

Plurilingual modes of interaction in English-medium university classes

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Introduction

The following chapter examines plurilingual activities in a class taught in English at a public university in Catalonia. The classroom use of English in academic subjects, called English as a Medium of Instruction (EMI), corresponds, according to the language policy documents of the university in this study, to one of the scenarios outlined in the so-called internationalisation of tertiary institutions.

In our data the participants – teacher and students – use English, but they also resort to Catalan for certain practical purposes. This gives rise, in the first place, to contrasts between documented language policies and language policies in practice. Moreover, in this context, it is important to consider the linguistic practices of teachers and their students and how they interact while constructing academic content. Using Conversation Analysis (CA), this chapter explores how language alternations, as well as multimodal embodied resources (gestures, glances and blackboard sketches) favour student participation in knowledge-construction activities.

In the first section of the chapter, we will outline the main approaches that structure this contribution. These are, on the one hand, the teacher's orientation towards the recipient and, on the other, the extensive use of plurilingual and multimodal resources. In the following section, we will present the university class under examination, as well as the procedure used in analysing it. The next section will explore how language alternation and other multimodal resources promote student public participation and the interactive construction of knowledge based on two axes: (1) The control of student understanding of the contents by means of questions from the teacher and the elicited responses from students; and (2) the co-construction of knowledge based on student self-selections and their public contribution to the development of the activity. The text concludes with a discussion of the results of the data analysis.

Plurilingual interaction in university classes

In this section we will explore approaches that we consider useful for studying our data. First, we present some aspects of the construction of participation in teacher-fronted university classrooms. Second, we focus on certain contributions to plurilingual practices in classrooms that can offer specific insights for analysing our data.

Students as participants

Erickson (1982, 2004) uses the term ‘task learning environment’ to refer to the ‘academic task structure’, understood as the set of restrictions derived from the logic of the content of the academic discipline. From this perspective, the academic task structure organises the order of the actions designed by the teacher. However, the task-learning environment includes the social participation structure, understood as the restrictions regarding the participants’ rights and obligations. These concepts are somehow related to what Breen (1989) and Seedhouse (2004) refer to as “task-as-workplan” and “task-in-process”. We must also consider that, at certain times, teacher-fronted classes take a lecture format (Young, 1994) with little or no teacher-student interaction; whereas at other times, these classes are characterised by the presence of interactional sequences in the form of IRF (Initiation-Response-Feedback) such as those described by Sinclair and Coulthard (1975) and Mehan (1979), among others.

The footing model deployed by Goffman (1981) shows the different ways in which speakers configure themselves in speech and configure the status of their interlocutors as well, just as teachers do in their classes. Despite its heuristic value, the model was criticised because speaker and listener are considered separate entities. Instead, Goodwin and Goodwin consider both speaker and hearer as social actors who are taken into consideration not only through speech but also through gestures, gaze, and body position (Goodwin and Goodwin, 2004). This approach fits with the notion of recipient design, key in CA and considered by Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) as the general principle of talk-in-interaction. Recipient design may be defined as the ways in which the person making an utterance shows orientation towards the other participants in a specific local and situated interaction. This is related to the principle by which speech is sensitive to context while constantly renewing it. In this sense, we also find useful the notion of environmentally coupled gestures (Goodwin, 2007), which make reference to gesturing (in our case the teacher pointing to the board) as a way to tie language to specific phenomena in the environment. The progress of the class is built around different kinds of semiotic resources, which all make a distinct contribution to the intelligibility and organisation of the action in progress. We understand that these diverse notions are relevant to our analysis in that they help us identify the multiple ways in which the teacher addresses the students as participants in the interactive event of teaching.

Greiffenhagen (2008), in analysing courses at the university, relates the orientation towards the recipient with the retrospective and prospective organisation of teaching talk. Likewise, Young (1994) and Veronesi (2007, 2009) describe teaching procedures for facilitating the content of the classes by resorting to examples, rhetorical questions and discourse markers of different order. Borràs et al. (2012) show that the orientation towards students in monologue sequences is carried out as well through reformulations, multimodal resources (including body movements, gaze, pointing towards certain elements on the blackboard) and alternating languages. In this vein, Mülher et al. (2012) and Gajo et al. (2013) show the close relationship between the participation format and the linguistic format. By participation format they refer to whether the class is mono-managed by the teacher in master class formats or whether it is poly-managed in formats of verbal interaction between teacher and students. By linguistic format they refer to whether the class is displayed in unilingual mode – one language only – or in plurilingual mode (Lüdi and Py, 2003). We will comment on these aspects in the following section.

Plurilingualism in academic knowledge construction

Our study draws on the conceptualisation of plurilingualism as the use of several languages in the same interactional event and relates it to the deployment of plurilingual repertoires (Lüdi and Py, 2009). As we are interested in exploring the plurilingual practices in teacher-fronted EMI classes, we will examine the language alternations present in the teacher–student interactions to determine how the use of several languages in the class (understood as an interactive event, as described earlier) may have an impact on the construction of knowledge.

In fact, there is a large body of research on plurilingual practices in which languages are taught. Ustunel and Seedhouse (2005) point out that these uses are related to facilitating access to the subject matter, that is, as a procedure to help students understand the discipline; to manage classroom discourse; and to promote interpersonal relationships in the classroom. Likewise, Musk and Cromdal (2018) in their overview on empirical studies in educational contexts that follow CA guidelines indicate that language alternations are related – not exclusively but sometimes in combination – with doing bilingual identity, signalling alignment and disalignment in the classroom, organising educational tasks, doing language policy, and determining the medium of interaction in classroom interaction.

From this set of diverse foci, signalling alignment and disalignment in the classroom, doing language policy, and determining the medium of interaction seem relevant to our analysis. In our data, there are times in which the teacher alternates from English (medium of instruction) to Catalan in a switch both discourse-related and participant-related (Auer, 1988; Nussbaum, 1992), in effect turning both Catalan and English into the medium of interaction (Bonacina and Gafaranga, 2011) and practicing a *de facto* bilingual policy

(Bonacina-Pugh, 2012). Students often align with the language of the teacher's previous turn, but not always.

Certainly, plurilingual practices can also be resources for accessing curricular content in classes using an L2 as a medium of instruction. In this sense, the interactionist approaches to situated cognition, which are based on perspectives from ethnomethodology, from CA, and from socio-constructivist perspectives (Mondada and Pekarek Doehler, 2004) seem complementary to study the role of plurilingual resources in the construction of knowledge. The works on the impact of plurilingual resources in the construction of academic knowledge in classes in which an L2 is used –still scarce (see Moschkovich, 2002; Barwell, 2003, 2005; Pitsch, 2005; Gajo, 2007; Moore and Nussbaum, 2011) – show that language alternation is a useful resource for learning academic content. For Gajo (2007), classroom interaction constitutes an instrument of mediation between teacher and students. Given the lack of competence in L2 to understand the academic content, plurilingual uses are 're-mediation' procedures that can help achieve a certain degree of saturation, that is, apprehension of the complexity of the knowledge being dealt with (Gajo, 2007; Gajo and Grobet, 2008).

We will pay close attention to these phenomena in our analysis to try to identify the language dynamics of the teacher-fronted interactions in EMI classes in relation with the construction of knowledge.

Methodology

The data presented in this chapter were collected at a public technical university in Catalonia in which two languages – Catalan and Spanish – are co-official. The creation of the European Higher Education Area and the dynamics of internationalisation of universities, with the consequent teacher and student exchanges resulting from the internationalisation-at-home policies (Nilsson, 2003) are the main reasons for encouraging language policies that favour the use of English and, specifically, teaching in this language (Moore and Nussbaum, 2014).

The excerpts below were collected in 2010 and comprise a set of two sessions of an information technology class scheduled to be taught in English and attended exclusively by local students. The teacher is a computer scientist who had recently been on an extensive postdoc stay in a US public university. The students are 18 second-year chemical engineering pupils who are actively taking notes while the teacher sketches out the topic of binary codes on the blackboard in an interactive teacher-fronted class. The data were accompanied by field notes and transcribed using ELAN following the Jefferson (2004) conventions in what was an action research study. These fragments were discussed in data sessions within the GREIP group and in the DYLAN project (Nussbaum, Moore, and Borràs, 2013).

Drawing on the described theoretical framework and using CA, we want to explore the interactive construction of knowledge, focusing on the way the

teacher uses linguistic and multimodal resources to invite the public participation of students and how these contribute to the development of the situated teaching practices.

Plurilingual practices in knowledge construction

We will present two fragments to discuss the plurilingual practices of a teacher-fronted class in an EMI environment. We understand these classes as interactive events in which the teacher adapts talk to the characteristics of the recipient in what we understand as ‘recipient design’ organisation. When the teacher designs the interaction taking the recipient into consideration this includes, of course, the language in which the speaker chooses to address them. This has ethno-methodological implications regarding categorisations (Sacks, 1972, 1992) and the identifiable traits attributed to the interlocutors. Talk-in-interaction focuses on the sequential organisation of conversation, including how the understanding of an utterance is revealed through a subsequent response to it. That is why we want to analyse the sequentiality of the teacher–student conversation turns in relation to the language alternation being observed in the concurrent organisation of action. We will also pay close attention to the emergent local configurations embodied in the environmentally-coupled gestures (Goodwin, 2007) by the teacher when sketching out numbers on the board.

In the two excerpts below, we will analyse the language alternations with respect to the joint construction of knowledge by both teacher and students. In excerpt 1 the teacher is calling the students’ attention to a specific piece of content he has just sketched out on the board. The focalisation of the public attention on this content is essential to jointly identify elements of special difficulty or of vital importance to follow the lecturer’s argument. We want to understand if language alternation may play a role in getting the attention of students and their public participation in these crucial moments of situated interaction.

Excerpt 1. Participants: Teacher (Taronger, TAR), Students (ST1, ST2)

- 1 TAR: ((figure 2.1) someone of you is see:ng (0.3) ((teacher, classnotes under armpit,
2 turns around and faces students)) eh: any kind of pattern here/
3 (1.2) ((teacher staring at the students))



Figure 2.1

The teacher, after his presentation in English accompanied by inscriptions on the board, asks the students a question: “someone of you is seeing any kind of pattern here?”. After a pause with no answer, in line 4, he specifies his question, “in that methodology”, continuing in English. Then, again in the absence of an answer, he reformulates the question in a simplified way and in Catalan (“alguna cosa que es repeteix” instead of “any kind of pattern in that methodology”). So, he does two things to increase student participation: he codeswitches, and he reformulates by paraphrasing. A student proposes an answer in Catalan in lines 7 and 8 that is accepted by the teacher, who now returns to English, while closing the sequence (“exactly”, in line 9). It seems that the reformulation of the question in Catalan provides more time for thinking about the answer and allows the student to align with the language chosen by the teacher, but not to the medium of instruction according to policy.

In the following turns, when the teacher, again in English, tries to elaborate on the student’s answer in lines 9–10, he realises that something is wrong with the numbers on the board in lines 10–13 and seems to be sliding towards Catalan in “zero dos”. Again, ST2 participates in Catalan by self-selecting in line 14 to indicate that there is a mistake in the mathematical pattern the teacher set out on the board. The teacher confirms repeating in first person what ST2 has said (“m’he equivocat”); while overlapping, ST1 and then ST2 indicate the point of the error. The teacher continues in Catalan, correcting his mistake on the board and confirming he was wrong in line 18. He then self corrects uttering a self-repair in English and closes the sequence. It seems, then, that the use of Catalan as a medium of interaction, beyond being a way to manage local contingencies, favours the construction of knowledge both when the teacher hetero-selects the students (lines 1–6), and when any of them self-selects (lines 14, 16, 17).

The teacher follows the language policy save when he wants to increase student participation. For example, after waiting for two silent turns, he codeswitches to Catalan and consequently garners more participation. He also codeswitches when he confirms he has made a mistake. In that case he aligns with the previous student turn. In general, though, the teacher sticks to the EMI policy. In this fragment we have observed that student self-selections are in Catalan. However, we could also argue they align to the language in the previous turn. The data then suggest that there is a preference by the students to participate in Catalan either as a response to a question by the teacher or when self-selecting. Thus, as other studies (see Ustunel and Seedhouse, 2005) demonstrate, the use of the local language elicits and encourages student participation. The alignment of students with the language used by the teacher in the previous turn is a recurring phenomenon in other cases when the language is Catalan, but not always when the previous turn is in English, as we will see in excerpt 2.

We now want to explore in more depth the type of participation format deployed by the students. The data show that the use of English usually

correlates with English use in the teacher's previous turn and with very short utterances, very often related to simple numbers. Also, students seem to display more elaborate responses when they respond in Catalan. This phenomenon is observed in fragment 2 when the student initially participates in English but switches to Catalan. The following fragment illustrates a case of affiliation and disaffiliation towards the language displayed by the teacher in the previous turn. Before the start of the excerpt, the teacher has been sketching out content on the binary code on the blackboard, thus making relevant the public configuration of resources.

Excerpt 2. Participants: Teacher (Taronger, TAR), Students (ST1, ST2)

1 TAR: ((Figure 2.4)) we have here a little problem\ (1.5) ((writing on the board))

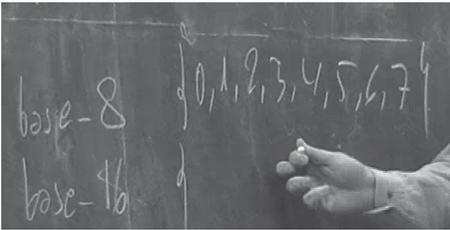


Figure 2.4

2 you see the problem here/ (0.1) ((turning around)) which is
 3 the problem to codify this/ (0.1) ((teacher's gaze directed at students))
 4 ST2: using using two bits for_ (0.6)
 5 two numbers for one bit\ no/
 6 TAR: (1.6)not exactly\ i mean just before than that\ I've- (0.9)
 7 the problem you see the problem with the characters here/ (0.3)
 8 ST2: ah: the number ten\ (1.3)
 9 TAR: hm hm/ =
 10 ST2: **=això: bueno com- com representes el número deu/ (0.2)**
 this: well how- do you represent number ten/ (0.2)
 11 **[amb un:- amb un:- amb un:]**
 with a:- with a:- with a:
 12 TAR: [a:h this is the problem\ you see the:]
 13 you see my point\ ((moving hand and pointing)) (0.4)
 14 ST2: two:/ (1.8)
 15 TAR: but you need just one character to represent_ (0.5) ten\ okay/ (0.7)

TAR asks a question in English in lines 1–3. ST2 responds in English in lines 4–5. But TAR does not consider the answer satisfactory – “not exactly” – displaying an evaluative stance, and reformulates his question in lines 6–7, pointing to the numbers on the board. The same student answers, after an exclamation, as indicating that he has grasped the problem. On the next turn,

the teacher's "hm hm", with an ascending intonation, prompts the student to elaborate his answer. The student switches to Catalan by proposing a question in line 10 and trying to answer the question in line 11. The teacher makes an utterance by overlap, in English, insisting that there is a relevant problem to grasp the logic of the question, in line 12. Then the interaction continues in English.

The possibility of using Catalan, either aligning with the language used by the teacher in the previous turn (excerpt 1), or disaligning (excerpt 2) seems to encourage student participation. This participation allows the teacher to meet his objectives regarding the development of the task-as-workplan (Breen, 1989). The data thus seem to suggest that language alternations would enable reaching a *saturation* point (Gajo, 2007) for the academic content.

Conclusions

This chapter has analysed two situated practices in an EMI university class in which plurilingual uses, specifically language alternations associated with other semiotic resources, including gaze, body language and sketches on the board, emerge to ensure the participation of students in the construction of the academic task. The orientation of the teacher towards his students consists in eliciting their public participation based on Initiation-Response-Feedback questions (Sinclair and Coulthard, 1975; Mehan, 1979). This enables the instructor to check understanding of the subject matter, discover mistakes, and create learning opportunities (Erickson, 1982). The analysis of the two excerpts suggests that students participate more strongly when they adopt Catalan, regardless of whether they are aligning or disaligning from the language used by the teacher in the previous turn.

It is important to point out that the teacher does not always orchestrate the languages being mobilised in class in the data analysed. In this regard, we have observed cases of self-selection by students in excerpt 1 carried out in Catalan. It seems, therefore, that the most elaborate forms of student participation, both in terms of initiative (self-selection) and in terms of content development (unsolicited observations and questions), are produced in Catalan. The data then seem to suggest that the English-Catalan medium of interaction allows students to participate in the development of content, which the teacher essentially proposes in English as a medium of instruction. This leads us to sustain that the practised language policy is, *de facto*, bilingual.

Finally, it should be noted that the linguistic resources being mobilised by the teacher are never explicitly marked in our corpus. In this sense, in the data analysed, language alternation is not announced by connectors indicating its presence. It occurs in specific sequential positions marked out by other multimodal resources, such as pauses, changes in body position and gaze. This suggests that neither teachers nor students are particularly concerned with learning forms, but rather focus on the construction of academic knowledge.

The integration of L2 and academic content occurs in the on-going practical actions that give rise to the emergence of plurilingual modes of interaction. Language alternation thus proves to be an important resource for accessing knowledge at specific times in which its transmission or construction becomes problematic.

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