what I want.

Zhang's beliefs explain the enthusiasm towards avoiding English in a CLF teaching context. An increasing number of studies have appeared in recent years which attempt to prove that CFL classes can be taught without using any English. In the interview with Zhang, he seemed to enjoy sharing his self-developed methods of explaining certain difficult Chinese words, whether by drawing pictures, making gestures, telling stories or acting a drama, as long as those techniques could help him teach Chinese and avoid resorting to English.

Case Two: Liu

Liu was supportive of the maximal position. She admitted that perfect learning conditions (where only the L2 is used) do not exist, but she still held that teachers should maximize the use of the L2. She found it unrealistic to use Chinese only, but she would try to maximize the use of Chinese. She sometimes used ELF, but often doubted if resorting to ELF was correct. In the beginning of the interview, Liu was for Chinese-only pedagogy, but she later admitted that this was not strictly true. She then explained and gave examples of using ELF in actual teaching practice. As Liu said:

> It's not easy to explain Chinese only in Chinese, especially when it comes to grammar. Sometimes, I will give out the equivalent English translation for the grammar term and tell my students to '*read the English explanation in your textbooks*'. Students always want me to help them translate from English to Chinese in various situations. I'm glad to, but I hesitate .... As long as I can explain it in Chinese, I won't do it in English.

Liu agreed that English deployed as a medium of instruction should be used, but as little as possible. However, she also admitted that many situations require the use of English. It can be seen from Liu's example that using English for explanatory purposes was considered important. In addition to this pedagogical reason, some classroom managerial and communicative reasons were also reported in Liu's interviews. As Liu said:

> I don't think it's a good practice to give instructions in English but it seems there's no better way .... My class are absolute beginners. For example, if I want my class to divide into two groups and do some practice, I will say '*two groups*' and '*pair work*' .... Body gestures and flashcards are sometimes very awkward for me. If I speak some English, it will be an easy job. It saves a great amount of time! And more importantly, I can chat with my students and make friends with them.

As Liu explained, using ELF helped to save time and to build a rapport between teacher and students. As can be seen from Liu's case, she did not strongly reject the notion that ELF could benefit CFL learning, but she often felt guilty when resorting to ELF. During the interview, Liu always remembered to express her hesitations. As she argued:

> I might have spoken too much English just now .... Next time, I think I will try to write down those English words on the blackboard instead of speaking them out ... I've prepared all the necessary vocabulary for this lesson. In case of being asked to translate from English to Chinese, I've also brought an English pocket dictionary with me ... just in case.

Liu said she was a novice CFL teacher and always worried if she had done something wrong. She thought she adhered to a Chinese-only pedagogy, but in fact she was applying an ELF pedagogy in actual teaching.

Furthermore, when using ELF Liu had problems understanding different varieties of English and worried whether her students understood her English. For example, Liu said:

> I feel very confused when speaking English .... There are many times that I cannot figure out what my students are trying to ask. Their English is neither British nor American .... Their English accents are very strong ... and I sometimes feel sorry for my Korean students because I don't even know whether they speak English.

Liu further explained that her current class consisted of 15 students, who came from Korea, Indonesia, France, Spain, Sweden and Norway. Liu's attitudes towards ELF accents revealed that many English learners in China may still cling to the notion that only British and American accents are acceptable and intelligible.

In this case, Liu saw pedagogical value in switching or mixing codes and translation, yet felt guilty, hesitant and worried about these strategies. Even though ELF was considered to be useful, Liu herself did not feel that it was legitimate to adopt an ELF pedagogy.

Case Three: Gao

Gao held a multilingual perspective, which Macaro referred to as the optimal position. In contrast to how Liu felt about using ELF, Gao recognized the value of ELF use without having any pedagogical regrets. She regarded English use in the CFL classroom as a 'lubricant' (Butzkamm 1998) to create a 'harmonious and balanced teaching environment' (Senior 2006: 270).

> To keep the class interactive is very important. I encourage my students to negotiate meanings in any languages they like as long as they truly understand what I'm teaching. Using English is a strategy for me in the class ....Whenever I have some new Chinese words that I anticipate that most of my students do not know, I will ask those students who are able to translate into English to do so in a louder voice. Then, the rest of the class would understand the meaning of that Chinese word through English.

Gao spoke against the complete dominance of the classroom teacher. She emphasized the importance of interaction and comprehension between teachers and students. She reported that she would like to see if students had really understood her instructions. Gao added that the class should have a rich cultural atmosphere. And English was the best, probably the only possible medium to use for introducing the Chinese culture in a multilingual classroom. She continued:

> I'd like to make my class full of interesting Chinese culture. I want my students to know more about Chinese culture even if their Chinese proficiency remains limited. I translated those special Chinese cultural symbols, such as 春联 (chūnlián, couplets), 针灸 (zhēnjiǔ, acupuncture) into English. And I use very simple English to explain to my students. They had a lot of fun in my class .... Otherwise, a class without new knowledge or interesting stories would be so boring.

As Gao pointed out, a content-vacuous class might not be suitable for adult international students. She found that a bilingual introduction to Chinese culture was entertaining for many of her students and made her class interesting. Gao also mentioned that even advanced students may need translations or interpretations now and then. Gao told a story of how she was made aware of language when she was requested to speak English by a group of students from Europe:

> A group of Europeans came to me after the class and wondered if I spoke English. I said yes and then they were relieved. They started to complain about how frustrated they were in the first week in Beijing. They also told me about their difficulties in paying school fees, buying the right textbooks, logging in to the Internet .... They said it's too hard for them to survive and some of them had already thought of quitting the program.

From Gao's perspective, language is not simply a means of expression or communication; rather, it is a practice that constructs, and is constructed by, the ways language learners understand their social surroundings and their possibilities for the future. Gao emphasized the importance of ELF for building a close relationship with students. She realized that international students of Chinese studying abroad needed time to adapt to the local culture and life style. ELF is a useful way for CFL teachers and their students to get together, inside and outside class, for study and for socializing. Gao further explained:

> I took some time to reflect on my teaching approach and I developed a 'bilingual method'. For the beginners' Chinese class, I speak English most of the time during the first two weeks. I use plain English to introduce my teaching method and explain basic Chinese grammar to the class. It's a very effective transitional stage.

Gao designed a set of personalized teaching methods where ELF is frequently used for giving directions, building up relationships, managing classroom activities and checking comprehensibility. For this and many other reasons, Gao stressed the importance of CFL teachers using ELF to handle a multilingual and multicultural class. As she pointed out:

> The beginners' class is definitely multilingual. CFL students in Beijing's universities usually make a multinational, multiethnic, multicultural class. Look, this class has 10 students, who are from at least five different countries, two from France, one from Russia, one from Sweden, and three from Korea .... English is the only possible language for all of us to communicate in.

Gao had discovered the fact that CFL classrooms in Beijing are multilingual, and that English is the only shared language for teachers and students to communicate in a cross-cultural setting. According to Gao, English was used in her class, though she said that some of her students' English proficiency seemed limited. Gao also mentioned that beyond the classroom, English is equally important in many practical and personal ways for CFL teachers.

> I majored in English at university . . . . My good command of English helped me get many part-time jobs and thus working experience. English is very important. If your English is not good enough, you won't get the chance to teach Chinese overseas, which is the dream of many CFL teachers.

As Gao described, English can bring extra opportunities. These include work experience, more opportunities to use English, and more importantly, the possibility to teach Chinese overseas. As a new CFL teacher in the department, Gao was surprised by the enthusiasm of her colleagues to win opportunities to go abroad. She found that CFL teachers were all expecting an enhancement of their social mobility through teaching CFL abroad, an opportunity only available for the few who are capable of teaching CFL through ELF.

What Influenced Their Beliefs?

Zhang, Liu and Gao's beliefs regarding the use of ELF in teaching CFL seem to have been influenced by many factors, including their English language learning experience, their English language proficiency, their beliefs about language and nation and their own foreign language identity.

English Language Learning Experience

Their beliefs seem to have been influenced by their own experiences as foreign language learners (Lortie 1975). All the three participants are native Chinese speakers and English is their second language. They said that they were trained to learn a foreign language by rote instead of through interpersonal communication. As Liu said,

> I grew up in a small village. I had not spoken to any foreigner until I came to Beijing for university. I believe if I had had a chance to practice English with native speakers, my English would not be so broken. So when I teach CFL, I'll try to maximize the use of it as much as I can. It's our responsibility.

Liu considered the maximal use of Chinese as a prerequisite for being a 'responsible Chinese teacher'. Similarly, Zhang thought that his experience of learning English was not satisfactory due to his teachers' methods. He felt regret for not having had the opportunity to study English in an English-speaking country. Zhang said:

> My English teachers were all native Chinese speakers. Their English was not very good, not like native English speakers. They spoke Chinese all the time in class and left us little time to practice . . . . If I had had a chance, I would have rather gone to America and lived there for a few years. It's definitely the best way to learn English.

Zhang supported the claim that learning is best achieved when teachers and students use the target language exclusively. However, he seemed to ignore the fact that many of his students had only limited or no prior knowledge of Chinese when they started his classes. In contrast, for Zhang and many other Chinese, English has been a compulsory subject since grade three in primary school (Braine 2005). Therefore, Chinese students going abroad to study English in English-speaking countries are not authentic absolute beginners of English. It is noteworthy that none of the three participants had learnt a foreign language in a multilingual setting, and thus working as a CFL teacher had in fact brought challenges to them in terms of coping with a cross-cultural learning environment.

Moreover, there is a gap between what the CFL teachers learn when acquiring English and the English they actually need as CFL teachers. Gao recalled that she sometimes hesitated to speak English due to her lack of English vocabulary associated with Chinese culture. For example, Gao said:

> When I first got to teach Chinese, one of my students asked me what Chinese people eat for breakfast. I suddenly found I don't know how to say 豆浆 (dòujiāng, soybean milk), 馄饨 (húntun, won ton), 包子 (bāozi, steamed bun), 油条 (yóutiáo, deep fried dough)… All that we have learnt in our English class are western food terms: 'pizza', 'hamburger' and 'pasta'. I think it's very important for CFL teachers to learn enough English terms to be able to translate specific Chinese symbols.

As we can see from Gao, what they have learnt in their English class is English which will prepare them for an English-speaking country. This is a problem which needs to be addressed so that CFL teachers can also explain Chinese culture in English, especially in a beginners' class.

English Language Proficiency

Whereas Gao was quite confident, Liu and Zhang both reported a low confidence in their ability to speak English. However, all of them agreed that competence in English is of great importance to the career development of CFL teachers. The lack of proficiency in English has frequently been described as 'a bottleneck' for the development of the CFL teacher (Su 2006). Some previous studies (e.g. Deng 2008) have shown that the lack of English proficiency is a serious impediment to CFL teachers. Liu worried whether her knowledge of English was enough for her to manage an interactive class. She said:

> Foreign language teaching in Europe and America is very different. Teachers seem to have a very equal relationship with their students. I want to learn from them, but I'm afraid my English is too limited to develop a close relationship with my students. I'd rather not bother with my broken English. I don't want to cause extra trouble or see my students laugh at me.

It is understandable that CFL teachers avoid using English because their English competence is not good. For Liu, speaking in 'broken' English would somehow diminish her authority in class, which is built upon being a native Chinese speaker. Liu continued:

> English is very important to us. We are now encouraged to publish papers in English journals and promote the teaching and study of Chinese in the wider world. If your English isn't good enough, reading academic journals in English would be rather difficult, which will become a stumbling stone for career advancement in universities.

Liu's perspective was echoed by Gao, who found value in ELF pedagogy and communicated in ELF effortlessly with students. In the interview, Gao gave an example of how she used ELF pedagogically in correcting a mistake made by one of her students. She started speaking in a mixed English and Chinese code when she told this story. Gao said:

> My student said 我是病 (*wǒ shì bìng, I am sick). It's a very common mistake for beginners. So I told my student *it is a mistake*. 是 (shì, to be) *in Chinese cannot be used in this way*. *You should say* 我病了 (wǒ bìng le, I'm sick) *because the adjective can work as a predicate in Chinese*, *and no link verbs are needed.*

It can be seen from Gao's example that a good command of English could benefit the class in providing comparative language knowledge. It is definitely an advantage for CFL teachers to be able to understand English linguistics and use it for teaching in a CFL class.

National Identity and Codeswitching

As mentioned in Zhang's example, Samuel Ting's refusal to speak English at the Nobel Prize ceremony in 1976 brought pride to native Chinese speakers. In this context, Zhang expressed a firm belief in the exclusive use of Chinese in the language classroom:

> Responsible Chinese teachers should be role models for their students and help them speak Chinese like a native. As a Chinese teacher, we have a responsibility to keep the purity of Chinese language. . . . . When I speak Chinese, I do not switch codes to English. After all, Chinese class is not a place for us to show off our English. Only 假洋鬼子 (jiǎ yáng guǐzi, fake foreigners) switch codes.

'Jiǎ yáng guǐzi' refers to local Chinese who pretend to act or speak like foreigners. Such people can be easily identified from their use of mixed English-Chinese code when they speak Chinese. Yet English is considered by many to be a threat to the purity of the Chinese language and even harmful to national cohesion. Zhang's attitudes reflect the current battle of 'saving Chinese from English' (*The Economist* 2010). Huang Youyi, the director of the China International Publishing Group, proposed to take preventive measures to preserve the purity of Chinese on the 2010 Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Huang said:

> 'if we don't pay attention and don't take measures to stop the expansion of mingling Chinese and English, Chinese won't be a pure language in a couple of years. In the long run, Chinese will lose its role as an independent linguistic system for passing on information and expressing human feelings.' (Wang 2010b)

The banning of the use of English acronyms in the Chinese media might have some impact on both students and teachers by highlighting the relationship between language and national pride.

Zhang also thought that using English would make students from Korea and Japan (the majority of CFL students in Beijing) uncomfortable. As he said:

> It's very dangerous for a Chinese teacher to use English in class. Students from Korea and Japan and many other places in Asia do not speak English at all. It will cause injustice in class. Students would question, why doesn't my teacher use my mother tongue? Why English? We want to keep the class equal. We should not make our students feel that we only like to communicate with students from the US and UK.

It is clearly idealistic to suggest that each individual has the right to speak their mother tongue in the classroom; and it is impractical to expect Chinese language teachers to speak all languages. But equality and language justice are not maintained by depriving people completely of their language rights by insisting on the Chinese-only principle. In this case, English becomes the baby thrown out with the bathwater.

English Language Identity

The teacher participants' foreign language identity was believed to be a crucial factor influencing their beliefs about the use of English. Interestingly, only Gao who supported the optimal position was comfortable being labeled as a bilingual, while Zhang and Liu, who supported the virtual and maximal positions, either rejected the notion or found it problematic. While they treated English as a useful tool, they did not regard it as necessary for their identities. When asked to comment on their foreign language identity, Liu argued:

> Are Chinese teachers bilingual? No … I don't think so. I do know that English is the first foreign language for most Chinese teachers … but it is problematic if I am regarded as a bilingual teacher…. It's very wrong to put English onto the same level as Chinese.

Zhang's attitudes resembled Liu's. They were both satisfied with being monolingual but standard Chinese speakers and hesitated to accept English as part of their linguistic identity. To some extent, Liu even regarded those who used English in CFL class as unpatriotic. Tsui (2005) argues that many Asian countries are in the process of reinventing national identity at the same time as they are 'legitimizing' the hegemony of English by making it a central feature of national development. In most cases, this paradox is resolved by appropriating English in ways which do least damage to their national language and identity. For example, Liu used English in her class, but she rejected it as part of her identity. Then, another paradox lies in the fact that English is the first step for the Chinese language to reach the world.

5 Discussion and Conclusion

This chapter has drawn on interview data to explore teachers' beliefs about ELF use in the CFL classroom in Beijing. Three categories of beliefs were identified by adopting Macaro's (2005, 2009) terms of the virtual, maximal and optional positions. Three CFL teachers provided explicit and consistent opinions on the issue of ELF use in the CFL classroom. Their beliefs were found to have been influenced considerably by their English learning experience, English language proficiency, national identity and English language identity. An important finding was the fact that ELF is used to interpret Chinese words and culture for pedagogical purposes, to manage the classroom and build rapport with students for practical purposes. ELF is also found to be used for enhancing CFL teachers' academic research ability and increasing their social mobility through giving them the opportunity to teach Chinese overseas.

Some important implications emerged through the discussions of CFL teachers' beliefs about ELF pedagogy and the factors that influenced their beliefs. The study suggests that the teacher participants are in need of guidelines or theoretical support in developing an ELF pedagogy to meet the needs of multilingual international students of Chinese. First of all, it is suggested that CFL teachers rethink and reexamine the beliefs and identities they have built upon their own experiences as L2 learners, their teacher training, their teaching experiences, official policies, etc. Secondly, while it is understandable that the majority of CFL teachers majored in Chinese literature or Chinese linguistics without appropriate knowledge in foreign language teaching and learning (Zhang 2006: 310–311), as the world embraces the Chinese language, CFL teachers are increasingly called upon to incorporate an understanding of second language acquisition or applied linguistics into their teaching (Lam 2005: 189). Thirdly, this study suggests that a good command of English can benefit CFL teachers in several ways: (1) by gaining a bilingual ability to do linguistic analysis between Chinese and English and a sensitive awareness of the differences between Chinese and English; (2) by enhancing their bilingual reading ability which can benefit their possibilities for academic advancement, give them a wider perspective on international research exchange and enable them to introduce the rich research resources of CFL teaching and learning into the world of L2 studies; (3) by giving them confidence as bilingual or multilingual CFL teachers who understand the hardships, joys and strategies of learning a foreign language, thus also providing them with good interpersonal skills for international communication and advantages when it comes to teaching and living overseas. Since language beliefs are dynamic and situated, teachers' comments on ELF use in CFL classrooms are inevitably influenced by the recent economic development in China, and the need for internationalization.

6 Chinese as Lingua Franca

The popularity and power of a language follows the power of the people who speak the language. Though today power resides in English-speaking countries, especially the United States, which has led others to learn the language, economists from e.g. the Pew Research Center (2011) report that China has already overshadowed the U.S. and will replace the U.S. as the world's leading superpower. This view is especially widespread in Western Europe, where at least six-in-ten in France (72 %), Spain (67 %), Britain (65 %) and Germany (61 %) see China overtaking the U.S. In such a context, an increasingly frequent public and academic discussion is whether Chinese will be the new English (Tsung and Cruickshank 2011: xvi). Some have doubted the possibility of Chinese taking over from English as an international lingua franca, while others have said that it has already become one (Yasukata 2009). Such a perspective sounds more political than educational, however, and is not based on any empirical studies, but rather to some extent on an ambition to promote the international status of Chinese and make it another international lingua franca on a par with ELF. As revealed by the findings of this study, however, even frontline native Chinese teachers seek help from English as a communication tool and use English as a research source. As Boyle puts it, “at this stage in the last few years of the millennium, it does look as if China will continue to want English, and want it badly” (Boyle 2000: 15).

Although the world embraces CFL, and the Chinese government strives to promote Chinese, even enthusiastic proponents of Chinese do not predict that it will overtake English as the world’s most commonly used language in the near future. As Jacques notes, although Chinese is the most widely spoken language in the world, far exceeding English, the vast majority of Chinese speakers live in China; English, by contrast, has flown the nest (Jacques 2009: 115). Murata and Jenkins argue that it is a well-established fact that during the past four centuries, the English language has spread around the world, and that, as a result, it is used for a wide range of purposes by many millions of people for whom it is not a mother tongue in the traditional sense of the term (Murata and Jenkins 2009: 40). China’s decision to make English a key part of its strategy for economic development has had a galvanizing impact on neighboring countries where enthusiasm for English was in danger of waning. Not only is China setting the pace, but until countries in the region are able to develop their national proficiency in Chinese, English will provide their main means of communicating with China (Graddol 2006: 95).

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Part III
Parallel Language Use: English and the Local Language

Stylistic and Pedagogical Consequences of University Teaching in English in Europe

Jacob Thøgersen

1 Introduction

Presently, universities in Denmark, as in the rest of Europe, are undergoing an accelerating deliberate process of internationalisation (Hughes 2008; Wächter and Maiworm 2007; Wächter 2008). The aim of this internationalisation is threefold: first, to increase the proportion of international academic staff, i.e. to attract the foremost scholars in any field; secondly, to increase the proportion of international students. Again this is done in part to attract the most talented students irrespective of their nationality, but one should not be blind to the fact that higher education is also to an increasing degree big business, and that internationalisation may increase revenue for the universities, both in the form of student fees and in the form of increased recognition. Thirdly, by internationalising European universities, it is hoped that national students develop a more international scope and increase their competitiveness on an increasingly international job market.

On a practical level, 'internationalisation' of the universities means primarily the increasing use of English, both in administrative communication, i.e. communication from the university management to students and employees, and in university teaching. The internationalisation process has a number of consequences for Danish universities which until recently defined themselves as national and public (rather than international and commercial) universities. One of the more noticeable changes is that the increasing number of courses taught in English means that teachers who until recently were teaching almost exclusively in Danish are now teaching either exclusively in English or variably in Danish and English. As Hughes (2008) points out, this appears to be going on without a great deal of (public) debate of possible effects.

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> Ability to communicate sophisticated ideas to a range of peers lies at the heart of academic discourse, and the debates about the medium of instruction sometimes mask this, presenting it as a simple matter of basic proficiency on the part of the students (and, increasingly, faculty) – something perhaps on a par with information technology skills. (Hughes 2008: 7)

The growing use of English as a medium of instruction in European higher education, or English as a lingua franca, ELF (e.g. Firth 1990; House 2003, see also the 2009/2 special issue of *Intercultural Pragmatics* on 'The Pragmatics of English as a Lingua Franca'), has been given some academic attention, primarily in the form of attitude studies among those involved in the change (Carroll-Boegh 2005; Hellekjær and Westergaard 2002; Jensen and Thøgersen 2011; Vinke 1995). More recently researchers have taken a growing interest in observing teaching and/or student groups interacting in English as a lingua franca (Airey and Linder 2006, 2007; Klaassen 2001; Mortensen 2008, 2010; Söderlundh 2008, 2010).

However, few researchers seem to have taken an interest in the different linguistic behaviour of teachers as they teach in their L1 and English respectively. One noteworthy exception is Hincks (2010) who, extrapolating from an experimental design using students, speculates what the outcome of a change in medium of instruction may be:

> Let us consider what would happen if the results of this study were extrapolated from a 10-minute presentation to a 45-minute lecture. If the rate of delivery of a 45-minute lecture is slowed down by 25 %, then the lecture will take closer to an hour to finish. If information is omitted from the L2 lecture at the same rates as were found in this study, then a 45-minute lecture could lack as much as 60 pieces of information that would have been mentioned in the lecturer's first language. (Hincks 2010: 16)

In a follow-up study using authentic undergraduate lectures, Thøgersen and Airey (2011) confirmed Hincks' findings regarding the slower speed of delivery in English than in L1. They argued further that the difference in speed of delivery was, in part, a consequence of the information in the English language lectures being more densely packed, i.e. adhering more to norms typically associated with written language, whereas the language in the Danish language lectures was less dense and adhering more to norms associated with spoken language. I will elaborate further on the traits of spoken vs. written language in the following.

2 Data

The data in this study are drawn from the same data set that was used in the Thøgersen and Airey (2011) study, a data set known as PUDE (Parallel Undervisning på Dansk og Engelsk [Parallel teaching in Danish and English]). In PUDE, the same lecturer was recorded over a period of 3 weeks. In each week he gave 'the same' seminar classes five times, three times in Danish and twice in English. The seminars are considered 'the same' in the sense that the curriculum and course objectives were the same for all seminars, and the exam was the same written exam, the only difference being the language in which the questions and answers were written. The reason for this parallel arrangement is largely administrative. Some of the students in the course follow an international programme in which the teaching language is English; other students follow the course as a part of a regular, Danish, university programme which has no language requirements. The number of students in each of the five classes is 20–25. Of the approx. 120 students taking the course, only around 5 are international students, the rest are Danish. In other words, also in the lectures taught in English, most of the students' L1 is Danish. The academic field of the course lies in the natural sciences involving biology and chemistry.

Recordings were made either with a video camera or an mp3 sound recorder. In both cases, a wireless lavaliere microphone on the lecturer was used. For this study, however, no reference will be made to the video recordings; only the soundtrack is used.

In this study I will analyse the three Danish and two English versions of 'the same' lecture, all given in the same week. We have, thus, five instances of a seminar, conducted three times in Danish and twice in English. The total length of these five instances is around 6 h and 10 min. The data set consisting of the transcripts of only the lecturer's utterances in the five instances comprises some 46,000 words. Excerpt 1 shows an example from the data set, a 40–50 s long extract from each of the five instances. As one can see, although the lecturer teaches without a manuscript the five versions are highly structured and almost completely parallel in their content and sometimes even in their form. This feature is particularly true for the early parts of the seminars which are more monological and teacher-controlled. As the seminars turn into a more dialogical interaction, the lectures become less parallel.

Excerpt 1: Parallel Excerpts of Danish and English Lectures

Dan1	En anden ting vi kan sige er at det der er karakteristisk for- altså alfastråling-alfapartikler det er jo ladede partikler, det der er karakteristisk for det vi kalder direkte ioniserende stråling det er at det har en veldefineret rækkevidde. Så jeg vil jo nok forvente at på et eller andet tidspunkt når jeg øger absorbermaterialets tykkelse tilstrækkeligt meget, så kommer jeg nok til et punkt hvor tællehastigheden - korrigeret på passende vis for baggrund - også vil ende med at være 0. Så det vil sige at jeg vil nok have et punkt på aksen her hvor - for en eller anden tykkelse - hvor tællehastigheden bliver 0. *Another thing we can say is that it is characteristic for- you know alpha ray- alpha particles they are as you know charged particles, what is characteristic for what we call direct ionising radiation is that it has a well defined range.* *So I would probably imagine that at some point in time or another when I increase the thickness of the absorber material sufficiently, then I will probably arrive at a point where the count rate, corrected in an appropriate way for background, will also end up being zero.* *So that means that I will probably have a point on the axis here where, for some given thickness, the count rate becomes zero.*

(continued)

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Dan2 Så – kan man jo forestille sig efterhånden som jeg gør – absorbertykkelsen større og større så vil der jo nok komme et punkt hvor absorbertykkelsen er blevet stor nok til at bremse alfapartiklerne fuldstændig.

For alfastråling består som bekendt af ladede partikler, det er direkte ioniserende stråling, det der er karakteristisk for absorption af ladede- eller for ladede partiklers interaktion med stof, er at de har en veldefineret rækkevidde, så der må være en eller anden lagtykkelse som er stor nok til at bremse alfapartiklerne.

Og det vil jo så svare til at jeg har et eller a- en eller anden x-værdi, et eller andet sted på min akse her, hvor jeg registrerer en tællehastighed korrigeret for baggrund som er lig med 0.

Then one can imagine that as I make the absorber thickness larger and larger, there will probably come a point in which the absorber thickness has become large enough to stop the alpha particles completely.

Because alpha radiation as you know is composed of charged particles, it is direct ionising radiation. What is characteristic for absorption of charged- or for the interaction of charged particles with matter, is that they have a well defined range, so there must be some layer thickness or another which is great enough to stop the alpha particles

And that will probably correlate with me having some x value or another, some place on my axis here where I register a count rate corrected for background which is equal to zero.

Dan3 Og hvis- så øger jeg absorbertykkelsen mere og mere og på et eller andet tidspunkt- vi ved jo at alfastråling ligesom al anden part- al anden stråling der består af ladede partikler, har en endelig rækkevidde i stof. Der er en veldefineret rækkevidde, et range, som vi kan regne os frem til hvis vi kender formlen for det.

Og når absorbertykkelsen er blevet stor nok til at den svarer til rækkevidden så må det jo betyde at der ikke kommer flere partikler igennem foliet, og så må impulshastigheden falde til 0. Igen korrigeret for passende- på passende vis for baggrund.

Så det vil sige vi vil få et punkt liggende hernede hvor impulshastigheden er 0 for en eller anden – værdi x der svarer til vores rækkevidde.

And at some point in time- we know that alpha radiation just like all other part- all other radiation which is composed of charged particles has a finite range, a 'range' [the English word is used] *which we can get at by calculating it if we know the formula for it.*

And when the absorber thickness is large enough for it to be equivalent to the range, it must of course mean that no more particles passes through the foil, and then the impulse velocity must fall to zero. Again corrected in an appropriate way for background.

So that means that we will get a point lying down here where the impulse velocity is zero for some value x which corresponds to our range.

Eng1 And as we increase the thickness of the absorber we know that at some point the thickness of the absorber material will be so large that it is able to stop all the alpha particles.

And we can say that confidently because alpha particles like any charged particles have a definite range, which is a function of their energy. So there will be some absorber thickness that is capable of stopping the alpha particles completely.

So in terms of our absorption curve that means that there will be some absorber thickness for which the count rate - corrected for background of course - would be zero. So we will end with a point on the horizontal axis.

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(continued)

Eng2	Then I start a- accumulating more and more material in my absorber setup the- the absorber thickness increases and at some point, I will expect to find a situation where I have an- enough absorbing material to completely stop the alpha particles. What that thickness will be of course depends on the energy of the alpha radiation, but for any energy it will be possible for me to add enough of the absorbing material to completely block the alpha particles, and at that point I would expect to find a background corrected count rate of zero. So I'll be down here at this point on the horizontal axis.

3 Initial Observations

In spite of the high degree of resemblance between the five versions, some differences are also immediately noticeable – e.g. the use of pronouns. Dan1 and 2 and Eng2 each contain three to four uses of the first person singular pronoun. Dan3 has one instance and then shifts to the generalised first person plural of academic texts: "we know that . . . ". Eng1 uses exclusively first person plural pronouns. This appears to be one reason why Dan3 and Eng2 feel more formal and more 'objective' than the other excerpts.

The Danish excerpts contain a number of epistemic particles which are not present in the English excerpts, and which do not have one-to-one correspondences in English. Two of these are especially interesting. The particle *jo* "signals that the hearer is assumed to be aware of and accept the states of affairs described" (Davidsen-Nielsen 1993: 3), or at least that it could be inferred from previous knowledge. Pragmatically, the closest English equivalent is 'you know' which prototypically signals that "the speaker strives towards getting the addressee to cooperate and/or to accept the propositional content of his utterance as mutual background knowledge" (Östman 1981: 17), but syntactically *jo* is a more flexible cue of the familiarity of the information, as shown in the Dan3, line 7: *vi ved jo at . . .* 'we know *jo* that . . . '. In this example the English equivalent could be a tag, i.e. 'we know that . . . , don't we?'. We find no equivalent of this in the English excerpts.

The other interesting particle is *nok*. *Nok* is polysemous, meaning both 'enough', e.g. *nok absorbermateriale* 'enough absorbing material', and 'probably', e.g. *jeg vil nok forvente* 'I will probably expect'. It is the latter use of *nok*, in which "the speaker informs the hearer that the evaluation of probability is made by himself alone" (Davidsen-Nielsen 1993: 4), which is interesting here. It is rather marked in this context in which an experienced teacher is describing a physics experiment. There is no real uncertainty of the outcome. The alpha particles *will* act in a certain way, and the lecturer is not uncertain. The use of *nok* should not be taken at face value as an expression of uncertainty. It is rather a sign of informality and/or a sign that the result is arrived at by an inference which, in theory, could be falsified. Dan1 has three instances of *nok*, Dan2 has one, Dan3 has none (the instances of *nok* that do appear are of the first type). None of the English excerpts have anything resembling this.

A final thing I would like to draw attention to is the stylistically different sets of vocabulary in the two languages. Contrary to our expectations here it is not the L2 excerpts which have the less specific vocabulary, it is, in fact the L1 excerpts. For example when describing the growing thickness of the absorber, it is Dan2 which has the most general description with the more general verb: *som jeg gør absorbertykkelsen større og større* ‘as I make the absorber thickness larger and larger’. Notice that the most general term for size *større* ‘larger’ is used, rather than one that specifies the dimension of the size, i.e. *tykkere* ‘thicker’. Dan1 and Dan3 have the more specific *øger absorbermaterialets tykkelse* and *øger absorbertykkelsen* ‘increase the thickness of the absorber material’, ‘increase the absorber thickness’. Eng1 has the equivalent “increase the thickness of the absorber”, and Eng2 has the most specific (and formal) “accumulating more and more material”.

Several times an undefined measure (of quantity, length, time etc.) is brought into the description. The difference in choice of word when mentioning this unspecified measure is remarkable. In the two English excerpts, we get “some point”, “some absorber thickness”, “a point”, “that point”, “this point”, “any energy” etc. All of these are stylistically neutral, consistent with the style of written text. The Danish excerpts also have this neutral term, notably in several instances of *et punkt* ‘a point’. However, they also have the stylistically marked *en eller anden x*, literally ‘some x or other’. *En eller anden* adds a layer of randomness to the formally unspecified measures more or less like the insertion of the word “random” would in English, “some random point”. The phrase is so frequent that it would be tempting to explain it away as an idiosyncrasy of this speaker. It may be idiosyncratic, but the point here is that, along with the other traits pointed out previously, it adds a relatively higher degree of informality to the Danish excerpts compared with the English.

In sum, the English versions of the lecture appear more formal than the Danish ones, with more features typical of written academic prose and the style used for presenting conference papers. The Danish versions, on the other hand, look more like what one would expect of the oral style of a discussion seminar. This is interesting and consistent with what could be deduced from previous research. Vinke (1995) and Klaassen (2001) observed that the teaching style becomes relatively more monologic and less interactive when the language switches to English. And Csomay found that: “Low interactive classes reflect features of academic prose, hence, the informational focus tends to be the highest in these classes. Highly interactive classes resemble oral discourse most in terms of their involvement” (2002: 221).

The rest of this paper examines whether the stylistic differences suggested here can be said to be a general feature of the two sets of seminars. In other words does the shift of medium of instruction lead to a general shift in register – at least for this particular lecturer? The practice of one lecturer can only act as an illustration of more general trends, not as representative of all English-medium instruction in Danish universities.

4 Quantifying Stylistic Differences

The significant question is to what degree the stylistic differences noted previously are general trends in the two sets of lectures. To answer this we need a quantitative and preferably simple measure of stylistic differences between the two sets of lectures. I propose that one such can be built drawing on Biber's (1988) multi-dimensional register model. Biber (1988) sets out to determine a set of dimensions which identify written and spoken registers respectively. In more recent studies (Biber et al. 1998, 2002) he has used the same five-dimensional description to analyse various registers within academic discourse. Biber et al. (2002) finds that the most important dimensions that distinguish different academic registers are the dimensions 'involved versus informational production', 'situation-dependent versus elaborate reference' and 'nonimpersonal versus impersonal style'. Each of these is defined by a number of positive and negative traits, i.e. traits that prototypically co-occur to create one or the other pole. For 'involved versus informational production', for example, the traits defining 'involved' are a relatively frequent use of present tense verbs and of first and second person pronouns, and the traits defining 'informational' are for example a high proportion of nouns and long words. These traits are in an inverse relationship. When one is frequent, the other is infrequent, making the two registers 'involved' and 'informational' opposite poles on the same dimension.

Reppen (2004) used Biber's multi-dimensional analysis in her comparison of written and spoken academic registers. She concludes that: "The written registers are informationally dense and have complex linguistic structures associated with them. The spoken university registers, [are] linguistically similar to face-to-face conversation" (Reppen 2004: 79). In her work on (English language) academic lectures, Csomay (2000, 2002, 2006) also used Biber's multi-dimensional model, but showed that academic lectures deviated significantly from face-to-face conversations. She argues that the register of academic lectures is a hybrid register in the written-spoken continuum containing both prototypically 'written' and 'spoken' characteristics. Crucially, however, the register of academic lectures contains these in various measures depending on e.g. the level of the lecture (undergraduate or graduate) and personal style of the lecturer (Csomay 2002). The current study will also be drawing on Biber et al.'s multi-dimensional model, but will also have to deviate from it in important respects.

One fundamental reason for deviating is that this study is a cross-language comparison. We cannot simply compare the number of nouns in each of the two sets of lectures and conclude that the one with the highest proportion is the more 'informational'. It may very well be that one language has a natural tendency to use more nouns than the other. Actually, this is quite likely the case, simply because the two orthographical systems differ in their treatment of composite nouns. For example, the compound "absorber thickness" is written in two words in English and as one in Danish, *absorbertykkelse*. Additionally, Biber's (1988) work describes differences between written and spoken *English*. The differences need not be universal. Some traits that are shown to define a register in English may show no difference across registers in Danish, or they may show the opposite effect from English. Indeed Biber (1995) showed that different traits will define the registers in different languages. Ideally one would need to construct a multi-dimensional register model for Danish analogous to the one Biber constructed for English. As a simple workable solution to the problem I suggest to use two corpora for each language, one spoken and one written, and to compare the lectures in each language with these two corpora using a selection of Biber's traits that are applicable to both languages and also show a difference in frequency across the two registers. That way one can investigate how much the lectures deviate from written and spoken style respectively in each of the two languages without necessarily needing to know the direction the traits vary between the registers. When different *tertia comparationis* are used, it is of course of vital importance that the four corpora are reasonably well matched.

As a further deviation from Biber's model, I propose to combine the scores on each of the register dimensions into one index, which I will call the texts' 'orality index'. This *one*-dimensional model is in conflict with Biber's explicitly *multi*-dimensional model. It does, however, simplify comparing the registers of two or more texts. Future work on more data will show whether a one-dimensional model is effective in revealing register differences across a range of lectures.

Corpora in the Comparison

A number of corpora are available for English. For this study I chose to use various subsets of the Open American National Corpus (O-ANC) which is available at http://www.anc.org/. For spoken English, I chose a subset comprised of face-to-face interviews which seem to match very well the (sociolinguistic) interviews I conducted in connection with my own PhD work (Thøgersen 2007, 2010). I thus had a reasonably comparable set of spoken corpora. For written English I selected a subset of the O-ANC consisting of articles from journals, specifically from the journal Verbatim. This subset was selected to be maximally comparable with the one large corpus of written Danish which is available for download, namely Korpus2000 from Det Danske Sprog- og Litteraturselskab, available at http://ordnet.dk/korpusdk. It is a corpus of 28 million words of written Danish. It contains a range of genres, both private and public writings. However, the bulk of it is newspaper and periodical articles. The style of the Korpus2000 seems to be roughly comparable to the style in the O-ANC subset of journals, i.e. relatively informal, public writing. It should be noted, however, that the corpora are not similar in any absolute term, and therefore that the *tertia comparationis* used for comparison between L1 and L2 lectures are not necessarily representative of the two languages under investigation. The comparison offers at best an indication of the style differences between the two sets of lectures. Table 1 gives an overview of the types and sizes of the corpora used for this comparison.

Table 1 Corpora in the comparison

	Reference corpora	
	Spoken	Written
Danish	Sociolinguistic interviews on language attitudes. 467,000 words	A subset of Korpus2000, primarily articles from newspapers and periodicals. 1,010,000 words
English	Face-to-face (sociolinguistic) interviews from the O-ANC. 199,000 words	Articles from Verbatim, *Language and linguistics for the layperson*, from the O-ANC. 585,000 words
	PUDE corpus	
PUDE Dan	28,500 words	
PUDE Eng	17,800 words	

Table 2 Linguistic traits in the analysis

	Involved vs. informational		Situation dependent vs. elaborated reference		Nonimpersonal vs. impersonal style	
Dimension	Written quality	Spoken quality	Written quality	Spoken quality	Written quality	Spoken quality
Linguistic trait	Long words	Personal pronouns	Wh-pronouns	Adverbs	Past participle	
	Nouns	Present tense verbs	Coordinators		Passive voice (Danish only)	
	Prepositions					
	Adjectives					

Korpus2000 is already tagged for parts-of-speech. The other corpora were tagged for parts-of-speech using the taggers available at the Center for Language Technology at the University of Copenhagen, http://cst.ku.dk/. It is worth noting that different taggers and different sets of tags are used for Danish and English respectively. The two sets of tags are only partially overlapping, a further reason why a simple cross-language comparison will not be attempted.

5 Linguistic Traits Compared

In the following I will describe the eleven linguistic traits selected for comparing the two sets of lectures with the spoken and written corpora of the two languages. The traits are grouped according to the three of Biber's dimensions which were found most significant for registers of academic writing (Biber 1988), and are summed up in Table 2.

Involved vs. Informational

The first trait is *word length*. Biber (1988) found word length to be a good predictor of ‘informational production’, a quality typically found in written language. In his study, Biber used mean length of words as measure. I have opted instead to use the proportion of words seven letters or longer because it yields a frequency rather than a mean length, i.e. a measure more comparable to the other measures which are all frequencies. The limit of seven letters or longer is set after comparing the distribution of word length in the written and the spoken corpora. Here it became apparent that the division between shorter words which are more common in the spoken registers and longer words which are more common in the written registers is at a word length between five and six letters. Seven letters or longer are thus squarely a feature of written registers.

Three other traits that also predict ‘informational production’ are a high proportion of *nouns*, of *prepositions*, and of attributive *adjectives*. The three part-of-speech tags ‘noun’, ‘preposition’ and ‘adjective’ are used as measure.

Biber found *personal* and *demonstrative pronouns* to predict ‘involved production’, a quality typically found in spoken language. Here the two sets of pronouns are combined under the heading ‘personal pronoun’ which to a varying degree for the two languages includes also demonstrative pronouns. There is some variation between the taggers as to how they categorise different pronouns, but for the English corpora the same tagger is used, and for Danish it is relatively straightforward to select subcategories so that the two taggers used are comparable. The other trait of ‘involved production’ is the use of ‘present tense verb’.

Situation Dependent vs. Elaborated Reference

Biber found *time adverbials*, *place adverbials* and *adverbs* to predict ‘situation dependent reference’, i.e. a spoken language quality. Here the three are combined under the heading *adverbs* which is the part-of-speech tag ‘adverb’.

Biber found *relative clauses with wh-* to predict ‘elaborated reference’, i.e. a written language quality. Here ‘wh-pronoun’ is used as measure for English. For Danish ‘independent pronoun’ is used as a measure. The part-of-speech tag ‘independent pronoun’ includes both relative and interrogative pronouns. The second measure used is *coordination*. Biber found phrasal coordination to predict elaborated reference. Here I have looked at phrasal and clausal coordination combined to be able to analyse coordination using the part-of-speech tag ‘coordinator’. This means that I cannot distinguish between the two potentially different functions. But manually determining the syntactic function of each coordinator in the corpora is not feasible. Both of these measures may lead to a skewing of the results compared to Biber’s. But again, since the comparisons are done for each language separately, the exact limits of the categories are of secondary importance.

Nonimpersonal vs. Impersonal Style

Biber found the use of *past participles* to be a predictor of 'impersonal' style, i.e. a quality associated with written language. The same goes for the use of *passives*. Only the Danish taggers register (synthetic) passive voice (because it is clearly marked in the form of the verb). The two measures used are, then, the tag 'past participle' (for both languages) and for Danish additionally, 'passive verb'.

Method

The method for comparing stylistic differences between the lecturer's linguistic performance in the parallel English and Danish lectures consists of computing the frequency of each of the traits (as a percentage of the total word count) and comparing it with the frequency of the same trait in the reference corpora of the same language. From this one can estimate whether the registers of the two sets of lectures share more features with a spoken or a written register in the two languages. Furthermore, by subtracting the distances from each corpus, one can get a single measure of style for each set of lectures. For example, if a set of lectures is found to have twice as many nouns as the oral reference corpus (a deviance of 100 %) and the same number as the written corpus (a deviance of 0 %) its net deviance is said to be 100 %. By keeping the direction constant, namely "distance from the written corpus minus distance from the spoken corpus", the value shows how much closer the text is to the spoken than to the written reference. To illustrate this, I have given it the name 'orality'. A positive 'orality' value thus indicates that the lecture on this particular trait is more like spoken language; a negative value indicates that it is more like written language.

As previously stated, I have wished to develop the model further to be able to extract one index for the lectures in each language, to be able to give a simple estimate of the register differences. I have developed this index, the 'orality index', by computing the mean deviance on the linguistic traits from the two reference corpora of each language respectively, i.e. the mean 'orality' scores. By subtracting the mean deviance from the spoken corpus from the mean deviance from the written corpus, I arrive at a combined 'orality index' (see Table 3). It is worth noting that an underlying assumption in the orality index is that each linguistic trait should be included in the index with equal weight. That is, the orality index is a simple mean of all deviances, not a weighted mean. Future work will have to validate whether this results in the best description of each text's register, or whether some traits should be given more weight than others.

Table 3 Stylistic differences between PUDE lectures, MICASE lectures and written and spoken corpora

		Involved vs. informational						Situation dependent vs. elaborated reference			Nonimpersonal vs. impersonal style			
		Personal pronouns	Present tense verbs	Nouns	Long words	Prepo-sitions	Adjectives	Adverbs	Coordinators	Relative pronouns	Past par-ticiples	Passives	Mean deviance	'Orality index'
PUDE Danish	Deviation from DAN-spoken	−19.8 %	−4.7 %	31.5 %	70.3 %	59.0 %	−4.9 %	−26.8 %	23.9 %	24.6 %	28.9 %	23.9 %	28.9 %	6.6 %
	Deviation from DAN-written	65.3 %	34.9 %	−26.0 %	−32.0 %	−23.7 %	24.8 %	2.7 %	12.0 %	60.1 %	−31.6 %	−78.3 %	35.6 %	
	'Orality'	*45.5 %*	*30.2 %*	*−24.2 %*	*−5.5 %*	*−35.2 %*	*−38.3 %*	*20.0 %*	*−11.9 %*	*35.6 %*	*2.7 %*	*54.4 %*		
	N	6,053	3,350	4,540	5,353	2,908	2,403	2,906	1,031	199	465	77		
PUDE English	Deviation from ENG-spoken	−52.1 %	15.1 %	24.7 %	79.5 %	31.5 %	83.2 %	−26.0 %	45.1 %	−8.8 %	27.3 %		39.3 %	−10.4 %
	Deviation from ENG-written	94.8 %	26.1 %	−28.9 %	−22.3 %	13.6 %	6.8 %	3.3 %	8.1 %	−42.7 %	−43.0 %		29.0 %	
	'Orality'	*42.7 %*	*11.0 %*	*−22.7 %*	*4.2 %*	*−17.9 %*	*−57.2 %*	*−76.4 %*	*−37.0 %*	*33.9 %*	*15.6 %*			
	N	1,206	1,118	3,864	3,468	2,681	1,556	1,086	584	130	312			
MICASE discussion	Deviation from ENG-spoken	−42.0 %	17.2 %	36.2 %	73.1 %	2.9 %	61.2 %	−6.7 %	−35.1 %	37.7 %	34.7 %		34.7 %	4.1 %
	Deviation from ENG-written	135.7 %	28.5 %	−22.3 %	−25.0 %	−11.1 %	−6.0 %	30.2 %	8.6 %	80.6 %	−39.7 %		38.8 %	
	'Orality'	*93.6 %*	*11.2 %*	*23.5 %*	*−13.9 %*	*8.2 %*	*−48.1 %*	*−55.2 %*	*−26.5 %*	*42.9 %*	*5.0 %*			
	N	1,241	741	2,741	2,165	1,362	889	891	447	107	214			
MICASE lecture	Deviation from ENG-spoken	−56.9 %	33.9 %	39.8 %	77.7 %	22.3 %	50.0 %	−83.1 %	−47.3 %	−42.9 %	20.4 %		47.4 %	−13.1 %
	Deviation from ENG-written	75.2 %	46.7 %	−20.3 %	−23.0 %	5.7 %	−12.6 %	−76.4 %	−11.7 %	−25.1 %	−46.1 %		34.3 %	
	'Orality'	*18.3 %*	*12.8 %*	*−6.7 %*	*−19.5 %*	*−16.6 %*	*−54.7 %*	*−37.4 %*	*−35.6 %*	*−17.8 %*	*25.7 %*			
	N	668	801	2,663	2,114	1,532	183	153	344	42	181			

6 Results

Figures 1 and 2 show the proportion of the linguistic traits for the Danish and English lectures respectively. The general trend is that the lectures in both languages are stylistically intermediate between the spoken and the written corpora. The lectures can, then, be said to be in an intermediate register. However, looking closer at the figures one can see that the pattern is different from one trait to another. On some traits the registers of the lectures are closer to the spoken register, on others closer to the written register. This result seems to support Csomay's (2002) claim that academic lectures are a hybrid register containing both spoken and written features. However, there appears to be a trend, which I will develop further in the following, that the Danish lectures are closer to the spoken corpus of Danish, whereas the English lectures are closer to the written corpus of English. For Danish this trend is most evident for the traits 'personal pronoun', 'present tense verbs', 'adjectives', 'relative pronouns' and 'passives', but with some reservation also on the traits 'nouns' and 'long words'. On the traits 'adverbs' and 'coordinators' on the other hand, the Danish lectures appear to resemble the written corpus more closely. The English lectures more closely resemble the corpus of written English on the traits 'personal pronouns', 'adverbs', 'prepositions', 'long words', 'adjectives' and 'coordinators', whereas the opposite trend is found on the traits 'present tense verbs', 'relative pronouns' and 'past participle' and to a lesser extent also 'nouns'.

An interesting question to raise at this point is whether the English language seminars conducted by a Danish university teacher approximate written language

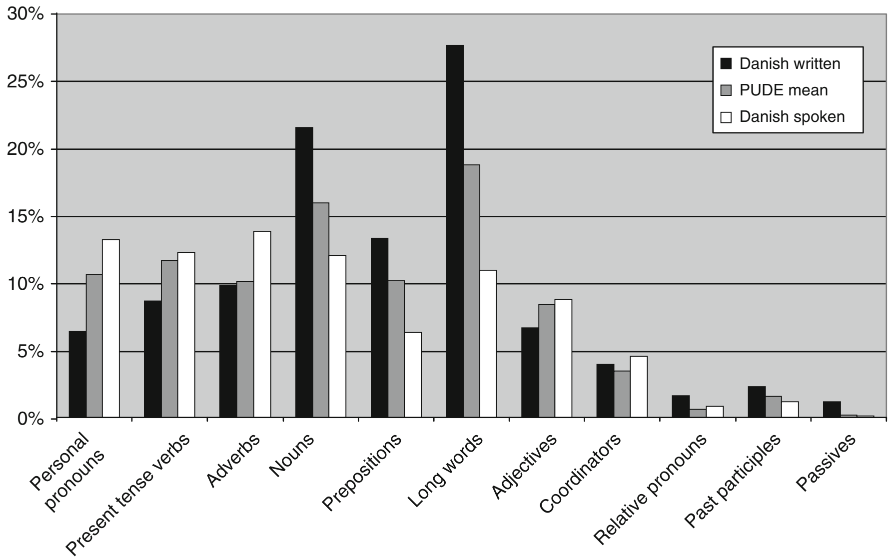

Fig. 1 Stylistic comparison of the Danish language lectures with spoken and written corpora

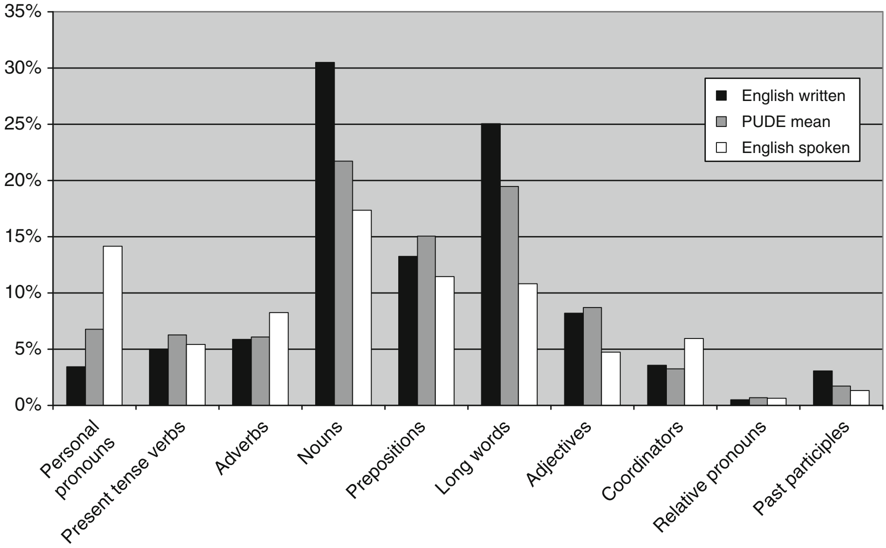

Fig. 2 Stylistic comparison of the English language lectures with spoken and written corpora

because they are L2 lectures or because of stylistic differences between English and Danish university teaching *per se*. Is there, in other words, a difference between Danish and English university teaching norms? In order to determine that, a small corpus of lectures from the Michigan Corpus of Academic Spoken English (MICASE) is used (see http://quod.lib.umich.edu/m/micase/).

Two lectures are selected because they are judged to be within the same field as the Danish PUDE seminars, thus the academic field is held constant across the teaching situations. The two MICASE lectures vary, however, in type. One is a fairly interactive discussion seminar with 11 students. In form it seems roughly similar to the PUDE seminars which had some 20 students and passages of teacher monologue interspersed with question-and-answer sequences. The other is a predominantly monological lecture with around 120 students present.

The two teaching sessions from the MICASE corpus were compared with the O-ANC corpora of spoken and written English on the same traits as the PUDE seminars. All of the results are summed up in Table 3.

In the table each set of lectures' deviance from the reference corpora is computed with the reference corpus as base point. That is, if the frequency of a feature is 10 % in the PUDE lectures and 5 % in the reference corpus, then the PUDE lecture is said to deviate 100 % ((10–5)/5). If the frequencies are the opposite (PUDE = 5 %, and the reference corpus 10 %), then the deviance is said to be −50 % ((5–10)/10). The reason for using percentage in the calculation of deviance is that some traits are quite frequent (e.g. 'nouns') and others are very infrequent (e.g. 'past participles'). Using percentages gives all deviation the same weight. If the deviance was simply given as a subtraction of frequencies, the frequent traits would be given many times the weight of the infrequent traits.

Of the two PUDE seminars, one can see that the Danish one has a small positive ‘orality index’, i.e. it resembles spoken language a little more than written on the selected traits. The differences from both the spoken and the written reference corpora appear highly statistically significant ($p < 10^{-176}$ and $p < 10^{-266}$ respectively in a χ^2 test). However, the use of inferential statistics for hypothesis testing in a test involving only one sample speaker is dubious to say the least, which is why I will refrain from using it. The English seminars have a negative orality index showing that they resemble written language more than spoken language. Turning to the MICASE data, the seminar has a small positive orality index, and the lecture has a negative orality index. These are in the same direction and of the same order of magnitude as the PUDE seminars in Danish and English respectively. This leads to the conclusion that, at least in some respects, the registers of Danish and American seminars held in the teachers’ L1 are quite similar. When, however, a Danish teacher changes his teaching language to L2, English, the register changes to resemble that of larger, more monologic English L1 lectures. This supports the conclusions from the qualitative analysis earlier in the chapter as well as from previous studies (e.g. Klaassen 2001; Vinke 1995).

7 Consequences for Teaching

Biber’s findings have given rise to several recent studies of stylistic differences in academic settings as well as hypotheses about the consequences of these. Sanderson (2008) investigated the use of the first person singular pronoun in German and English academic papers arguing that “the avoidance of explicit person reference is one way in which academics attempt to conjure an impression of objectivity”, and that “the lulling effect that ostensibly impersonal academic style can have on readers is not always unconscious or accidental” but is sometimes used to “increase the persuasive power and force of their argument by all manner of stylistic devices” (2008: 59).

In a similar vein, Bondi (2008) investigated the use of ‘stance markers’, typically adverbs like ‘naturally, actually, apparently’ arguing that “adverbials of stance do not only enable monologic discourse to be evaluative, but they also often assume a common ground between reader and writer in terms of what is regarded as scientifically ‘good’ or ‘bad’ at any given point in the discourse” (2008: 32).

A final example is Walsh et al. (2008) who studied ‘vague category markers’ such as “and things like that” and argue that a function of this device is in establishing a ‘shared space’ between teacher and students, and that “creating this shared space gives learners a sense that they can do the task and enhances their confidence. The absence of such language might make the instruction more direct and reduce the sense of ownership and collective ‘struggle’ which are essential features of higher education teaching and learning” (2008: 21).

These analyses share a common positive evaluation of the spoken language features that are less well represented in the English than in the Danish PUDE lectures. The more informal style in the Danish L1 lectures is seen as a pedagogical attempt (be it conscious or tacit) to scaffold the gap between scientific and everyday spoken discourse – what Northedge (2003: 174) calls “leading excursions from familiar discourse into specialist discourse”. The more formal style in the English L2 lectures is seen as not catering fully to the students’ needs for a guide into the specialist discourse. Following this line of reasoning, the English PUDE lectures would be deemed to be teaching of a poorer quality than the Danish lectures.

8 Teaching Ideals

If interactivity and spoken language features enhance teaching (as Sanderson (2008), Bondi (2008) and Walsh et al. (2008) suggest), why does the lecturer not employ the same strategy in the English L2 lectures as in the L1 lectures? One reason may be inability due to a lack of general English language competence. Although the lecturer clearly shows his familiarity with formal English writing and speech, he need not be familiar with the spoken language of lecturing in English in English L1 contexts. Some teachers of course will be familiar with this register if they have either studied or taught in an English L1 context. Others will not. Significantly, the proportion of the ones who do not may be assumed to be growing as more and more non-native English speakers are teaching in English in non-English-speaking contexts. If they have no model for lecturing in English, these L2 lecturers are in effect faced with the challenge of combining their knowledge of their L1 teaching style with their knowledge of formal academic English to invent an appropriate teaching style. It is likely that the teaching styles they develop will not resemble the teaching styles known from English L1 context. Neither will it resemble the local L1 styles. Teachers teaching in L2 English do not have the model to design a style like the Anglo-American one, and more likely than not, they do not have the full register competence in English which a native speaker has. They simply may not have the language competence to draw on vernacular phrases, idioms etc. which a native speaker has.

It is difficult to conclude that the relatively more informal register used in L1 is *per se* more effective when used in front of a class of L2 users of English. In order to claim this, we would first need to know that the language competence of the *listeners* in L2 is such that they understand (and benefit from) vernacular phrases etc. Secondly we would need to know what is required of the students to fulfil the course requirements satisfactorily. If formal presentation of facts is the aim of the course, then a relatively more formal, fact-focused and impersonal teaching style may indeed be beneficial. If the aim is critical discussion and application of the facts (the underlying ideal of Bondi (2008), Sanderson (2008) and Walsh et al. (2008)), a more argumentative and personal style may be more appropriate. This leads to the third point. We would need also to know the pedagogical considerations of the teacher. If the aim is for a deeper understanding of the subject matter, it is assumed that the lecturer through informal presentations may act as ‘a guide’ into the specialist discourse (Northedge 2003). However, another pedagogical consideration that Northedge points out is that the lecturer also acts as a 'coach' into the specialist discourse, i.e. through his examples and corrections shows the students the proper use of the specialist discourse. If focus is shifted towards the proper use of the discourse, it may make good sense to present students in class with discourse of the type they are expected to produce in the exam. In this lecturer's performance it can be argued that the shift in medium of instruction leads to a shift in teacher mode from 'discourse guide' in L1 to 'discourse coach' in L2.

In short, it has not been my aim here to argue against the use of English in university teaching in non-English-speaking Europe, a rather futile aim one might add, but to direct attention to the fact that a change in language may very well also cause a change in discourse register, and indeed in teaching style. It is up to the teachers and academics within the various subjects as well as the university administrators to debate among themselves whether this change in register is problematic, whether something should be done to reverse the change in register, or whether something should be done to compensate for it. A necessary first step in the process is to raise awareness of the fact that registers are likely to be changing. Further research is needed to determine whether this is a general trend or an isolated case.

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Part IV
Language Policies and Language Ideologies in International Education

Expanding Language Borders in a Bilingual Institution Aiming at Trilingualism

Enric Llurda, Josep M. Cots, and Lurdes Armengol

1 Introduction

Studies in multilingualism have documented that humans can master an array of languages and establish mechanisms to manage a multiplicity of languages in order to accomplish successful communicative events (Cenoz 2010; Cenoz and Genesee 1998; Creese and Martin 2003). Sociolinguists have time and again warned against the idea that whole countries are linguistically homogeneous and have made big efforts to account for language use in language contact and multilingual settings. Nevertheless Blackledge and Creese (2010: 7) point out, with data from the Home Office, that the majority of the population in the UK believe that "monolingualism in English is the natural and desirable state". In the non-English speaking world, however, globalisation has contributed to the valorisation of multilingualism. Following the distinction made by authors like Heller (2000) and House (2003), we could consider that, on the one hand, languages have become commodities through which people can promote themselves culturally, socially and economically. On the other hand, languages are seen as symbols of group identity which need to be preserved in the face of the homogenising force of globalisation. This is precisely the same dilemma with which higher education institutions find themselves, struggling between two aims that are not always compatible: equipping their graduates with the tools to compete in a global world and protecting the linguistic and cultural heritage of the communities to which they must ultimately respond.

This chapter will focus specifically on (i) the analysis of the language policy regarding internationalisation and management of multilingualism at a higher education institution in the setting of Catalonia; and (ii) students' attitudes towards

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internationalisation and multilingualism in that same institution. This study looks into micro language planning, as described by Chua and Baldauf (2011: 939), which “involves a range of contextual factors and actors such as small organisations and schools with each interpreting and carrying out the policies in different ways”. Following Spolsky (2004), we consider three main components of the language policy of a social institution like a university: language practices (i.e. the members’ choices from their repertoire for specific communicative situations); language beliefs or ideology (i.e. their attitudes towards language(s) and their uses and users); and language intervention (i.e. specific actions undertaken by the institution to maintain or transform the language practices and beliefs of its members).

The Catalan University Context

Catalonia is a historical nation which after the collapse of the Roman Empire developed its own Romance language, Catalan, a sister language to neighbours which have later in history become as powerful and globally widespread as French and Spanish. Later in history, Catalonia became a part of Spain and is currently an autonomous region within Spain. Its language, however, is still alive and used for everyday purposes, both at formal and informal levels, in spite of political efforts in the past to suppress it and assimilate the Catalan people and culture to mainstream Spanish society. For most of the twentieth century, with the exception of some very brief periods, Catalan was not allowed in the public spheres and was even banned from education and other public uses. However, in the last two decades of the twentieth century and stretching up until now, the language policy has been determined by the restoration of democracy in Spain and the decentralisation of the state, which gave the Catalan autonomous government the power to develop its own language planning. This process, according to Spolsky (2004: 195), places Catalan, as well as Basque in Spain and French in Quebec, as “minority languages that have been the focus of mobilisation for territorially defined ethnic groups later granted regional autonomy and thus able to act as government supported majority groups”. The present language policy in Catalonia is not intended as a shift to Catalan monolingualism and has openly declared its ultimate goal to be the protection of both Catalan and Spanish, and the promotion of the use of Catalan at all levels of society. The aim is to place Catalan alongside Spanish, guaranteeing through education the complete command of both languages by all children completing their education in Catalonia. To achieve such an ambitious goal, educational authorities have implemented a linguistic immersion programme, inspired by the Canadian model (Huguet 2007; Lambert and Tucker 1972; Vila 1995).

In higher education, universities have adopted their own language policies and regulations. In the 1980s, all Catalan universities were declared bilingual, meaning that both Catalan and Spanish could be used as languages of instruction, with Catalan pre-eminence in all internal administration documents. The language of instruction of each course was chosen by each individual instructor, as all students were assumed to be competent in both official languages. Additionally, the geographic proximity of Universitat de Lleida (UdL) to the Occitan-speaking community in the Aran Valley (in the North-West corner of Catalonia) prompted the university to include Occitan as one of its languages. Although its presence is very limited, Occitan language and literature are an important component of the B.A. in Catalan and Occitan studies, and some optional Occitan language courses are offered in the primary teacher training degree programme.

The Internationalisation of Higher Education Institutions

Higher education institutions have always had an international component. Back in the Middle Ages, in Europe a few institutions attracted scholars and students from many different countries, and examples of transnational academic mobility can be found in all periods of history (Tanaka 2009). However, globalisation has had a strong impact on how universities are conceived, and has completely altered "the scale and speed of cross-border academic mobility" (Kim 2009: 387), with a trend towards a more competitive and managerial model of governance, which has carried along a lower proportion of fixed-term contracts and a sharp increase in the recruitment of staff who were either born in a different country or have at least been living and working abroad (Kim 2009).

The current process of internationalisation is happening at different levels, diversely affecting institutions according to their size, country, and emphasis on research and graduate programmes, among other factors. For instance, the impact of internationalisation is not the same in a small Southern European university that prioritises undergraduate programmes attended by local residents as in a major Australian university with a strong emphasis on graduate studies and a high percentage of foreign students and academic staff. Just by looking at the impact of the language of instruction we can establish a trend in the power of the institution in attracting foreign students and academic staff. Horta (2009) analyses different aspects associated with European prominent universities, and observes that the ten top institutions, with the exception of two French universities, use English as a lingua franca. This is obvious for the five institutions that are based in the UK, but the same applies to the other three, based in Switzerland, the Netherlands and Denmark.

The predominant use of English as the lingua franca of globalisation, particularly in transnational academic events, is supported by evidence ranging from the fact that a vast majority of international journals and conferences in most academic fields use English as their default language to the increasing pressure on academic programs worldwide to increase the amount of courses taught in English and ensure that all students graduate with a high proficiency level that will enable them to perform any task at international level.

The impact and implications of English as a lingua franca have been greatly discussed in the last few years, with the appearance of two opposing trends: one that accepts the current role of English at the international level and attempts to describe and analyse its impact and consequences for language teaching, language policy and language analysis (Graddol 2006; Jenkins 2007; Seidlhofer 2011; Sharifian 2009) and another trend that is overtly critical of the supremacy of English (Phillipson 2003, 2006). There is indeed a debate in applied linguistics over the desirability or not of English enjoying such a dominant position in the international arena, but English is widely recognised in most societies as a necessary language and, in spite of resistance and contestation by some educational policy makers and researchers, most universities and educational authorities in non-English speaking countries have set to the task of promoting the use of English in academic life with the dual goal of enhancing local students' English proficiency and attracting a higher number of international students and scholars. In fact, in many respects, one could simply say that in non-English speaking countries, the internationalisation of higher education has come hand in hand with the Englishisation of academic life. No internationalisation policy outside English-speaking countries can be conceived of without taking language policy into account, including both the local language(s) and the international lingua franca.

For many universities in Europe, internationalisation has become one of their priorities and towards this end they have designed specific policies which are aimed mainly at (i) increasing the mobility of staff and students and (ii) adapting the teaching programmes so that they can fulfil the double goal of being useful to international students and preparing the local students for a global professional market. Internationalisation policies often become intertwined with language policies in non-English-speaking countries, especially in world regions with minority languages, as the issue of language choice for teaching and academic communication becomes more relevant. In spite of works conducted on English-medium instruction in higher education (Coleman 2006), Balfour (2007: 39) acknowledges that "the interface [between internationalisation and language policies] has not to date been much explored let alone understood by HEIs (Higher Education Institutions)." By focusing on Wales and South Africa, Balfour states that policies aiming at developing and promoting indigenous languages in a context of internationalisation can be perceived as problematic or even damaging. Risager (2012) suggests that universities respond to the pressures of internationalisation with three main types of language policies: (i) a monolingual policy of using English more or less exclusively, (ii) a bilingual policy where English is used with the national language, (iii) a trilingual policy where English is used with the national and the regional language. According to the author, the current trend of internationalisation policies is to favour an extended or even exclusive use of English for international purposes, especially in master's and PhD programmes. Also recently, Doiz et al. (2011) looked at instructors' views on the implementation of a multilingual plan to promote English-medium instruction, and reported on some of the challenges and difficulties associated with such a plan.

This chapter will analyse the case of a small Catalan university where Catalan and Spanish coexist as languages of instruction and new policies have been drafted in order to promote the use of English within the institution and increase proficiency

Table 1 Use of languages in the classroom (Universitat de Lleida 2011)

	Catalan (%)	Spanish (%)	English (%)	Other languages (%)
2006–2007	65.4	29.6	4.5	0.5
2007–2008	67.6	28.4	3.4	0.6
2008–2009	67.3	27.9	4.0	0.8
2009–2010	66.8	28.3	4.3	0.6

in this language among the local student population. The university under study is far from being in a top position at an international level. Following Horta's (2009: 389) analogy, we could say that the university is far from playing or even aspiring to play in the "Champion's League" of universities. The University of Lleida (UdL) is a local comprehensive university, with about 8,000 students, most coming from the surrounding area, but it aspires to increase its prominence and visibility at the international level by attracting a higher number of international students and by enabling its graduates to compete in the international labour market.

Internationalisation and Language Policy at the University of Lleida

The process of internationalisation at the University of Lleida, which started with the popularisation of the Erasmus European exchange programme, created a situation that had not been forecast initially; that is, the presence in many courses of foreign students with some competence in Spanish and none in Catalan, and even more strikingly, the presence of students with no competence in any of the two languages. This, together with the realisation of the need for local students to develop their competence in English, prompted the introduction of changes in the language policies of Catalan universities. These changes were also supported by the implementation of economic incentives by the Catalan government, through which universities would receive more funding if they implemented language policies that promoted the use of English and, at the same time, supported the maintenance of Catalan.

As it can be appreciated in Table 1, despite the possible incentives and the possible 'pressure' from the international students to offer more courses in Spanish or English, the linguistic profile of the University of Lleida in terms of the medium of instruction remained relatively stable between 2006 and 2010, with a strong dominance of Catalan, Spanish trailing clearly behind, and English still having a very minor role.

Although the presence of English is still quite limited within the general academic programmes of the university, the schools are beginning to include courses in which English is the medium of instruction. This is a relatively new development in Spanish universities and for many students it represents an expansion of the language borders which have traditionally been drawn at the university, with Catalan and Spanish as the only two possible languages of instruction. Likewise, for many international students, following a course in Spanish means that they have moved beyond their linguistic comfort zone in order to meet the new communicative needs, a situation that takes a further turn with the presence of Catalan as the predominant medium of instruction at UdL. This is precisely what we aim to explore in this chapter: the extent to which English, for local students, and Catalan and Spanish, for international students at UdL, represent a new challenge in their academic experience and how they react to this challenge. Ultimately, our goal is to assess the impact of a language policy, such as the one at UdL, which promotes multilingualism as a means of internationalisation. We intend to look at the critical role played by local phenomena in the management of a multilingual organisation (Chua and Baldauf 2011).

After this introduction, the chapter includes four main sections. In Sect. 2, we present information on the data that we analyse and the methodology we have followed for their collection. Section 3 consists of an analysis of the main features of internationalisation and language policies of UdL as they have been articulated in the form of official documents. In the two following sections, we analyse the views of international and local students, respectively, in connection with the new language(s) they encounter in their classes as the result of the implementation of a particular language policy promoted by the university.

2 Data and Methodology

The data on which we base our study is part of a larger project on the relationship between internationalisation and multilingualism in three European universities located in bilingual territories: Catalonia, the Basque Country and Wales. The first set of data that we analyse in this chapter consists of three white papers, through which the University of Lleida makes explicit the main aspects of its internationalisation, teaching and language policies, and a fourth document in which the university establishes the requirements that degree programmes must fulfil in order to certify the competence of their graduates in a third language. All of these documents were produced by the University of Lleida between 2006 and 2010.

The second set of data includes three focus group sessions led by two researchers. The sessions took place during the months of May and June 2009. One of these sessions was held with four international students (two males and two females) who were taking part in different exchange/mobility programmes. They came from China, Mexico, the US and the Czech Republic, and were following courses in different schools (Arts, Architecture, Agricultural Engineering and Business); we will refer to them as ‘the International group’. The participating students volunteered after a general call launched, at our request, by the International Relations Office. When the session was held, all of the students had spent between one and two terms at UdL. The session was held mainly in Spanish, although students were also told that they could speak in English if they wished. They discussed freely and extensively on the issues proposed by the researchers as well as on those raised by themselves during the discussion.

The other two sessions were organised with two different groups of local students and with the participation of two researchers. In one group, students were in their last year of the Business Management and Administration degree (from now on we will refer to this group as ‘the Business group’), and the other included students at the School of Agricultural Engineering (to be referred to as ‘the Engineering group’). In both groups, students were selected because they had taken at least one content course taught in English. The four students (two males and two females) that constituted the ‘Business group’ had attended an optional course offered by a group of instructors, each dealing with their own area of expertise. The course had been created to respond to the call by the university to increase the number of English-medium courses (EMCs) offered to local students in order to improve their English skills, but it was also open to incoming Erasmus students, and so it was useful for those international students who had trouble following Catalan and Spanish courses. This course was offered as optional, and it was designed as a general overview of previously studied contents in accounting. The Engineering group consisted of three male students who also had some experience with English-medium teaching. As we will see below in the analysis of these sessions, it is important to mention that two of the students had taken a course in food processing and technology, which had been designed and implemented by a content instructor and a language teaching specialist, whom we are labelling here as ‘the language coach’. The two had jointly planned all the activities and materials to be used in class (see Cots and Clemente 2006, 2011, for a detailed account of how this course was planned and implemented). In both the Business and the Engineering groups, students were invited personally by the researchers thanks to the collaboration of their lecturers. Although researchers and students were all Catalan-Spanish bilinguals, the two sessions were held in Catalan.

The development of the focus group sessions was organised following Krueger and Casey’s (2000) guidelines, and it was broadly structured around the following questions that the researchers had considered relevant to discuss, allowing the participants to move beyond them and expand on any related topic of their choice:

1. What language(s) do you use most frequently?
2. What language have you studied formally?
3. How did you come to the realisation that globalisation had arrived at the university?
4. How do you think that multilingualism affects this university?
5. How do you react to the situation in which a lecturer or a member of the administrative staff addresses an international student in Catalan?
6. What do you think about introducing English-medium teaching in this university?
7. What positive and negative aspects do you find in a multilingual university?

8. Which should be the main language(s) of communication in this university?
9. What do you think about your personal experience with English-medium teaching? (only for local students)
10. (Only for local students) How would you rate (1 very negative; 5 very positive) the following aspects of your experience as a student in a course taught in English? (i) Degree of understanding of the contents; (ii) level of expression: class participation, written work, exams, etc.; (iii) language benefits; (iv) academic mobility; (v) labour market; (vi) language competence of the lecturer(s); (vii) academic level of the contents compared with other courses taught in L1.
11. (Only for international students) How would you rate (1 very negative; 5 very positive) the following aspects of UdL? (i) Presence of Catalan, Spanish and English; (ii) multilingual competence of academic staff; (iii) multilingual competence of administrative staff; (iv) degree of internationalisation of UdL.
12. What is for you a 'multilingual university'?
13. How do you see the UdL in connection with internationalisation?

3 Language Planning

Our aim in this section is to examine a series of documents produced by the University of Lleida in order to explore how the institution defines its present and future multilingual profile. We will examine four documents issued by the university. In our analysis we will follow the same chronological order in which they were issued:

1. Internationalisation programme of UdL (Universitat de Lleida 2006)
2. Teaching policy plan of UdL (Universitat de Lleida 2007)
3. Language policy of UdL: Towards a multilingual reality (Universitat de Lleida 2008)
4. Regulations for the accreditation of a third language in degree programmes (Universitat de Lleida 2010)

The aim of the document *Internationalisation programme of UdL* (Universitat de Lleida 2006) is to set out the main guidelines that the institution needs to follow in order to increase its degree of internationalisation. In these guidelines, languages play an important role, since 6 out of a total of 17 goals involve specific language policy actions. Basically, in these six goals the UdL aims at (i) increasing the "language skills" of the academic and administrative staff as well as the students as a requirement for increasing international mobility, (ii) making available "in English" all information related to the teaching and research activities of the university, and (iii) increasing the number of courses taught in "widely-spoken languages" in order to be able to attract international students. With the presence of these language-related goals, the institution seems to acknowledge that it has a deficit in connection with the students and staff's knowledge of languages. However, the document is ambiguous with regard to what languages should be part of the multilingual repertoire of the institution. Thus, while it often refers to language training needs of the members of the academic community and the importance of introducing courses in "widely-spoken languages", English is only mentioned in reference to written information. When referring to the language training needs of the members of the academic community, English is never mentioned. Furthermore, in a bilingual community with a minority and a majority language, the expression "language skills" is ambiguous as it could very easily be interpreted as referring to competence in the two languages rather than a foreign language.

The *Teaching policy plan of the UdL* (Universitat de Lleida 2007) refers to the language policy of the institution twice. First, two of the three strategic competences that should be included in all degree programmes are defined as: (i) correct spoken and written expression in Catalan or Spanish, and (ii) knowledge of a foreign language. The second reference to the language policy appears in the section on "Internationalisation", where the institution commits to increasing the use of English as a medium of instruction.

The white paper *Language planning policy of UdL: Towards a multilingual reality* (Universitat de Lleida 2008) is where the institution made its language policy explicit for the first time. Here, multilingualism is presented as a corporate strategy for the survival and expansion of the university and as a necessary step in the processes of European academic convergence and the general globalisation of higher education. The document makes reference to a wide range of languages that should form part of the multilingual repertoire of the institution, and the inclusion of each language is justified in different terms:

– Catalan: protect and extend its use.
– Occitan: promote its study (no mention of use).
– Spanish: correctness in academic and professional usage.
– English: make it a language of academic work, including teaching and research.
– Other languages:

    (a) French, German, Italian, Portuguese: preserve their use based on their academic/professional tradition.
    (b) Chinese, German: promote their use due to present economic and professional interest.

One idea that permeates the document is that establishing a multilingual university is not an easy enterprise and that the goal of multilingualism must therefore be approached as a gradual process. For this reason the new multilingual profile contemplates different stages. In the first stage of the process the aim is receptive trilingualism (i.e. staff and students can understand Catalan, Spanish and English). In the second stage, the aim is productive trilingualism (i.e. staff and students can write and speak in any of the three languages).

Multilingualism is also presented as creating uncertainty among the members of the community in terms of rights and duties to use a specific language. Therefore, it becomes necessary to establish some regulation organising language use in particular settings. This regulation is summarised under the "principle of language safety", whereby each course must have one 'official' language, which must be clearly announced on the course list. The Language Service of UdL is placed in charge of supervising that the principle is being observed in the different schools of the university. Since each course must have one 'official' language, institutional multilingualism can be seen as the sum of officially monolingual settings. The principle of language safety distinguishes between the 'official' language of the course and other, 'unofficial', languages which can be used by instructors and students in one-to-one conversations inside or outside the classroom.

Finally, from the point of view of management and administration, the new language policy document recommends what we consider a policy of 'parallel multilingualism', according to which all the documents related to academic matters will have to be in three languages (Catalan, Spanish and English). This is different from the 'heteroglossic multilingualism' (Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes 2011) that is proposed for teaching, in which students are required to take courses in different languages, thereby ensuring their effective exposure to multiple languages.

In a subsequent development of the 2008 white paper on language policy, in July 2010 UdL issued a *Regulation for the accreditation of a third language in degree programmes* (Universitat de Lleida 2010) in which English was no longer the 'obligatory' third language. Instead, four possible languages were mentioned: English, French, German, and Italian. According to these regulations, a student graduating in a course degree programme at UdL must prove that she has an intermediate knowledge in a third language, corresponding to B1 of the Common European Framework for languages (CEFR).

Taking into account the four policy documents discussed above, we can begin to draw a profile of UdL in connection with its stance towards what the institution considers one of the strategies for its survival: effecting the transition from bilingualism to multilingualism. Perhaps the most salient aspect is the tension in connection with the nature of the multilingualism proposed, which on certain occasions considers English as the preferred third language, alongside Catalan and Spanish, and on other occasions includes several languages without establishing a clear priority. It is difficult to say whether this ambiguity is the result of a true will by the institution to promote multilingualism or of a certain disregard or resistance on the part of particular policy makers who may not agree with the idea of a dominant lingua franca in academia. The situation is rather paradoxical if we consider that for practically the whole of the local student body, English is clearly their third language. However, we should not forget that, since English in Spain was not introduced as a foreign language in schools until the late 1960s and early 1970s, some of the members of staff with decision-making power may not be competent in this language.

In the four documents examined, there is a more or less explicit acknowledgement that at present the university cannot be considered multilingual and that it needs to make an effort in order to train the members of the academic community in foreign languages as a means of its true internationalisation, which is considered a key strategy for its survival. The two main actions that the university sees as instrumental to overcoming this 'problem' are addressed to the students, who, on the other hand, may see them as impositions rather than facilitation measures: the introduction of courses taught in a foreign language and the need to reach an intermediate level in a third language in order to graduate.

Finally, the institution seems to be in favour of a ‘progressive’, ‘regulated’ multilingualism. Catalan + Spanish + foreign language trilingualism is never presented as the final stage but as the initial stage of a path towards the promotion of other languages. At the same time, this multilingualism must abide by the ‘principle of language safety’ which imposes the use of one ‘official’ language in each course, thereby presenting multilingualism as an aggregate of monolingualisms in different settings.

4 International Students

The aim of this section is to present and discuss the ideas put forward by the International group. We shall focus mainly on their construct of an ideal multilingual university and on the positive and negative views they express about their experience at UdL.

When asked directly about what an ideal multilingual university should look like, the international students relied on their expectations and experience to try to conceptualise such a construct. An idea that pervaded the discussion was the need for interaction among local and international students. The participants often complained about the lack of interaction with local students, and repeatedly focused on the importance of the ‘locals’ opening up and adapting to the global/international culture which they felt was personified by international visitors. “What is needed is that local people open up a little more to the international culture”, one student said.[1]

As far as use of languages is concerned, the participants focused on the three main languages of the context: Catalan, Spanish and English. From an experiential point of view, they regarded the university environment as multilingual, where interactions could take place in two or more languages; that is, each speaker using his/her preferred language among those understood by their interlocutors. However, when they came to examples based on their personal experience, they only mentioned Spanish and English as the languages of interaction, thereby showing the value of both languages, rather than Catalan, as lingua francas in this specific context. In connection with strictly academic issues, they claimed that information relevant to students should be available in the three languages of the community and that a wider range of courses should be taught in different languages. Nevertheless, it became clear later in the discussion that their main complaint was that the university was offering too many courses in Catalan and not enough in Spanish, preferably, and

[1]For the sake of convenience, this and subsequent extracts from the discussion sessions are all presented in English regardless of the language in which they were originally stated: Catalan, Spanish or English.

English. It seems, thus, that one of the reasons for choosing UdL was to improve their competence in Spanish, as they expected to be able to use this language extensively while at UdL. Finally, they all agreed with the statement uttered by one of the participants who considered the English language a must in a multilingual university: “I’m used to English being the international language and if English is not spoken, for me it’s not multilingual”. The following subsections will report on the positive and negative views the international students had constructed after their multilingual experience at UdL.

The Bright Side of the Multilingual Experience at UdL

The positive view of the international students’ multilingual experience at UdL was focused more on life and interpersonal communication than on languages. They discussed extensively the fact that they experienced new situations which were beyond their control and which led them to learn a great deal about themselves and to evolve from the point of view of their communication skills. They also praised the opportunity to appreciate different cultures and to learn or become acquainted with other languages (whether local or not). As a consequence of those experiences, they all acknowledged having acquired new communication skills that are useful in any setting and undeniably important in a multicultural environment. They specifically mentioned being able to reach a compromise on using an international code and a great deal of body language: “we’re all in a kind of situation where we all understand what everyone else is going through at the same point, so, although we come from different cultures, now we’re able to figure out some sort of a middle road”; “we look for a compromise with some international words and our legs and hands”.

When it came to the positive aspects directly related to their experience with multilingual communication at the university, they commented on the positive qualities of local people, whom they described as nice, good-humoured and helpful. They also praised the fact that occasionally they had come across some locals, usually instructors, who knew a great deal about their own culture. Some informants even acknowledged having learnt something about their own culture from those instructors. In relation to classmates, they mentioned that whenever someone had managed to make local friends, these were always students who had taken part in mobility programmes before.

The Dark Side of the Multilingual Experience at UdL

The negative aspects discussed by the International group usually centred on their academic experience and, more specifically, on the use of Catalan, whether for academic purposes or for interpersonal communication.

One of the negative aspects is related to the initial steps of the students’ multilingual experience. The students complained about an issue which is already tackled in UdL's white paper on language policy (Universitat de Lleida 2008), namely the lack of precise information about the use of languages available on the university website. As an example, the international students mentioned that they had found a list with the names of all courses offered at UdL written in English. This led some of them to believe that the courses were all taught in English. When they arrived, they realised that this was not the case.

Another shared complaint was that of a certain mismatch between expectations about the presence of Catalan in society and the situation they found, as they did not expect Catalan to have such a large presence in public spaces. This mismatch also included other issues related to the use of a lingua franca, such as an instructor's weak command of English together with a strong non-native accent: "in my opinion, the instructor doesn't speak English very well and has a very strong Spanish accent".

Also in relation to those initial steps, the international students complained of a lack of appropriate guidance, even empathy, during the adaptation period. For instance, those students who had been at UdL since the very beginning of the academic year acknowledged that a special theatre play that was performed in a welcoming party organised by the institution was incomprehensible to them despite the fact that the play had bits in English. Moreover they complained about the low level of commitment of some of the local students who had volunteered to act as 'language partners' for international students.

Other negative views of the international students' multilingual experience within the academic environment had to do with a sense of frustration caused by the extensive use of Catalan. The strongest complaint was about Catalan being used as a language of instruction and the power-politeness tensions this circumstance occasionally brought about. For example, students explained that instructors often told them to ask for help whenever they did not understand something, and acknowledged that they never asked questions because they would have constantly interrupted the class. The students also focused on the difficulty of achieving academic success in a language they did not master, and so they openly conveyed the idea that the passive knowledge of Catalan acquired during their stay was enough to move around the city, but not to fulfil academic requirements.

In sum, the International focus group shows us that the students had undergone an experience that could be qualified as international and even as multilingual, but that the institution should make more efforts towards multilingualism. The participants in the discussion focused on the general unavailability of precise institutional information about the use of languages. They also hinted at the lack of linguistic training and intercultural communication skills among some administrative and teaching staff. This negative perception contrasts with the overall positive intercultural and multilingual experience of spending one or two semesters as international students at UdL. Finally, in connection with their views on the role of the three institutional languages, Spanish seemed to attract international students towards the institution and to play an important role as a lingua franca, English had the unquestionable role of being the international language *per se*, whereas Catalan was perceived as a hindrance for their academic attainment.

5 Local Students

The outcomes of the two focus group sessions with local students who had attended at least one English-medium course were rather diverse, but we have structured them by arranging their contributions around the three most prominent themes in the conversations: language issues, methodology issues and the impact of language policy on students.

Language Issues

When asked directly about the reasons why they had chosen a course taught in English, all the students in ‘the Engineering group’ recalled that they were motivated by the presence of English, and the opportunity to improve their command of this language, which they felt was a much needed but still neglected area in their training for their future professional life. This is clearly seen in one student’s emphatic line: “it’s about time to begin dealing with English”. This is an idea that is complemented by another student’s remark that taking that course was an opportunity to get “free English tuition”, as opposed to the more standard way of learning English by attending expensive private language schools. Thus, those students react positively to one of the outcomes of the institutionally promoted language policy.

In the course of the discussion of their experience with English-medium courses (EMCs), the students stated that classroom oral interaction was conducted 100 % in English, although two different ways of managing languages were identified in the two EMCs attended by the students. In one of the courses, instructor and students interacted in English, materials were written in English, and learning outcomes (such as essays, presentations and final exam) were also in English. This course had been jointly planned by the content instructor and a language coach who was an expert on TEFL methodology. The other course made use of both English and Catalan in a more or less systematic way: the instructor spoke in English all the time, but the materials he used were written in Catalan. Furthermore, the students were required to keep their ‘laboratory notebook’ in English, but were allowed to take the final exam in Catalan.

In both cases, students perceived the course as an opportunity for learning English, but they did not expect a very high level of English proficiency from instructors, as it was clear to them that the instructors were experts in the content of the course but not necessarily expert English users. In fact, the instructors were not considered models for language use, and students appeared not to mind their language weaknesses. However, at some point in the discussion, the students wished for increased academic mobility in the future, which would allow for visiting foreign instructors teaching courses in English. The implicit assumption here is that local instructors do not speak good English whereas foreign instructors would provide a much better model for them to learn the language. For the students, the course represented a substitute for regular language instruction or an opportunity for language practice, even though the instructor was clearly not identified as a model and students appeared to be very tolerant of the instructors' language errors. This may be due to the fact that students did not aim at accuracy as one of their learning goals, and instead aimed at developing fluency. For this purpose they needed to improve their own communicative skills and their capacity to create and interpret meaning. The students perceived their English to be not good enough and in need of improvement, but they appeared confident that they would be able to improve it just by using it, without the help of an external language expert.

Classroom Methodology Issues

As the students reflected on their experience with English-medium instruction at UdL, they expressed some thoughts on the methodology of language teaching and learning. As mentioned above, the students in our focus groups were from two different degree programmes (Business Administration and Agricultural Engineering) and therefore each group had attended the EMC offered at their own programme. The Engineering students who had participated in the EMC which had been collaboratively planned by the content instructor and the language coach were very positive about English-medium instruction, as for them this was the ideal methodology for language learning, and they made explicit reference to the virtues of the activity-based and learner-centred methodology used in the course: "You could see it was a very well-planned course. It was not just a bunch of photocopies. The instructor had devoted quite a lot of time to it".

Students in 'the Business group' did not show the same appreciation for the methodology used in their course. These students had attended the EMC in which the instructors had not had any specific support for preparing the materials and the class activities. They had probably relied on the idea that teaching an EMC consisted mainly of switching the language used by the instructor in class with no further provision to adapt materials and class-activities to the needs of non-native speaking students. At one point in the discussion, they observed that English-medium instruction was communicative as opposed to ESP courses taken at the university, which were more strongly associated with grammar teaching: "a course like the one we took on accounting in English is different from English courses where we do grammar. In the accounting class, errors do not bring your grades down".

In spite of their overall satisfaction with their courses in English, one concern that appeared in the discussion was how the language choice affected the contents offered during the course. This was an idea expressed by 'the Engineering group', as they were left with the feeling that had the course been in Catalan, they would have been able to delve more deeply into its contents. This statement was not intended as a complaint but rather as an acceptance of the fact that EMCs necessarily would offer a reduced version of the syllabus, as they would not be able to cover as much content as courses in Catalan or Spanish. A few days after the discussion session, the authors met with one of the content instructors and asked him about this particular aspect. He was adamant in claiming that depth of content treatment had not been reduced at all. He emphasised that the syllabus had been adapted, and that he had taken out two units from the *original* programme, but he claimed that the course was stronger from a pedagogical point of view and the different units were dealt with as exhaustively as they would have been in the students' L1. His words confirmed the idea expressed by the students that some adaptations had to be made to the contents of the course, rather than just switching into English, but at the same time confirmed that the overall quality of the course could be preserved in spite of the lesser competence in English of both the instructor and the students.

Impact of Language Policy on Students

In the course of the focus group sessions, students reflected on the impact of the university's policy of trilingualism – including the promotion of EMCs – on themselves and on the institution at large. We must bear in mind that EMCs are not compulsory for any students at UdL, and that only those who choose to take one of these courses on a voluntary basis actually experience instruction in English (other than English language instruction, which is obligatory in some degrees but not in others). The students participating in this study all had some experience with English-medium instruction and, therefore, were not representative of the overall student body, which would probably be more critical of any policy attempting to increase the presence of English in the academic context. Thus, it was not surprising to see a positive attitude towards this initiative. The students stated that offering courses in English was good for the promotion of institutional multilingualism and the internationalisation of the university. However, they only envisioned the possibility of what we have above referred to as 'parallel multilingualism'. By this, we refer to the organisation of academic itineraries in different languages, giving students the option to choose the language in which their classes will be conducted. In other words, students did not consider a teaching itinerary in which they were forced to take courses in different languages (i.e., Catalan, Spanish and English) or in which some courses included a multilingual component, whereby some parts of the course were conducted in one language and some others in a different language. Instead, their vision of a multilingual and internationalised university meant that the university should offer parallel itineraries in different languages and students could choose the one that suited them best.

More important to us, however, is what students said about the impact of English-medium instruction on themselves. One would expect to observe a strong bond between local and international students on campus, and especially with those attending the same EMC, but the two groups did not socialise much. The local students argued that this was due to the Erasmus students' low level of social integration with local people: "I was a language exchange volunteer and we met only once. If they are not interested, they don't come after you"; "They don't integrate". At this point, it is worth remembering that the International group also blamed local students for this lack of social interaction.

The use of English was not a barrier for communication, but some unspecified social or interactional barriers appeared to exist between local and international students, in spite of all local students in our focus group sessions either having already had some experience of studying abroad or planning to have it. In fact, local students seemed to associate the term 'international' with stays abroad. Being Erasmus students themselves was perceived to be an experience of internationalisation, whereas sharing the local environment with foreign students was not. They did not seem to view the EMC they had taken as a true experience of internationalisation. In other words, they did not see their experience at home as an opportunity to expand their own mental borders, which could only open to new territories when they were physically displaced into a different campus in a foreign country.

6 Conclusions

We conclude this chapter by pointing out some of the main findings in our tridimensional research combining the analysis of language policy with the views of international and local students regarding the language challenges experienced in the context of internationalisation at a small Catalan university.

First, Catalan appears to be perceived as an obstacle for the academic interests of international students. They are surprised that it is so widely used in classes and that instructors do not speak English more fluently. They would prefer not to have to expand their linguistic repertoire towards Catalan, and they would like to have more preliminary information on which courses are offered in Catalan so that they could avoid encountering this language in class. Therefore, they do not appear to be appreciative of institutional efforts inviting them to incorporate a new language (i.e. Catalan) into their linguistic repertoire.

International students clearly refuse to embrace Catalan as the situated lingua franca between local and international students or between themselves. Instead, they choose either English or Spanish. In fact, international students complain that they would like to have more opportunities to use Spanish at the university, as developing Spanish proficiency was one of the reasons why they chose a university located in Spain.

Local students, on the other hand, complain that they have little or no contact with international students and, therefore, cannot practice much English with them. Their vision is that Erasmus students are not willing to start new relationships with local students, as they claim that international students "don't come after you" and "they don't integrate". Although some of these students have already been exchange students in a European university, they seem to ignore the difficulty of integrating into a new social environment and somehow expect international students to take all the steps leading to their integration into the local network.

They did not appear – at any moment during the group discussions – to take on any responsibility for their lack of interaction with the community of international students at UdL. As one student explained "I was a volunteer (. . .) I was assigned two groups (of international students) . . . if you send them an email, you tell them *ok, if you need anything ask me, and so on*". What is most striking here is that international students also complain about lack of support by so-called 'language partners' during the first weeks of their stay at UdL.

It is also rather clear from the data that although the institution does not specify what language should be promoted together with the two already existing languages, both international and local students clearly identify English as the necessary language in order to transform the university into a multilingual one.

The institution's multilingual policy, through the principle of language safety, envisions that languages are kept separate in class. However, from the discussions with the focus groups, we can infer that heteroglossic multilingualism could constitute an alternative to the parallel multilingualism that seems to be effectively promoted by the university, in which different courses are identified with one specific language.

English-medium courses additionally are seen by the local students as an opportunity to practise the language, and they do not seem to be very concerned about the model of English used in class or the accent of the instructor. This point of view should help instructors feel relaxed about their own language competence and hopefully concentrate on methodological aspects derived from the difficulty of teaching a content course in a language in which students are not as proficient as in their mother tongue. The impact of English-medium instruction on course contents is acknowledged by students, who assume that the course cannot reach the same levels of depth as if it had been taught in a local language. This observation is not shared by one of the instructors, who went a long way towards adapting the course syllabus from a methodological point of view. According to this instructor, rather than the depth of treatment of the different topics, what has diminished is the number of units of the course. However, he claims, this is not the result of using a different language but a new, more learner-centred teaching methodology, in which the students are given more opportunities to work autonomously in class and participate actively.

The university does not seem to acknowledge the methodological implications of switching to English as the medium of instruction. There is not a single institutional document that in any way refers to any methodological changes being required by changing the language of instruction from Catalan or Spanish to English. In our view, such a document should emphasise the need to adapt course syllabi and materials in a way that facilitates comprehension and construction of knowledge by students. More specifically, it should give indications to teachers on: (i) how to adapt oral and written input in order to make it more comprehensible; (ii) how to integrate content and form so that the class becomes not just a place for the transmission of concepts but also a place for the negotiation of meaning (Long 1983); (iii) how to give opportunities for learners to speak and produce oral and written language, both spontaneous and planned; and (iv) how to promote the use of learning and communication strategies by students. We think that all these are necessary elements to ensure a successful implementation of English-medium courses in a university where not all students have a high level of competence in English.

All in all, expanding language borders does not appear to be an easy task. Resistance may appear at all levels, from policy-makers to instructors and students. In this chapter we have attempted to show the impact of language policy on students, both local and international, and by doing so we hope to provide elements for reflection on and deeper understanding of micro language planning in the current context of globalisation and internationalisation of universities worldwide.

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Language Practices and Transformation of Language Ideologies: Mainland Chinese Students in a Multilingual University in Hong Kong

Michelle M.Y. Gu

1 Introduction

A great many studies have researched interactions between languages, language users and environment (e.g. Creese and Blackledge 2010; Gupta 2008; Martin 2003). These studies have mainly focused on (1) Discovering the governmental measures and educational policies that influence, impede or ensure maintenance of languages at the national level; (2) Exploring multilingual literacy practices in classrooms. Recently, some researchers have focused on linguistic practices and the tensions between different language ideologies in complementary schools and multilingual universities (e.g. Chen 2008; Creese and Blackledge 2011; Gkaintartzi and Tsokalidou 2011; Haberland 2011; Li 2011). Campuses are viewed as highly diverse social settings in which struggles among and between different groups and competing ideologies may be revealed (Heller 1999), and in which language users use a variety of different languages and dialects for different identification purposes (Gu 2011a). Therefore, there is a need to investigate the tensions of different language ideologies and their subsequent impact on the linguistic practices of the students, and to examine the interplay between different languages in multilingual universities.

In recent years, universities in Hong Kong (HK) have attracted a large number of applicants from the Chinese mainland. However, these students, who have the same ethnicity as the Chinese population in HK, still experience both linguistic and cross-cultural obstacles to their socialization with their local counterparts. Besides these two populations, there is an increasing number of international students, which makes the linguistic situation in HK universities even more complex. As part of a wider project exploring the linguistic ecology in multilingual universities, this study

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explores the language ideologies and language uses in a multilingual university in Hong Kong by exploring the experiences of both mainland Chinese and Hong Kong students. To do so, I draw on the notions of separate and flexible multilingualism (Creese and Blackledge 2011). In the following sections, the notion of language ideology that guides this study is discussed. The methodology is then introduced, after which the findings are presented and discussed.

2 Language and Ideology

Heller (2007) proposes that notions of 'language', 'identity' and 'community' are fundamentally social constructs. In this sense, language is a set of resources that are distributed socially, but not necessarily evenly (Giddens 1984). This uneven distribution is the product of the political and economic processes and values assigned to particular linguistic resources, forms and practices. According to Heller (2007: 15), language(s) are

> Sets of resources called into play by social actors, under social and historical conditions which both constrain and make possible the social reproduction of existing conventions and relations, as well as the production of new ones.

Linguistic practices cannot be separated from beliefs and attitudes in relation to languages in social organization. Van Dijk (1996: 8) stresses the complex, diverse and social nature of language ideologies, noting that the members of a social group use ideologies to "guide their interpretations, discourses and other social practices in a specific social domain". Moreover, the notion of language ideology can be used to "characterize the development of beliefs and attitudes towards the learning and use of a particular language" (Martínez-Roldán and Malavé 2004: 161). Language ideologies are positioned in and subject to historical, social and political contexts and, at the same time, constitute the broader social, political and economic systems that "play a role in structuring dominant-subordinate, majority-minority relations" (Creese and Blackledge 2011: 1197). In the research reported herein, the multilingual university is a site full of struggle in relation and in response to the governmental ideology surrounding multilingualism, the public discourse emphasizing the use of English, and the diverse language ideologies held by different linguistic and cultural groups. For instance, mainland Chinese students resist the marginalization of Putonghua by creating their own Putonghua-speaking community. However, despite advocating greater social and global recognition of Putonghua, they nonetheless tend to acknowledge the status of Cantonese as a regional language. The university campus thus becomes the site of complex ideological stances and subtle negotiations of identities.

Language ideologies are not fixed, singular and straightforward, and the relationship between ideologies and language practices is far from straightforward, as "their impact on everyday experience cannot easily be predicted" (Rampton 2006: 19). A region's culture and its diverse residents' cultural backgrounds are not static, nor are they a “simple reflection of economic and political processes” (Creese and Blackledge 2011: 1197). Nor do the communities or societies into which speakers are born completely and always decide their actions, attitudes and linguistic practices, as the “here-and-now social action is seen as playing at least some part in the formation of potentially consequential solidarities and divisions” (Rampton 2006: 23). The reality of people’s circumstances shapes their language practices; at the same time, individuals shape the social context through their interpretation of and response to that context. Such a flexible view of language and ideology may help us examine and understand the nuanced relationships between different cultural groups, their linguistic practices and projected identities, and to focus on the political and ideological load of their beliefs and the power relations between different linguistic resources (Gkaintartzi and Tsokalidou 2011).

The term ‘language separation’ has been used to describe a pedagogical practice in bilingual classrooms, in which each language is seen as separate and whole and the two languages as impermeable autonomous systems. While Creese and Blackledge (2011) refer to ‘language separation’ as ‘separate bilingualism’, they use the term ‘flexible bilingualism’ to refer to “bilingualism without diglossic functional separation” (García 2007: xiii), or in Bakhtin’s (1986, 1994) term, ‘heteroglossia’ – the simultaneous use of different kinds of forms or signs. ‘Flexible bilingualism or multilingualism’ views languages as a social resource (Heller 2007) without clear boundaries. Bakhtin argues that every utterance is shaped jointly by social, political and historical forces; a unitary language, he continues, “at every moment of its linguistic life is opposed to the realities of heteroglossia” (1981: 270). In this sense, language ideologies are closely related to the political, pedagogical, and academic discourses on language.

The transformative and socially constructed nature of language ideology enables us to view students’ language practices in a multilingual university flexibly and to take into account their values, attitudes and experiences, which inform their linguistic performance and are constantly shaped by social interactions.

3 The Study

Context of the Study

The PRC government’s ‘one country-two systems’ approach to Hong Kong explicitly acknowledges the socio-political and socio-cultural differences between the former British colony and mainland China; mainland China’s economic advancement in recent decades, together with the accelerated trend towards global economic assimilation, has reduced these differences to a degree. Studies report that whilst Hong Kong people tended to distance and distinguish themselves from China and mainland Chinese prior to 1997, this attitude began to transform in the post-handover period (Fong 2010). Nonetheless, the strong sense of Chinese ethnicity, territory, history and cultural traditions shared by many Hong Kong people tends to be ethnic and cultural in nature, rather than political (Tse 2007). Furthermore, the status of Hong Kong as a cosmopolitan centre of international commerce and an increasingly urban society has reinforced its residents' belief that Hong Kong is more advanced than the rest of China. This has reinforced a particular Hong Kong cultural identity, rooted in school education during the colonial period that differentiates Hong Kong people from the mainland Chinese (Flowerdew et al. 2002; Fong 2010).

Current policy stipulates that Hong Kong education should produce citizens who are trilingual in Cantonese, Putonghua and English, and biliterate in Chinese and English. However, the role of Putonghua in the school curriculum and the balance between Chinese and English became a topic of heated discussion after Hong Kong reverted to China (Kirkpatrick and Chau 2008). Strong public demand for English learning in Hong Kong schools has been expressed, not only because of the government's aim to make Hong Kong a world-class city, but also because of the very pragmatic attitude towards English held by Hong Kong people, who view it as an acrolect and a path to success (Li 2002).

This mix of Cantonese, Putonghua and English in Hong Kong education reflects a linguistic matrix more complex and diverse than that of mainland China, where Putonghua has always been the medium of instruction for primary and secondary students and, as the official national language, holds strong symbolic power within a monoglot ideology (Dong 2009; Silverstein 2003).

Participants and Research Method

The research context of this study is a multilingual university in Hong Kong with an enrolment of some 7,000 students; when the study began in February 2010, this number included 354 students from mainland China and around 50 international students. This study will investigate the role the multilingual university context plays in shaping the students' ideologies by comparing and contrasting the language ideologies and linguistic practices of Year Four students, and by exploring the transformative process undergone by those same Year Four students. As 43 % of the mainland Chinese students at the university in question were enrolled in the undergraduate programme at the Department of English, it may be assumed that more interactions between Hong Kong and mainland Chinese students take place in that department than in others; as such, all participants were recruited from the English Department. When the study was conducted in 2010, mainland students accounted for 18.4 % of the Year Four cohort (31 out of 109).

The chapter draws on 16 individual interviews (eight with Hong Kong students and eight with mainland Chinese students), and two focus group interviews (one with the eight Hong Kong participants and the other with the eight mainland Chinese participants). The interviews were audio-taped and transcribed. In the individual interviews, which lasted approximately 50 min each, the participants

Table 1 Participants

Mainland Chinese participants				HK participants				
Name	Year level	Place of origin	Gender	Name	Year level	Place of origin	Gender	Department
Yun	Year 4	Zhejiang	F	Sally	Year 4	HK	F	English
Tao	Year 4	Guangdong	M	Carol	Year 4	HK	M	English
Hui	Year 4	Yunnan	F	Ben	Year 4	HK	M	English
Sheng	Year 4	Fujian	M	Matthew	Year 4	HK	M	English
Qiyuan	Year 4	Hunan	F	Chris	Year 4	HK	F	English
Weixia	Year 4	Shanghai	F	Nancy	Year 4	HK	F	English
Xiaotong	Year 4	Guangdong	F	Jessica	Year 4	HK	F	English
Xiaoyuan	Year 4	Beijing	F	Ivy	Year 4	HK	F	English
Shan	Year 4	Hebei	F	Melody	Year 4	HK	F	English

were encouraged to talk freely about their feelings and experiences, in order to seek out the participants' voices and enhance our understanding of their life realities (Johnson and Golombek 2002). The individual interviews could thus gather full and extensive data, rather than just collect concise answers to specific questions. Two focus group interviews, approximately 90 min each in length, were conducted to explore any unusual or interesting information that emerged from the individual interviews, and to identify and confirm continually emerging themes. The interactive responses from the focus group interviews allowed these to be more deeply and widely discussed. Unless otherwise indicated, all extracts are from individual interviews. Chinese-language data extracts in this chapter were translated into English by the author. The interviews in this chapter reflect the co-constructions of interviewer and interviewee, and are a site where speakers can do "discursive work... to construct coherent identity" (Taylor 2003: 194). A mixed code of Putonghua, Cantonese and English was used in interviews with HK students, while Putonghua and English were used in interviews with mainland students. In addition, the participants completed a reflective journal documenting any critical experiences of cross-cultural interactions and/or mixed use of languages as supplementary source of data.

Table 1 briefly presents the backgrounds of those participants quoted or referred to in this chapter; all names used are pseudonyms.

All of the mainland Chinese participants, except those from Guangdong, speak Putonghua as their first language.

Data Analysis

Data analysis was ongoing, recursive and iterative, and conducted in tandem with data collection (Strauss and Corbin 1998); the dataset, related research literature on language ideologies and identity, and coded categories were constantly evaluated, re-evaluated and reformulated through a gradually evolving process. After each interview was completed, the data were subjected to preliminary analysis; this often generated new questions, which were then posed in subsequent interviews.

A "selected reading approach" (van Manen 1990: 93) was adopted to uncover themes related to the research question. This means that, when reading the data, the statements, phrases and words the participants used were examined to reveal their ideologies and language practices. Once a provisional hypothesis emerged from the data from one participant, data collected from other participants were subjected to cross-case analysis to see whether the hypothesis could be confirmed, modified or discarded. The findings were also checked against the participants in focus group interviews for clarification and modification.

4 Findings

Language Ideology Transformation

Recalling their experiences when they first came to the university, the mainland Chinese participants indicated that they held a rather rigid view on language use.

> Shan (mainland): At that time, I think we should use English in English classes. I used to think that if, whenever we could not express a word or idea in English, we switched to another language, we would become too lazy to produce proper meanings and would always turn to easier ways to express ourselves and our English language skills will not improve.
>
> Qiyuan (mainland): When I was in mainland China, I mostly used Putonghua with schoolmates and only occasionally used local dialect when talking with friends and family members. Here I found languages are sometimes mixed used by the local students.
>
> Researcher: What did you think about code-mixing or code-switching in Year One?
>
> Qiyuan: At that time it sounded a little strange to me. I thought Chinese people should not use English terms to express key meanings when they were not in English classrooms, not talking about academic issues or not talking with English-speaking people?

A clear separation between languages emerges from the above retrospective extracts. The mainland Chinese students used to see mixing different languages as inappropriate, asserting that using one language at a time in communication improves one's language skills.

The university seems to have provided its students with opportunities to interact with students of different linguistic and cultural backgrounds, to develop alternative language ideologies and to engage in multilingual practices. The linguistic ideology of the participants in this study seems to have changed from separate multilingualism to flexible multilingualism. Recalling their experiences in Hong Kong over the previous three-and-a-half years, some students indicated that social activities and volunteer trips organized by the Student Affairs Office (SAO) gave students from different linguistic backgrounds the opportunity to communicate with one another. For example,

> Yun (mainland): The communication between Hong Kong and mainland students was far from enough when we were in our first and even our second year. We were from different cultural and political backgrounds. They thought we were too aggressive and lacked a sense of fashion. We thought they were insensible fashion followers and didn't have a global outlook. One thing changed my view. During the summer vacation in the third year, while on a volunteer teaching trip to Thailand with some Hong Kong students, we were only given the most essential of living necessities. In the new context, we had to make efforts to overcome our difficulties. For the first time, I didn't care which languages we were using, but focused on instead what we needed to talk about and discuss. We put aside our barriers. We used the languages in a mixed-up way. We had a deeper understanding.

During the volunteer trip, where frequent discussions among mainland and Hong Kong students were needed to resolve emerging difficulties, the students put aside their fixed views on language use, focusing on meaning-making and problem-solving instead. Their multilingual proficiency was seen as part of their linguistic repertoire and used flexibly. In addition, it appears that their translanguaging practices also promoted mutual understanding between the two cultural and linguistic groups and helped to remove some stereotypes held by the counterparts.

The mainland Chinese participants realized that the language ideology they used to hold had, to a large extent, limited their linguistic practices. Some of them sensed that they had placed themselves in an isolated monolingual space within the broader multilingual context. By restricting their socialization to a safe space where only Putonghua is needed and used, mainland students gain little understanding of local cultures and make little progress in learning Cantonese. An alternative language ideology is established as they begin to focus less on standard accent and exact usage, and more on the personal benefits languages can bring:

> (Xiaoyuan, mainland): We often met international students from Europe on campus. I found they don't care about the pronunciation and are brave to express themselves in Putonghua or Cantonese ... Communicating with them more, I thought there is no reason to be ashamed of my non-standard Cantonese.

Most of the mainland Chinese participants in the present study indicated that they no longer saw their sometimes awkward Cantonese as a weakness, but as "one variety of Cantonese", drawing on the existence of varieties of English to support their view:

> Sheng (mainland): There is American English, British English, Indian English, African English and Chinese English. Why can there not exist Beijing Cantonese? (laugh)

These students took more proactive steps to practice and use Cantonese with local students:

> Qiyuan (mainland): We share information and knowledge. Although I still cannot speak Cantonese like a Hong Kong person does, who cares?

Through the use of different languages, spaces are opened up and the students are more socialized into the local group. It appears from the above extract that if the students see the social and personal benefits of languages, they may be more willing to use and practice them.

From the retrospective accounts of the Hong Kong participants, it is found that they used to feel reluctant to include Putonghua code-switching in their daily communication, perhaps partly due to their dis-identification with mainland China and their desire to maintain a Hong Kong identity that was distinct from a more generic Chinese identity – they did not see Putonghua as part of that identity:

> Jessica (HK): In my first year in the university, I didn't use Putonghua. Only sometimes with mainland Chinese students who could not speak Cantonese well and could not follow what we were talking about in Cantonese, to make them understand. I am not emotionally connected to it.
>
> Researcher: Did you use Putonghua terms, like you use English terms, when you were talking with Hong Kong people?
>
> Jessica: No, we were not used to that. I regarded Putonghua as almost irrelevant to me at that time.

This differed from their attitudes towards English, a good command of which they equate with a better education, good family background, academic and career advancement and higher social status.

These Hong Kong students report that they used to stick to their own Hong Kong style of code-switching. As one Hong Kong student comments:

> Matthew (HK): In the first year, with friends, we didn't speak whole sentences in English or just used Cantonese terms occasionally in English sentences. I don't know, maybe we thought it was like surrendering our own identity and being pretentious and showing off to use mostly English and we were unwilling to make friends with that kind of person. Gradually I became more open to the language use and found that my friends circle could be enlarged, including some overseas returnees who use languages differently.

Matthew used to believe that only Cantonese-dominant speaking can represent true Hong Kong identity; he rejected the over-use of English in peer interactions, arguing that the use of English in one's linguistic repertoire should be controlled. However, this belief allowed little interactional space for sharing linguistic resources with multilingual students (Creese and Blackledge 2011).

Like the mainland Chinese students, the experiences of the Year Four Hong Kong students indicate that the multilingual university opened up a new space for them to develop an open attitude towards languages. For example,

> Sally (HK): In activities organized by the Institute, I got to know some mainland students. I found some of them are very knowledgeable about history. We have common interests in movies and songs, and even some news about pop stars with Chinese backgrounds. They are polite and helpful, different from what I had thought about mainland Chinese people. I learnt a lot of Putonghua from them and, of course, I taught them the way that Hong Kong youth speak Cantonese.
>
> Ben (HK): When I talked with some international students, they told me that they were more willing to learn Putonghua because, even after then go back to their own country, Putonghua can still be used, because a lot of people are learning Putonghua. I should not have wasted the chance to learn Putonghua from mainland students in university.

The participants found that Putonghua could enrich their lives, in terms of sharing information about entertainment, movies and music. The extracts reflect the crucial role that languages play in youth culture and the fact that Putonghua proficiency allows access to a wider range of cultural activities. The students also recognized other symbolic values associated with Putonghua. The international students' positive attitudes towards Putonghua reinforce its increasing global socio-economic status. The linguistic repertoire of mainland students is therefore recognized as an important resource and as an additional capital for them in their future careers.

Some Hong Kong students looked critically at their previous fixed view on code-switching between Cantonese and English. As Matthew states,

> Matthew (HK): We used to think that only our own way of language use, I mean the Hong Kong students who were born and grew up in Hong Kong, was normal and pure. We had our own way of switching between Cantonese and English. Those who were born in Hong Kong but spent some years in foreign countries and came back, we thought their way of speaking was strange.
>
> Researcher: In what ways?
>
> Matthew: Like impure, uncommon. But now I think they weren't showing off their English, that it was something coming out naturally because of their experiences. We didn't like to talk much with them then, and just stayed in our own group. There aren't many such students; I make friends with them now. A lot of fun.

The above extract demonstrates how the mainstream local Hong Kong students were empowered over the other group by their ideologies of language. Recalling his earlier experiences, Matthew used such words as "normal", "pure", "strange", "impure" and "uncommon" to essentialize the language practices of local Hong Kong students in opposition to those of returning overseas students. Through more contact in university, these mainstream Hong Kong students came to realize that one's language practices are socially constructed and to regard the returning students' tendency to speak English as part of their repertoire. In doing so, they established a more flexible view of a linguistic practice that differed from their own.

Identities Constructed in Multilingual Usage

It was found that some students could use different languages freely and flexibly. The following is representative:

> Sheng (mainland): One reason I like to participate in a lot of extra-curricular activities is that I can meet people from different backgrounds. I speak English with international students, Cantonese with local students and Putonghua with mainland students. When there are group discussions, we choose whatever language that we can express well and the majority of the group can understand. Most of the time, we are mixing languages. We talk about something fun, like the lives of young people, Facebook, etc. I also translate for international students if they cannot follow Putonghua or Cantonese.

In the above extract, the participant shared his experiences with cross-cultural communication. He sought opportunities to make full use of his multilingual resources, such as participating in cross-cultural activities, for social and personal gain. Cross-cultural interactions helped the mainland students establish a broad, global outlook and a flexible view on language use, as the following extracts illustrate:

> Hui (mainland): Sometimes an open attitude may be a big help. The world needs to be diverse and multiple, so we need to respect different languages and the cultures they represent.

> Yun (mainland): But it is as if languages have become part of my belongings; I love them all and they make my life easier and fun. They make me more popular.

Realizing the power of multilingualism, they positioned multiple languages as mutually complementary instead of exclusive and sought opportunities to make use of their multicultural and multilingual resources. The following are some illustrative extracts:

> Jessica (HK, diary): I volunteered to be a conference assistant whenever our university organized international conferences. People from different regions of the world would come together and my multilingual skills became very useful. I used Putonghua with people from the mainland and Taiwan. I could chat in simple German and Spanish. I spoke English with people from English-speaking countries or from the countries whose language I don't know. This way I met a lot of people in the academic field and made a lot of friends.

> Nancy (HK, diary): Last summer I participated as a mentor at the new student orientation camp and met some students from China. In the camp, there were three students from different parts of China, like Shanghai and Beijing. Hence, I used Putonghua to communicate with them, give them instructions, answer their questions or offer suggestions. The process was fun. When I encountered some difficulties in speaking in Putonghua, I would switch to English automatically. But then those mainland students taught me to pronounce unfamiliar words in Putonghua. I found that my Putonghua had improved a little bit and I learnt some of their cultures as well. I also taught them how to pronounce those words in Cantonese or some Cantonese expressions. Our friendships have developed since then.

The above extracts indicate that the students' multilingual and multicultural resources brought them both social and personal benefits. Their language proficiency had improved and they had gained more knowledge of different cultures. They built friendships with a variety of people of different linguistic backgrounds, gained access to the academic community and made themselves recognized on campus through their multicultural knowledge. A multilingual identity gradually emerges from the students' statements. For example,

> Xiaotong (mainland): As a university student in Hong Kong, the advantages of being able to speak three languages – Cantonese, English and Putonghua – are obvious . . . I am proud to be able to speak different languages.

The above statement indicates that only when the students have the chance to use languages in a real-life translanguaging space, can they establish a sense of being multilingual.

Through flexible linguistic practices, the students identified their interlocutors, rather than the languages they used as the focus of their interactions (Creese and Blackledge 2011):

> Xiaoyuan (mainland): No matter which language we choose to speak, we just want to communicate well and show respect to each other. Knowing more languages is not a bad thing.

> Jessica (HK): Now mixing three languages is the most common mode of communication. Mixing is most convenient for us to communicate. As long as we understand each other, we don't mind which language is used.

For these students, multilingualism has become an everyday, unmarked practice (Li 2011). Furthermore, they view multilingualism as a valuable resource for their future:

> Xiaotong (mainland): I may go overseas to study in the future. I am not afraid. I am confident I can communicate with people who speak different languages. I will never refuse to learn any new languages or things.

> Ivy (HK): With knowledge of three languages, I will have more working opportunities in different places or countries. Multilingual proficiency and an open attitude to differences are among the valuable things I have gained in university.

5 Discussion

In this study, different language ideologies co-exist among different groups in the university context. The multilingual university context has provided a space in which students can transform their language ideologies. In this study, the Year Four participants presented, to varying degrees, a flexible multilingual ideology and embraced a wider social network through multilingual practices. Both the mainland Chinese and Hong Kong students had moved from a monolingual or unitary linguistic mode and a mono-cultural communication circle. Their flexible multilingualism allowed the mainland Chinese students to empower themselves as cross-border students, and it enabled the Hong Kong students to recognize the socially constructed nature of linguistic practices other than their own. This also helped them to develop an agonistic perspective on various styles of language use. While antagonism entails an explicit division between 'us' and 'them', between 'our' language and 'their 'language', and regards those with whom we disagree or who are different from 'us' as enemies, agonism transcends the disagreements and accepts the legitimacy of the 'other' (Mouffe 2005). A move towards such a position can be found in local Hong Kong students' incorporation of Putonghua proficiency as part of their identity and their more flexible attitudes towards those who do not adopt the local style of code-switching and especially overseas returnees, who use English as their base language in Hong Kong.

The participants in this study were found to use linguistic resources "in complex, sophisticated ways to perform a range of subject positions" and to play a number of roles, sometimes simultaneously (Blackledge and Creese 2008: 535), which subsequently gained them recognition, a wider friendship network and greater access to information and recreational resources. More important, they also seemed to draw on their cultural and linguistic repertoires to transcend cultural, linguistic and regional boundaries and construct a multilingual identity (Gu 2011b). This was an empowering experience for the students, and these emergent identities afforded them a sense of power over their learning context and their imagined future environment (cf. Creese et al. 2006; Martin 2010).

This inquiry has provided an account of the linguistic ideologies of both mainland Chinese and Hong Kong students in a multilingual university in Hong Kong, and explored how the extant linguistic ideologies in the university context constrained or enhanced students' multilingual practices, the identity positions they constructed and presented and the social spaces they jointly established. It is important to note that this study investigates only the Year Four cohort in the English Department. More might be revealed through a longitudinal study tracing the development of language ideology and linguistic practices among a particular group of students from different majors over their university period. Such efforts would provide more insights into how such factors as peer interactions, cultural and linguistic backgrounds, teachers' beliefs and values, university policies and social discourses on languages might jointly and severally impact the language ideologies of students and their subsequent language behaviors.

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