

DE GRUYTER
MOUTON

Ute Smit

ENGLISH AS A LINGUA FRANCA IN HIGHER EDUCATION

A LONGITUDINAL STUDY OF CLASSROOM DISCOURSE

TRENDS IN APPLIED LINGUISTICS

DE
|
G

English as a Lingua Franca in Higher Education

Trends in Applied Linguistics

2

Editors

Ulrike Jessner

Claire Kramsch

De Gruyter Mouton

English as a Lingua Franca in Higher Education

A Longitudinal Study of Classroom Discourse

By

Ute Smit

De Gruyter Mouton

Gedruckt mit Unterstützung des Bundesministeriums
für Wissenschaft und Forschung in Wien

ISBN 978-3-11-020519-0
e-ISBN 978-3-11-021551-9
ISSN 1868-6362

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Smit, Ute.

English as a lingua franca in higher education : a longitudinal
study of classroom discourse / by Ute Smit.

p. cm. — (Trends in applied linguistics; 2)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-3-11-020519-0 (alk. paper)

1. Language and language — Study and teaching. 2. Second
language acquisition — Study and teaching. 3. English language
— Foreign countries — Discourse analysis. I. Title.

P51.S536 2010

420.1'41—dc22

2010015564

Bibliographic information published by the Deutsche Nationalbibliothek

The Deutsche Nationalbibliothek lists this publication in the Deutsche Nationalbibliografie;
detailed bibliographic data are available in the Internet at <http://dnb.d-nb.de>.

© 2010 Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co. KG, Berlin/New York

Cover image: Roswitha Schacht/morguefile.com

Typesetting: PTP-Berlin Protago-TeX-Production GmbH, Berlin

Printing: Hubert & Co. GmbH & Co. KG, Göttingen

∞ Printed on acid-free paper

Printed in Germany

www.degruyter.com

Acknowledgements

When looking back over the years of having worked on this book, I feel very fortunate that so many people have supported my project and helped me along in getting it off the ground, steering it along and bringing it to fruition. I hope that my sincere gratitude to them all will come across in this note of thanks.

The ‘luxury’ of two years of working exclusively on this project was made possible by a grant of the Austrian Science Fund (“Charlotte-Bühler-Habilitationsstipendium”, No. H200-G03). Additional financial help came from the “Wiener Hochschuljubiläumsstiftung” to cover parts of the transcription costs. Both grants are gratefully acknowledged.

For an ethnographic study to become reality, the most important support is that given by the community to be investigated. This is also true in the present case, and, while I intend to safeguard their anonymity, I regret not being able to thank each of the 40 students and teachers individually. Without their openness to me and my project, their readiness to take time out of their busy schedules and their willingness to share their ideas with me, this investigation would have been impossible. Thank you so much for welcoming me so heartily and offering me such direct access to your community of practice. Additionally, I would like to express my gratitude to the headmaster of the school as well as the administrators of the hotel management course for their interest in, and support of my undertaking.

At various symposia, conferences and other such occasions in the last years, I could present parts of my project to various groups of interested – and very interesting! – applied linguists, whose many constructive and critical comments, suggestions and ideas had a highly welcome influence on my thinking and helped me develop the study further. While my study profited from many more academics than I can give credit to here, I would like to thank in particular Christiane Dalton-Puffer, Juliane House, Frauke Intemann, Allan James, Ulrike Jessner, Tarja Nikula, Anna Mauranen, Ardith Meier, Bernard Mohan, Arja Piirainen-Marsh, Iris Schaller-Schwaner, Barbara Seidlhofer, Henry Widdowson, Robert Wilkinson and Dieter Wolff.

I feel highly indebted to Christiane Dalton-Puffer, Julia Hüttner and Barbara Mehlmauer-Larcher, who went out of their way to listen to my ideas and worries, engage in discussion, read and comment on draft chapters and, generally, be the work-based support group that makes such a research project so much more enriching and enjoyable.

Many thanks also go to Bryan Jenner and Patricia Häusler-Greenfield for their careful proof-reading, and to the editorial team of Mouton de Gruyter for their active involvement in realising this book.

Finally, I wish to express my sincerest thanks to Herbert Schendl for having started and supported my academic career and, more importantly, for the lasting influence he has had on my academic thinking.

I wish to dedicate this book to the three men of my life: my husband Ivan Smit – his inexhaustible computer knowledge keeps my work going; his patience and understanding do the same for me – and our sons Eric and Leon, who make it so clear to me that there is another side to life, too.

Table of contents

Acknowledgements	v
List of abbreviations	xi
Chapter 1. Introduction	1
1.1 Motivation of the study	1
1.2 A brief sketch of the study	4
1.3 The HMP as a community of practice	8
1.4 Research aims and preview	11
Chapter 2. Conceptual considerations	16
2.1 Introduction	16
2.2 (Multilingual) classroom interaction	20
2.2.1 Classroom discourse – a sketch	21
2.2.1.1 As institutional talk	21
2.2.1.2 As oral practice	23
2.2.1.3 Structuring classroom talk	28
2.2.2 Multilingual classrooms	31
2.2.2.1 Sketching multilingual (higher) education	33
2.2.2.2 Teaching and learning in an additional language	37
2.3 English as a lingua franca	45
2.3.1 Demarcating ELF	47
2.3.1.1 On defining ELF	48
2.3.1.2 The linguistic repertoire	50
2.3.1.3 The ‘language-scape’ of the setting	53
2.3.1.4 Communicative purposes	55
2.3.1.5 The (socio)linguistic status of ELF	59
2.3.1.6 Defining ELF – revisited	68
2.3.2 Implications and applications	69
2.3.3 Linguistic description	72
2.3.3.1 Trends and main findings	73
2.3.3.2 Main investigative principles	76
2.4 ELF as classroom language	77
Chapter 3. Research methodology and study design	82
3.1 Introduction	82
3.2 Research methodology	83
3.3 Study design	88
3.3.1 Pilot phase	89
3.3.2 Classroom interactional data	94

3.3.3	Emic data	97
3.4	Summary	100
Chapter 4. An ethnographic account of the study site		102
4.1	Introduction	102
4.2	The wider setting	104
4.2.1	The hotel school	104
4.2.2	The English-medium hotel management educational programme	106
4.2.3	The HMP and its participants	109
4.2.3.1	Subjects	110
4.2.3.2	Lecturers	112
4.2.3.3	Students	114
4.2.4	My role in class	120
4.3	Emic perspectives	121
4.3.1	On the HMP	122
4.3.2	On English as classroom language	132
4.3.2.1	On improving English	133
4.3.2.2	On using English	140
4.4	Conclusions	148
Chapter 5. Classroom interaction ‘under repair’		151
5.1	Introduction	151
5.2	Conceptual background	154
5.2.1	(Mis)communication, intersubjectivity and (non/mis)understanding	154
5.2.2	Analyzing communicational trouble	159
5.2.3	The ‘interactional repair plus’ model	162
5.2.4	On realizing repair(ables)	168
5.3	Framework of analysis	173
5.3.1	Repair trajectories	173
5.3.1.1	RT I (SELREP): self-repair	174
5.3.1.2	RT II (SELIN): self initiation [other response]	175
5.3.1.3	RT III (OTHREP): other-repair	177
5.3.1.4	RT IV (OTHIN): other initiation, self response	178
5.3.1.5	RT V (METREP): delayed metalinguistic repair	180
5.3.2	Repairables	180
5.3.3	Verbalizing repair	184
5.3.4	Data set, method of analysis, research questions	186

5.4	Classroom practices	188
5.4.1	Frequency of (types of) repair	189
5.4.2	Speaker roles in repair work	192
5.4.3	Reasons for repair	201
5.4.4	Face threat and (in)directness: repair carried out by OTHER	211
5.5	Conclusions	221
Chapter 6. Directives in aid of classroom organization and educational talk		226
6.1	Introduction	226
6.2	Conceptual background	228
6.2.1	On defining directive	231
6.2.2	On control acts	232
6.2.3	On questions	238
6.3	Framework of analysis	243
6.3.1	Basic considerations	244
6.3.2	(In)directness, perspective and modification	246
6.3.3	Analytical categories for questions	253
6.3.4	Data set, method of analysis, research questions	257
6.4	Classroom practices	259
6.4.1	Overall distribution of directives	259
6.4.2	On 'controlling' classroom behaviour	265
6.4.2.1	Who is doing it	265
6.4.2.2	Being (almost) direct	266
6.4.2.3	Being (almost) indirect	270
6.4.2.4	Concluding remarks on control acts	273
6.4.3	Questions in aid of regulating classroom behaviour	274
6.4.4	Instructional questions	277
6.4.4.1	(In)directness	278
6.4.4.2	Translation – German as supportive language	280
6.4.4.3	Question types: changing roles at T1, T2 and T3	282
6.4.4.4	Student involvement	291
6.4.4.5	Concluding remarks on questions	295
6.5	Conclusions	298
Chapter 7. Interactive explaining as negotiating knowledge		306
7.1	Introduction	306
7.2	Conceptual background	310
7.2.1	On explaining 'explaining'	311
7.2.2	INTEX – interactive explaining	313

7.2.3	Turn-taking patterns and INTEX	316
7.2.4	Verbalizing INTEX	319
7.3	Framework of analysis	322
7.3.1	Identifying instances of INTEX	322
7.3.2	Patterns of participation	324
7.3.3	Topics	328
7.3.4	Linguistic realizations	330
7.3.5	Data set, method of analysis and research questions	332
7.4	Classroom practices	334
7.4.1	A quantitative overview of INTEX	334
7.4.2	Explaining procedural issues interactively	338
7.4.3	Typical explananda and explanations: what and why	342
7.4.4	Students' involvement in explaining	350
7.4.4.1	Changes with time	350
7.4.4.2	Interactional space	355
7.4.5	Explaining terms and expressions	362
7.4.5.1	Subject-specific terms	362
7.4.5.2	General terms	365
7.4.5.3	On using German	367
7.5	Conclusions	370
Chapter 8. Synthesis		379
8.1	On investigating the HMP	381
8.2	On the HMP's Classroom Community of Practice (CCoP)	384
8.2.1	Co-constructing understanding	385
8.2.2	Co-directing talk and social players	386
8.2.3	Co-explaining knowledge	388
8.3	On classroom interaction in ELF	390
8.4	On a developing Classroom Community of Practice	396
8.5	On tertiary education in ELF	403
Appendix A. Transcription conventions		411
Appendix B. Questionnaires and guidelines for interviews		412
Appendix C. Overview of transcribed lessons		418
References		420
Subject index		461

List of abbreviations

(C)CofP	(Classroom) Community of Practice
BES	bilingual English speaker
CA	conversation analysis
CBI	content-based instruction
CCSARP	Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project
CLIL	content and language integrated learning
DD	dyadic dialogue
EFL	English as a foreign language
EIL	English as an international language
ELF	English as a lingua franca
ELFA corpus	English as a Lingua Franca in Academic Setting corpus
ESL	English as a second language
ESP	English for specific purposes
F&B	food and beverage
FL	foreign language
HMP	Hotel Management Programme
I:R:F	Initiation – Response – Feedback
ICL	integrating content and language
INTEX	interactive explaining
ILP	interlanguage pragmatics
L1	first language
L2	second language
MD	mixed dialogue
MoES	monolingual English speaker
MuES	multilingual English speaker
NS – NNS	native speaker – non-native speaker
PD	polyadic dialogue
SLA	second language acquisition
TD	triadic dialogue
VOICE	Vienna Oxford International Corpus of English

Chapter 1. Introduction

1.1 Motivation of the study

It was in the late 1980s that a handful of educators-cum-tourism-enthusiasts who worked at a Viennese hotel school picked up on the demand they could sense for internationally-oriented applied hotel management education and designed an intensive, two-year, post-secondary programme, in which Austrian hospitality knowledge and expertise would meet international interests and needs. In order for the resulting Hotel Management Programme to present itself as a viable option for interested students outside the German-speaking areas, English was chosen as its medium of instruction, which, as I can remember from my own reaction to reading one of the first announcements in 1990, was a new and innovative move for tertiary education in Austria at the time. It also turned out to be a far-sighted one in view of the continuing success of that specific educational programme as well as the inception of many more English-medium tertiary programmes since then, in the field of hospitality as well as elsewhere.¹ Clearly, this development was not unique, but mirrored similar ones in other central European countries such as Germany, where English-medium university-level education became measurable in the 1990s (Motz 2005b: 133–135). As reflected in the doubling of such programmes at German universities between 2001 and 2003 (Nastansky 2004: 52), the trend towards using English as (one of the) mediums of instruction and learning at European tertiary institutions has recently become firmly established, and will most likely continue to do so in the future.

Two reasons suggest themselves for this accelerated use of English as medium of tertiary education (Cenoz 2006: 282). There is, firstly, the so-called ‘Bologna process’, i.e. the implementation of the Bologna Declaration, signed by all European and a few non-European countries, which aims at stream-lining academic education and making it more compatible across national systems. Obviously, such developments support student mobility and are thus closely connected to

1. Reflecting the Austrian national policy of opening up to the European Union, which culminated in the country joining in 1995, English started to be used as medium of instruction in secondary and tertiary education in the course of the 1990s (e.g. Abuja 1998). The first all-English campus, the Danube University Krems, a private institution, was founded in 1994 (<http://www.donau-uni.ac.at/en/index.php>, accessed 20 July 2009), and the first English-medium classes at public universities date back to the same time (Stegu and Seidlhofer 2003: 142).

the second factor relevant here: the role English has come to play as the leading international or ‘global’ language (Crystal 2003). To cut a long story short,² thanks to sociohistorical developments, the military power exerted by English-speaking nations and, more recently, the socio-economic power of (English-dominated) international companies and organizations, English has become the main language of international relations and trade, international media and communications, international business and also academia. While the respective domains are highly diverse, they are – as already reflected in the repeated use of ‘international’ – marked, on the one hand, by a wide linguacultural range and diversity amongst their participants and, on the other, by English in its function as main *lingua franca* or common medium of communication amongst multilinguals (for a detailed discussion of the concepts see chapters 2.3.1.2 and 2.3.1.4). By virtue of the many first and second languages that meet in continuously changing constellations, people appreciate, in Crystal’s (2003: 13) words, “the need for a global language” and have thus “adopt[ed English as their] *lingua franca*”.

The same can be witnessed in the two domains of interest to the present study – international tourism and tertiary education. The former is marked by extreme mobility with regard to all main players; it is not only the customers who travel internationally, but also a good part of the employees. Especially on the managerial level, hospitality careers have already been international for a long time and hotel managers tend to look back on working assignments and postings in various locations all over the globe. As hospitality professionals as well as their customers are usually in need of a *lingua franca* and have used English for that purpose for a long time, education for the hospitality industry is thus practically required to provide the necessary basis, i.e. to offer an international orientation and English as main medium of communication. It is therefore not really surprising that a simple internet search finds countless English-medium hospitality training and education courses.³

While education for this specific professional area seems predestined to be offered in English, it is by no means the only area offering such education. Ter-

2. For overview discussions cf. e.g. Crystal (2003), Graddol (2006); for critical assessments of the use of English globally cf. e.g. Pennycook (1994, 2007) and Phillipson (1992, 2003).

3. By entering ‘English’, ‘hospitality’ and ‘education’ into Google, for instance, almost two million hits are registered, of which a single one already leads to more than 40 different hospitality training courses worldwide (at http://dir.yahoo.com/Business_and_Economy/Business_to_Business/Hospitality_Industry/Training/Institutes/ (accessed 20 July 2009)).

tiary education in general is clearly moving towards ‘Englishization’ (Phillipson 2006), in response to the steady increase in educational mobility and the rising numbers of international students at tertiary institutions (see also chapter 2.2). This development presupposes the relevant language competence, which, in mainland Europe, used to entail proficiency in the respective country’s official language. But things have changed. In an attempt not to lose international students, and the financial support and kudos that come with them, language competence in the diverse national languages is no longer a *conditio sine qua non*. Reflecting the more recent trends towards ‘elite bilingualism’ (de Mejía 2002), English has become the ‘additional’ language (Fishman, Cooper, and Conrad 1977) that is presupposed at tertiary level and functions increasingly as the lecturers’ and students’ lingua franca. In other words, English as a lingua franca (ELF) as language of tertiary education amongst multilinguals in non-English-speaking areas seems to be here to stay.

In view of these developments, it could be expected that the use of ELF in education and its implications for learning as well as classroom interaction had received applied linguistic attention and interest; the more so as the literature on ELF in general has been intensified since the beginning of the new millennium (e.g. Gnutzmann and Intemann 2008; Jenkins 2000, 2007; Knapp and Meierkord 2002; Seidlhofer 2001, 2010; for a detailed discussion see chapter 2.3). This is, however, not the case. While the reality of ELF has been recognized and its educational implications discussed for more than a quarter of a century (e.g. Hüllen 1982; Smith 1984), “surprisingly little work has been done [on ...] the use of ELF in European educational contexts” (House 2003a: 574–575). So, in contrast to the recently burgeoning literature on ELF communication (e.g. Mauranen and Ranta 2009; Seidlhofer and Berns 2009), ELF as medium of education still largely awaits the scholarly interest that its rising relevance in European tertiary education requires. Notable exceptions are some individual studies in classroom settings (e.g. Björkman 2008) as well as those based on the Finnish ELFA (English as a lingua franca in academic settings) corpus (e.g. Mauranen 2006a, 2006b; Mauranen and Ranta 2008).⁴ While these studies offer interesting insights into language use in educational settings, they are all based on cross-sectional data collections and are therefore forced to ignore a crucial feature of any kind of education: its longitudinality. Not only is the time factor central to teaching and learning in general (e.g. Marton and Tsui 2004), but it

4. Instead of the lingua franca concept, the majority of researchers interested in students using an additional language in their education have chosen other concepts, usually intricately linked to bi/mltilingual education and the combination of learning content and language. For a more detailed discussion see chapter 2.2.2.

is also integral to the interactional processes that develop within the specific group of learners and teachers; the more so in view of the conception of ELF users as (emerging) communities of practice (House 2003a).

In response to this ‘investigative dearth’, the aim of the study presented and discussed here is to explore the use of ELF as classroom language in the aforementioned Hotel Management Programme, following an ethnographically-inspired, qualitative, applied linguistic approach (e.g. Smit 2003, 2009). Given the understanding of English as a lingua franca (e.g. James 2005; House 2003a; Seidlhofer 2001), the study views the participating students and teachers primarily as interlocutors who try to meet their interactional aims with the help of English as language of communication, rather than as learners of English as a second or foreign language whose aim is to work on or improve their language proficiency. In other words, the study focuses on language use in the classroom and not on classroom-based language learning, reflecting its socio- rather than psycholinguistic perspective. This does, however, not mean that considerations of language learning are completely excluded. On the contrary, learning as one dimension of social practice (Wenger 1998; see 1.3) plays an important role inasmuch as it reflects developmental processes in the interactional dynamics of the Hotel Management Programme, which the qualitative approach chosen here attempts to throw light on. Finally, the study is applied linguistic (Davies 2007; Widdowson 1990) in that it investigates a “real world problem[] in which language is a central issue” (Brumfit 1997: 93) by applying “an interdisciplinary, as opposed to purely linguistic, approach” (Poole 2002: 73).

1.2 A brief sketch of the study

As indicated earlier, the ‘real world problem’ can be traced on the macro-level to the implications globalization and international mobility have for European tertiary education. At the same time, it is also a micro-level reality of the Hotel Management Programme or HMP in question. In the more than fifteen years the programme has been running, the use of ELF remained an issue for all stakeholders. As the qualitative research methodology applied here will show (see chapter 3), the students, teachers and administrators generally appreciate that they have a lingua franca that allows such an educational setting, but they also recognize that using an additional language has its consequences. For instance, some students need extended preparation periods for assignments and tests, be it because of slower reading abilities in English or because of translating the necessary information into their L1s. Furthermore, the use of ELF in education has implications for classroom interaction itself, which also come to the fore in

the participants' diverse evaluations and opinions (see chapter 4.3). While all agree that they generally communicate successfully, some feel partly inhibited by their own level of English proficiency in expressing themselves or understanding other contributions. Others sense the same problems in their interlocutors. At the same time, most stakeholders are aware of changes in classroom interactions with time and as the educational programme progresses, thus stressing the dynamic nature of their interactional patterns. In general, the students as well as their teachers recognize that using ELF makes the communicational process a more conscious one in that it requires more effort to 'make it work'. It was most likely precisely because of this general awareness of something special going on while interacting in the classroom, but not being able to pin down what it was, that the present project received so much appreciation, and all the support it needed from administrators, teachers and students alike in order to develop into a qualitative, longitudinal and naturalistic study of classroom interaction.

Although chapters 2 and 3 offer detailed discussions of the conceptual frame and research methodology applied, it seems fitting for an introduction to offer a brief sketch of the respective investigative approach. As argued by Bloome et al. (2005: xviii), such a research perspective best integrates both theoretical and methodological issues; a 'sneak preview' of what it looks like in the present study is visualized in Figure 1.1. As the first intensive investigation into English as a lingua franca as classroom language, the study is applied linguistic not only in its focus on the communicative practices of schooling (Rampton 2006: 17), but also because it is conceived of as qualitative, naturalistic and longitudinal, thus encapsulating an ethnographically inspired, "context-rich interpretive orientation" (Duff 1995: 507). The context is given, firstly, by the educational programme, i.e. an English-medium post-secondary educational programme in hotel management, set in Vienna and designed for, and attended by, international students. More specifically, the context is structured by the social practices of the social players ('teachers' and 'students' in Figure 1.1) in pursuing their educational goals ('subjects') for the complete duration of the HMP (symbolized by the triangular prism). In view of the complexity and dynamic development of this context, an ethnographic research methodology is asked for, including regular classroom observations, talks with all participants in addition to lesson recordings (for a detailed discussion of the research methodology see chapter 3). Given that teaching and learning processes are lastingly influenced and created by the discursive practices in the classroom, classroom talk (for a detailed conceptual discussion see chapter 2) is at the centre of investigation, but again, and as symbolized by the circular cylinder in Figure 1.1, as it develops during the complete programme.

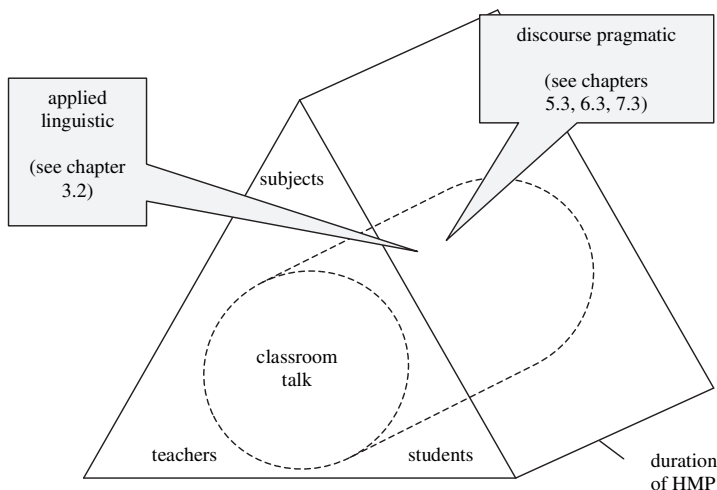


Figure 1.1. Research perspective

Due to this investigative focus, the present study stands in the tradition of classroom interactional research with its primary focus on language in use rather than language learning (e.g. Cazden 2001; Christie 2002; Dalton-Puffer 2007; Marton and Tsui 2004; Walsh 2006). As is typical of such research, the analytical frame draws on various approaches to analysing (classroom) language in use, mainly because “an eclectic approach is not only richer but also essential in dealing with the complexities of [institutionalized] talk” (Eggins and Slade 1997: 23). In this light, the interactional analyses of the HMP classroom talk (see chapters 5, 6 and 7) integrate various research approaches, such as (in alphabetical order) classroom discourse analysis (e.g. Sinclair and Coulthard 1975), conversation analysis (e.g. Markee 2000), ethnography of communication (e.g. Duff 2002), sociolinguistics (e.g. Corder and Meyerhoff 2007), (interlanguage) pragmatics (e.g. Kasper and Blum-Kulka 1993), speech act theory (e.g. Trosborg 1994; Vine 2004), spoken discourse analysis (Edmondson 1981) and systemic functional linguistics (e.g. Lemke 1990).

While the specific research foci pursued here require fitting frameworks of analysis, each of which draws innovatively on these research approaches (for detailed discussions see 5.3, 6.3, 7.3), they share an underlying – or overarching – approach to interactional analysis that is best described as ‘discourse-pragmatic’. As explicated in Nikula (2005: 29), such an approach “integrates insights from pragmatics, discourse analysis and socio-cultural research on [...] learning.” The research foci pursued are mainly embedded in pragmatics, but extended by,

firstly, investigating actual interactional practices in their context and, secondly, integrating the socio-cultural understanding of “language use as a joint process where meaning and contexts are co-constructed by participants” (Nikula 2005: 30). This means that, for instance, speech acts are not only analysed on the basis of complete classroom scripts, but also in relation to classroom discourse as a whole. Discourse pragmatics thus aims at offering theoretical insights into “the relations between language use and sociocultural contexts” (Blum-Kulka 1997: 38) and agrees with discourse analysis that description alone cannot suffice. (cf. also Jaworski and Coupland 1999: 3–4)

Rather, we are interested, beyond description, in two things: illuminating and gaining evidence for [...] a theory that helps to explain how and why language works the way it does when it is put into action; and contributing, in terms of understanding and intervention, to important issues and problems in some “applied” area (e.g. education) (Gee 2005: 8).

Where discourse pragmatics differs from discourse analysis is with regard to investigative scope. While, as indicated above, the former tends to focus on specific language functions or features, the latter aims to unveil discourse processes. Due to the intricacies and complexities of any kind of discourse, discourse analyses are therefore “committedly qualitative [and can thus] normally only generalize about process and not about distribution” (Jaworski and Coupland 1999: 36). Analyses which aim to describe distribution as well must therefore turn to other research approaches; pragmatics is a useful contender, as comparable research has shown (e.g. Dalton-Puffer 2007; Nikula 2007). Due to its comparatively narrow focus on specific pragmatic aspects, such analyses can deal with the selected feature(s) or function(s) comprehensively within a certain data base and thus allow for distributional claims. By combining a pragmatic research focus with a discourse analytic paradigm, it is therefore possible to undertake qualitative analyses of discursive features and functions as well as to establish their distributions within the data base. In the present case, this means that the HMP classroom talk analyses are done in a basically qualitative way, supported by quantitative descriptions of feature distributions (for a detailed explanation of this approach see 5.3.4).

What still remains to be clarified is which ‘features’ have been chosen for the discourse-pragmatic analyses. Here, the ethnographically inspired approach has been particularly revealing as it has offered HMP specific insights into classroom talk that, in combination with the wider findings on (tertiary) classroom talk (see 2.2.2) and using English as a lingua franca in general (see 2.3.2, 2.3.3), has allowed, as it were, ‘emically’ and ‘eticly’ supported decisions on the three crucial and revealing aspects of

- a) ‘co-constructing understanding’ (chapter 5),
- b) ‘co-directing talk and players’ (chapter 6), and
- c) ‘co-explaining knowledge’ (chapter 7).

A more detailed introduction to the research questions and aims is offered below (see 1.4).

In sum, this study is a discourse-pragmatic ethnography within an international tertiary educational programme, focusing on classroom interaction in English as a lingua franca. It thus aims to explore new ground in ELF as well as classroom language research by, firstly, combining the two and, secondly, adopting a qualitative, applied linguistic and discourse-pragmatic approach in order to investigate ELF as classroom language during the whole duration of one hotel management educational programme, the HMP. The longitudinal perspective has not only been chosen because of the naturalistic approach used here, but also because of the function of English as the participants’ lingua franca. As hinted at above, when a group of mutual strangers use English as their lingua franca they bring diverse linguistic and cultural backgrounds with them. So, communication can only rely in part on shared language norms and expectations; a major role in the meaning-making process is arguably played by discursively developing situation-specific and -intrinsic conventions and patterns. This implies a dynamic process, which I submit can be captured and observed most appropriately from a longitudinal point of view. At the same time, the process of establishing group-internal communicational patterns goes hand in hand with other group formational processes in terms of group dynamics, but also in respect of the main aim of the whole undertaking itself, i.e. learning about various aspects relevant for hotel management. As all of these aspects – making meaning, building a community, learning in an educational programme – are social practices, Wenger’s (1998) ‘community of practice’ is suggested as particularly fitting in describing the HMP (also Lave and Wenger 1991).

1.3 The HMP as a community of practice

In contrast to formal approaches to learning, which see it as confined to artificial school settings, Wenger’s (1998: 3) theory defines social learning as “part of our human nature [...] both life-sustaining and inevitable.” The social organization which makes such learning possible is the community of practice (CofP), in which people are

[u]nited by [some] common enterprise [and . . .] develop and share ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values – in short, practices – as a function of their joint engagement in activity.” (Eckert 2000: 35)

Put so succinctly, this definition describes the complex, dynamic and partly fluid nature of the concept, and, at the same time, gives a good idea of how familiar we all are with CofPs as “we belong to several [. . .] at any given time”. (Wenger 1998: 6) Families form communities of practice, as do workplaces or school settings. At the same time, a single organization usually creates more than one CofP, as Wenger’s (1998: 18–38) example of a medical claims processing centre at a large insurance company shows. The dynamics of CofPs can be traced back to the understanding that they are constructed by “the shared practice in which the [community specific] membership engages” as well as by the meaning created by it. In other words, the concept provides a flexible, adaptive and yet principled descriptive framework for social organizations we participate in by co-constructing a shared repertoire in the pursuit of “a shared, negotiated, and fairly specific enterprise” (Meyerhoff 2002: 530). In analysing phonetic variables and their patterns of realizations, Eckert (2000), for instance, manages to draw a highly complex, but illuminating picture of how such pronunciation features function as indicators of various CofPs as well as of the speakers’ dynamically developing memberships in them. These and other investigations have demonstrated that the CofP allows a fruitful integration of micro- and macro-analyses (Corder and Meyerhoff 2007) and, due to its focus on practice, affords much scope for all kinds of social constructivist research (Holmes and Meyerhoff 1999: 181).

As one burgeoning area of social constructivism is education (e.g. Barnard and Torres-Guzmán 2009), it is not really surprising that the CofP has undisputed value for educational settings; not only because of its elucidation of “negotiating and learning practices that contribute to the satisfaction of [learning as] common goal” (Meyerhoff 2002: 530), but also, and seen more comprehensively because of its potential as frame of critical reference, in “foreground[ing] not just success but constraints on learning and on full participation in a community’s practices”. (Lea 2005: 188)

This heuristic strength of the CofP as “providing a lens to examine how meanings are contested within a community” (Lea 2005: 188) has also been realized in research into English as a lingua franca. As ELF users

move[] in and out of a variety of contexts, which are likely to have quite different forms of participation [. . . and lead to] the construction of event-specific, interactional styles and frameworks, (House 2003a: 572–573)

House further suggests adopting the CofP as a central parameter of ELF research. Given that the present study combines ELF and the classroom setting in that it focuses specifically on such ‘event-specific, interactional patterns’ in the ELF classroom interaction of the HMP, the aggregate of participants in question here will be described in the following in terms of a community of practice.

As specified by Wenger (1998: 73), CofPs are characterized by three interlocking processes:

- 1) mutual engagement
- 2) a joint enterprise
- 3) a shared repertoire

The first criterion refers to regular interactions (Holmes and Meyerhoff 1999: 175), which are here lastingly structured by the nature of the educational programme. During the four semesters of the programme the participants interacted very frequently, while before or after the HMP they did not. These programme-defined temporal limits led to abrupt boundaries of community formation, which find their parallel in the second clear-cut distinction given by ‘lesson vs. free-time’. The resulting types of interaction – ‘classroom interaction’ vs. ‘after-hours interaction’ – differ remarkably in terms of participants, topics and also interactional patterns (see 2.2.1). Additionally, the teachers play an interesting role as they are clearly participants in classroom interactions, but stand in a paradigmatic relationship, since, at a given moment in time, they interact with the students, but not with each other. Even in after-hours interactions, HMP teachers did not often interact with each other, and if they did, they tended to use German.

The second criterion, a joint, negotiated enterprise, can again be interpreted at various levels. On the formal level, there are the largely non-negotiable aims of students and teachers, which pre-determine certain practices, but do in themselves not constitute the ones that are ‘jointly negotiated’. Furthermore, these practices differ from subject to subject, or even class to class. In practical classes such as Cooking or Serving, for instance, the students have little leeway to influence cooking recipes or serving techniques. On the interactional level, however, things look different in that

opposed to monolingual communities of practice, the ‘enterprise’ in ELF talk is to successfully negotiate on the content plane (reach a common goal) and on the level of linguistic (English) forms. (House 2003a: 572)

This means that the joint and negotiated enterprise in the HMP is embedded in the communicational process itself. In other words, the students and teachers form a CofP precisely because their classroom interaction in ELF makes up the joint negotiated enterprise. As this is different from the practical lessons whose

joint enterprise is to acquire mainly non-verbal skills, the ensuing analysis of ELF as classroom language will focus on the ‘theory’ lessons and their jointly negotiated interactional activities.

The third criterion, the ‘shared repertoire’, needs to be seen in relation to the various potential communities of practice hinted at above. There are the various subgroups who voluntarily spend time together after school and engage in studying and/or recreational activities. There are the teachers, or subsections of them, who might also form their own work- or pleasure-oriented communities of practice. Depending on their linguacultural constellations, these small CofPs will most likely use various languages, including ELF, and will develop their own repertoires. Finally, there is the whole HMP – all students and their teachers – who engage in classroom interaction in pursuit of their educational-cum-discursive goals. And it is this last case which relates to the analytical aim of the present investigation, i.e. to find out what the ‘shared repertoire’ looks like for the HMP classroom interaction. More precisely, the nature of the present investigation allows a detailed analysis of how certain ‘resources are negotiated’ and ‘accumulated over time’ as the longitudinal perspective followed will throw light on the developmental process of the HMP classroom interaction.

In sum, the discussion of the HMP in terms of the dimensions of a community of practice has shown that such a formally and artificially established ‘community’ or aggregate of people pursuing one overarching enterprise cannot simply be identified with one community of practice. Instead, it seems to function as ‘breeding ground’ for various CofPs with their own patterns of mutual engagement, joint and negotiated enterprises, and own shared repertoires. As typical of CofPs, most of them are informal (Wenger 1998: 7) and do not acquire a label, but they are familiar to the participants (see 4.2). The present study will focus on the most stable and, in terms of participants, most comprehensive CofP, which is also the most central one from the educational point of view: it includes all participants as they engage in collaboratively negotiating meaning and practices in classroom interaction from the beginning to the end of the HMP. In other words, it is the HMP’s *Classroom Community of Practice* (CCofP).

In an attempt to round off the introductory presentation of what this study seeks to do, the next section will sketch the research aims pursued and, at the same time, offer an overview of what is to come.

1.4 Research aims and preview

In brief, the investigation reported on here aims to give a qualitative, applied linguistic description of discourse-pragmatic patterns of classroom interaction

in English as a lingua franca (ELF). The community of classroom interactional practices reported on here consists of the aggregate of students and teachers of an international, two-year and full time Hotel Management Programme (HMP) localized at a Viennese hotel school, which is run in English as only common language of communication and additional language to most of its highly multilingual participants.

The combination of an applied linguistic and thus situated approach with the analysis of classroom discourse comes to the fore in the three overall research interests that have motivated the study in the first place and guided it through its course:

i) What does the use of ELF as classroom language mean for classroom talk, class participation and culture?

In view of the abundant literature on classroom interaction (see 2.2) and the recently burgeoning discussions on ELF (see 2.3), it will be interesting to see which characteristic patterns or features can be detected in the HMP, how they impact on classroom interaction and what that implies for the students and teachers. Furthermore, these implications are also relevant to cultural concerns. As true of all sites of social practice, ‘culture’, taken in its “subjective sense [as] psychological in nature, involving values, beliefs, and expectations” (Meier 2003: 187; discussed in more detail in 2.3.1.3), is integral to the HMP and its discourse. It is thus interesting to throw light on the relations between classroom talk and the diversity of cultures represented in the HMP, be they national, educational or professional.

ii) What impact does time have on using ELF as classroom language? What dynamic developments are observable in classroom discourse?

This study is the first to take an explicitly longitudinal approach to ELF discourse. Special emphasis will therefore be placed on the changes or developments observable in classroom talk as the HMP progresses. Concerns will be the dynamics of interactional patterns, class participation, self and other perceptions and attitudes, all of which are integral to the locally developing community of practice and its culture. In other words, it is the changing nature of this ‘HMP culture’ and how it surfaces in classroom talk and participant evaluations that is open to investigation.

iii) What implications might the use of ELF as classroom language have for the teaching and learning processes in class? If any, which kinds of influence can be detected?

Since all educational endeavours are inherently linked to teaching and learning processes, investigations into classroom discourse also tend to be motivated by

an interest in ongoing exchanges as sites of teaching and potential learning (see 2.2.1). The present study is no exception in this regard and views classroom discourse as basis for learning opportunities. The investigative focus on HMP classroom talk as an example of ELF as classroom language is thus also chosen to throw light on potential influences that the use of a lingua franca in tertiary education might have on the respective teaching and learning processes.

As indicated above, the research perspective taken in this study is novel as regards the object of enquiry – ELF as classroom language – as well as its longitudinal time-frame. At the same time, it can rely on, and draw on a variety of fields of enquiry, a critical overview of which will be given in chapter 2. Based on detailed discussions of (multilingual) classroom interaction and English as a lingua franca (see 2.2 and 2.3 respectively), the conceptual considerations will be outlined for ELF as classroom language (2.4).

The general research interests sketched above might make clearer why the present study does not contend itself with classroom discourse analysis, but applies a broader research methodology involving the HMP students and teachers as insiders to the social practices in question as much as in their roles as participants in classroom exchanges (for a more detailed account see chapter 3). Therefore, the first investigative interest, dealt with in chapter 4, concerns the social players themselves and aims to offer a detailed description of the HMP (see 4.2) and, more particularly, an ethnographic account of the Classroom Community of Practice (CCoP) (see 4.3). An important aspect of the resulting ‘thick description’ (Geertz 1973) is the emic perspective on what is experienced as relevant for the social practices under investigation. When combined with what classroom and ELF literature tells us more generally about multilingual classroom interaction (see chapter 2), these insights allow for a selection of discourse-pragmatic features for in-depth investigation that are generally central to classroom discourse and particularly so for the CCoP. Based on thus established etic as well as emic selection criteria, the present study will analyse the following three crucial aspects of HMP classroom interaction:

a. Co-constructing understanding

Confirming what the extant ELF literature reports on, HMP participants agree that their most central concern when using ELF as classroom language is to understand what their interlocutors are trying to get across. This awareness, I submit, does more than simply reflect the institutional and therefore largely transactional nature of their interactions; arguably it also reveals that the HMP classroom talk is, at least at times, perceived to be ‘under construction’, or – in conversation analytic terminology – frequently in need of repair. To which extent and in which ways HMP classroom interactions

actually reveal line-by-line negotiations of understanding will be analysed in detail in chapter 5 – *classroom interaction ‘under repair’*.

b. Co-directing talk and social players

The classroom discourse literature provides sufficient evidence of the relevance of question-answer exchanges to the kind and quality of teaching and learning. As the latter is understandably the major concern and driving force of students on a fee-paying tertiary educational programme, the second analysis of classroom talk concentrates on how the CofP in question jointly develops classroom activities in general and, more particularly, those focusing on the respective objects of teaching and learning. Since these interactional exchanges are initiated by ‘directives’, in the Hallidayian sense (e.g. Halliday 2004), chapter 6 will offer an in-depth analysis of *directives in aid of classroom organization and educational talk*.

c. Co-explaining knowledge

As, due to the very nature of formal education, students are continuously required to cope with unfamiliar concepts and ideas, it is understandable that explanations are generally considered highly relevant and a quality criterion for successful and satisfying classroom talk. The HMP is no exception in this regard. The students express the relevance they attach to explaining as an aid to familiarization with new concepts. In view of the constructivist understanding of learning, this familiarization should, however, not be interpreted as a one-way road; rather, it applies to all community members as they engage jointly in constructing knowledge. Therefore, chapter 7 will focus on *interactive explaining as negotiating knowledge*.

While the three analytical chapters pursue largely independent research interests, they display similarities in terms of their method of analysis (see 5.3.4, 6.3.4 and 7.3.5) and the factors considered: each object of enquiry is investigated in relation to ‘*who* does *what* and *how*’ within the oral practices of the HMP lessons (as discussed in 2.2.1.2). Furthermore, all three analyses focus on time-dependent changes in interaction, and the dynamic and thus also changing relations between the community members. Most fundamentally, the analyses conclude with interpretations of the respective findings that reflect the three underlying research interests sketched above: ELF as classroom language, the dynamics integral to the duration of the HMP, and teaching and learning in ELF.

These interests take centre stage in the concluding chapter. Based on initial summaries of the research methodology applied and the main findings and insights gained into the applied linguistic analyses of the HMP classroom interaction (see 8.1, 8.2), the findings are interpreted as regards the specificities of

ELF as classroom language (see 8.3), its longitudinal development in a community of practice (see 8.4), and, finally, its implications for the learning process (see 8.5).

Chapter 2. Conceptual considerations

2.1 Introduction

Globalization – and with it English as main global language (Crystal 2003) – has hit all of us in more than one way. Even if one focuses on the field of education alone, ‘global’ and ‘globalization’ have become seemingly indispensable descriptors. A simple search for ‘education’ and ‘global’ in the internet leads to more than half a billion hits; a good many may be dismissed as promotional or commercial fads, but many others inform on the scale and diversity global education has acquired in recent years.⁵ It covers world-wide educational surveys and aims, specific areas of education with a global concern, teaching objectives and programmes, and all of these from the primary to the tertiary level. At the same time, globalization has entered education via increased mobility on all societal levels, and linguaculturally heterogeneous groups of learners are no longer rare. On the contrary, in most European towns and cities multilingual classrooms have become the norm rather than the exception, which is also clearly mirrored in the increased focus on inter- and transcultural learning since the 1990s (e.g. Alcón Soler and Sofart Jordà 2007; Byram 1997; Flechsig 2000; Gnutzmann 1999; Sercu et al. 2005).⁶

Although a more recent development in mainland Europe than in the Anglophone world, the internationalization of European tertiary education is in full swing (e.g. Huisman and van der Wende 2004; Motz 2005a: 15–17). Hailed as an indicator of international reputation as well as, much more mundanely, of

5. Amongst these would clearly count the very first hits that Google lists which include the website of the Council for Global Education (<http://www.globaleducation.org/>) or of the Swiss Foundation for Education and Development (<http://www.globaleducation.ch/>), whose mission is based on The Maastricht Global Education Declaration of 2002 (accessed on 24 August 2009).

6. Besides a multitude of publications (for an introductory bibliography see <http://www.carla.umn.edu/culture/bibliography/index.html>), the focus on intercultural learning has also materialised in increased student exchanges and other possibilities fostering intercultural exchanges and, thus, intercultural ‘learning by doing’ (cf. e.g. EFIL, the European Federation for Intercultural Learning, <http://efil.afs.org/>). (accessed 24 August 2009).

While not radically different from intercultural learning, transcultural learning focuses not only on differences, but also on similarities amongst societal groupings in the endeavour to improve on cultural understanding of others through intensified cultural self-reflection (e.g. Antor 2006; Flechsig 2000).

increased financial resources, and motivated by the Bologna process, specific programmes that actively support applications and admission of foreign students are being developed by European universities and other post-secondary educational centres.

One very obvious criterion of such programmes is the language of instruction and learning or, put more generally, of classroom communication. With more and more students coming from diverse language backgrounds, many such international programmes tend to apply one of three types of language policies: they either insist on the local language of tertiary education – with limited success unless that language is English or French – or they take a second language which is assumed to function as common language or *lingua franca*; unsurprisingly, the latter is usually English. Some institutions, notably German ones (Motz 2005a: 29; Nastansky 2004: 53), aim for a mixed approach in that in the first semesters they offer subject courses in English and, at the same time, the students take German language classes with the aim of switching the medium of instruction to German later on (for an overview cf. Ammon and McConnell 2002). This means that English functions as a bridging language in two senses: cross-sectionally between speakers of diverse L1s and longitudinally until all students can communicate in German as the national language. In both scenarios, however, it is multilingual and multicultural students who participate in a mainly monolingual learning situation; a situation which, it can only be assumed, must have some influence on the learning processes and outcomes.

It is therefore not surprising to find researchers increasingly turn to these educational scenarios and investigate one or more factors contributing to the admittedly complex dynamics of ‘integrating language and content in higher education’ (e.g. Airey 2009; Fortanet Gómez and Räisänen 2008a; van Leeuwen and Wilkinson 2003; Wilkinson 2004; Wilkinson and Zegers 2007b). Besides the generally important, but in the context of the present study less pressing, considerations of numerical developments (Dafouz Milne and Núñez Perucha 2009: 101–102; Graddol 2006: 74–80) and national policies (e.g. Airey 2004; Nastansky 2004; Huisman and van der Wende 2004), studies have focused on student motivation and language needs (e.g. Eik-Nes 2004; Hellekjær 2010; Motz 2005a) and on assessing language proficiency levels (e.g. Wilkinson and Zegers 2004).

Of central relevance to this study are the few investigations that have focused directly on what actually happens in the classroom, i.e. the communicative processes that serve to realize the teaching and learning endeavours (e.g. Dafouz Milne, Núñez Perucha and Sancho Guinda 2007; Mohan and Slater 2005). While innovative in its qualitative methodology, this line of research largely reflects the traditional research focus on language proficiency in relation to (assumed)

L1 correctness, thus running the risk of remaining trapped in the understanding of the language learner in classroom interaction analysis. Since the mid 1990s, however, this implicitly prescriptive paradigm has been convincingly challenged, stimulated by the English as a lingua franca (ELF) movement (cf. also Firth and Wagner 1997) and its preoccupation with descriptive research of English language discourse in its own right (for more details see 2.3). This means that this new paradigm regards ‘multilingual speakers of English’ (for a detailed description see 2.3.1.2) primarily as language users pursuing their diverse communicational goals in English.

Interestingly, however, investigations following this line of thought have largely sidelined the educational domain and have concentrated on discourse settings outside the classroom; a development which might reflect the proverbial swing of the pendulum in two senses: non-educational settings are preferred because they provide evidence for the ‘normality’ and widespread communicative success of using English as a lingua franca. At the same time, non-educational settings underline the new focus of the ELF approach precisely by avoiding the institutional settings most closely associated with normative language use and evaluation, thus supporting ELF research in establishing itself as a new and independent line of investigation. This consideration is so relevant not only as a natural step in establishing a new research paradigm, but also since the ELF paradigm makes unquestionably investigative sense if it turns out to be “*sui generis*” (House 1999: 74); and as lingua franca language use “in its own right” is prototypically expected in business or other mainly instrumental encounters between multilingual speakers (Berns 2009), it is understandable that most early investigations focused on exactly such speech events (e.g. Firth 1990, 1996; Gramkow Andersen 1993). In the meantime, however, ELF research has outgrown its fledgling days and has developed far enough to be applied to educational settings.

Initial attempts came in the shape of second language conversation analyses in learning situations (e.g. Mazeland and Zaman-Zadeh 2004). Of more direct concern for ELF in education is the ELFA (English as Lingua Franca in Academic settings) project, compiling a corpus of spoken English as used in international degree programmes at the University of Tampere, Finland (Mauranen 2003) and resulting in the first descriptions of ELF talk in academic settings, including university classrooms (e.g. Mauranen 2006a, 2006b; Mauranen and Ranta 2008). However, in view of the exploding internationalization of tertiary education, and the centrality of communication to education, more diversified research into classroom talk from a lingua franca perspective is clearly called for; be it of a cross-sectional nature (e.g. Björkman 2009; Ranta 2009) or a longitudinal one (e.g. Schaller-Schwaner 2008). In view of the dearth of longitudinal ELF research in general, the latter entails a novel approach in that

it takes cognisance of the dynamic nature and developmental processes in the community of practice in question. Additionally, a longitudinal perspective pays tribute to the nature of education and, furthermore, enriches ELF research by acknowledging that a considerable part of communication is of a continuous or reiterative, rather than a one-off kind.

Although ELF investigations of educational discourse are still very much in their initial stages, there is clearly a wide range of diverse and rich research traditions they can build on and draw from. Most obviously and directly relevant are the research endeavours into (a) classroom interaction in multilingual settings, drawing more generally on classroom-based investigations including second and foreign language use (see 2.2); and (b) ELF (English as a lingua franca), EIL (English as an international language) and related discussions of varieties of English and ESP (English for Specific Purposes) (see 2.3). Each of these areas clearly relies on and combines a range of research traditions and approaches, such as World English(es) (e.g. Brutt-Griffler 2002; Kachru 1992; McArthur 2002), standardization and the role(s) of the native speaker (e.g. Bex and Watts 1999; Davies 2003; Singh 1998), inter- and transcultural communication (e.g. Bührig 2006; Pennycook 2007; Risager 2006; Scollon and Scollon 2001), educational linguistics (Cazden 2001; Chaudron 2000; Marton and Tsui 2004), second language research and discourse analysis understood widely (as e.g. in Christie 2002; Gee 2005; Widdowson 2003b). These broad areas of linguistic enquiry will not be introduced or briefly sketched here for two reasons: firstly, all of them have been presented in a wide range of specificity in recent introductory (text)books and research accounts, which makes yet another summary appear superfluous.⁷ Secondly, the present research project understands itself as truly applied linguistic in its orientation. As explicated in Hüttner (2005: 5–6) it “constrains the researcher [...] to only consider those aspects of theory or empirical work that serve to explain the problem at hand”, but at the same time also frees him or her “to choose quite liberally from various research paradigms and approaches” in undertaking a thorough investigation. Reflecting this approach, theoretical concepts and considerations are discussed in appropriate detail whenever they are relevant to the study and the analytical steps taken (see chapters 5.1, 5.2, 6.1, 6.2, 7.1, 7.2).

In order to provide the theoretical and conceptual basis necessary for the study on the whole, the remainder of this chapter will offer discussions of the two research fields it seeks to combine in a coherent framework, i.e. multilingual

7. Apart from the detailed accounts given in the references listed in the text, insightful discussions are available in e.g. Creese (2005: 14–28), Dalton-Puffer (2007: 15–44), Eggins and Slade (1997: 23–66), Schiffrin (1994), Walsh (2006: 16–61).

classroom interaction in English and English as a lingua franca (2.2 and 2.3 respectively).

2.2 (Multilingual) classroom interaction

Beyond the specific focus of the present study, classroom interaction has attracted research interest on an impressive scale. The reasons are not difficult to find: classrooms are the central ‘cells’ of schooling, which in itself is not only a crucial factor in a nation’s macro-developments, but also in national budgets, as tellingly noted by Christie (2002: 2). Furthermore, “the basic purpose of school is achieved through communication” (Cazden 2001: 2); a fact of which teachers and learners engaged in the educational processes are only too aware. As, additionally, practically all researchers into educational matters have strong personal records as learners and teachers, it is not really surprising that classroom (instructional) talk has been investigated in such detail. While education had already been a topic of research in centuries gone by, it took the educational reforms of the 1960s to make researchers interested in what actually happens in classrooms (cf. e.g. Cazden 2002: 2–3; Dalton-Puffer 2007: 15–18). Since then numerous studies have paid detailed attention to formal educational interactions of various types, identified (a)typical processes and patterns in relation to different classroom activities and argued for their relevance to various teaching and learning endeavours. As research outcomes are always contingent on theoretical and methodological considerations, findings do not always overlap and interpretations can disagree; yet, the body of research has grown so substantially that we have reached a point at which a basic sketch of the main features, patterns and dynamics of “classroom discourse as one specific kind of languaged social activity” (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 15) seems viable. In the next section I will attempt such a presentation by looking at classroom discourse from the points of view of institutional talk, oral practice and lesson activities.

An admittedly obvious factor influencing classroom discourse is the language(s) involved; more precisely, the language(s) used in the teaching and learning process, language(s) being taught as subjects, but also the language(s) of daily communication brought to the setting. Language(s) thus play various roles and, keeping in mind that schools are, socially seen, “highly crowded environments” (Cazden 2001: 2), it is not surprising to find some form of multilingualism represented in most classrooms.⁸ In the context of the present study,

8. Indeed, what is more surprising is that ‘multilingual’ still needs to be made explicit; ‘classroom discourse’ taken on its own still seems to be interpreted as referring to

a basic distinction has to be drawn between multilingual educational policies and multilingual learners. The former are generally rarer and, if applied, concern usually not more than two languages, both of which are used regularly in classroom talk. The latter, on the other hand, are almost all-pervasive in that even in the most monolingual situations there are usually a few learners with diverse language backgrounds. As this kind of linguistic diversity is often institutionally ignored, it is argued that true bi/multilingual education presupposes the use of “two [or more] languages of instruction in subjects other than the languages themselves” (García, Skutnabb-Kangas and Torres-Guzmán 2006: 13).

Although this understanding must be seen as a clear stance taken against purely assimilatory language policies, it seems to be too restrictive in that it labels all educational practices with a single medium of instruction as monolingual. That this is not the case becomes apparent when considering many contemporary educational settings with truly multilingual groups of learners. A case in point are international schools, where English is chosen as sole medium of instruction, but the many languages of the students are fostered in L1 language classes as is intercultural awareness throughout the programme (Carder 2007: 7). A very different practice is the one applied in the Hotel Management Programme. While clearly English-only and lacking any support in L1s, calling it ‘monolingual’ would miss the crucial point that a lingua franca as means of communication takes account of the multitude of diverse L1s in that it is generally assumed to be everybody’s additional language. Based on these considerations, it seems justified to regard the Hotel Management Programme as an example of multilingual higher education. Section 2.2.2 will provide a brief overview of the relevant concepts and findings.

2.2.1 Classroom discourse – a sketch

2.2.1.1 *As institutional talk*

The generally acknowledged observation that “it is in language [...] that the business of schooling is still primarily accomplished” (Christie 2002: 2) already explains why classroom discourse is a typical example of institutional talk: it is bound and intricately linked to formal educational institutions. To draw on Drew and Heritage’s (1992: 22) descriptive frame, it is “informed by goal orientations of a relatively restricted conventional form”, namely what has so generally been described as the purpose or ‘business’ of schooling. While there are clearly

monolingual classrooms (as e.g. in Cazden 2001), most likely reflecting larger issues of language planning, policies and ideology rather than actual schools (e.g. Baker 2006; de Mejía 2002; García, Skutnabb-Kangas and Torres-Guzmán 2006).

differing ways of interpreting these purposes, learning is at its core. Marton, Runesson and Tsui (2004: 4) expound further on the intricate relation between classroom talk and learning. The latter is described as “the acquired knowledge of something”, with the ‘something’ being the object of learning. Despite the static term chosen, ‘object’ is explicitly conceived of as a capability which combines acting, such as, for instance, remembering or interpreting with “the thing or subject on which these acts are carried out” such as, in the present case, hospitality qualification systems or taxing formulae. As teaching cannot coincide with learning, teachers pursue the “*intended* object of learning”, while what is actually learnt is called ‘*lived* object of learning’. In-between those two there is the “*enacted* object of learning, and it defines what is possible to learn in the actual setting” (Marton, Runesson and Tsui 2004: 4, emphasis original). And it is precisely this enacted object of learning that offers learners and teachers the space of learning, which “is constituted by linguistic means in the interaction between teacher and students.” (Marton, Runesson and Tsui 2004: 24) In other words, what can be learnt in a specific situation is contingent on classroom discourse.

To return to the original point, this identifies classroom discourse as institutional talk on the basis of its conventionalized goal-orientation. This orientation towards learning explains why classroom talk has been described as transactional in that it is used “to convey factual or propositional information” (Brown and Yule 1983: 2). At the same time, it would be misleading to see it as purely transactional. The dense social environment of educational settings has already been mentioned: learners and teachers usually engage in long-term relationships and spend a considerable amount of time together. Exchanges will thus also serve to express and further social relations and general feelings of ‘comity’ (Aston 1988). In other words, classroom talk should be taken as “transactional talk with distinct interactional elements” (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 23).

Furthermore, classroom interaction is different from non-institutional talk or what is often considered ‘normal’ language use. This seems almost too self-evident to even mention, but it is important to point out because, especially in the 1970s and 1980s, researchers tended to blame learning ineffectiveness on the lack of non-institutional talk in class (e.g. Long and Sato 1983; Lörcher and Schulze 1988; Sinclair and Coulthard 1975), thus interpreting the nature of classroom talk as deviant and deficient, rather than specific in following its own criteria. An increasing awareness of the context-dependency of language use, argued for strongly in sociolinguistic and discourse analytical research of various specifications, and of the growing constructivist understanding of knowledge (e.g. Vygotsky 1978) has influenced classroom researchers’ stance and value judgements. Consequently, studies of the 1990s applied a more holistic

approach, considering classroom talk as a phenomenon in its own right and evaluating interactional features in relation to pedagogical aims (e.g. van Lier 1988; Wegerif and Mercer 1999; Wells 1993). In recent years, research has responded to critical social theories in combination with constructivism and has aimed at rendering highly detailed and complex descriptions of possibly all activities in the classroom in order to arrive at as complete and dynamic an interpretation as possible (e.g. Bannink and van Dam 2006; Bloome et al. 2004; Rampton 2006).

Finally, any kind of talk, but specifically the institutional forms, comes with shared conventions and constraints on allowable contributions and procedures (cf. Drew and Heritage 1992). As identified in numerous studies since the 1970s (Mehan 1979; Sinclair and Coulthard 1975; for succinct summaries cf. Capucho 2005: 141–142; Dalton-Puffer 2007: 18), classroom discourse is specific in turn-taking behaviour (turn allocation and time allotment), information flow (usually unidirectional from teacher to student), question and answer sequences and exchange patterns, of which the three-part structure generally known as ‘I:R:F’ (short for Initiation – Response – Feedback or Follow-up) must be taken as the most prominent one in terms of discursive and analytical relevance (e.g. Hellermann 2003: 80; Heras 1994: 295; Walsh 2006: 46).

Such conventionalized or ritualized behaviour reflects widely shared knowledge structures of recurring language-dependent actions and relevant participation patterns (cf. Hatch 1992: 85–88). As cognitive psychology has argued on the basis of Bartlett’s (1932) schema theory (e.g. Eysenck 2004: 318), people are predisposed to make sense of their surroundings by acquiring and (re)shaping such cognitive schemata through experience. As regards the sequential unfolding of interactions, Schank and Abelson’s conceptual dependency theory has been found helpful because of its two central notions ‘script’ and ‘role’. Scripts refer to “set[s] of actions in temporal sequence to meet a goal” (Hatch 1992: 85) and roles are the typical patterns of human participation. This means that ‘roles’ and ‘scripts’ are generalizations, abstracted from the individual case and not intended as sole explanatory tools when considering the dynamics of actual exchanges. Interestingly, however, these cognitive concepts can be embedded into and complemented by socio-culturally motivated models of face-to-face interaction, as will be shown in the next section.

2.2.1.2 *As oral practice*

By considering classroom discourse as a type of institutional talk, the investigative focus is unavoidably placed on its socio-cultural contextualization, on the ways in which people construct interactions in relation to their expectations,

assumptions and aims. In this connection, constructs come to mind that stress constituting components and their interrelated realizations, such as the ‘speech event’ (Hymes 1972) and its further development, the ‘oral practice’ (Hall 1993). As its continuing popularity vouchsafes, the speech event is a remarkable model in that it combines a dynamic and evolving understanding of event as “activities [...] that are directly governed by rules or norms of the use of speech” with the SPEAKING grid (Hymes 1972: 56), which specifies the components to be considered in investigations (for a concise discussion cf. Schiffrin 1994: 141–142). Even after more than 30 years, both, conception as well as componential analysis, are still considered theoretically and methodologically sound: Bloome et al. (2005: 5–6) define it as “a heuristic for making an inquiry into how people create meaning [...] in a] bounded series of actions and reactions [...] at the level of face-to-face interaction”.

Reflecting the developments of the intervening two decades, Hall’s (1993) analytic framework enriches the older one by integrating socio-cultural and social action theories. The resulting conceptualization of ‘oral practice’ as “face-to-face interactions by which members create, maintain and/or modify their collective history” (Hall 1993: 146) stresses the two-layered relevance of interaction for situated meaning-making as well as group formation processes. Similar to the concept ‘community of practice’ (see chapter 1.3), emphasis is placed on the historical embeddedness of practices, which is also reflected in the interpretation of their (para)linguistic instantiations as “shared habits or preferences” rather than rules (Hall 1993: 148). Less understandable in view of this inclusive approach is the focus on ‘face-to-face interaction’ as it excludes *a priori* written and also computer-mediated communication, and their potential impact on oral practices. As, however, the present concern is with oral classroom interaction only, this limitation does not diminish the merits of the oral practice approach in our case. Furthermore, its constructivist thinking is also methodologically most welcome. Hall (1993:153) suggests a heuristic model of seven structuring resources, which, similar to Hymes’s SPEAKING factors, are understood as in no particular order of preference. Table 2.1 gives a brief comparative overview of the two analytical frames.

Apart from the vague and empirically opaque category ‘rhythm’, the oral-practice frame seems conceptually clearer (for a similar evaluation cf. Dalton-Puffer 2007: 19–20) in that it does without a plurivalent category such as ‘instrumentalities’ and an all-encompassing and under-specified ‘genre’. ‘Scene’ on the other hand is a potentially helpful component of the Hymesian construct, especially so as it might serve as a corrective to the outsider perspective of the ‘setting’. The most important strength of the oral practice approach, however, are the three components that reveal the heightened emphasis placed on dy-

Table 2.1. Comparison of ‘speech event’ and ‘oral practice’ (based on Hall 1993, Hymes 1972)

speech event factors			oral practice resources	
	<i>description</i>	<i>label</i>	<i>label</i>	<i>description</i>
S	physical circumstances subjective definition	setting scene	setting	spatial, temporal and physical condition
P	speaker/sender – hearer/receiver	participants	participants	all members of an interaction
E	purposes and goals, outcomes	ends	purposes	social and cognitive functions
A	message form and content	act sequence	act sequence	chronological ordering, unfolding of the plot; e.g. openings
			content	what does (not) get talked about
K	tone, manner	key	rhythm	measured motion of interaction
I	channel; forms of speech	instrumen- talities		[channel irrelevant]
N	of interaction and interpretation (culture- specific)	norms	participation structures	turn taking, roles and rights of participants
G	textual categories	genre		

namic resources, i.e. ‘act sequences’, ‘content’ and ‘participation structures’, thus taking into account the developing, constantly constructed character of interaction. On the basis of these considerations, the resources for analysing the oral practices in this study are:

- setting and scene
- purposes and content
- participants and participation structures
- act-sequences

The *settings* of the oral practices investigated here concern the times and places when and where the HMP students and teachers constructed their educational activities. Although confined to a single building, different locations and temporal developments bound the respective oral practices differently. More important in dealing with diversity surely are subjective definitions of interactive moments,

i.e. the participants' *scenes*. The many interviews and informal talks have allowed some insight into some of the students' and lecturers' subjective views of wider or more narrow aspects of the setting, ranging from Vienna to the school building and its classrooms (for a detailed account see chapter 4).

As discussed above, the *purposes* of classroom discourse are closely related to schooling and education; more precisely, classroom talk constructs the enacted objects of learning, which in our case relate to learning activities and subjects of a post-secondary, hospitality-related specification. As these subjects vary widely, they fall into and represent diverse disciplines and their respective epistemologies of knowledge. The intended, enacted and lived objects of learning can thus be expected to be diverse in both aspects. Additionally and in contrast to many exclusively cognitively oriented tertiary programmes, the Hotel Management Programme also aims for practical learning as, for instance, in Cooking or Serving classes whose pedagogical objectives are clearly skills-based. Language plays a different role in such courses: it is ancillary to the social activity of learning, and not constitutive of it (cf. Christie 2002: 129–152). This is not to say that classroom discourse is irrelevant, but only that it plays a subservient role in constructing the object of learning, which is also why such classes are excluded from the present study (see also chapter 3.2). As the objects of learning are inextricably linked to what is being learnt, *content* is of paramount importance in classroom research. Two points are worth making, though: firstly and as mentioned above in relation to the interactional elements, content should not be perceived as cognitive only; social topics that help (or hinder) interactional aims are at stake as well. Secondly, *content* must not be conceived as monolithic or static. As in all types of discourse, what is being talked about develops dynamically, relates to what has been said before and influences what will be said later. The same is true of the topics communicated in the classroom, even if teachers tend to follow pre-arranged objects of language.

The *participants* to the HMP oral practices are easy to identify: to a certain extent the observer-analyst (see chapter 4.2.4 for more details), but interactionally much more relevant, the teachers and students who functioned as prime participants, intricately linked to the *participation structures* of the oral practice in question. The range of roles HMP participants could take on is impressively diverse and can be identified on a dimension of positional vs. personal (e.g. Brown and Yule 1983): there is the well-established role distinction of teachers or students; at the same time the participants are of different nationalities as well as representatives of different professional groups and in differing degrees of membership, with the teachers being more or less core members of their respective professions (e.g. chef, hotel manager) and students claiming peripheral membership status (e.g. as experienced front office clerks) or none

at all. As regards the personal end of the dimension, they obviously also act as individuals.

The role relation of teacher vs. student has been well documented and described (e.g. Widdowson 1990: 181–191). Teachers tend to function as organizers of classroom talk in turn allocation and topic management, as well as main providers of subject-relevant information. The latter role has fittingly been referred to as that of the ‘primary knower’ with learners being ‘secondary knowers’ (Berry 1981). The two-sided teacher role comes to the fore most clearly in the tripartite exchange pattern (I:R:F) (cf. also Mehan 1985): teacher introduces a topic and initiates student participation (I), student responds (R), teacher provides feedback (F), which, due to the teacher role, tends to be evaluative. As argued repeatedly (e.g. Cazden 2001: 30–59), lessons/lesson phases based on the I:R:F pattern reflect the more traditional understanding of transferring knowledge from teacher to student, in contrast to lessons/lesson phases aiming at the students discovering and constructing socio-culturally relevant knowledge. Cazden (2001: 56) takes pains to point out that the “traditional and non-traditional” are not in an “either/or but [in a] both/and” relationship. Apart from differing pedagogical aims, a reason for the need to combine different exchange patterns can be found in the various functional role relationships and how these change at specific discursive moments, but also over time. Of relevance in cases of professionally-oriented higher education like the HMP are also other potential types of roles and identities, such as professional and/or national, and their greater or lesser prominence in the classroom.

So far, the description of the different role relationships has focused on functional differences, but, clearly, they also contain a hierarchical distinction. As mentioned repeatedly in the literature (e.g. Markee 2000: 68; Marton and Tsui 2004: 175), classroom discourse reflects an unequal distribution of power. While ‘power’ is far from a monolithic or pre-fabricated entity (e.g. Thornborrow 2002), it is uncontested that the double-sided teacher role, classroom manager and knowledge expert, is equipped with what has been called legitimate, reward and coercive as well as expert power (cf. Spencer-Oatey 2002: 33). Nonetheless, power in discourse is dynamic and flexible and all participants, including students, have the power to construct their contributions, even by withdrawing from the interaction altogether, remaining silent and as ‘invisible’ as possible (e.g. Jones 1999). Additionally, students can contest teacher power in more active ways by, for instance, engaging in side talk (Lemke 1990: chapter 3) or by self-selecting for turns at talk, thus temporarily down-playing the teacher’s role as classroom manager and offering their own, unsolicited contributions (Rampton 2006: 48–62). Generally, however, asymmetrical power relations need not be interpreted as ‘coercive’ (Fairclough 2001: 28). On the

contrary, adult learners in particular tend to consent voluntarily to entering into such an unbalanced power relationship in their endeavour to reach educational goals.

The final component or resource relevant to oral practices is *act sequences*. As this concerns the internal structuring of classroom talk, it will be dealt with together with other such structuring factors and models in the next section.

2.2.1.3 Structuring classroom talk

The two sketches of classroom interaction presented so far have approached it from the outside, as it were, characterising it as one type of institutional talk and as an oral practice. The third and last descriptive approach is complementary in that it focuses on the internal structuring elements, attempting to outline generally relevant classroom activity types and trace their relevance for the present study.

As can be expected from the institutional nature of classroom discourse, its structural-functional elements reflect the interplay of pedagogical goals and language use. As already mentioned above, considerations of sequencing and scripts are at stake, but also matters of content and authorization through the teacher as well as of functional orientation. Therefore, classroom talk will in the following be described along the three descriptive dimensions sequencing and structuring, activity types, and functional orientation.

Sequentiality is of prime importance in the narrower description of the aforementioned act sequences, of which the 'I:R:F'⁹ sequence is the most prominent and well documented one. Most likely triggered by its perceived difference from two-part structures identified with non-educational communication, the tripartite nature of large stretches of classroom discourse has been identified and described repeatedly and within different theoretical frameworks (e.g. Cazden 2001; Lemke 1990; Mehan 1979; Sinclair and Coulthard 1975). Reflecting the more than 30 years of research history, the various accounts differ in theoretical underpinnings and, consequently, also with regard to functional considerations and evaluations of the role of I:R:F in aiding or hindering the teaching and learning processes (e.g. Candela 1999; Lemke 1990: 5–8; Nassaji and Wells 2001; Sunderland 2001). To cut a long story short (for detailed discussions cf. Dalton-Puffer 2007: 72–75; Drew and Heritage 1992: 13–16; Wells 1993), research has

9. From a chronological point of view, the third move was first denoted more specifically with 'Evaluation' (Mehan 1979) and 'Feedback' (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975) and only later described more generally as 'Follow-up' (Coulthard and Brazil 1979), reflecting most likely that the more specific – and more prominent – cases sprang to the analysts' attention earlier than the general pattern.

shown that formal and functional criteria stand in complex and loose relationships. The functional (lack of) success of the I:R:F is mainly intertwined with teaching aims and learning processes (e.g. Nikula 2007; Wegerif and Mercer 1999) and only indirectly reflected in the linguistically formal give-and-take between teacher and learners (for more discussion in relation to the present study see 7.2.3).

An early model of structuring can be found in Sinclair and Coulthard (1975). While not fully successful at providing a grammatical model of spoken discourse (e.g. Dalton-Puffer 2007: 34), their theory has lastingly enriched analyses of classroom talk, mainly because of its rank scale of the (paradigmatic) structure of pedagogical discourse: a 'lesson' is made up of 'transactions', which are made up of 'exchanges', whose constituting elements are 'moves' consisting of 'acts'. The two top ranks describe lesson scripts, such as closing or opening lessons (cf. also Lemke 1989). The bottom rank, acts, is identified as relating to individual clauses and, as a basically grammatical entity, with the remaining two, move and exchange, as interactionally structural units. For instance, the moves 'opening', 'answering' and 'follow-up' are seen to make up I:R:F sequences.

A theoretically more coherent and empirically more illuminating reinterpretation of the scales is available in Edmondson's (1981) model of spoken discourse analysis (cf. also Edmondson and House 1981). Most importantly, this model takes a fully communicative approach, thus sidelining grammatical and structural considerations in favour of the speaker-related illocutionary and outcome-related interactional values of utterances (Edmondson 1981: 80–81). This means that interactive exchanges are defined by their interactional outcome, to which 'interactive moves' (e.g. initiate, counter, prime) contribute by relying on 'communicative acts', which consist of speaker-related illocutions (e.g. tell, apologize, complain) as well as discursive-outcome-related interactional acts (e.g. accept, contradict) (Edmondson and House 1981: 35–42). When applied to the I:R:F sequence, this model allows a more detailed description along the lines of, firstly, interactive outcome (e.g. establishing shared information), which is, secondly, collaboratively established in the interlocutors' moves (e.g. initiate, respond, evaluate) reflecting their illocutionary acts (e.g. tell, claim) as well as interactionally-oriented acts (e.g. accept, okay). In sum then, such a rank-scale approach, enriched by a fully interactional framework, elucidates the line-by-line analysis of classroom talk by embedding the act sequences into a more comprehensive understanding of discourse (for such analyses see chapters 5, 6 and 7).

While sequentiality and embeddedness are obviously highly relevant dimensions for analysing classroom talk, other factors need to be taken into consideration as well, as already indicated by the oral practice approach. A case in point

is the interplay of the ‘participation structures’ and ‘content’, which leads to a distinction between classroom activity types. Concerning classroom discourse in general, Ehlich and Rehbein (1986) identify main vs. parallel strands of talk. Main talk refers to the interactive exchanges that teachers usually direct by virtue of their discourse managerial role. Due to the nature of lessons, all other interactions, generally between students, run in parallel strands. Such parallel talk can be subdivided according to topic: when parallel talk concerns the topic of the main talk it is called accompanying talk, in case of other topics it falls into side talk. Main and accompanying talk thus contribute to the enacted object of learning, while side talk is open for all other topics as well, including personal ones. This basic structure arguably fits to most classroom settings; at least, all HMP classroom-based lessons revealed a clear distinction between main and parallel talk; a distinction that is linked to the teacher role, rather than the teachers themselves. As will be shown in the detailed description of classroom data (see e.g. 6.4.4.3), students can also take on the teacher role of classroom manager and even primary knower. Although such sequences are restricted to special occasions, such as student presentations, they clearly feature students orchestrating main talk and teachers sometimes taking on the typical student role of contributing to parallel talk by conversing with individual students in a subdued voice.

A further factor that influences main talk is the activity type pursued (cf. e.g. Dalton-Puffer 2007: 30–33; Hatch 1992: 93; Lemke 1990: 49–56). The one most widely used in traditional classrooms, as in the HMP, is ‘whole class interaction’, with the teacher conducting a dialogue with the class seen as a collective whole. A related activity is lecturing or teacher monologue, a still popular form in higher education, at least at university level with often very large student groups (Dafouz Milne, Núñez Perucha and Sancho Guinda 2007; Flowerdew and Miller 1995, 1996; Strodt-Lopez 1991).

While the HMP lessons did not include any true lectures, many lessons contained monologic sequences when teachers were speaking for up to ten minutes without inviting or receiving any student contributions. Other activity types, such as group/pair work or individual seat work, featured much less often in the HMP classes, especially during the first year of studies. It is interesting to note, however, that the activity type chosen functioned as independent variable predicting language choice. Group/pair work as well as parallel talk was undertaken in all the languages represented by two or more participants; main talk in whole class interaction, on the other hand, was undertaken in English only. While this is a telling sign of the ELF nature of the HMP in that it shows that English was the participants’ only shared medium of communication, it has also been a supportive factor in deciding on main talk and whole class interaction as research focus.

A final dimension of structuring classroom talk concerns the functional orientation pursued. Here, the distinction in classroom registers into instructional and regulative as suggested by Christie (e.g. 2002) seems enlightening and useful when describing issues such as repair patterns or directives (see chapters 5.3.2, 6.3.1, 7.3.3). The instructional register relates to content and is thus employed when constructing the object of learning. The regulative register refers to classroom management and, as Dalton-Puffer (2007: 29) suggests, covers two aspects: general issues such as changing the setting (e.g. *let's open a window*) and more specific ones which are directly related to the pedagogical activity (e.g. explaining tasks and assignments). This sub-specification clarifies the relationship between the two registers: especially after the first years of schooling and socialization into educational talk, they interrelate over long stretches of classroom talk. More precisely, the instructional register tends to be embedded in the regulative one, but should overlap in a 'zone of convergence' (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 30) where instructional and regulative goals merge with a view to creating the object of learning as clearly and tangibly as possible. This convergence can be expected to be even more pronounced at the tertiary level, with the learners being adults and highly experienced in formal educational discourse on the whole.

In sum, classroom discourse can be described as a prototypical form of 'institutional talk' embedded in and shaping the pedagogical goals of formal education. Given the centrality of face-to-face interaction, classroom interactional events have been defined as 'oral practices', co-constructing the complex interplay of partly conventionalized, but continuously evolving discursive structures and social activities. These, it is important to keep in mind, do "not only coexist, but *are expected to coexist*." (Heras 1994: 295, emphasis original) In other words, especially at the post-secondary educational level where students have had a minimum of twelve years of formal education, they are well equipped to contribute to and construct classroom discourse.

While this is undoubtedly the case in the HMP, the oral practices enacted in the classrooms depend on one more communicational resource, which has been ignored in the discussion so far: the coming together of multilingual social actors. Given the centrality of language(s) to the teaching and learning undertakings in educational settings, the following section focuses on multilingualism in this regard.

2.2.2 Multilingual classrooms

While well-established, the term 'multilingual classrooms' is far from an objective investigative label. In reality, it contains or rather camouflages a myriad of

diverse, partly barely comparable educational settings and scenes. In an attempt to clarify what type(s) of multilingual classrooms are of interest to this study, four central parameters will be considered in the following.

Firstly and as touched upon above (see 2.1), ‘multilingual education’ can refer to the learners and/or teaching programmes; a vagueness which, however, should not be interpreted as wanting in specificity. On the contrary, when considered from a constructivist perspective, it would seem misleading to separate teaching programmes from their participants, especially as practical experience tells us that programmes and participants shape each other. Therefore, I suggest using ‘multilingual classroom’ inclusively, i.e. for multilingual programmes as well as multilingual student groups.

Secondly and in keeping with our investigative focus, the following overview will concentrate on the post-secondary level of education. The much more varied and rich research literature on K-12 (i.e. kindergarten to upper secondary) education will be referred to only occasionally when findings with (adolescent) learners are considered to offer useful insights for adult learners as well.

The third parameter concerns the term ‘multilingual’ itself: it will be used for educational groups – or communities of practice – whose summative repertoire includes two or more languages, and whose individual repertoires, while potentially highly diverse, overlap in at least one language. Thus, in contrast to individual multilingualism, which, as Jessner (2006: 13–20) argues convincingly, should not be conflated with individual bilingualism, the following description of group multilingualism will subsume bilingualism. A distinction is not deemed necessary, as, firstly, the international educational settings focused on here are multilingual by definition and, secondly, truly bilingual groups, i.e. groups in which all members are proficient in the same two languages as is the case with, for instance, EFL (English as a foreign language) learners in monolingual areas, are decreasing in frequency and relevance in our mobile time and age.

The final parameter concerns the language(s) chosen for teaching and learning and specifies that, if there is only one medium of instruction, it must function as additional language for a good part of the students. This allows us to exclude from the discussion potential ‘pseudo-bilingual classrooms’, such as those where a linguaculturally homogeneous group of students who are all proficient in a second language, as e.g. German-speakers with English as school subject, study through their first language, German in this case. Put differently, foreign language proficiency alone does not make a class into a multilingual one; what is instead required is that the learners employ this language as medium of communication in other subjects as well.

To summarize, multilingual (higher) education is understood here as referring to educational oral practices that are enacted by multilingual communities,

mainly at the post-secondary level in a language that the students are proficient in, but to differing degrees. Such educational events are introduced in the following by, firstly, presenting and describing various subtypes with special focus on their relevance to the Hotel Management Programme. Once these basics have been explained, we will turn to the crucial issue of learning through an additional language and the implications this has for the teachers and students involved.

2.2.2.1 *Sketching multilingual (higher) education*

As stated repeatedly here and elsewhere, communication in class is of prime relevance to the learning process in general. This claim does not lose its validity in multilingual settings; on the contrary, it gains in relevance in that the crux is not only classroom discourse, but also the language in which it is undertaken.¹⁰ After all, it is the language which functions as medium of instruction. Often, it is also the only medium of communication between teachers and students, but, depending on shared languages, this does not have to be the case. An even less definite issue is for whom and to which extent this chosen medium of instruction functions as language of learning. So, while this language can fulfil various functions to differing degrees, it is its role as ‘medium of instruction’ that is the surest, which is also why I will use this term in the following, although I am aware of the fact that the specific language might be more than simply a medium of instruction.¹¹ The language issue has yet another implication and this concerns the policies and practices of handling and employing the medium of instruction in the multilingual environment. In the context of primary and secondary education, this issue is a hotly debated one, as the discussions on the assimilatory or immersive character of bilingual programmes vividly illustrate (e.g. Baker 2006: 213–225; Freeman 1998: 32–57; Potowski 2007: 7–30; Romaine 1995: 241–287). Put briefly, assimilation disregards the linguistic diversity of the learners, expecting everybody to function as if they were monolingual speakers of the medium of instruction. As a ‘sink or swim’ approach, assimilation has thus been heavily criticized for its insensitive and discriminatory ideology and potentially disastrous results for the individuals involved. Immersion, on the other hand, takes cognisance of the linguistic diversity amongst the learners and, ideally, provides the necessary language support.

10. Although classroom discourse can be conducted in more than one language, this happens so seldom at the tertiary level that ‘language’ in the singular is the more likely option and has therefore also been chosen here. A few comments on bilingual classroom discourse will follow later (see 2.2.2.2).

11. This contrasts with ‘classroom language’ as preferred term for English in the HMP. For an explanation see 2.4.

Depending on orientation and methodologies employed, immersion education can lead to subtractive bi/multilingualism with the medium of instruction functionally replacing the learners' previous language(s). This is contrasted with additive bi/multilingualism, which means that learners build on and enlarge their linguistic repertoire, acquiring functional uses in the new language while retaining the old ones as well. As expounded on and substantiated by a range of relevant research, assimilation tends to impoverish not only individuals, but also the community in question, while immersion programmes have the potential to support linguistic enrichment as well as cognitive and social developments in the individuals and, by extension, the social groups of which they are members.

While these considerations on multilingual educational policies are relevant for bi/multilingual education in general, it is vital to remember that education at the tertiary level is different from the preceding educational stages in two ways. It is, firstly, an optional path chosen by a numerical minority who have, secondly, reached adulthood. The former does not only imply that nobody is forced into doing it; it also hints at the elitist nature of this most advanced kind of education. Usually, tertiary education is taken as advantageous in terms of one's career opportunities as well as social status, and so is its medium of instruction. The latter aspect, the age factor, has implications for the kind of cognitive and emotional maturity reached, which is on average of a different and more developed kind than for learners between 6 and 18 (van de Craen et al. 2007). Thus, the dangers inherent in assimilatory bilingualism at an early age cannot be compared with the kind of consequences this might have during adulthood. Without intending to downplay its potentially negative emotional or social consequences, (partial) language shift during adulthood has apparently little effect on a person's cognition; at least, in so far as this can be ascertained on the basis of research into first language attrition. While a language system can erode almost completely when language loss sets in in childhood, extant research confirms that post puberty "the amount of attrition [...] is usually surprisingly low, even after many decades spent in an L2 environment." (Köpke and Schmid 2007: 10) In sum then, what makes tertiary education different from K-12, namely the age and maturity of the students, also plays a role when it comes to multilingual teaching and learning programmes.

These language-related issues are not only helpful in tracing the conceptual outline of multilingual higher education in general, but also as regards describing the differences between such educational programmes. The following major differentiating factors can be identified: the students' sociolinguistic background, their motivation for participating, the duration of their participation as well as the language-related issues discussed above, i.e. medium of instruction and

Table 2.2. Factors (and values) for describing multilingual higher education

sociolinguistic background (immigration, ethnolinguistic minority, ‘organized mobility’, ‘individual mobility’ ¹²)
motivation (involuntary/no alternative, voluntary, language learning)
duration (whole studies, parts of studies)
medium of instruction (national/regional, international language; target, bilingual)
types of multilingualism (additive, subtractive, transitional)

educational policy pursued. Table 2.2 provides a summary of these factors and their values (adapted from Smith 2004: 78–79).

While none of the factors plays a leading role in defining the multilingual nature of actual educational programmes, I follow Smith (2004: 78) in using the students’ sociolinguistic background as point of entry into sketching five frequent scenarios of multilingual higher education:

- I. As immigrant students have no real alternative other than the majority-oriented programmes, their motivation must be taken as ‘involuntary’ (cf. de Mejía 2002: 43) when deciding on taking a course in the national/regional medium of instruction. Usually, students plan on doing the whole programme. Unless these student form large groups, the educational policies will be assimilatory. Otherwise they can also be of an immersion type by, for instance, offering language learning or support classes.
- II. Students with ethnolinguistic minority backgrounds are in a potentially similar situation to immigrant students, except when special programmes are available for them. These might aim at (additive) bilingualism through immersion into the majority language or even into the minority language. In the latter case, dual immersion is a viable possibility with the use of both languages as mediums of instruction. Cases in point are some universities set in bilingual regions, such as the Basque Country (e.g. Cenoz 2005). Students’ motivation may be voluntary or involuntary, depending on the availability of alternative courses.
- III. Irrespective of their sociolinguistic background, students involved in programmes that (also) aim at modern languages can encounter multilingual education for parts or all of their studies. A prototypical case is language teacher education, which, more often than not, uses the target language

12. As I find Smith’s (2004: 79) term ‘spontaneous mobility’ misleading in that moving from one country to another for study purposes cannot be done spontaneously, I suggest the term ‘individual mobility’ instead.

as medium of instruction in at least some of the classes, with the explicit objectives of language immersion and learning.

- IV. 'Organized mobility' refers to the growing group of multilingual students who study abroad for a short period (usually a semester or year) as part of organized student exchange programmes, such as SOCRATES/ERASMUS within the European Union. These students are supposed to take part in the courses offered for the local students, but as the language proficiency requirements which this regulation entails have turned into a major stumbling block in many countries, an increasing number of universities offer courses in English. In other words, 'organized mobility' has not only led to students adapting to the local language policies, but has also had the opposite effect of institutions adapting their language policies and study programmes by, for instance, offering courses in English.¹³
- V. 'Individual mobility', finally, describes the increasing group of students who decide to pursue their studies in a foreign country. Usually, the decision is a voluntary one and concerns a complete course of studies. Two versions of this scenario are possible: firstly, individual students decide on courses largely attended by local students, which makes their situations comparable to the one immigrant students find themselves in. Secondly and more importantly for this study, an increasing number of students apply for programmes that are especially designed for the international market in terms of student intake and professional orientation.¹⁴ These programmes are specific not only in their constellations of students, but also as regards the 'language issue'. The medium of instruction tends to be English alone, although, as pointed out above, some international university programmes in Germany, for instance, combine English with German.

While all five subtypes of multilingual higher education are equally interesting, the circumstances of the present study single out the fifth scenario, especially in its second version. The Hotel Management Programme must count as a prototypical example since the programme is conceived of and designed as international in terms of the professional expertise it prepares for (hotel management) as well

13. Examples are easy to find, especially in countries whose first languages are generally not learnt by foreign language learners. At the Faculty of Agriculture and Forestry of the University of Helsinki, for instance, international students are helped with a special website on English language courses (<http://www.mm.helsinki.fi/english/studies/courses.html>) (accessed 13 October 2009).

14. A case in point is the University of Amsterdam, which offers a whole range of English-medium programmes (<http://www.uva.nl/start.cfm/la=en/th=as>) (accessed 24 August 2009).

as its clientele. Students from practically all parts of the world have already taken the course and thus proven their individual mobility and readiness to live as ‘sojourners’ or “temporary travellers in different cultures” (Bochner 2003: chapter 8, unit 7). This is an important precondition not only for the HMP or other such programmes, but also for the students’ future careers in our globalized day and age. Most top-ranking hospitality businesses belong to international chains or marketing co-operations and their managers are expected to move around. The resulting multiculturalism in the professional world as well as the educational programme preparing for it entail multilingualism and, on an individual level, at least bilingualism, with English as the international hospitality language. This is reflected in the language policies of the Hotel Management Programme: English as only medium of instruction and optional language classes as an offer to the students to improve their personal multilingualism (for more information see chapter 4.2).

As a final note, I would like to pick up the notion of ‘elitist’ introduced beforehand. Given the substantial financial means required for such studies, it is obvious that such educational programmes can be called elitist. As summarized in de Mejía (2002: 41), elite multilingualism contains an element of choice and conscious support, it is considered instrumental to socio-economical advancement, but can also be helpful in “increasing [one’s] tolerance of difference”. At the same time, ‘elite’ bi/multilingualism must not be interpreted as unusual or restricted to a chosen few. Especially in Europe, proficiency in a prestigious additional language like English is very wide-spread and increasing (de Mejía 2002: 43; Eurobarometer 2005) and a growing necessity (Grin 2001), thus widening the group of elite bi/multilinguals. Thanks to this development, multilingual higher educational courses based on ‘individual mobility’ are on the increase as well.

2.2.2.2 *Teaching and learning in an additional language*

The first version of individual mobility settings relates to those educational programmes in which the medium of instruction is also the language of the environment. As regards English as medium of instruction, this actually applies in the majority of cases because most individually mobile students choose a tertiary institution in the USA, Canada, UK, Australia or New Zealand (Graddol 2006, see 2.3). An obvious implication is that such students are not only immersed in an English-medium educational programme, but also in a wider English-speaking community. Furthermore, many teachers can be expected to be English monolinguals; at least there is no necessity for them to be bi/multilingual

themselves in spite of their multilingual classrooms.¹⁵ The remaining educational programmes, steadily increasing in number, can be grouped together since English is their medium of instruction because of its crucial role in internationalization. As it is not a language of the area or region, the English-speaking community in which students find themselves is small and institutionally restricted and surrounded by the wider non-English speaking one. This implies that the students encounter multilingualism in daily life and also that practically all of the teachers are bi/multilingual in at least English and the language of the environment. In other words, the two groups of setting differ as regards the communicational roles English fulfils and, linked to that, the kind and relevance of bi/multilingualism.

Similarities, on the other hand, can be found as regards the intercultural nature of the learner groups as well as the multilingual element of their classroom discourse. The former stresses the cultural dimension of the role distributions relevant to the oral practices of classroom talk (see 2.2.1.2): based on the diverse national and educational backgrounds that come together, individual mobility classrooms reflect a complex mix of different group and individual characteristics (cf. de Mejía 2002: 80). The latter picks up on the multilingualism that comes with multiculturalism and can influence classroom discourse in two ways. Firstly and more obviously, participants have various languages at their disposal to create truly multilingual exchanges. Secondly, multilingual students have different backgrounds in using and learning English, which means that their language diversity also comes to the fore when communicating in English. Given the centrality of classroom discourse to constructing the 'object of learning', the participants' multilingualism can thus be expected to play a crucial role in the teaching and learning practices. It is in acknowledgement of this interrelatedness of how multilingual participants construct what is to be learnt that such educational programmes are described as integrating both content and language in the learning processes.

The combination of learning content and language at the same time is the focus of attention in- and outside English-dominant areas; albeit with different labels. Those programmes that are set in an English-speaking surrounding have

15. An in this regard exceptional group of teachers are the international teaching assistants (ITAs) at American universities, i.e. international post-graduate students with teaching requirements. Most of them are bi- or multilingual with English as an additional language, which means that they face 'immersion' when teaching their mainly English monolingual student groups. That this situation is not without problems becomes evident in advice pages on how to increase communicative effectiveness (<http://oic.id.ucsb.edu/international-ta-handbook>) (accessed 24 August 2009).

been referred to as ‘immersion education’ or ‘content based instruction’ (e.g. Grabe and Stoller 1997; Johnson and Swain 1997; Snow and Brinton 1997; Snow 1998), indicating the motivation of language learning in order to be acculturated into the respective linguaculture. Programmes that are set outside the Anglophone world, on the other hand, are described as ‘integrating content and language’ (ICL) or ‘content and language integrated learning’ (CLIL) (e.g. Caspari et al. 2007; Dalton-Puffer 2007; Dalton-Puffer and Smit 2007; Dalton-Puffer, Nikula and Smit 2010; Marsh and Wolff 2007; Wilkinson 2004; Wilkinson and Zegers 2007b), thus stressing the contextualized function English plays in the educational programme itself.¹⁶ Interestingly, the relevant literature so far has concentrated mainly on the secondary level by analysing, on the one hand, CBI in school programmes supporting immigrant adolescent learners and, on the other, the increasingly popular CLIL in mainstream European schools teaching certain subjects through English. In view of the European setting of the Hotel Management Programme and the overlap in using English as additional language for all players, CLIL findings will be considered for the analyses of classroom talk (see 5.4, 6.4, 7.4). Despite such similarities, it must at the same time not be forgotten that the educational approaches differ with regard to student age and, furthermore, also in terms of the scenarios sketched above: the CBI studies address scenarios I and II, while CLIL addresses scenario III in that the explicit motivation for teaching content through English is to help pupils improve their English communicational abilities. Given the focus on scenario V here, the following considerations will focus on tertiary, individually mobile settings and draw on the literature on secondary education for the sake of comparison.

Before turning to another issue in multilingual higher education, some clarification seems necessary: the strong association suggested between multilingual learners and ICL might seem to insinuate that the opposite must be the case for monolingual learners; that, in monolingual settings, the two learning processes of content and language would run in separate grooves, independent of each other. This is most decidedly not the case. As argued repeatedly in the literature (see also 7.1 and 7.2), learning is an inherently language-based process and thus always integrates aspects of content and language (e.g. Airey 2009: 27–28; Bruna and Gomez 2009: 2–3; Grabe and Stoller 1997: 15; Vollmer and Thürmann 2009: 5–6). That this contingency has received explicit mention with multi- rather than monolingual learners does not, I suggest, reflect the socio-

16. Apart from the labels given here, such educational programmes are referred to by many more terms, an impressive collection of which is given on: www.content-english.org (accessed 24 August 2009).

cognitive learning processes both of them experience. Rather, it is a reflection of different teaching requirements and practices as the multilingual groups with divergent language backgrounds and different proficiency levels need attention much more immediately and urgently than monolingual and also monocultural groups of learners do.

The importance of language proficiency in multilingual education is intuitively clear. After all, without the necessary language skills any classroom discourse, even the potentially most approachable one, remains opaque and inaccessible. This is also why tertiary educational institutions offering English-medium education tend to require future students to provide proof of their English language proficiency, usually in the form of standardized language tests. Additionally, they offer further language support in a wide range of forms and systems.¹⁷ In the case of scenario V educational programmes, matters, however, become slightly more complicated. As most participants are multilinguals, language proficiency becomes an issue for both students and teachers. While often difficult from an organizational and financial point of view, some tertiary institutions offer support and language learning opportunities to the teaching staff (Bouman 2006; Klaassen 2006) and yet, lecturers do not always find it easy to teach in English, especially when the expectations of students as well as teachers themselves are guided by monolingual L1 English teaching performances (cf. Wilkinson and Zegers 2006: 35). That such expectations have to change and, indeed, are changing, is described in Clear's (2005) report, based on his personal experience as programme organizer of an English-medium applied science programme in Germany. The language teachers had to learn that teaching in English is not the same as doing it in their first language and that they "may have to forsake an element of control, of style and even of personality." (Clear 2005: 195) What finally matters is that their English must be 'good enough' in the sense that it "does not hinder students' learning" (Clear 2005: 202). Interestingly, students' opinions mirrored this attitudinal change; their original complaints about the teachers' non-native like English changed into a more positive evaluation of the teachers' abilities in making the subject matter comprehensible.

Apart from the question of comprehensibility, the language proficiency issue also has pedagogical implications. What, if any, impact does the use of an additional language as medium of instruction have on the learning process and outcome? As important as this issue is, it is difficult to approach, for theoretical as well as methodological reasons. Firstly, investigating the learning process

17. For relevant research into ESP and EAP language teaching and learning cf. e.g. Basturkmen (2006), Gavioli (2005), Hyland (2006).

itself entails research into neuro-cognitive structures; a line of research that is, however, still in its infancy and, despite exciting and potentially revolutionising brain modelling, only marginally applicable to our specific research issue (e.g. van de Craen et al. 2007). Therefore, the investigative focus is usually placed on what is easier to observe, i.e. the learning outcome as reflected in student performance. When supplemented by participant evaluations, such findings seem to allow interpretations of the learning processes as well. A second methodological concern is implicit in the research question itself. When put in this abstract, decontextualized way, it arguably misses the point. Language use and learning are, after all, deeply socio-cultural phenomena and should thus be investigated in their situatedness and dynamics. As a leading sociolinguist put it twenty years ago in arguing that a certain pedagogical model cannot be simply transplanted elsewhere:

what is likely to work, and to be acceptable, is less a question of universals of language learning and more a question of the locally-defined social significance of language use and the socially and culturally constructed speech economy of a region. (Heller 1990: 81)

So, the research question should most likely be investigated more humbly in relation to a specific educational setting and its internal developments, in the hope that the findings may help others in analysing their own programmes. In other words, developmental processes, such as learning, can hardly be done justice to in momentary stocktaking endeavours, but should rather be approached from a longitudinal, ethnographic research perspective. Such an approach would also make sense as the research issue is more complex in that it concerns not only linguistic proficiency, but also socio-cultural constellations and dynamics. Studies undertaken in K-12 education underline the intricate interweaving of socio-cultural and linguistic factors (cf. also OECD 2007 for the PISA studies). As reported on in diverse settings (Brizič 2006; Esser 2006), the school-based success of immigrant children correlates with the age at which they immigrated, but also depends on their ethnic/national backgrounds. Some groups might take several generations to catch up with other ethnic groups.

In a culturally more homogeneous setting of L1 vs. CLIL teaching, on the other hand, Stohler (2006) reports on comparable achievements with pupils performing equally well in knowledge tests irrespective of the medium of instruction (cf. also Badertscher and Bieri 2009: 102). Similar, but more differentiated findings are offered in Zydatiś (2007). This comprehensive study with 180 secondary learners in Berlin offers clear evidence that the CLIL learners' content knowledge is at least equally developed to that of the regular students. Additionally, the impressive battery of language proficiency tests evidences clearly

that the CLIL group by far outperforms the control group on all levels (cf. also Lasagabaster 2008). At the same time, this success story is not true for all pupils as a sizable percentage of CLIL pupils fall into the group of less successful language learners; a finding which seems to hint at pupils' overall school success as a common influencing factor. So, while most learners benefit from instruction in an additional language, this is not necessarily the case for low achievers (Benson et al. 2008; Mewald 2007).

Research into achievement at the tertiary level confirms the relevance and interrelatedness of the linguistic and socio-cultural parameters, albeit with situation-dependent different settings (summarized in Smith 2004: 81–87). Students and teachers report on differences in terms of educational as well as ethno-linguistic cultures, such as the authority attributed to lecturers, written work or partially clashing taboo areas. In certain cases, these differences lead to conflicts of loyalties, but generally students note their appreciation of having gained a wider cultural perspective and deeper awareness of the host as well as their own cultures. As regards the linguistic parameter, Smith (2004: 83) reports on highly positive evaluations of students who chose an L2 as medium of instruction voluntarily (in scenarios III and V). At the same time, they also mentioned negative consequences of using an additional language, like the considerable amount of extra time needed for studying and also for writing exams (cf. also Hellekjær 2010). The latter point relates to assessment and is thus of prime importance not only to the individual student, but also to the teachers and educational programmes on the whole. In addition to the extra time needed, the diversity in language proficiencies needs to be considered as well. In contrast to class work, assessment is largely based on writing and students with differently weighted language skills might not be able to reveal the “true extent of their content knowledge” (de Mejía 2002: 8). While individual teachers are often aware of this problem (cf. Smit 2007b), its consequences have arguably not been given the attention they require. Wilkinson and Zegers (2006: 30) suggest that one reason for this neglect might be that administrators of ICL tertiary educational programmes focus on attracting students rather than working on ‘benchmarks of quality’ such as appropriate assessment criteria and procedures.

So far, assessment in many ICL programmes has not responded to the ‘language issue’, which seems to me to be an indicator of the basic dilemma – or “struggle” (Potowski 2007: 207) – programme organizers find themselves in. On the one hand, they should keep the two learning goals, content and language, in balance while, on the other hand, teachers tend to favour the one over the other. As can be expected, content teachers focus on teaching their content and language teachers on teaching language. In K-12 education, some institutions have found a way out by having content and language teachers teach in teams

(de Mejía 2002: 81). As this requires an increased financial and organizational input, however, it is not applied in all settings. Mainstream programmes in particular often have to make do with one teacher per classroom, either teaching a language for specific purposes or a content area through that language.

The dichotomy drawn between content and language arguably implies that the latter lacks content or, by extension, expertise. This, of course, is not the case. English teachers have expertise in their content – the English language – just as content teachers have the expertise relevant to their areas of specialization. And it is precisely these divergent types of expertise that might be taken as reason why a single teacher has serious difficulties in doing justice to both: in ESP classes, language teachers have a clear content-focus and yet they encounter problems in constructing the respective knowledge in a discipline-appropriate way (e.g. Mohan and Slater 2006; see also chapter 7.1). Content teachers, on the other hand, might manage to adapt their own language use so that the learners can follow, but usually fail to attend to the language code by not providing explicit feedback on language use or suggesting more appropriate ways of expressing ideas (e.g. Creese 2005: 150; Musumeci 1996). An obvious way out of this dilemma lies in teacher education. As already proposed by the British ‘language across the curriculum’ initiative of the 1970s, every teacher is also a language teacher and should thus gain some relevant expertise. While a comprehensive integration of this thinking is still far from realized, some teacher education systems, like the Austrian one, require students to specialize in more than one discipline and thus make it possible for language teachers to gain expertise in non-language subjects as well. Where this is the case, CLIL teaching programmes benefit from this system, as many English teachers now teach their other subjects in English. What is highly interesting is that teachers with joint language and content expertise do not necessarily pay equal attention to both learning objectives. As stated repeatedly in the literature, teachers attend to issues of language (form) in their English language classes, but do so to a considerably lower degree in their CLIL classes (e.g. Lochman 2007; Musumeci 1996). While it might be deplored as missing out on chances of furthering second language acquisition, the shift in focus fits in well with general differences established between CLIL and EFL classroom discourses as regards student involvement (Nikula 2005, 2007). These findings indicate that, although language expertise is certainly a useful asset for ICL teachers, the content-dependent teaching and learning goals go together with instructional and interactional patterns that are different from language teaching; a direct comparison between foreign language classes and content classes in a foreign language is thus difficult.

When drawing on findings from secondary education in the attempt to describe tertiary classroom discourse, the common ground between the settings

requires explicit discussion. This is even more relevant in the present case, as the original motivation for undertaking ICL is different from that underlying CLIL. As argued above, ICL (at tertiary level) was originally motivated by internationalization in that English as medium of instruction is meant to attract and accommodate students of diverse language backgrounds. This contrasts with CLIL, which has become so widely used because of its (perceived) benefit of fostering foreign language learning at secondary level (cf. Dalton-Puffer 2007: 3; also Barwell 2005; de Graaff, Koopman and Westhoff 2007; Wolff 2007). One implication for the motivational difference concerns the types of bi/multilingualism encountered: in CLIL settings teachers and pupils share two languages, i.e. English as additional language and the main language of instruction in the school, while in ICL settings English is the only shared language, at least at the beginning of the programmes. It can be expected that the kind of shared language repertoire influences the participants' language choice and code-switching behaviour; as, indeed, it also does: the learners' L1(s) feature(s) in CLIL classrooms much more centrally than in ICL discourse (cf. Nikula 2005; Potowski 2007: 209). Furthermore, CLIL classes are socio-culturally homogeneous because they are usually attended by local learners.

Despite such obvious differences, ICL and CLIL, I submit, are comparable beyond the pedagogical programme of teaching and learning in and through an additional language, and this is so because the underlying motivations are more similar than it appears above. CLIL is so popular in Europe at present not only because it is perceived as a new, additional and financially viable way of language learning, but also because the language that is learnt this way is English – the global, international language that is seen as a necessary precondition for socio-economic success. So, internationalization already plays an important role in integrating content and language during K-12 education. Similarly, language learning is apparent as motivating force at the tertiary level as well. Students openly acknowledge that the prospect of discipline-linked fluency in English has influenced their decision to apply for an ICL study programme (e.g. Smith 2004; see also chapter 4.3) and, from the administrator's point of view, "a student's lack of English language skills [after] an English-taught programme is a delicate question that touches the very heart of a university's reputation." (van Leeuwen 2006: 12) To summarize, while ICL and CLIL programmes are different as regards the age range and multilingualism/culturalism of the learner groups, there are interesting points of overlap as regards underlying motivation as well as pedagogical orientation. It is on the basis of these similarities that I will draw on ICL/CLIL-based findings in analysing the HMP classroom discourse.

To conclude this section, it seems timely to place the HMP into the preceding discussion of (higher) education in an additional language. As a professionally oriented educational programme explicitly designed for individually mobile students, it catered for a multilingual community whose only shared language was English. Thus, the students' main motivation to join was internationalization. Given how strongly international hotel management is linked to English, improving English by using it must also be taken as relevant; in other words, it can be assumed that integrating content and language is also relevant to the HMP. What this looks like in more detail will be elaborated on in the ethnographic description (see chapter 4.3).

2.3 English as a lingua franca

As attested and argued in many academic and popular sources, English can justifiably be given a unique status amongst all languages used on our planet today. Similar to all other (socio)linguists, I also feel the need to relativize this statement by stressing that this uniqueness, which has widely been identified by the label 'global' or 'world' language, is not a linguistic, but a socio-political one. Given that there are various recent, well researched and interestingly written book-length accounts that throw light on diverse aspects of this topic (e.g. Brutt-Griffler 2002; Crystal 2003; Gnutzmann and Intemann 2008; Graddol 2006; Jenkins 2009), a few pointers sketching the global nature of English should suffice here. As semantically apparent, "the special role [...] recognized in every country" (Crystal 2003: 3) which English plays is part and parcel of 'globalization', which, as Gnutzmann and Intemann (2008: 9) remind us, "is generally connected to global economy, global communication systems [...] and global mass culture". Each of these three fundamentally money-oriented and -creating world-wide phenomena is linked inextricably to and largely carried by verbal exchanges. It would surely be simplistic to reduce it all to one language, though, especially when keeping in mind the recent trends towards linguistic diversification in, for instance, the internet (Danet and Herring 2007; Kelly-Holmes 2006), but also in the global economy (Graddol 2006: 62). At the same time, if there is one language that is identified as prime vehicle of these global matters then it is English. As the main means of communication for international business, trade and transport, international research, education and (mass) culture, English is firmly established in this present role, and will remain so for some time to come.

While such trends and developments are notoriously difficult to grasp in reliable numbers (for a critical assessment cf. Gnutzmann and Intemann 2008:

12–14), a few current estimates may serve to flesh out the picture. When we look at the world economy in relation to the world's languages, English takes the biggest single share, viz. 30% (Graddol 2006: 62). International communication offers a similar picture: while languages other than English are not to be downplayed in their relevance, English is still 'in the lead' in international news broadcasting and the internet, with an estimated 56% of web content in English in 2002 (Sigurbjörnsson, Kamps and de Rijke 2005). As regards higher education, the situation is even more extreme. With universities orienting themselves towards the international rather than their national market, English is increasingly used not only for publishing, but also for teaching. Based on various sources taken from different years, Graddol (2006: 76) estimates that, all over the globe, there are about 2–3 million international students per year, more than half of whom attend English-medium programmes. While most of them go to the 'major English-speaking destination countries' (MESDCs), first and foremost the USA and the UK, a good and steadily growing proportion of them prefer programmes elsewhere, which is reflected in the estimated 1500 English-medium Master's programmes offered in non-MESDCs in 2003–04 (Graddol 2006: 74). Keeping these developments in mind, it is not surprising to find an increase in English language use and learning. Second language users of English are reported to have increased by 40% in the last 20 years (Gnutzmann and Intemann 2008: 13) and are now claimed to have reached the one billion mark (Graddol 2006: 62). Even if this number lacks the necessary statistical foundation for it to be taken at face value, it contrasts sharply with similar estimates put forth for first language speakers of English, all of which lie between 320 and 380 million (as overviewed in Gnutzmann and Intemann 2008: 13). In relation to the world population (Graddol 2006: 60) this relates to just above 5%, tendency falling. One logical consequence of the discrepancy in estimates is that communication in English is undertaken more and more with no or only minimal participation of first language speakers (Rubdy and Saraceni 2006: 1).

As a brief glance through the relevant academic and also popular literature reveals, researchers and writers use a broad range of terms for English functioning as (only) shared means of communication between people of diverse linguistic and/or cultural backgrounds. Fittingly, most labels follow the 'English as ... language' pattern, filling it with attributes such as 'global' (e.g. Crystal 2003; Gnutzmann and Intemann 2008), 'world' (Mair 2003) or 'international' (Meierkord 1996). Sometimes, these expressions are reduced to pre-modified noun-phrases such as 'International English' or 'Global English', which, however, as criticized in Seidlhofer (2004: 210), are misleading formulations in that they presuppose what is simply not there: such "clearly distinguishable, codi-

fied, and unitary varieties”.¹⁸ Of the ‘English as ...’ labels those most widely used in academic publications are presumably ‘English as an international language’ (e.g. Jenkins 2000; Lesznyák 2004) as well as ‘English as a lingua franca’ (e.g. House 2003a; Seidlhofer 2001, 2004; Smit 2005); their popularity is also reflected in their well established acronyms EIL and ELF.

While both labels are sometimes employed synonymously (e.g. Jenkins 2005b, 2006), I will use ELF only in this study for two reasons, the first of which is conceptual and the second semantic in nature. As regards the former, international is ambiguous in that, as commented on by Seidlhofer (2004: 210), it has been used in two rather opposing ways in combination with English: besides the ELF function intended here, ‘International English’ can also refer to established, institutionalized and codified varieties of English as used intranationally all over the world, i.e. in the established research field of varieties of English (e.g. Kortmann and Schneider 2004; Pakir 2009; Trudgill and Hannah 2002). The semantic mismatch is linked to the highly specific nature of the present study and the present focus on a group of about 40 individuals and their classroom-based interactions. As the participants act and communicate as individuals, their interactions are experienced as ‘inter-individual’, rather than ‘inter-national’, even if – or rather especially because – the educational programme they are participating in is truly international in student constellation as well as vocational thrust.¹⁹

2.3.1 Demarcating ELF

Given that the term ‘English as a lingua franca’, or ELF for short, has been introduced here in relation to language use in a very specific setting, the following discussion will not attempt to duplicate general explications, but will rather focus on the interpretations presently accorded to ELF itself and discuss them as applied in the present study.²⁰ The only exception to this clear focus on the study

18. Such criticism does not apply to Brutt-Griffler’s (2002) concept of ‘World English’, as it explicitly encompasses a diversity of diachronic, dialectal and acquisitional varieties and variation.

19. An international approach furthermore presupposes that individuals can identify with specific nations, which is, however, becoming more and more difficult, especially for urbanised young people (Block 2006; Pavlenko 2006) such as those studying in the Hotel Management Programme in question.

20. For detailed discussions on ELF in general cf. House (2003a), James (2005, 2006, 2007a), Pakir (2009) Seidlhofer (2004, 2006, 2010); for its origin cf. Meierkord (2006), Samarin (1987); for ELF in the European context cf. Berns (2009), Modiano (2009), Seidlhofer, Breiteneder and Pitzl (2006); for (collections of) studies on

itself is to pay tribute to the scholars who already realized in the early 1980s, at a time when there was little general awareness of globalization, that the internationalization of English would also need to be recognized as relevant to applied English language research and responded to in academic argumentation (e.g. Hüllen 1982; Kachru 1992, Smith 1984). During the following decade, their considerations on internationalized English and its consequences on teaching and learning the language more generally were taken up in further meta-level arguments (e.g. Knapp 1987; Quirk and Widdowson 1985; Widdowson 1994), before the next logical step was taken and research started to enrich the meta-level discussions by turning to detailed analyses of actual ELF language use (e.g. Firth 1990, 1996; Meierkord 1996). The new millennium – so often called upon to underline important changes in society – also saw new and concerted developments in the ELF field, with a sharp increase in interaction-focused research (e.g. Ahevaïnen 2005; Breiteneder 2009; Dresemann 2007; Jenkins 2000; Kaur 2009; Knapp and Meierkord 2002; Lesznyák 2004; Mauranen and Ranta 2009: Parts II and III), the compilation of two relevant text corpora (ELFA and VOICE), and the theoretical construct and approaches refined and further developed (esp. Dewey 2009; Gnutzmann and Intemann 2008; House 2003a; Jenkins 2000; James 2005, 2006; Rubdy and Saraceni 2006: Part I; Seidlhofer 2001, 2010).

With the caveat in mind that these rapid and ongoing developments mitigate against a detached overview, the present section will demarcate the concept ‘ELF’, starting off with a comparison of well established definitions, then discussing in more detail central, partly contentious notions (see 2.3.1.2–2.3.1.5) and, finally, arguing for the definition applied here (see 2.3.1.6).

2.3.1.1 *On defining ELF*

With an eye to the notion of lingua franca in general, Meierkord and Knapp (2002: 10) characterize ELF as “second language[] for [its] speakers”, which Seidlhofer (2001: 146) describes in more detail as

in the strict sense of the word [] an additionally acquired language system that serves as a means of communication between speakers of different first languages or a language by means of which the members of different speech communities can communicate with each other but which is not the native language of either.

ELF cf. e.g. Gnutzmann (1999), Jenkins (2000, 2006, 2007), Knapp and Meierkord (2002), Mauranen and Ranta (2009), Meierkord (2006), Prodromou (2008), Rubdy and Saraceni (2006); for detailed descriptions of the range of terminology used for ELF cf. Ahvenainen (2005), Gnutzmann and Intemann (2008), Seidlhofer (2004).

This clearly linguistic focus on, in our case, English as common language of speakers of various languages is explicitly enlarged upon by a consideration of national or ethnic cultural diversity in Firth's (1996: 240; emphasis original) interpretation of ELF as

a 'contact language' between persons who share neither a common native tongue nor a common (national) culture, and for whom English is the chosen *foreign* language of communication.

House (1999: 74) reveals a similar understanding when she describes ELF interactions as taking place "between members of two or more different lingua-cultures in English, for none of whom English is the mother tongue."

Besides the range of languages and cultures involved, the definitions reveal a range of interpretations of the roles and functions of English. Some, like Firth, specify ELF as foreign language, thus clarifying that ELF interactions are understood as taking place in areas and countries where English is not regularly used, i.e. outside what Braj Kachru (1992) has so lastingly referred to as the Inner and Outer Circles.²¹ Others, like House above, leave the setting of the ELF interaction open, thus allowing for English-medium communication in, for instance, London to be classified as ELF as long as the interlocutors have different L1s (cf. Meierkord 1996). However, actual ELF talk necessitates another kind of variation to be factored in: interactional settings can and often do include (monolingual) L1 speakers of English. In view of how wide-spread this is, for instance, in administrative, business, technological or academic encounters in mainland Europe (Cenoz and Jessner 2000; Hartmann 1996), Seidlhofer (2004: 211) argues against discarding such interactions as examples of ELF, but instead suggests considering them as less pure. Such a gradient of typicality (cf. also *in the strict sense* in Seidlhofer's definition above) stands for a 'more or less' in ELF exchanges, which arguably caters for the potential variability of actual interactional settings and situations (cf. Dewey 2009). At the same time, it hints at the complexity underlying the concept, which, as I will show in the following, can be put into relief via four central points of contention:

- (a) the linguistic repertoire(s) of the participants,
- (b) the 'language-scape'²² and linguaculture of the setting,
- (c) the communicative purposes of the interaction and
- (d) the (socio)linguistic status of ELF.

21. For a brief sketch of the concept and its relevance here see 2.3.1.2.

22. As explained below, 'language-scape' is not identical with the recently established notion of 'linguistic landscape' and respective research into written language use on public signs (Backhaus 2007; Gorter 2006).

2.3.1.2 *The linguistic repertoire*

The linguistic and communicational repertoires of the participants are clearly at the centre of attention since, by definition, ELF goes hand in hand with multiple languages and diverse histories of communicating in them. After all, at least one of the participants in an ELF exchange has to be bilingual. This leaves the two options of the other participant being either a monolingual or a bilingual English speaker. So far, this line of argumentation does not seem particularly contentious; except, maybe, in the terms employed. The labels ‘mono-, bi- and multilinguals’ stand in contrast to well-established descriptions of linguistic repertoires in ELF as in the definitions quoted above. All of them use the much more established terminology of either native vs. non-native speaker (NS – NNS) and/or first language/mother tongue (L1) vs. second and foreign language (L2, FL). In fact, these labels are so wide-spread that their usage might go by undetected, although both the NS/NNS dichotomy and the L1/L2/FL trichotomy have repeatedly been criticized as abstract idealizations that misrepresent language use and their users (e.g. Jenkins 2000: 8–10; Gnutzmann and Intemann 2008: 13–14). Apart from the valid critique that such terms prioritize the individual over the group (Brutt-Griffler 2002: 137), they arguably perpetuate the monolingual world view of the nation-state ideology and the correlating assumption that human beings (should?) acquire and also identify with languages in an ordered one-after-the-other way (Gal 2006). While this ignores the linguistic reality of most bi- and multilinguals and thus of the majority of human beings, it also negates most of recent neurolinguistic findings that clearly show that multilingual language competences cannot be equated with the sum of monolingual speakers (e.g. Auer and Wei 2007; Cenoz 2006: 285–286). In other words, notions such as native or first language misrepresent the inclusiveness and flexibility of multilingual language competence and life-long changes and shifts in language use.

On a more semantic level, the label ‘non-native’ has the additional shortcoming of defining the majority of English language users by negation, by what they are not (Rampton 1990). While dismissable on moral grounds, this descriptor also implies that it is nativeness that ‘non-natives’ aspire to (Jenkins 2000: 8–9); an interpretation that finds further support in ‘near-native speaker’ as label given to highly competent bilingual users of English. Sociolinguistically, there is another problem inherent in the distinction between second and foreign language speakers. Its original intention, i.e. to stress the differences between learning and using a language where it is in daily use from where it is not, might still apply for many regionally localisable languages such as Czech, German, Tamil or Zulu to name but a few. In case of residence in their respective regions, learners would be dealing with a second language, for those resident in other

countries or regions with a foreign language. In the case of English, however, this distinction, if it ever was adequate, is now clearly misleading, not to say obsolete (cf. also Berns 2009: 193–195). As Gnutzmann and Intemann (2008: 14) point out, the importance of English to daily life does not correlate anymore with whether countries fall into traditional EFL regions, like Central Europe, or ESL regions, like Anglophone Africa or India, but is also influenced by the globalization of English and the local and regional relevance of other languages. So, while there are communities in ‘ESL nations’ like India or South Africa to whom English is a foreign language in that it does not feature in their daily lives, other communities in ‘EFL areas’ like Europe rely centrally on English as their second or maybe even main language in, for instance, their work lives. Similarly, “the categories ‘ESL country’ and ‘EFL country’ do not help to make qualitative statements on the English proficiency the citizens generally have.” (Gnutzmann and Intemann 2008: 14) In other words, the distinction between ‘second’ and ‘foreign’ is too simplistic to account for the presently increasing disparity in the functions and roles English fulfils for its wide range of users.

While this critique has lately been emphatically voiced in relation to considerations of English as global language, it is far from new. As publications on that topic vividly illustrate (Berns et al. 2007; Davies 2003; Singh 1998), these di/trichotomies have been repeatedly criticized, together with suggestions for other labels (e.g. Rampton 1990). In connection with English used as a lingua franca, Jenkins (2000: 9–10) for instance argues for ‘monolingual’ vs. ‘bilingual English speakers’, MES vs. BES. While, as acknowledged by Jenkins herself, these labels have their weaknesses as well, they must be considered a highly welcome proposal, mainly because they describe language users and learners in relation to their entire linguistic repertoires rather than their respective languages of primary socialization. Consequently – and in extension of Jenkins’s understanding of the term²³ – I suggest using ‘BES’ also for those bilinguals whose ‘native language’ is English, reserving MES for speakers whose linguistic repertoire is restricted to English only. In addition to these two categories, the recent research into multilingualism as different from bilingualism (e.g. Herdina and Jessner 2002; Jessner 2006) suggests a further dimension to this categorization, viz. ‘multilingual English speakers’ as a broad category of speakers of three or more languages including English. This means that this threefold distinction will be applied in the present study with the adjusted acronyms MoES (monolingual English speaker), BES (bilingual English speaker) and MuES (multilingual English speaker).

23. As Jenkins (2000: 9) clarifies, she “suggest[s] substituting the term ‘native speaker’ with ‘monolingual English speaker (MES).’”

One important characteristic of linguistic repertoires is language proficiency. It is centrally, but indirectly problematized in the traditional di/trichotomies criticized above as they equate acquisitional chronology of first vs. second and other languages learnt with high – ‘complete’ – vs. less – ‘incomplete’ – proficiency in them. Clearly, such a simplistic equation misses the complexities involved in language competencies and requires refinement. The solution offered so far is to bypass the criterion of proficiency as far as possible by classifying speakers on the basis of (the number of) their languages. At the same time, it must be admitted that ignoring proficiency as characteristic will not do. As studies into bi/multilingualism underline, proficiency remains an important and central factor and thus needs to be taken into consideration, also in ELF studies (e.g. Haegeman 2002; Meierkord 2004). Jenkins (2000: 10), for example, admits that even when trying to avoid the labels ‘L1’ and ‘L2’ on theoretical considerations, they reappear in data analysis “[o]n those occasions when it seems necessary to distinguish between those bilinguals for whom English is an L1 and for whom it is an L2”. It seems, thus, that in describing multilingual English-language interactions we cannot do without reference to language proficiency. The important question in this context is, however, whether analyses are served well when the researcher returns to the labels L1 vs. L2 vs. L3. On the one hand, this distinction has its merits because of its status as established terminology. At the same time, it is rather crude in that it implies a linear, categorical dimension of distinction. It is also ambiguous as regards its point of reference in that the distinguishing factor can be sequence of acquisition, (self-reported) language proficiency, functional breadth and feelings of linguistic identity, or, for that matter, any combinations of these factors. Narrative characterizations of types of multi/bilingualism, on the other hand, would clearly require detailed descriptions of these four factors in the participants’ language learning and using biographies (Spolsky 1998: 45–46), which, while representative and unambiguous, would become unwieldy and impractical in data analyses.

In other words, we are faced with a dilemma here between practical labelling and meaningful description. A way out might be to combine both approaches by first providing detailed descriptions of the participants’ linguistic repertoires, and then using labels referring to the descriptions previously provided as shortcuts (for the present study see chapter 4). In the interest of such theoretical and empirical clarity, it is a viable option to employ ‘shortcuts’ such as MoES, BES, MuES in reference to individuals or L1, L2, L3 and also FL when referring to their languages.

2.3.1.3 *The 'language-scape' of the setting*

The second point of contention discussed here concerns language as well, but this time in relation to the setting of ELF interactions, i.e. its “physical circumstances” (see 2.2.1.2). As ‘language-scape’ is a new, but convenient label for “the range of languages operating in a community” (Wajnryb 2005: §7), it is suggested to denote the range of languages operating in the time and place of an ELF oral practice and draws attention to the linguistic constellation that ELF interactions are set in. Note that this understanding does not presuppose a specific degree of influence of the setting on the ELF interaction itself, but simply acknowledges a potential relationship between the language-constellation of the surroundings and the repertoires of the participants. That such a term is relevant for ELF research becomes obvious when reviewing relevant studies.

Without doubt, the most important consideration into ‘language-scape’ concerns the role English plays in the (wider) setting. Virtually all investigations give the town/city, area, state or nation and indicate the roles and functions English plays, usually with the help of Braj Kachru’s (e.g. 1992) World Englishes model and its three circles, the Inner Circle referring to the mainly English-speaking nations (e.g. the USA, the UK or Australia); the Outer Circle comprising the former Anglophone colonies and the rest of the world falling into the Expanding Circle. While the tripartite classification of Englishes based on national historical-political developments has been criticized as profoundly unfit for sociolinguistic descriptions and explanations (Bruthiaux 2003), the model is still in wide usage, also amongst (socio)linguists (e.g. Mesthrie and Bhatt 2008; Pakir 2009). From an ELF perspective, it is especially the ‘Expanding Circle’ that continues to be drawn upon because English is typically used as a lingua franca by speakers for whom it is an additional language and who usually meet in settings where English does not play a public role. The Expanding Circle is thus the setting in the majority of ELF research (e.g. Ahvenainen 2005; Ehrenreich 2009; Firth 1990; Lesznyák 2004; Meeuwis 2002) and the two ELF corpora (ELFA, VOICE). At the same time, two of the early prominent studies, Meierkord (1996) and Jenkins (2000), rely on data collected in London, one of the political centres of the Inner Circle. While this atypicality is openly acknowledged, the researchers are at pains to point out the diverse linguistic repertoires of the BES/MuES participants of their respective ELF interactions and implicitly sideline the potential influence of the language-scape around them.

Where that factor finds its way back into the picture is via the widely shared understanding of the close link between language and culture (e.g. Baumann 1999; Parekh 2000; Riley 2007; Sarangi 1996). Similar to Block’s (2006: 21–24)

study, the multilingual/multicultural urban setting relevant to the HMP makes a static view of culture as “a historically created system of meaning and significance” (Parekh 2000: 143) inappropriate. Instead, culture is seen as dynamically “aris[ing] from the social practices of individuals on a moment-to-moment basis” (Block 2006: 22), which stand in a dynamic and mutually influencing relationship with the social structures the individuals find themselves in. A logical consequence of such a dynamic and fluid understanding of ‘culture’ is to question the existence of distinct cultures as often implied in notions such as multicultural or intercultural communication. Instead, it seems to make more sense to conceptualize communicational processes as transcultural. As originally argued by Welsch (1999), transculturality acknowledges the fluidity between different cultural forms and the complexity of societies and society-internal as well as external ways of communicating (also Antor 2006; Pennycook 2007: 45–47; Thurlow 2000).

As social practices depend to a high degree on verbal communication, language use is, in Kramsch’s (1993: 9) words, “indissociable from the creation and transmission of culture”. This interwovenness between the two is well verbalized in the term ‘linguaculture’ (e.g. Pölzl 2005: 95). As regards ELF, the idea of linguaculture features in complex ways. First and foremost, there is the question which culture(s), if any, ‘come(s)’ with using ELF itself. Suggestions have ranged from no culture at all based on the understanding of *lingua francas* as means of communication rather than identification (House 2003a: 538, referring to Hüllen 1992) via mixed forms of the participating linguacultures (as described, for instance, in intercultural communication research, e.g. Gumperz 1982; Scollon and Scollon 2001) to new or hybrid forms that develop out of the contact of cultures (e.g. Sarangi 1996), a so-called ‘third space’ (Bhabha 1990) or ‘third place’ (Kramsch 1993).

As such interpretations of culture have all been substantiated with ELF data of one kind or another, they suggest either no, mixed or new culture(s) for ELF interactions, which seems contradictory at first. However, the contradiction is, I contend, not inherent in the ELF manifestations themselves, but rather in the analytical ways of using ‘culture’. When understood as a single national or ethnic culture, such a monolithic and usually static interpretation cannot apply to ELF, thus leading to a zero attestation. In the cases of two such ‘cultures’ coming together, such a static, monolithic understanding would necessitate the trading off of the one against the other. The postmodern notion of a hybrid culture as something new and, along the lines of the ‘donor’ linguacultures, inseparable, seems better suited to the typical multilingual/cultural settings of ELF exchanges. In a similar light, Meierkord (2002: 129) asks whether ELF reveals a language ‘stripped bare of its cultural roots’ or a ‘linguistic masala’, arguing

that it does both in a “hybrid form of communication”. A similar understanding comes to the fore in Pennycook’s (2007: 7) argument for transculturation flows as “phenomen[a] of the contact zone”, combining “the movement of cultural forms across the globe [... with their] local take-up”.

Besides the diverse and complex linguacultures that ELF participants bring to the exchange, ELF interactions, which are, as argued above, typically set in the ‘Expanding Circle’, feature another linguaculture, i.e. the local one. Interestingly, while ‘setting’ is identified as one ingredient of the ‘linguistic masala’, the local linguaculture has mainly been sidelined in ELF research, maybe because of the investigative focus being on the interaction and its participants, rather than their backgrounds. Whatever the reasons for largely ignoring place and time of ELF exchanges, Pözl and Seidlhofer (2006: 160–172) show that the physical location requires more analytic attention. Identifying it as the ‘habitat factor’, they convincingly argue that the local linguaculture can play a so far under-estimated role in ELF interactive behaviour, especially when it is also the main linguaculture of most participants and/or familiar to all. In their case, this linguaculture is the use of the Arabic language in Jordan, features of which could be identified in ELF interactional behaviour as regards routine pragmatic phenomena and turn alignment. So, what this study shows is that when participants know that they share linguacultural norms they will draw on them to enrich their use of ELF.

While Pözl and Seidlhofer (2006: 173) are at pains to restrict the ‘habitat factor’ to a local linguaculture that is shared by most of the relevant ELF participants, it could also play a role in communities of practice that engage in ELF practice over a longer period of time, even if most of the community members do not belong to the local speech community. International educational programmes, such as the one investigated in this study, are a case in point. As all students go through the same acculturation process, it can be expected that the ‘habitat factor’ will apply also for those originally unfamiliar with the local linguaculture, such as the individually mobile students who become ‘sojourners’ in the place of their studies (cf. 2.2.2.1).

2.3.1.4 *Communicative purposes*

At the latest since the emergence of genre analysis (e.g. Halliday and Hasan 1989; Swales 1990), communicative purposes have been identified as fundamental to language in use in that it is the purpose(s) that “shape the schematic structure of the discourse” (Swales 1990: 58). Put differently, the ‘how’ of linguistic surface features is inextricably linked with the ‘why’ of engaging in a certain genre in the first place (Bhatia 1997: 313). This connection is visible in and definitive

for genres in the systemic functional schools (e.g. Firbas 1999; Martin 1997) as well as the rhetorical one (Bazerman 1988), and also in the so-called ‘ESP approach’ (Bhatia 1993, 2004; Swales 1990, 2004). As already indicated in the name, analyses are concerned with English language use for ‘specific purposes’. Typical examples are easy to find: English for academic study in a diversity of areas, English for professional use e.g. by medical doctors or lawyers or English for research endeavours in, for instance, nuclear physics or information technology. What is more difficult is to demarcate ESP from what is not ESP. As Widdowson (1998: 3–4; 2003a: 61) points out, communication always presupposes that those participating in it pursue their own specific purposes and that, therefore, there is no communication without purposes (cf. also Basturkmen 2006: 15–17). This philosophical insight finds its reflection in the term Dudley-Evans and St.John (1998: 3) suggest for what is not perceived as English for specific purposes, viz. English for general purposes or EGP. Here, again, the question could be raised as to what precisely ‘general’ would include and how it might be distinguishable from ‘specific’. The insurmountable problem of demarcation underlines that the distinction is not categorical, but rather one of degree (Dudley-Evans and St.John 1998: 4–5). Acknowledging such a cline, most ESP research focuses on (the teaching of) specific areas of professional language use instead (e.g. Basturkmen 2006).

What is of prime relevance to the present study is that ESPs are shaped by their respective discourse communities (for a brief description see next section) and within those mainly by the expert members who have the status and community-internal power to accept or reject texts as (in)appropriate. Besides their status as experts, these members share professional knowledge and generic skills. Their national and ethnolinguistic backgrounds, however, can differ widely. For ESPs, the resulting linguacultural heterogeneity bears the logical consequence that they are largely ‘controlled’ by bi- or multilingual English speakers (BESs and MuESs); a fact Widdowson (1994) used for his influential argument that the “ownership of English” no longer resides with the native speakers, or MoESs in my terminology, but with the respective groups of language users. While originally intended for the ESP-using professional discourse communities alluded to above, the argument also extends to users of English as a lingua franca. Most obviously, this is so because users engaged in ESP often use it as a lingua franca as well, simply because they are all bi- or multilinguals with English being their only common language.

At the same time, however, the ‘purposes’ so central to ESP are conceived of differently for ELF interactions. As can be deduced from the absence of any specification of purpose in the definitions given above, ELF is not dependent on a certain specification in communicative purposes. Being identified

by the linguistic repertoire of the participants and the resulting interactional function of English, it can be used as a lingua franca in small talk (e.g. Kordon 2006; Pözl 2005), simulated meetings (e.g. Ahvenainen 2005; Lesznyák 2004), business meetings (e.g. Dresemann 2007; Ehrenreich 2009; Pitzl 2005) or international education (Björkman 2009; present study). This means that the specific communicative purposes can range widely, covering all types of specific as well as general purposes. Despite this potential range but similar to the language-scape argument above, the types of communicative purpose pursued are associated with degree of typicality. Based on the understanding of a lingua franca as a bridging language, a transactional orientation is seen as more typical than a purely interactional one (e.g. Seidlhofer 2004; Smit 2005). Furthermore, speaking is seen as 'more ELF' than writing (e.g. Seidlhofer 2004: 215, 2005b: 34), the argument here being that it is the more immediate mode of exchange, with each participant relying directly and immediately on the other one's contributions. This notwithstanding, ELF research has been undertaken regarding electronic exchanges (Louhiala-Salminen, Charles and Kankaanranta 2005) as well as written reports (Smit 2007b).

Despite the obvious range of possible communicative purposes, there is one underlying purpose that all ELF talk shares: that of language use. Taken as such this might seem self-evident, but when placed into the research tradition, it turns out to be the most pressing motivation for starting to analyze ELF in the first place. As pointed out so lucidly in Seidlhofer (2001), the ELF paradigm allows an analysis of bi/multilinguals' use of English in its own right, thus shifting the analytic focus away from comparing L2 with L1 speakers of English, a central tenet of second-language-acquisitional (SLA) research criticized conclusively for its limitations in terms of actual language use in Firth and Wagner (1997). This means that the ELF approach focuses on analysing English language speakers in relation to their communicative success instead of their language proficiency achievements. As illustrated in the many ELF studies, this approach has clear merits for non-educational communicative settings, but it can also be considered highly welcome in the traditional setting of SLA research, the school. In the times of teaching content and language integratedly (CLIL) institutionalized language learning increasingly relies on language use. In other words, the explicit focus of ELF research on language use has brought us a highly welcome change in dealing with English language communication amongst bi/multilingual English speakers (B/MuESs).

At the same time, splitting language use from language learning can be interpreted in a dichotomous fashion, implying the one in exclusion of the other. However, James (2007a: 108) warns that such an approach would ignore "the multilingual realities of 'late modernity' [...] or generally the postmodern con-

dition". As two social practices which tend to reinforce each other, learning a language cannot be split from using it and vice versa (cf. Cook 1999). In other words, language use and language learning do not stand in an either-or relationship, but are rather complementary to each other. This is not only what our own individual learning experience tells us, but it is also reflected in the afore-mentioned integrated teaching and learning approaches such as CLIL (see 2.2.2.2). So, a clear distinction between using and learning a language will neither be possible nor useful, but – and this is where the ELF approach shows its strengths again – specific communicative situations tend towards a focus on language learning (e.g. language subjects at school) or rather on language use (e.g. ELF as classroom language) and should thus be analysed accordingly.

The interrelatedness between learning and use comes to the fore in two further pairs of descriptively relevant dimensions: communicative intelligibility vs language proficiency, on the one hand, and, on the other, intrinsic vs extrinsic language norms. The language learning focus of SLA research has generally supported the second dimension of both comparisons and valued more highly evidence of language proficiency and of realising extrinsic language norms of the standard language (e.g. Gass and Mackey 2006). The ELF approach understands itself as a counter-movement, which, building on intercultural and conversation/discourse-focused research (e.g. Kasper 2006), focuses on achievements in reaching understanding despite communicative hurdles (for a more detailed discussion cf. 5.1 and 5.2). The analytical focus has thus explicitly shifted from MoESs' or L1 language norms to the oral practice internal ones of communicative intelligibility (e.g. Jenkins 2005a). At the same time, language proficiency levels and extrinsic language norms matter: firstly, ELF users are very aware of the receptive and productive skills needed in order to participate in an exchange as becomes evident in their readiness to accommodate to each other's proficiency levels;²⁴ or, in less collaborative settings, in silencing the less proficient participants (Knapp 2002). The second factor, extrinsic language norms, is important in two ways: in relation to the language acquisitional processes ELF users have gone through and, on the other hand, the language code they draw on when engaging in ELF interactions. As regards the former, most ELF users have been exposed to formal English language education at some stage in their lives, which, by definition, introduced them to some

24. People's strategies to "adapt to [or divert from] each other's communicative behaviours in terms of a wide range of linguistic-prosodic-nonverbal features" (Giles and Coupland 1991: 7) have been investigated in the frame of 'communication accommodation theory'; for a brief overview cf. Lesznyák (2004: 77–80), for an up-to-date rendering of the theory cf. Gallois, Ogay and Giles (2005).

standard norms of the language. When entering ELF exchanges, interlocutors are keenly aware of the little they actually share and the potential difficulties this narrow margin of overlap might cause in the ensuing exchanges (Meierkord 2002; Seidlhofer 2004). It is thus even more important to rely on features of the code that are assumed to be shared, a good proportion of which will be what participants were exposed to at school and thus follow extrinsic language norms. In view of the communicative aims, however, these extrinsic norms will remain secondary in importance to the primary needs of making the ongoing communication work with whatever linguistic and communicative means possible.

In sum, ELF interactions can have a range of communicative purposes of varying degrees of specificity, but the overarching one all participants in ELF talk pursue is to use the only shared language available in order to meet their respective communicative aims. This the interactants do by making use of their diverse levels of English language proficiency (acquired in relation to extrinsic norms) and by focussing on the here and now of the ongoing social practice of communicating in the developing ‘third space’.

2.3.1.5 *The (socio)linguistic status of ELF*

The final point raised here is probably the most fundamental one in that it concerns the conceptual considerations of the (socio)linguistic status associated with ELF; or, put more simply: what is ELF actually? In the literature, this question is generally answered, or at least approached, in two ways. The first and less contentious one is already implied in the label itself, English *used* as a lingua franca, i.e. it is concerned with how the language functions in interaction. Already more than twenty years ago, Samarin (1987: 371) stated that “[i]t is on the basis of function alone that a language is considered to be a lingua franca [...]”. Practically all recent publications subscribe to language usage as basic criterion (e.g. Firth 1996; Gnutzmann 2005; House 1999, 2003a; Kachru 1996; Rubdy and Saraceni 2006), but – and this is where the potential controversy starts – some proposals for ELF seem to imply a wider, more diversified view of the status of ELF, extending its specificities to the structural level as well. While remaining careful not to jump to unfounded conclusions, there is a clear tendency in ELF research to “striv[e] to adduce empirical evidence for the existence of structural commonalities characterizing the LF in its various manifestations.” (James 2005: 133) What makes such proposals specifically noteworthy is that they have been formulated by leading ELF scholars, such as Jennifer Jenkins, Anna Mauranen and Barbara Seidlhofer.

In extending Bamgbose’s (1998) call for codification for World Englishes, Seidlhofer (2001: 150)

propose[s . . .] to explore the possibility of a codification of ELF with a conceivable ultimate objective of making it a feasible, acceptable and respected alternative to ENL in appropriate contexts of use.²⁵

While she admits freely that this is a long-term goal, codification clearly aims at more than exclusively language usage; it also presupposes linguistic features that can be codified because they form “distinct linguistic sub-systems for the different linguistic levels” (Gnutzmann 2005: 112). In other words, the concept ‘lingua franca’ is interpreted more broadly than the language function; it also relates to structural characteristics and seems to claim for ELF the status of language variety, as having “its own specific [e.g. syntactic or phraseological] characteristics” (Mauranen 2006a: 156, addition taken from p. 155). As regards the level of pronunciation, Jenkins’s research is a case in point. On the basis of conversational data collected in London, Jenkins (e.g. 2000, 2006) describes which phonetic features enable or hinder successful communication amongst bi/multilingual English speakers. The resulting phonetic inventory for successful ELF interaction is presented as the ‘Lingua Franca Core’ and as such the first suggestion of codification for ELF.

In other words, the call for codification implies that ELF is interpreted as having ‘variety potential’, i.e. that it might “differ[] systematically from other [varieties of English] as regards pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary” (Meyershoff 2006: 28). That this is a highly controversial idea becomes very clear when skimming recent publications on ELF, in which critical voices can be heard on the idea that ELF should amount to one or more language variety/ies (e.g. Berns 2009; Gnutzmann 2005; Pakir 2009; Prodromou 2008; Rubdy and Saraceni 2006). Counter-arguments stress that varieties are associated with historically grown communities (Prodromou 2006: 57) whose members share a linguacultural background and, thus, linguistic features (Gnutzmann 2005: 113). In view of the clearly different reality that ELF speakers face, even Seidlhofer (2005a: 46) admits that “[w]hether ELF should be called a variety of English at all is an open question”. It is, however, not only an open question or, depending on the point of view, a misguided one because of the “serious danger [. . .] of codifying the uncodifiable” (James 2006: 221); the controversy goes deeper as it points to the basic dilemma of ELF research. On the one hand, ELF is defined as heterogeneous, ad hoc, fleeting and, on the other hand, ELF research aims at uncovering its characteristics, whether, as alluded to above, it is a phenomenon

25. Jenkins expresses similar ideas as, for instance, in her recent monograph: “if ELF is one day codified and its status as a legitimate means of communication is acknowledged, then we shall be able to talk about Teaching English of Speakers of Other Languages”. (Jenkins 2007: 252)

“sui generis” (House 1999: 74). If it turned out to be a variety, it would clearly be a “phenomenon in its own right” (Gnutzmann and Intemann 2008: 15) and worth further investigations. At the same time however, it cannot be a variety “of any Anglophone ‘speech community’ as conventionally understood” (James 2006: 221), simply because by definition it transgresses such varieties as the hybridity discussed above indicates (see 2.3.1.3). Quite obviously, what we have here is a case of trying to fit a round peg into a square hole. Or, maybe more to the point, ELF is, in the same way as the wider and more comprehensive current of globalization, a truly new phenomenon with new requirements (Graddol 2006: 20); it thus makes sense to leave old terminology behind and embed ELF in a new, more appropriate conceptual frame (Dewey 2009).

Such an approach would need to take into consideration that ELF exemplifies our postmodern world: “It is fragmented, contingent, marginal, transitional, indeterminate, ambivalent and hybrid in many ways.” (James 2005: 141). In view of the “myriad forms in multifarious contexts” (James 2006: 221) which characterize ELF, James (2005, 2006, 2007b) offers a sociolinguistic and -cultural characterization of ELF with the aim of transcending the limits of established terms. Instead, and by drawing on Bakhtin’s notion of ‘social languages’ (cf. also Gee 2005: 37–41), Rajagopalan’s ‘internal dissensions’ and Halliday’s systemic functional grammar, James (e.g. 2006: 226) suggests a tripartite model of “social languages available to the user” as differentiated according to (a) the user, (b) the use and (c) using (see Table 2.3).

Within the resulting trichotomy, the labels ‘dialect’, ‘register’ and ‘genre’ respectively are used and can be further interpreted in terms of different types of communities served and positioning with respect to the situation of realization. While “[i]n practice the majority of verbal engagements will [...] draw on all three resources and mix them in verbal action” (James 2006: 227), the mixture will include more of one than the other factors depending on oral practice. With regard to ELF as original stimulus of the model on the whole, the third factor, ‘using’, is suggested as the most relevant one as it relates to the social practice of communicating itself (cf. the description in Table 2.3). At the same time, specific ELF exchanges might draw to some degree on the second one, ‘use’, as for instance a certain type of ESP in a professional setting, but also on the first factor, as in the case of (some) participants who consider, and act in English as (one of their) L1(s). Specific examples of ELF talk can thus be described with regard to all three factors, which permits a more complex and differentiated analytical space of variation.

While this is clearly a strong point of the approach, it opens up a definitional gap in that some exchanges which are *a priori* labelled as ‘ELF’ are later described as revealing variation mainly according to the users and their ‘dialect(s)’

Table 2.3. A trichotomous approach to ‘social language’ (adapted from James 2005, 2006)²⁶

<i>variation according to</i>	<i>user</i>	<i>use</i>	<i>using</i>
identified as	dialect	register	genre
described as	what you speak habitually	what you are speaking at the time	what actional mode you are speaking in
communities served	speech communities	discourse communities	communities of practice
positioning with respect to situation of realization	non-situated	semi-situated	situated
labels suggested here:	INDIVIDUAL REPERTOIRE	ESTABLISHED PRACTICE	COMMUNICATING

or the specific use and its identified ‘register’ (James 2005: 143). If, however, one of these other two factors should really be that predominant, the obvious conclusion that would have to be drawn, it seems to me, is that such instances of interaction could not be called ‘ELF’ anymore; simply because the lingua franca function is defined via ‘variety according to using’. While this argumentative problem is not topicalized and thus still awaits further treatment, it opens up speculations as to the reasons behind it. One might very well be that the model itself aims to describe the postmodern fluidity and complexity of language use, but does that with the help of modernist, categorical and seemingly stable entities. The distinction between ‘dialect’ and ‘register’ goes back to the 1960s and its clearly modernist linguistics, which is also reflected in the specific linguistic subsystems assigned to each of them. So, for instance, ‘dialectal variety’ is seen as differing primarily in “phonetics, phonology, lexicogrammar (but not in semantics)” (James 2005: 141), presupposing a stable level of meaning independent of the discourse in which the participants are engaged. Following this descriptive system, James (2005: 142) suggests ‘genre’ as differing mainly in “syntax (and hence lexicogrammar, and sometimes phonology as realization of this)”, therefore perpetuating the clear ‘pre-postmodernist’ distinction between the meaning and structural levels into the 21st century.²⁷ Apart from this contra-

26. The original schema includes a further interpretative level, i.e. “positioning regarding texts produced” with the three labels ‘pretextual’, ‘subtextual’, and ‘contextual’. As these terms are not given any further definition or explanation and seem to clash with their usage elsewhere (cf. e.g. Widdowson 2003b for ‘pretext’ and ‘context’), this interpretative level has been excluded here.

27. Albeit argued in a different context, Rampton et al. (2002: 386) raise comparable objections when they point out the lack of sensitivity in systemic functional linguistics “to the clues of on-line reception” and in which ways people “manage to communicate *independently* of the lexico-grammar”, through contextualization cues.

dictory conceptualization of ‘genre’ as postmodern with modernist features, the term seems contentious in itself. As stated earlier (see 2.3.1.4), it has been used so widely and for different, but related concepts (for an overview cf. Hüttner 2007: 19–26) that, arguably, giving it yet another specific sense and usage allows neither for the terminological clarity desirable in language research more generally nor for a clearer explication of the concept in question. In a similar vein, another term that should be avoided within the approach is ‘variety’; not only is it yet another label with a well-established modernist interpretation, but it is also the bone of contention that James (e.g. 2005, 2007b) criticizes so correctly for being inappropriate to ELF interactions.

In sum, then, it seems to be more helpful to do away with these established labels altogether and to conceptualize the nature of ELF more dynamically by acknowledging variation according to ‘using’ as defining dimension, but, at the same time, focussing on its complex and flexible interplay with the other two dimensions, variation according to ‘user’ and ‘use’. In view of the fact that dimensions of a model require labels, not the least for the ease of reference, and that the post-modified phrases ‘variation according to user/use/using’ are too cumbersome, I suggest using the following labels instead (printed in small capitals, see Table 2.3):

- INDIVIDUAL REPERTOIRE for ‘variation according to user’;
- ESTABLISHED PRACTICE for ‘variation according to use’; and
- COMMUNICATING for ‘variation according to using’.

These labels are intended to underline the theoretical relevance of the three dimensions suggested by Allan James for a postmodern theoretical framework for describing ELF and ELF exchanges. On the one hand, such a framework arguably allows an embedding of ELF exchanges into language uses more generally and, on the other hand, its three dimensions provide an internal descriptive system (see Figure 2.1). Furthermore, the added levels of interpretation ‘community served’ and ‘positioning’ widen the descriptive ‘tool-kit’ to characterize ELF interactions as regards their typicality in relation to the prototypical ELF talk, which – as integral to the wide-spread ELF definitions given above – amounts to a central social practice of the respective community (of practice) and comes in the form of fully situated discourse (see Table 2.3).

While not explained in James’s model (but cf. Dewey 2009: 62–67), ‘situated’ is interpreted here in the oral practice frame introduced above (see 2.2.1.3). It is understood as relating directly and intricately to the local *setting* and *scene* and serving the communicative *purposes* and discursive *content* that the *participants* co-construct in the respective *act sequences*, while drawing on their varying generic and norm-related experience, jointly negotiating the momentar-

ily relevant norms of interaction and interpretation. This overarching relevance of the ‘situated’, the here and now, in ELF talk also explains why, firstly, it is typically done in a collaborative manner and, secondly, it develops most observably in spoken interaction.

With COMMUNICATING and fully situated positioning in a specific community of practice established as integral to prototypical ELF, the other two factors open up a descriptive frame for less typical instances of English used as the only shared medium of communication amongst multilinguals. The factor INDIVIDUAL REPERTOIRE allows a more differentiated view on the diverse constellations of participants and the resulting range of influences specific speech communities and their social languages (non-situated as regards the ELF setting in question) might have. The ELF-defining characteristic that the participants in such an exchange share nothing but English might seem to imply that there are no overlaps in linguacultures at all. This is of course not true, as many instances of ELF show in which some of the participants have the same linguacultural backgrounds as, for instance, when two Japanese and an Austrian converse in English over dinner in Cairo (Pözl 2003: 12–13). As their use of Japanese honorifics exemplifies, in cases when a decisive section of the participants identify with the same speech community, the non-situated English language use these interlocutors take to the ELF talk can be expected to play an influential and ELF-shaping role (cf. the ‘habitat factor’ discussed in 2.2.1.3).

The third factor, ESTABLISHED PRACTICE, allows a closer description of ELF interactions as regards the communicative ends or purposes pursued. As discussed in 2.3.1.4, a concern with communicative purposes is closely linked to the study of ESP, as is the notion ‘discourse community’ (cf. Hüttner 2007: 36–38 for a succinct account). Put briefly, a discourse community has “a broadly agreed set of common public goals” and “participatory mechanisms of intercommunication to provide information and feedback” (Swales 1990: 24–25). It furthermore consists of members “with a suitable degree of relevant content and discursual expertise” (Swales 1990: 27), who regularly engage in “the communicative furtherance of [the community’s] aims” with the help of community-specific purpose-oriented language use. These communicative events or ‘genres’²⁸ are owned by the respective discourse community, which is also the body to establish and shape the related conventions of language use. For individual

28. Following Swales (1990: 58), ‘genre’ is defined as

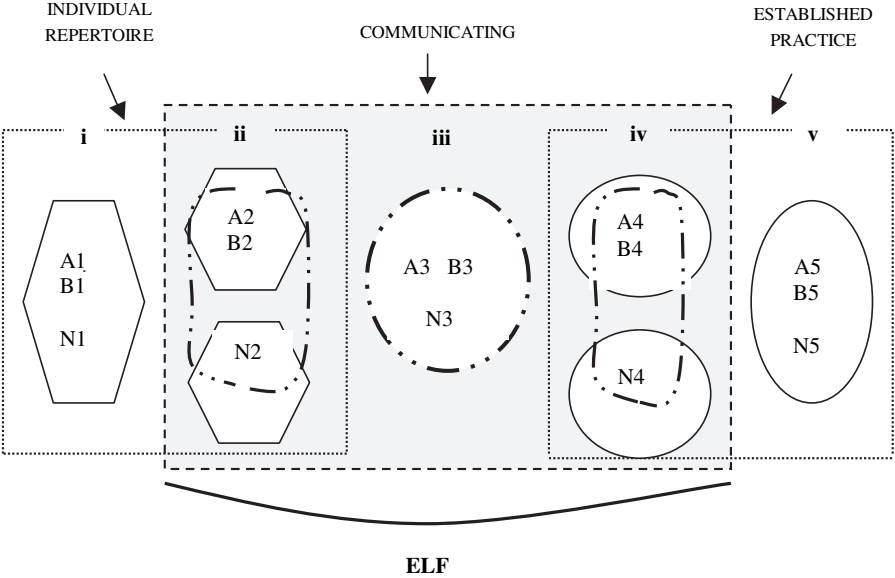
a class of communicative events, the members of which share some set of communicative purposes. These purposes are recognized by the expert members of the parent discourse community and thereby constitute the rationale for the genre[, which ...] shape[s] the schematic structure of the discourse and influences and constrains choice of content and style [...].

members this means that they will draw on the discourse community's convention in furthering their own specific goals. Put differently, they take on a 'semi-situated positioning to the situation of realization' (see Table 2.3) in that they engage in and develop specific communicative situations in the light of the relevant communicative conventions of the wider community.

These brief considerations are intended to underline that the factor *ESTABLISHED PRACTICE*, when functioning alone, defines ESP rather than ELF interactions because it describes language use amongst members of one discourse community in relation to one of the community's social goals. While the participants of such interactions do not necessarily share a speech community or *linguaculture*, they do share a discourse community and its culture, including the related discourse conventions. In many other cases, however, *ESTABLISHED PRACTICE* does not describe an interaction exhaustively; whenever it appears together with *COMMUNICATING* it describes English used as a lingua franca. This happens, on the one hand, when the participants engage in discourse pursuing purposes other than those integral to their specific discourse community, or, on the other hand, when not all participants to an exchange function, and identify, as members of the same discourse community. The former obviously relates to the well known cases of, for instance, professionals turning to job-unrelated topics after working hours and finding informal conversation in English considerably more challenging than their professional presentations, reports or negotiations (e.g. Smit 2005). Additionally, the combination 'all members + community-unrelated purpose' is also at stake during phases of new or emerging genres whose communicative conventions are still being negotiated. A recent example illustrating this is the electronic/virtual mode and its integration into diverse types of professional communication. During the phase of establishing conventions, multilingual English speakers can be expected to engage in *COMMUNICATING* in ELF (in the sense of communicative practice), even if they all belong to the same discourse community; later on, this will develop into established language use, shared by the discourse community. The second type of combining *COMMUNICATING* and *ESTABLISHED PRACTICE*, viz. when participants belong to different discourse communities, also covers two subtypes: firstly, the cases of interactions amongst *MuESs* across communities, such as doctor-patient exchanges, or between discourse communities of the same content specification, but with different community languages, such as German and Spanish lawyers. The second scenario concerns exchanges between established members and individuals aspiring membership, as is typically the case in educational or apprenticeship settings.

The various scenarios sketched in relation to combinations of *COMMUNICATING* with *INDIVIDUAL REPERTOIRE* and *ESTABLISHED PRACTICE* already indicate the potential complexity of what is more or less typically ELF. Consequently,

actual ‘oral ELF practices’ of MuESs interacting are highly complex, as well illustrated by the educational setting in question – the Hotel Management Programme. Its established members – mainly the teachers – belonged to various discourse communities with English or German as community language. The aspiring members (the students) shared some speech communities (e.g. German-, Greek- or Korean-speaking) in a range of constellations; depending on their pre-HMP professional lives, some also had (peripheral) membership status in diverse discourse communities. As regards their Classroom Community of Practice, teachers and students engaged in oral practices, relying centrally on COMMUNICATING in English to meet diverse communicative aims, co-constructing topics and membership constellations over an extended period of time. In other words, this single case illustrates that COMMUNICATING, INDIVIDUAL REPERTOIRE and ESTABLISHED PRACTICE interrelate in dynamic, flexible and complex ways; a more detailed description of the resulting processes and constellations is given in chapter 4.5.



Key: “A B N”: B/MuESs (minimum of 2, all involved in the same interaction), numbers stand for different scenarios
hexagon: speech community
ellipsis (solid line): discourse community
irregular shape (broken line): community of ELF practice

Figure 2.1. A sociolinguistic descriptive frame of oral ELF practices

In an attempt to abstract from individual cases, Figure 2.1 graphically represents the interplay of the three dimensions in co-constructing ‘oral ELF practices’. The three dimensions are illustrated as overlapping fields with COMMUNICATING in middle position due to its centrality for ELF. The three factors and two overlaps lead to five different sets of scenarios (i to v), including varying numbers of B/MuESs interacting (symbolized by the letters A, B and N and numbers 1 to 5).²⁹ The two sets of scenarios at the margins represent interactional settings that do not require English as a lingua franca: the one on the left (i) refers to communications within one speech community, i.e. to exchanges in English as established means of daily interactions; the one on the right (v) stands for exchanges for specific purposes within the respective discourse communities. An example of (i) is an exchange between born and bred multilingual Australians on any non-specific topic, while hotel marketing managers of diverse linguistic-cultural backgrounds negotiating their hotel chain’s new marketing concepts in English would fit into (v). Between these two extremes, literally speaking, are the three types of scenarios of interest here. Prototypical ELF interactions are to be found right in the middle (iii), with the interactants COMMUNICATING in English across speech and discourse community borders in their efforts to meet their communicative aims. A case in point would be three backpackers, one Kenyan, one Swiss and one Mexican, having a glass of beer in a Thai bar and sharing their recently gained travelling experiences. The less prototypical sets of scenarios are pictured off-centre, with (ii) illustrating the relevance of shared speech communities and their (English) linguacultures amongst some of the participants and (iv) foregrounding the relevance of shared discourse communities, their topics and shared conventions of (English) language use for specific purposes. Two Austrians travelling in Finland and conversing in English with a Finn would illustrate (ii), while an American and a Swedish hotel manager engaging in English in small talk with a German hotel guest falls into (iv).

As a spatially limited, two-dimensional form of representation does not allow a comprehensive visualization of multidimensional relations and processes, it goes without saying that Figure 2.1 simplifies ELF exchanges in various ways. First, (iii) is closer to an idealized than an actual prototype as real interactions rarely involve exactly one representative per speech or discourse community, and the space given to it in the figure is thus not representative of actual occurrences. Second, (ii) and (iv) contain many more sub-scenarios in that in actual

29. Although the overlap between INDIVIDUAL REPERTOIRE and ESTABLISHED PRACTICE is undoubtedly possible, as discourse communities very often span different speech communities, it is not included in the figure because it would not add any further information for English as only shared medium of communication.

ELF exchanges more than two communities can be involved, and in diverse constellations. Third, the concepts ‘speech community’ and ‘discourse community’ are neither easy to demarcate nor internally homogeneous (Corder and Meierhoff 2007). As indicated above in the course of sketching ESP, such communities can be defined at various levels of generality, such as speakers of English vs. speakers of Appalachian English regarding speech communities, or linguists vs. generative phonologists regarding discourse communities. Thus, both concepts are much more multi-layered and complex than the shapes in the graphic representation seem to imply. Finally, the figure does not include the potential range and diversified types of influence of other (con)textual factors, such as mode and medium of communication; time frame; type, relevance and implications for interactional topic(s); and (developing) relationships between participants, including considerations of status and power. But, despite – or maybe even because of – these representational simplifications, the figure is, it is hoped, useful in clarifying the sociolinguistic status of ELF as understood in this study.

In conclusion, the discussion of the sociolinguistic status of ELF has clarified that the point of contention in this regard is whether and in how far it can be seen as a language variety. As doubts are widely voiced as regards ‘variety’ in the traditional, modernist understanding associating a specific language system with a territory and its inhabitants, a postmodern interpretation of ‘variety’ as depending largely on the situated co-construction of discourse by COMMUNICATING in English seems a more appropriate and promising avenue to explore in more detail.

2.3.1.6 *Defining ELF – revisited*

Enriched by the preceding explications and explorations, the widely shared understanding of English as a lingua franca as

refer[ing] to the use of English amongst multilingual interlocutors whose common language is English and who [usually] communicate in a country or area in which English is not used in daily life (Smit 2005: 67)

can be enlarged upon and specified as regards its constituting parts (‘use of English’, ‘multilingual interlocutors whose common language is English’, ‘communicate in a country or area in which English is not used in daily life’).

The ‘use of English’ is more accurately described as consisting mainly of the process of COMMUNICATING in English as sole common means of verbal communication in the joint effort to make and negotiate meaning; or, in other words, as the central social practice by and within a transactionally motivated, temporary community of practice. At the same time, subsets of the respective

ELF participants might share membership(s) in various speech communities and/or professional or other specialist discourse communities and draw on these diverse memberships in different ways, which finds its realization in the degree of ‘typicality’ with which the ELF in question is experienced. Whether more or less typical, what is always relevant for the ‘use of English’ to exemplify ELF is the clearly identifiable group of participants co-constructing the discourse, i.e. the ELF community of practice.

The ‘multilingual interlocutors whose common language is English’ are, more precisely, bi/multilinguals (BES, MuES) whose diverse linguistic repertoires overlap in English and who tend to be acutely aware of how little they share linguaculturally when engaging in ELF exchanges. Their communicative focus is thus clearly on using English and not on learning it. At the same time, it needs to be stressed that, similar to most skills and practices, using and learning a language are mutually supporting and reinforcing actions and at least incidental language learning (e.g. Hulstijn 2003; Paribakht and Wesche 1997) will certainly take place. Additionally, ELF participants come with diverse language learning/using biographies as regards levels and kinds of language proficiency as well as English language learning attitudes and expectations. Therefore, some participants might pursue the intention of improving their English language proficiency and unite in themselves the roles of (ELF) language user and of English language learner, be it for general or some specific purposes.

The ELF setting specification of ‘COMMUNICAT[ING] in a country or area in which English is not used in daily life’ has been interpreted more widely as regards the languages and cultures relevant to an ELF exchange. Here, the complex understanding of culture as product and process makes its mark: it comes as ‘product’ in the linguacultures the participants bring along as well as the one(s) of the specific locality of the respective ELF practice; it functions as ‘process’ in the developing ELF culture or ‘third space’ of the community of practice in question. Clearly, culture – whether ‘first’, ‘second’ or ‘third’ – is intricately interwoven with the specific circumstances, social actors and practices in question.

2.3.2 Implications and applications

It is typical of applied linguistic concerns that the conceptual considerations regarding ELF are of relevance as regards language use as well as (the way we perceive) the language system. Concerning the latter, the most conspicuous realization of the concept has been in the varied linguistic descriptions of ELF, a brief overview of which will be given later (see 2.3.3).³⁰ Concerning the former,

30. For more detailed discussions of the linguistic descriptive findings that apply to the discourse-pragmatic analyses of this study see chapters 5.2, 6.2 and 7.2.

the two most central applied linguistic concerns are the socio-politics of English in our postmodern and globalized world and language teaching and learning. As the present study is related only indirectly to both of these, a few pointers tracing their range will suffice here.

Apart from the widely discussed question of ownership already mentioned elsewhere (e.g. 2.2.1.1), the approach to English as a lingua franca also holds implications for language-related socio-economic considerations. English language proficiency is considered as one of the present-day basic skills of literacy (Graddol 2006: 118; Grin 2001: 75). At the same time, a mono- or even bilingual linguistic repertoire falls short of many communicational needs, with language political developments pointing towards multilingualism instead (e.g. European Commission 2003). So, proficiency in English is becoming a necessary condition for functioning successfully in our professional world, but it cannot be taken as a sufficient one anymore. The concept of English as a lingua franca supports this development as it recognizes the rising function of English as bridging language in multilingual communication. In other words, even if English often is communicatively effective, it is recognized as one medium among many.

Concerning English language teaching and learning, the connection is more complex in that teaching/learning considerations have also been a central motivating factor in undertaking ELF research in the first place. The first suggestions regarding the new international role of English and its potential applied linguistic implications came from educators and were focused on future developments in teaching and learning English (Hüllen 1982; Smith 1982). Almost twenty years later, Seidlhofer's (2001) programmatic paper calling for linguistic descriptions of ELF was also stimulated by considerations of language teaching and learning. As argued convincingly, the discussions of English as a global language had been marred by a 'conceptual gap' between the meta- and micro-levels. On the meta-level, researchers called for a re-assessment of the roles and functions English and the various groups of L1 or L2 speakers were seen to fulfil. English teaching and learning was uncoupled from MoES cultures, but

assumptions about the 'E' in TEFL have remained curiously unaffected by these momentous developments. In TEFL, what constitutes a valid target is still determined with virtually exclusive reference to native-speaker norms. (Seidlhofer 2001: 135)

In an attempt to improve on this "contradictory and paradoxical" situation, Seidlhofer (2001: 140) suggests to take a closer look at what lingua franca users of English actually do with the language. The analytical steps called for are thus clearly descriptive linguistic, but the ultimate aim is to inform pedagogy:

the conceptualization of ELF as an alternative to ENL would open up an additional repertoire of options for appropriating ‘English’, of teaching the [...] language [...] or of using ELF as a possible first step for learners in building up a basis (Seidlhofer 2001: 151).

Therefore, and as also specified elsewhere (Jenkins, Modiano and Seidlhofer 2001; Jenkins 2000; Modiano 2009; Seidlhofer 2004, 2006), the ELF research endeavour is fundamentally a linguistic descriptive one, but its ulterior motivation and long-term aim are applied linguistic and intricately linked to language teaching and learning.³¹

Despite its cautious and futuristic phrasing, it is exactly this pedagogical orientation that has led to criticism (Prodromou 2006; Rubdy and Saraceni 2006: 11–12). On a practical level, pedagogical applications can only follow on from linguistic description and not pre-date it. While nobody denies this basic truth, the continued hypothesising about the ways in which ELF research might at some stage inform pedagogy leads to guess work, which – not unlike mirages – lacks foundation and substance. On a conceptual level, doubtful voices have challenged the idea that one, or even a handful of ELF(s) can ever be found that could then undergo some codification (cf. the discussion in 2.2.1.4). Furthermore, even if such norms were available, the question is whether they would be (considered) appropriate for all ELF learners. Jennifer Jenkins’ impressive suggestion of a Lingua Franca (pronunciation) Core has been challenged on exactly those grounds (Dauer 2005; Kuo 2006) as have Seidlhofer’s lexicogrammatical examples of, for instance, the third person -s in the present simple. In reference to his own corpus of highly successful BESs, Prodromou (2006) points out that it is exactly those grammatical features that learners of English seem to acquire very well. In responding to this point of criticism, Seidlhofer (2006: 47) specifies that the monolithic approach implied here has never been integral to ELF research; rather, the main point is to first identify linguistic features and then uncover “processes of [for instance] regularization and particularization” that allow generalizations.

At the core of this, to borrow Seidlhofer’s term, ‘misconception’ lies, I wish to suggest, a vague and diversely interpreted understanding of ‘variety’. In line with the theoretical debate summarized above, the traditional understanding of a territorial variety, which is at the heart of language norm and model, does not

31. The meta-level considerations of English as a lingua franca / global language / international language have found their way into language teaching in the form of language awareness raising and intercultural language teaching, aiming for intercultural communicative competence. For more information cf. e.g. Byram (1997), Jenkins (2009) or McKay (2002).

hold for English used as a lingua franca with its focus on COMMUNICATING in the language (rather than the INDIVIDUAL REPERTOIRE and ESTABLISHED PRACTICE). From the critical and explanatory comments with regard to finding and describing one ELF variety it can be deduced that nobody wants to fill ‘variety’ with the traditional meaning. Instead, it seems that the unquestioned use of this and related terms conjure up such a modernist meaning, leaving readers in the dark as to the concepts they are intended to denote. In order to avoid such latent misunderstanding, it would definitely be necessary to take up the more complex postmodern understanding of ‘oral ELF practices’ (see 2.3.1.5) more centrally in ELF research.

One aspect of a potential ELF pedagogy where the centrality of COMMUNICATING in a lingua franca has already been paid tribute to is the field of communicative strategies. As research has repeatedly illustrated (e.g. Ahvenainen 2005; Firth 1996), ELF interactants employ interaction- and problem-solving oriented communicative strategies (summarized in 2.2.3.1, further discussed in 5.3.3), which clearly facilitate the lingua franca exchanges and support successful outcomes. On the basis of such findings, language teaching is indeed well advised to start paying attention to the future interactional needs of their English language learners (House 1999) and focus increasingly on communicational processes and strategies applicable to lingua franca contexts. (e.g. McKay 2003)

2.3.3 Linguistic description

The final area of implication for and application of the ELF concept discussed here is the linguistic description of ELF interaction. Apart from its direct relevance for the present study, it is also important for ELF interactional research in general, as the recent upsurge in investigative literature reveals. A decade ago, House (1999: 74) still expressed her regrets that “studies of intercultural communication in the scientific community have practically ignored ELF interactions”, focusing on NS-NNS constellations instead. Fortunately, there has been a rapid and thoroughgoing change in this situation since then. The new millennium has brought with it a wide array of relevant investigations, which, very much to the advantage of the research community, have raised enough interest to be included in succinct overviews, such as Knapp and Meierkord (2002), Seidlhofer (2004), James (2005), Seidlhofer, Breitenender and Pitzl (2006), Jenkins (2007), Prodromou (2008) and, most recently, Ehrenreich (2010), Mauranen and Ranta (2009), and Seidlhofer and Berns (2009). Consequently, this section will not offer yet another summary, but, instead, discuss the presently available ELF studies as regards, firstly, the main findings or principles of ELF interactions and, secondly, the main principles of investigation.

2.3.3.1 Trends and main findings

Investigations into ELF to date have concentrated on features of pronunciation, lexicogrammar, discourse pragmatics and culture and identity. Reflecting the all pervasiveness of culture and identity when it comes to language use in general, intercultural considerations are present in basically all studies, albeit in more or less latent or explicit ways. In Pölzl's (2005) study into casual conversation in ELF between L1 speakers of Japanese, Arabic, Greek and German, the issue of cultural expression in ELF interactions is correlated with the participants' linguacultures, apparently conceived as mainly monolingual, and how they surface in the construction of the 'interculture' or, drawing on Homi Bhabha (1994), the 'third space'. While the assumption of ELF participants having monolingual identities seems somewhat simplistic in view of the complex transculturality and multilingualism encountered in most individuals, the concept of the 'third space' is highly relevant to all ELF encounters:

created by an interacting group of linguaculturally different participants who use ELF as their common language [... it is ...] an imagined space of negotiation and at the same time 'encountered hybridity' through which new intercultural meanings, practices and identifications are created (Pölzl 2005: 112).

In other words, by co-constructing a third space, ELF interactants negotiate their specific 'ELF culture', which is highly situated, transient and draws on the linguacultures relevant to the participants. It, furthermore, allows participants "to be accepted [...] as who they linguaculturally are", so that they can construct what I suggest calling transcultural identities.

For research into ELF pronunciation features the credit must go to Jennifer Jenkins and her detailed investigation of the phonology of EIL (Jenkins 2000). Based on dialogues between MuESs of diverse linguacultural backgrounds solving tasks, she identifies features of pronunciation that either allow or hinder mutual intelligibility, which results in a list of features that seem to be a requirement for successful communication and thus form the 'Lingua Franca Core'.³² While the in- or exclusion of certain features as well as the data basis used have met with criticism (Dauer 2005; Walker 2005), Jenkins's study was the first one to identify individual features that ELF talk seems to require irrespective of L1 norms. Her findings furthermore underline the importance of pronun-

32. As summarised in Jenkins (2000: 158–159), the Lingua Franca Core contains as obligatory features e.g. vowel length contrast, "fortis/lenis differential effect on preceding vowel length" or the pronunciation of postvocalic /r/, and as optional ones e.g. the voiced and voiceless dental fricatives (which can be substituted by stops or other fricatives) or vowel quality as long as persistently applied.

ciation to intelligibility and by extension also understanding and thus support adapted pronunciation teaching in English language learning (e.g. Jenkins 2005, 2006).

As regards lexicogrammar, the original dearth of research has recently been filled by a range of studies based on different data sets (e.g. Breiteneder 2009; Cogo and Dewey 2006; Meierkord 2004; Mollin 2006). While they differ in investigative focus and methodological framing, their findings seem to hint at generally more tolerance in morpho-syntactic realizations as, for instance, the third person singular marking of the present tense, the *do*-support or tag questions. From a cognitive perspective, the available studies seem to hint at a general tendency to simplification processes. As attested in Meierkord (2004: 125–126), by, for instance, avoiding hypotaxis in exchange for parataxis of shorter independent clauses, the cognitive demands are easier to meet in terms of reception, but also online production. Concerning lexical choices, again, the results do not allow for conclusive interpretations, but relations between vocabulary use, language proficiency and/or subject-matter knowledge seem to be relevant in ELF exchanges. An empirically and theoretically more complex area of research is idioms and idiomaticity. First studies have shown that even very competent users of ELF shun away from L1 idioms, which Prodromou (2006, 2007, 2008) assumes reflects linguistic differences. What might be more revealing about the nature of ELF is, as Seidlhofer and Widdowson (2007) point out, the process of *idiomatizing*, i.e. the application of the ‘*idiom principle*’ (Sinclair 1991: 110–115) and in which ways this is revealed in ELF interactions.

The lion’s share of ELF studies has been devoted to discourse-pragmatic aspects of ELF interactions. More precisely, studies have approached issues such as misunderstanding, pragmatic fluency, routine formulae, speech acts, topic development and management, turn taking and allocation, and strategies used in the negotiation of meaning. Overall, the studies give evidence of largely co-operative behaviour, but not exclusively so. In specific circumstances, participants seem to be ready to employ their superiority in terms of language proficiency in order to promote their own communicative aims over those of other participants’ (e.g. Ehrenreich 2010: 24; Knapp 2002). Generally, ELF interactions reveal relatively few instances of insufficient understanding (e.g. Mauranen 2006b); so few that House (1999) suspects participants often talk past rather than with each other. Other studies have shown that when unresolved topics are considered paramount for one of the participant, the point of non-communication is no longer ‘*let pass*’ (as formulated in Firth 1996), but, by applying what Mauranen (2006b: 141) calls the ‘*principle of charity*’, instead topicalized and some shared meaning negotiated (e.g. Dresemann 2007; Mauranen 2006b; Pitzl 2005). What seems evident in all studies is the heightened

awareness amongst ELF interlocutors of how much they do not share in terms of linguacultural and sometimes also knowledge background. Amongst maybe more experienced, but clearly mutually familiar ELF interactants, this awareness also comes to the fore in pre-emptive clarifying sequences (e.g. Cogo and Dewey 2006).

A fruitful way of abstracting from individual findings for specific speech events has been the identification and description of guiding principles, such as the principles of 'let it pass' and 'make it normal' (Firth 1990, 1996) or the principles of economy and clarity (Ahvenainen 2005, drawing on Poulisse 1997). Despite different theoretical points of departure (conversation analysis vs. second language acquisition), both sets of principles describe ways of bridging the two fundamental and seemingly contradictory characteristics of ELF discourse, i.e. linguacultural diversity and communicational aims, in the general pursuit of co-constructing efficient communication (Cogo and Dewey 2006). Fundamentally, interlocutors are always juggling two needs: the need to reach a communicational aim vs. the need to get it done with what is available in terms of linguacultural diversity and overlap. In view of the often highly limited resources for the latter need, the former requires more explicit clarifications. That, however, stands in clear contrast with the ever-present restrictions on time and energy, which makes participants apply the principle of economy. This they have been observed to do by letting pass contributions unchallenged until the ongoing exchange reveals that more complete understanding would actually be required, and the principle of clarity is activated. In combination with the principle of economy, the search for communicational clarity entails that whatever has been established as shared remains integral to the exchange and is made normal to the ongoing exchange, irrespective of exchange-independent language norms.³³ In other words, research so far has shown that, for ELF exchanges to develop successfully, participants interact by means of principles that pay tribute to the particularities of lingua franca discourse.

All in all, the investigations undertaken into ELF interaction reveal that there are a good many interesting features, patterns, principles and processes to be observed, but acknowledge at the same time that "no interactional phenomena have been found exclusively in second language talk." (Gardner and Wagner 2004: 4) Where the differences lie is in the constellation of such features (cf.

33. For this phenomenon, Skarup (2004: 55) suggests using the conversational analytical notion 'brokering', which he defines as "a move to enable a ratified participant to become an active participant by using a language in which that other participant has a sufficient level of proficiency to be able to contribute to the conversation."

also Lesznyák 2004; Meierkord 2004; Seidlhofer 2006) and the relevance of guiding principles.

2.3.3.2 *Main investigative principles*

While the various studies pursue diverse research aims and apply a wide range of frameworks, they are all based on naturalistic, usually spoken data which are analysed as products of ongoing discourse. In other words, a discourse-analytical perspective of some kind is present in all studies. This seems to result from the underlying tenet to study ELF on its own account and focus on how the interactants develop their exchange and attend to its emerging communicative aims. Specific linguistic realizations, patterns and processes can then be analysed with this overarching communicative end in mind. In principle, this approach is highly appropriate for ELF, but in practice it has to deal with two problems: first, the notion ‘communicational success’ and, related to it, ‘(mis)understanding’. Not only are they difficult to define (see 5.1 for a detailed discussion), but they also stand for relative and complex socio-cognitive concepts. Verbal data alone cannot suffice for a definite estimate of how successful a certain stretch of exchange is experienced as being at a certain time, and the ongoing interaction is all that is available to researchers of naturalistic data. This means that the degree of understanding based on discourse alone is limited to what interactants realize in the ongoing interaction (for a more detailed discussion see 5.2.1). Despite such conceptual complexity, ‘understanding’ is and will most likely remain the main analytical point of reference in ELF studies. For these purposes, Smith’s (1992) three-fold differentiation of understanding into ‘intelligibility’, ‘comprehensibility’ and ‘interpretability’ (cf. also Smith and Nelson 1985) will, as pointed out in Lesznyák (2004: 37) remain a useful analytical tool (see also 5.2.4). In addition, understanding is clearly not unique to ELF, but central to communication in general.

The second problem inherent in the ELF approach of investigating interactions between MuESs is the implicit assumption that this might be a ‘clean slate’ approach. Because of its previously unexplored point of departure, the investigation of ‘non-native English’ in its own right, the expectation might be that such a research endeavour cannot build on any previous research, especially not that focussing on interactions between ‘language learners’. In reality, however, some link with preceding studies into BES/MoES discourse becomes apparent in all ELF studies, be it in deciding on the research focus, in formulating the research questions or in interpreting specific findings. Comparisons are thus an integral feature of ELF investigations; what is clearly important in this context is to keep in mind that

like must be compared with like, i.e. data from different Englishes should only be compared which are compatible, e.g. in terms of the language mode and/or the text/discourse type being produced (James 2005: 134).

While James's warning sounds very logical at first sight, his specifications draw attention to the fundamental problem inherent in comparing truly situated language use with descriptions of linguistic norms. Apart from very blatant mismatches, such as comparing written British standard with spoken language use amongst multilinguals, there are also more subtle degrees of specificity which might have a lasting and potentially distorting influence on comparisons. Like situational factors and their diverse realizations, debatable points of comparison abound. Can the use of tenses referring to future events in a specific ELF setting be compared with an established norm of (L1) English? How should the participants' levels of proficiency or exposure to L1 norms be factored in? And what about their experience as communicators, their communicative purposes and the potential generic norms of relevant discourse communities? Yet another level of insecurity is brought to light when the national labels given to Englishes – e.g. British English, Australian English, Indian English, Singaporean English – are recognized as the abstraction that they are and a truly comparative language norm is sought for each of the participants in ELF exchanges. Should factors such as linguistic repertoire, education and socio-economic background, personal acquisitional history, age and gender be considered here and, if so, in which constellation? And even if a certain formula could be found, it will lead to such a complex set of conditions that truly comparative data are ten to one not available and the comparison falls flat before it can be started.

Such considerations make clear that comparing 'like with like' is not as easy as might be assumed, which does, however, not mean that it should not be attempted. Rather, and as put into practice in the present study, "it is advisable to be tentative and circumspect and to proceed by way of clearly situated qualitative studies with a strong ethnographic element." (Seidlhofer, Breiteneder and Pitzl 2006: 21)

2.4 ELF as classroom language

In view of the research focus of the present study, this chapter has introduced and discussed the main 'conceptual ingredients' relevant to (*multilingual*) *classroom interaction* (2.2) and *English as a lingua franca (ELF)* (2.3). Classroom interaction has been described as a prototypical case of institutional talk (2.2.1.1) creating oral practices (2.2.1.2) and as structured internally in typical ways (2.2.1.3).

As multilingual (higher) education comes in various kinds and shapes, those relevant to the HMP have been traced in socio-political and -linguistic terms (2.2.2.1). Given the centrality of language in education, the discussion has then turned to the role(s) of using an additional language in the teaching and learning processes (2.2.2.2). By virtue of demarcating ‘English as a lingua franca’, the major part of this subchapter has attempted to elucidate the relevant factors: linguistic repertoire (2.3.1.2), language-scape of the setting (2.3.1.3), communicative purposes (2.3.1.4) and, most importantly, the sociolinguistic status of ELF as communicative and social process (2.3.1.5). Based on these considerations, ELF could be defined as constituting a (temporary and multilingual) community of practice relying on English as their members’ only shared medium of communication (for the detailed definition see 2.3.1.6). The discussion has then focused on potential, but hotly debated implications for the ELF approach for language teaching and learning (2.3.2). Finally, a brief sketch of ELF research has been given regarding cultural, pronunciation, lexico-grammar and pragmatic aspects of ELF language use (2.3.3).

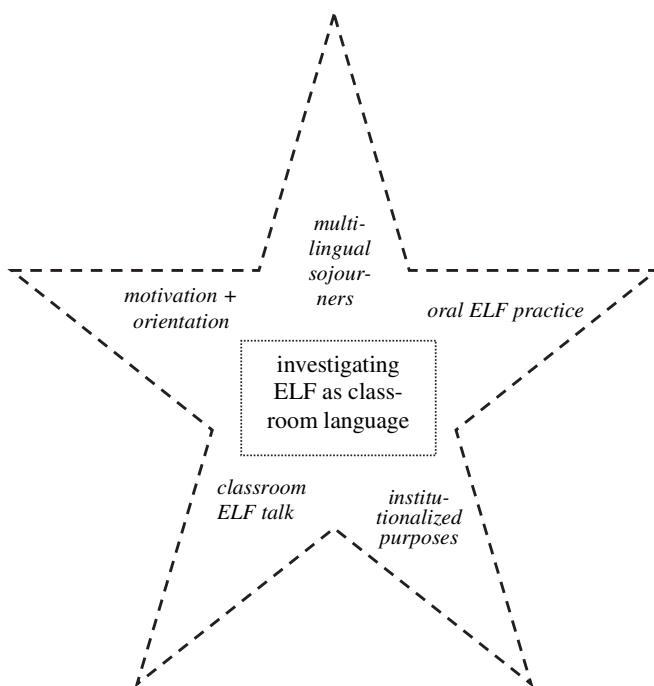


Figure 2.2. A conceptual frame for investigating ELF as classroom language

What still remains to be done is to show that the ‘ingredients’ so far attributed either to classroom interaction or ELF offer a conceptual frame for *investigating classroom interaction in English as a lingua franca*. As illustrated in Figure 2.2, the conceptual frame rests on five complex components, which contribute jointly and in no special order of preference. For convenience’s sake, the following description will deal with one component at a time, starting with the top point of the star and continuing clockwise:

- While all ELF discourse presupposes *multilingual* and -cultural settings, the use of a lingua franca in higher education means that at least a good part of the participants are *sojourners*, i.e. temporary residents in the place where the relevant educational programme is set. They are individually mobile students, willing to undertake education in an additional language in an unfamiliar linguacultural setting. For the respective educational community of practice this means that it will be ‘nurtured’ by diverse multilingual/cultural repertoires. At the same time, the making and developing of that community of practice will also be influenced by the local language-scape, i.e. the linguaculture(s) of the environment, simply because any tertiary education is bound to a certain location for the extent of its duration.
- The conceptual framing of oral ELF practice and its three interacting dimensions COMMUNICATING, ESTABLISHED PRACTICE and INDIVIDUAL REPERTOIRE (cf. Figure 2.1) reinforces the concept of oral practice suggested for classroom interaction (cf. 2.2.1.2). Taken together they highlight the complex and dynamic nature of classroom discourse which unfolds by COMMUNICATING in ELF in a highly situated way so that the small group of participants can make communication work. In the joint attempt to reach the educational goals related to the subject in question the *oral ELF practice* also draws on the dimension ESTABLISHED PRACTICE, viz. the relevant disciplinary ESP discourse, conventions and genres. Due to the typical role relations of teacher and students as predefined by the setting of formal education, it can be expected that it will usually be the teacher who initially enriches the oral practice by the social language of the discourse community s/he is a member of and that, with time, parts of this ESTABLISHED PRACTICE will be integrated into the classroom ELF practice. As regards the dimension INDIVIDUAL REPERTOIRE, on the other hand, English-based speech communities can be expected to play a negligible role in prototypical ELF settings (i.e. in areas where English is not used in daily life), such as the one of the present study. What is of more relevance in this context are the kinds of English the members of the community of practice bring with them, reflecting their personal English language learning and using histories, their INDIVIDUAL REPERTOIRES.

- As argued widely, ELF generally tends to be used in exchanges motivated by transactional *purposes*. The *institutionalized* setting of tertiary classroom interaction specifies this communicative goal as mainly educational, related to the (co)construction of objects of learning. There is thus a clearly specified set of communicative purposes at stake here, for which the lingua franca is used by all participants. This means that ELF is neither only the medium of instruction (cf. 2.3.2.1), nor the language of teaching. On the other hand, it would be misleading to refer to it as the language of learning, simply because it cannot be stipulated that all learners rely on it exclusively during the cognitive processes of learning. What can be claimed with certainty is that ELF is the language of all main classroom talk – the ‘classroom language’.
- When investigating *classroom ELF talk* researchers need to keep in mind that classroom talk has its specific features, patterns and dynamics. As countless studies have shown, the special institutional requirements of formal education leave their traces on the ways teachers and students communicate in class, how they develop topics, take turns, ask and respond to questions and engage in academic discourse functions. This has two consequences for *classroom ELF talk*: neither can findings from investigations into ELF talk in other settings be automatically extended or transferred to the classroom setting, nor is this *a priori* possible the other way round; or, looked at positively: investigations need to be setting-sensitive so that the resulting descriptions can function as bases for comparative and/or contrastive analyses of ELF across settings and oral practices.
- The ELF paradigm requires that communication amongst MuESs (multilingual English speakers) be studied, described and analysed in its own right, thus presupposing a certain research *motivation and orientation*. In this light, researchers are well advised to take heed of the afore-quoted call for “clearly situated qualitative studies with a strong ethnographic element” (Seidlhofer, Breiteneder and Pitzl 2006: 21), reflecting House’s (2003a) suggestion of treating ELF communication as constructing communities of practice (cf. chapter 1.3). While many ELF studies reflect such an emic research *orientation*, one important implication for it seems to have gone by almost unnoticed: the time factor. Ethnography and a social practice approach describe processes, thus presupposing periods of time and a longitudinal orientation. Somewhat surprisingly, such an orientation is not reflected in the extant ELF literature. On the contrary, the studies available at present tend to be of a cross-sectional nature, with the time factor limited to the duration of individual exchanges only; continuity and development across interactions have not been researched so far. In an attempt to go beyond ELF ‘snapshots’, the present study is arguably the first ethnographically inspired one in that it in-

vestigates ELF used in classroom talk in relation to the complete duration of the educational programme in question (see chapter 3.2 for a more detailed discussion).

Concerning the *motivation* of ELF research, the preceding component has already clarified that such investigations tend to be undertaken in order to arrive at a detailed description of ELF discourse either as an independent aim or in preparation for further-reaching implications as regards English as a global language. Concerning ELF as classroom language, the detailed description is still largely missing. This research gap, I wish to argue, needs to be filled, not only because of the afore mentioned specificities of classroom talk, but also because of the relevance of classroom talk to the teaching and learning processes and, in turn, their intricate relationships to the respective content area as well as the classroom language itself.

In sum, the conceptual frame suggested here views ELF as classroom language constructing oral practices, pursuing subject-specific educational goals of a temporary and developing community of practice, whose members are individually mobile, bi- or multilingual English speaking (B/MuES) students. In light of the characteristics of ELF on the one hand and of classroom talk on the other, it can be expected that the overarching communicative aim is to attain shared understanding on the respective objects of learning amongst the linguaculturally diverse community members. Classroom talk can thus be expected to be highly localized and contextualized in the here-and-now of the oral practice. Finally, investigating ELF as classroom language presupposes an ethnographic, situated and thus longitudinal research orientation and aims at establishing a detailed description of classroom talk. Such a methodological approach will be presented in the next chapter, followed by a more detailed account of the present study in chapter 4.

Chapter 3. Research methodology and study design

3.1 Introduction

As argued in the preceding chapter, the present study has been designed to investigate English as a lingua franca used as a classroom language in professionally-oriented tertiary education. Clearly, this is a wide and multi-layered field of research, which opens up many potential research questions and concomitant methodologies. It is therefore necessary to delineate the aims and scope chosen for the present study, which this chapter sets out to do. Before I can turn to the research methodology decided on here (3.2.) and the study design and data collection (3.3.), a clearer delimitation of the research agenda is required.

The first specification concerns the type of tertiary education focused on here, which, as clarified in the Introduction (chapter 1) is hotel management education. In the context of tertiary education more generally, tourism plays a marginal role and might seem an unusual choice for such a study. With regard to the professional world, however, the situation is different: the hospitality industry is prototypically international in terms of clientele, staff and individual managerial careers. English is thus clearly the ‘language of the business’, which is also reflected in the growing number of English-medium training and educational programmes (e.g. Barrow and Johan 2008). So, from the point of view of ELF as classroom language, hotel or hospitality management education is a viable choice, especially in Austria, where tourism plays a crucial role in the country’s national economy (Statistik Austria 2009) and its international reputation. In other words, the choice of hotel management for this study reflects the internationalism of the industry as well as the special status it holds in Austria, and this is also reflected in the fact that the educational setting in question here was one of the first English-medium tertiary educational programmes to be designed anywhere in Austria (de Cillia and Schweiger 2001: 371–373; Stegu and Seidlhofer 2003: 142).

The second specification of the study concerns ELF as classroom language (see 2.4). As regards the kinds of classroom talk investigated, the decision to focus on constitutive classroom main talk between the teacher and the whole student group has mainly been motivated by the insights gained during the pilot phase (for a detailed description see 3.3.1). The majority of all subjects were oriented to knowledge construction rather than skill development, and were thus constitutive in language use. Furthermore, most classes in the Hotel Management Programme were taught in a traditional teaching style, which means they were teacher-fronted and -directed lessons with intermittent student participa-

tion. As group or pair work sessions were generally rare, the obvious choice in describing classroom interaction in the Hotel Management Programme has thus been to focus on whole class interaction (see 2.2.1.3).

As the discussion of ELF has underlined (see 2.3.3), the main research focus has been on its pragmatic success or lack thereof. In view of the heightened relevance of successful interaction in an educational setting, ‘making communication work’ is also the main focus of the present study. At the same time, though, communicative success (or failure) is particularly difficult to grasp as it is “a ubiquitous issue for which most [discourse] pragmatic analyses carry implications” (Good 1999: 5). In view of this all-encompassing, but continuously fleeting nature of communicative success (see 2.3.1.4 and 5.2.1 for further discussions), it has been decided to apply a two-pronged research approach by taking into consideration the perspectives of the participants as well as that of the researcher-analyst. In other words, the discourse-analytical approach of working with naturalistic interactional data has been complemented by the insiders’ evaluations of and opinions on ELF as classroom language. While, as abundant sociolinguistic research has shown (e.g. Coulmas 2005: 11), speakers’ language use can differ quite remarkably from their own thoughts about it, such a divergence does not discredit either of the two aspects. It rather sheds light on the complexities of language use and opens up interpretative potentials, as the detailed discourse-pragmatic analyses will show (see chapters 5, 6 and 7).

The preceding description of the research focus, taken together with the theoretical foundations laid out in chapter 2, already indicate that the applied linguistic methodology pursued here can only be a qualitative one. But since the descriptor ‘qualitative’ has been used widely, and in some respects differently, in applied linguistic research (e.g. Chaudron 2000, Lazarton 1995), its local meaning will be discussed in some detail in the following (see 3.2), followed by a delineation of the study design and data collection (see 3.3).

3.2 Research methodology

Overviews of research methodologies used in applied linguistic studies tend to make use of a number of labels, usually juxtaposed to each other. Depending on the coverage of the respective descriptions, various approaches are listed such as, for instance, correlational or experimental studies, case-study or ethnography (e.g. Johnson 1992; Seliger and Shohamy 1989). Alternatively, preference is given to the basic dichotomy of quantitative and qualitative (e.g. Wray, Trott and Bloomer 1998). In view of the complexity of the ‘real-life language issues’ tackled in applied linguistic research, the basic dichotomy might seem

overly simplistic and stemming from introductory texts (e.g. Glesne and Peshkin 1992), rather than from actual research. Interestingly, however, more specified descriptions also revert to the dichotomous distinction (e.g. Chaudron 2000; Davis 1995; Lazarton 1995); probably because it captures the most fundamental theoretical and methodological split observable in empirical investigations. At the same time, this rough distinction allows for more overlaps and individualistic research models within each of the two main camps (e.g. Duff 2002), also acknowledged in Dörnyei's (2007: 42–46) description of mixed methods. Along such lines, Davis (1995: 434) stresses the relevance of the not always acknowledged philosophical assumptions that underlie a study and how they influence the research method pursued irrespective of the actual technique employed (cf. also Rampton 2006). In this sense, a positivistic approach is in line with a quantitative method, while a more constructivist one would favour a qualitative research method (e.g. Erickson 1986). Reflecting the same basic distinction, Chaudron (2000: 7) sketches the two different camps with regard to the role played by theories, nature of data and data collection in research on language learning and use. Summarized briefly, quantitative research is seen as hypotheses-testing, based on specific theoretical considerations, which leads to pre-planned data-collection tools as well as theory-dependent analytical models. Qualitative research, on the other hand, develops a grounded theory with the help of whatever data prove to be most valuable in the process of the project and are collected flexibly in response to the developments of the research site.

While such schematic descriptions are clearly helpful in sketching fundamental differences between quantitative and qualitative methodologies, they run the danger of abstraction to such an extent that they lose from sight the realities of undertaking classroom-based research. As experience of actual empirical research shows, it neither runs in a clearly linear fashion, (as implied in the quantitative assumption of first theory, then data, finally analysis), nor in a fully holistic and cyclical one mirroring the qualitative ideals of entering a scene 'untainted' and slowly building up an interpretative and grounded theory relating to all relevant data. The fact that actual research depends also on other influencing factors is described very informatively in Schachter and Gass's (1996) collection of "honest behind-the-scenes look[s] at what happens from the beginning to the end of a research project within a classroom context" (Schachter and Gass 1996: vii), which gives vivid descriptions of the varied issues actual research needs to respond to. Instead of rigidly clinging to one of the two research paradigms, it makes more sense "to be clear on what the purpose of the study is and to match that purpose with the attributes most likely to accomplish it" (Larson-Freeman and Long 1991: 14). This does not mean that anything goes, but it gives credit to the fact that researchers must learn to

“whole-heartedly embrace the notions of multiple, contextualized, and contingent truths, organic research designs [and] relativity” (Larson-Freeman 1996: 159) inherent in classroom based investigations. As far as qualitative research is concerned, this also means that quantitative techniques can be used. Especially when interpretative claims are based on implicit quantifications, such as ‘typical’, ‘normal’ or ‘frequent’ language use, some classroom ethnographers have even called for an obligatory application of quantitative techniques in “analysing and displaying results” (Watson-Gegeo 1997: 141).

The present study reflects such a combined approach by incorporating both qualitative and quantitative research techniques. At the same time, it can be described as fundamentally qualitative because of its underlying emic research perspective in its attempt to “gain [...] an understanding of the actors’ meanings for social actions.” (Davis 1995: 433). So, instead of approaching the research site purely from the applied linguist’s external point of view, my primary endeavour has been to learn as much as possible about the participants and their ideas about, and evaluations of using English as classroom language in the Hotel Management Programme. This ethnographically inspired approach taken to discourse-pragmatic analyses of classroom talk is arguably central for two reasons. Firstly, as very little is known about the specificities of classroom interaction in ELF (cf. chapter 2), detailed empirical investigations are needed in order to find out more about the respective oral practices in their complexity (Flick, von Kardorff and Steinke 2004: 9). Additionally, such an approach pays full tribute to the fact that, as argued in 2.3.1, the contextualization of the lingua franca use is a prerequisite for any discourse-pragmatic analysis of ELF, which means for the present study that a detailed description of the Classroom Community of Practice is arguably of paramount importance.

This interest in the community’s shared repertoire carries three further implications, namely that the study be naturalistic as well as long term and longitudinal. The former characteristic captures the fact that the data in question must be taken from naturally occurring exchanges in their actual setting of language in use (Bailey and Nunan 1996: 1–2). The latter two characteristics – long term and longitudinal – both refer to extensive periods of time that are at stake here, the first of which describes the duration of the project as such and the second its analytical focus. The emic orientation necessitates a long-term study because it simply takes some time for external researcher-analysts to gain the necessary level of inside understanding. In the present case, this process stretched over more than three years. More than one year was devoted to gaining the inside perspective on the school and the educational programme in general and thus functioned as a pilot phase, on the basis of which the main study could then be undertaken longitudinally, covering almost two years. The longitudinal focus of

the present study is motivated by qualitative classroom research as well as ELF studies, both of which stress the dynamic developments taking place socioculturally and interactionally in communities of ELF practices (see 2.4). Although largely sidelined in extant studies, such developmental processes can hardly be captured cross-sectionally, but require the chronologically wider, diachronic perspective offered in longitudinal studies.

To sum up the description given so far, the ‘qualitativeness’ of the present study consists of its emic, contextualized, naturalistic, long term and longitudinal nature. In view of the fact that these characteristics are considered crucial to ethnographic research (e.g. Nunan 1992: 56), the label ‘ethnography’ practically suggests itself for this study. After all, it stands for an established and well described research method for qualitative educational interaction (e.g. Chaudron 2000; Watson-Gegeo 1997) and is a widely used descriptor in interpretive applied linguistics (Duff 2002: 292). This popularity, however, hints already at one problem ethnography shares with other well established notions: it has suffered from overuse and thus underspecificity in that it is often applied to studies of a different or at least mixed kind and thus leads to confusion (Scollon 1995: 382). As I shall argue below, the present study and its focus on classroom interaction would definitely be of such a mixed kind. In an attempt to avoid the potential pitfall of confusion, I heed Davis’s (1995: 435) advice to specify the general label and “say what it is [I am] doing”. In this vein, this study is ‘a discourse-pragmatic ethnography’. Since, as far as this could be ascertained, this is a novel descriptor of qualitative, applied linguistic research, further explanations are required.

Educational ethnography aims to “understand the social organization and culturally-based perspectives and interpretations that underlie knowledge and guide [...] participants’ behaviour and shap[e] their interpretations of specific interactions” (Watson-Gegeo 1997: 136). This means that its main purpose is to give a detailed, direct and quasi insider description of socioculturally influenced behaviours and interpretations. In order to achieve this end, ethnographic research contains longitudinal, intensive observations of the respective educational setting, which are often supported by recordings of the classroom activities and interviews with the stakeholders. So far, this overlaps quite neatly with most qualitative research (Duff 2002: 292) and also with the present project. Where differences emerge is with regard to the methodology applied to analysing interactional data. Pure ethnography applies an uncompromising emic perspective, which also comes to the fore in the choice of analytical categories as well as the call for data triangulation (Flick 2004: 179). Regarding the former, the opinions and perceptions of the participants are considered so all-encompassing that, in the case of classroom settings, the analytical categories used tend to spring from

the teacher's and students' own concepts rather than those of the researchers (Watson-Gegeo 1997: 136).

Such an approach contrasts markedly with qualitative applied linguistic research, which, owing to its focus on language in use, often takes recourse to discourse-analytical methods and categories (Davis 1995: 434; Lazarton 1995: 461). This is also the case in the present study. As explicated in 1.2, the analyses of the classroom interactional data draw on various discourse-pragmatic approaches to spoken interaction in terms of theoretical assumptions as well as analytical procedures (see also chapters 5.2, 6.2 and 7.2). As these approaches treat the interactional data as the main source of analysis, they are clearly not based on an exclusively emic research perspective. While the participants' own views have been taken as stimulus for the investigative foci, they are generally elicited with regard to contextual rather than interactional concerns. The latter are dealt with by drawing on a wealth of textual evidence and contextual knowledge and by approaching the analysis on the basis of a thorough emic understanding of the research site (cf. also Cutting 2000). In this light, the present study is a 'discourse-pragmatic ethnography', i.e. a qualitative applied linguistic investigation that combines discourse-analytical and pragmatic approaches with (educational) ethnography and aims at a principled analysis and informed interpretation of the classroom interaction.

At the same time, this methodology allows a critical evaluation of the investigation in terms of the three criteria established as fundamental to qualitative research (e.g. Davis 1995: 43): credibility, dependability and transferability, which will be sketched in what follows. The last-mentioned criterion corresponds to the 'so what?' question of any type of empirical research. While quantitative approaches try to approach this question with their quest for generalizability, qualitative research and its constructivist focus on contextualization "strive[s] for transferability of findings" (Lazarton 1995: 465). This endeavour requires a detailed and carefully developed theory that encompasses the specific situation in its complexity (cf. also Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2007: 158). Such a "grounded theory [...] potentially allows for transfer to a wide range of cultures and social situations" (Davis 1995: 441). The important difference from generalization is, however, that the potential transfer can only be undertaken by the readers, who have to determine in how far the respective theory can apply to their own situations. A credible and dependable representation of the original situation is thus of paramount importance.

The two criteria of credibility and dependability, which find their quantitative counterparts in 'validity' and 'reliability', refer to the trustworthiness of the data description and analysis. Although the quantitative criteria mirror a positivistic understanding that a qualitative approach can usually not subscribe to, the

requirement that the data analysis and interpretation be a credible and dependable rendering of what the researcher has found is equally crucial and needs to be given the utmost attention in qualitative research as well (e.g. Johnson and Saville-Troike 1992). “Prolonged engagement and persistent observation” (Davis 1995: 445) enhance the trustworthiness of its data analysis and interpretation, as does the integration of multiple data collection methods (e.g. Bloome et al. 2005: 433). While such a range of data collection methods is not the same as the triangulation of analytical methods applied to the very same research question and required for pure ethnographic research (e.g. Duff 2002: 292), it opens up various perspectives on the same research issue, which, when considered in their diversity, also adds to the study’s investigative credibility. As regards applied linguistic and/or discourse analytical studies, triangulation is again different as such research also relies on transcribed interactional data, and requires different methods than pure ethnography (Lazarton 1995: 461), such as “the incorporation of quantitative techniques” (Watson-Gegeo 1997: 138–139), especially when “variable features of language are explored” (Johnson and Saville-Troike 1992: 604).

Based on such considerations, the present study is, firstly, based on an extended process of engagement with the hotel management programme and its participants, including intensive phases of classroom observation, many semi-structured interviews and frequent informal exchanges with all stake-holders and, secondly, on the interactional data of 33 audio-recorded and narrowly transcribed lessons (for a detailed description see 3.3.2 and 3.3.3). The ethnographic approach has proved to be crucial for gaining a quasi-insider status, on the one hand, and, on the other, for the development of the analytical criteria for the interactional analyses, which combine quantitative and qualitative techniques, as well as their interpretations (see chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8).

3.3 Study design

Reflecting its ethnographic nature, the study design was developed over an extended period of time, which I will refer to as the ‘pilot phase’, and was applied for the whole duration of one Hotel Management Programme. All in all, the study covered three and a half years and took place early in the 21st century.³⁴ As is typical of such a long-term undertaking (cf. 3.2), it did not take place in a clearly linear fashion, but, integrating ideas from comparable

34. For the sake of the participants’ anonymity, I have decided not to reveal years or dates. Since there are very few such hospitality educational centres in Vienna, exact dates

research, experienced colleagues as well as the study site itself, took a number of turns, which, in hindsight, come close to a cyclical development. While the ensuing description of the steps taken in shaping the study design will attempt to pay tribute to the sources of input, it will – for the sake of brevity and clarity – move the whole process to a more abstract level and render it in a relatively linear fashion. Therefore, the pilot phase, lasting approximately 14 months, will be presented first (3.3.1), with the focus on its impact on the design of the main study. This will be followed by a brief but concise description of the data collection process with regard to the classroom interactional (3.3.2) as well as the emic data (3.3.3).

3.3.1 Pilot phase

The pilot phase consisted of discrete stages: after an initial interview with the Director of Studies and a presentation of the research plan to the teaching faculty, I spent about twelve mornings in class, observing and recording lessons, interviewing some of the respective lecturers and engaging in informal conversations with lecturers and students. Based on the insights gained, I returned about nine months later to observe and record more lessons and interview lecturers (eight in total) and, as a new step, also students. Three months later, I finished the pilot phase by interviewing students in small groups of two to three (twelve in total).³⁵

These piloting stages were taken with three aims in mind. Firstly, they should further the development of an emic understanding of the Hotel Management Programme as a site of international hotel management education and, secondly, help in the fine-tuning of research questions and methods. Thirdly, and most importantly for the project to get off the ground, the pilot phase was necessary to gain the trust and support of the administrative and teaching staff as well as of the students. Even if the latter would be a different group in the final study, it was important to gauge the general attitudes felt towards such a project and me as researcher. As already remarked on by van Lier (1988: 39), every ethnographically-oriented study “crucially depends on a relationship of trust. If the classroom ethnographer is regarded as an evaluator or inspector, the entire enterprise becomes impossible.” Such a negative image is often much more

would in practice identify the specific group of students at stake here and thus also the participants’ identities.

35. Motivated by the teachers’ comments on the students’ writing, I also collected some of their written assignments and study reports. An initial study has supported this hunch and suggests that further analyses of HMP writing will lead to interesting results on ELF writing (Smit 2007b).

difficult to avoid than might be expected.³⁶ A language-focused researcher is usually seen as a language expert, and when the language in question is an additional one to teachers and students, all participants might become highly aware of their own language proficiency levels and feel continuously controlled and maybe even evaluated or judged on their language use, which could then easily lead to negative reactions towards the researcher-observer and thwart the whole enterprise. In the present case, such worries were soon dispelled because right from the first encounters on with the staff, I was welcomed by genuine and highly supportive interest shown in my research project and its potential relevance to the programme itself. I received similar reactions from the students doing the Hotel Management Programme at that stage, who were not only willing to respond to my questions, but also initiated conversations with me. These almost exclusively positive reactions to my endeavour showed me that classroom interaction in ELF was not seen as threatening anybody's feelings, but rather experienced as an important issue worth thinking and talking about.³⁷

With regard to the first aim of the pilot phase mentioned above – gaining an emic understanding of the programme – the classroom observations, student and teacher interviews as well as informal conversations, led to a highly varied and multiplex picture of (a) the student group, (b) English as classroom language and (c) the role of the first semester. 'The student group' is a seemingly innocent label for the linguacultural diversity of any aggregate of students in its diversity of social practices and expectations (cf. the relevant discussions on community of practice in 1.3 and multilingual classrooms in 2.2.2). The interviews with the lecturers revealed that, in general, they were very aware of the intercultural nature of the programme and evaluated it as an overall positive experience for all participants. They also wanted to show understanding for the cultural range, while they differed concerning the relevance they allotted to cultural vs. individual differences. Classroom participation was one point which was regarded as revealing cultural differences and passivity was attributed to, and explained by, cultural factors; at one occasion even explicitly in class. At the same time, most lecturers appreciated the general increase in active participation they ob-

36. Cf. Dalton-Puffer's (2007: 57–64) description of the relationship between the researcher and the teacher, which she argues rests on various dichotomies, such as subject vs. analyst or expert vs. novice.

37. As with most 'rules', this one had its exception as well. For reasons which remained unclear to me, one lecturer did feel threatened by my project and my presence in the classroom. As I could not dispel his concerns even after extended talks and explanations, I accepted his wishes and did not consider any of his classes for my project.

served, especially when the group moved into its second year of studies. More generally, the compulsory internship students were required to do in the summer break was regarded as triggering changes in some students' behaviour towards more active participation in class. In response to the interview questions on the role of cultural differences, the students were overall more reluctant to take a clear stance, maybe reflecting their impression of trans- rather than interculturality (cf. 2.3.1.3, 2.3.3.1). Apart from acknowledging the multiculturalism of the group and its general relevance in the community-shaping process of the first months, they used individual rather than cross-cultural differences in explaining relationships and roles within their group. On only two occasions during informal conversations were second-hand reports given on students who felt ridiculed by other students because of their cultural background and/or kind of English. In how far the students themselves regarded these experiences as culturally discriminating could, however, not be ascertained.³⁸ A further insight that was gained in informal exchanges concerned the range of motivation students had in choosing, and later-on evaluating, the educational programme.

Because of the research focus, the bulk of all insights of the pilot phase concerned the use and evaluations of English as classroom language. During the interviews, teachers and students agreed that the choice of English as classroom language was an asset because it allowed students and lecturers to meet cross-culturally, it offered practice in English as the international hospitality language, and thus prepared the students for their future jobs. As regards the students' language proficiency, all participants judged it as highly varied, but improving in the course of the programme and as generally not impacting negatively on their academic success. In informal conversations both lecturers and students backed their generally positive evaluations of English as classroom language, but they voiced more directly formulated complaints about 'bad' or unintelligible English. While the majority of students interviewed judged their own English as having improved, a few felt their English competence had deteriorated because of the repeated interactions with MuESs. These divergent evaluations revealed different attitudes towards the role and function of English. This came also to the fore in individual students' wishes for more explicit language instruction, which indicated that those students were not satisfied with the focus on content only that was prevalent in the classes; the more so since they were also the ones who

38. Obviously, the few days of contact I had with the students did not suffice to change my outsider position to this group, whose trust thus remained limited to the far less emotional aspect of classroom language.

did not associate their own language proficiency with the ESP they admitted to having acquired during the programme.³⁹

The all-encompassing focus on content in the hotel educational programme was also evident in all the lessons observed during the pilot phase. If any explicit language teaching took place, it was done *ad hoc* and with the aim of increasing mutual understanding. Such impressionistic findings supported the original assumption of English functioning as the group's lingua franca. At the same time, the interactional patterns varied widely depending mainly on the topic in question, the programme-inherent distinction between practical subjects (e.g. Cooking or Serving) and theoretical ones (e.g. Financial Management, Marketing), and the teaching style pursued. Additionally, the classroom observations conducted at two different points in time made me aware of some interactional developments during the programme, thus supporting the participants' self-reports on discursive changes being particularly prevalent in the first semester.

Both teachers and students identified the first semester as the most crucial period in terms of group formation as well as communicative processes. Initial problems in making themselves understood in class were described as diminishing during the first semester with people starting to develop listening and speaking strategies. The first semester was thus seen as the phase of growing together, but also of building cliques, often based on shared linguacultures. The teachers related their observations that, depending on subgroup composition and behaviour, these cliques seemed to be either constructive or destructive for the whole group. Some students specified these doubts by pointing out the officially unacknowledged role played by German as dominant language amongst all L1s.

In summary we may say that the pilot phase opened up teacher and/or student concerns about the dynamics of the respective student group as well as their use of English as classroom language. These issues were then taken up in the emic research approach and investigative tools used in the main study (see 3.3.3). Additionally and equally importantly, the pilot phase revealed how decisive the first semester was felt to be. It is for this insight that I decided to specify the longitudinal approach of the main study by placing its main focus on the first

39. This finding was fed back to the organizers of the Hotel Management Programme who used it in their endeavour to entrench and facilitate English language learning so that the ensuing student group – the one accompanied in the main study – already had a compulsory two-semester course on 'English for the Hospitality Industry' with two weekly contact lessons.

few months of the programme, in comparison with the second year of studies (for more details see 3.3.2).

Next to gaining an inside understanding of the oral practices (cf. 2.2.1.2) under investigation, the pilot phase was also used to try out and test the appropriacy of the research design and techniques envisaged. It was thus longitudinal, consisting of three stages, during which the audio-recording equipment was tested and found useful for taping whole-class interaction.⁴⁰ Guided interviewing, i.e. interviewing with the help of pre-formulated but flexibly applied questions (e.g. Cohen, Manion and Morrison 2007: 353; Hopf 2004: 204), was also tried out as it needed refinement with regard to interviewing skills in general (e.g. Hermanns 2004). More particularly, fine-tuning was necessary in the topics focused on and the kinds of question that would encourage insightful responses. While I cannot be sure that the interviews reached their full potential in both respects by the end of the pilot phase, the transcripts of the interviews of the main study show that the interviewees had been given the time and the space to share their ideas on the respective topics, but also to add their evaluations and feelings, even when they themselves viewed them as controversial.

In the course of my observations I became aware of small groups of between two and four students whose internal networks were relatively denser than those with fellow students: a development which students confirmed in informal exchanges as they referred to ‘cliques’ within the group. Seeing that these cliques spent relatively more time talking amongst each other, I was interested to find out what they, as groups, thought about using English as classroom language, and I therefore conducted two small-group interviews during the students’ final semester. These interviews supported my assumptions that small-group interviews have the great advantage of bringing to light how interviewees co-construct ideas, opinions and evaluations (e.g. Bohnsack 2004: 214–216), but also that this only works if the persons know and respect each other, trust the interviewer, are given clear guidelines as to the interviewing aim, topics and procedures and, not to be forgotten, are able to talk about shared events. Consequently, I decided that for the main study initial interviews should be conducted on an individual basis, while ensuing ones on fewer, specifically chosen topics would benefit from a small-group format.

Furthermore, the interviews conducted at three diverse stages of the pilot phase revealed the relevance of the moment in time at which opinions were given. Students’ views on questions of, for instance, classroom language or language proficiency not only varied from individual to individual, but were also dependent on when they were given. Corresponding with the developments in the

40. Why audio was preferred over video-recording is explained in detail in 3.3.2.

Hotel Management Programme, an individual’s views changed and developed. In order to gain insights into the range of opinions prevalent at the crucial moments of the start and end of the programme, all students would need to be consulted at the same time: an investigative aim which could only be achieved with the help of questionnaires, to be handed out simultaneously to all students.

In conclusion, the pilot phase was vital for the main study in various ways. It allowed me to familiarize myself with the hotel school and widen my insights into the programme and the perceptions of its stakeholders. It showed how relevant detailed emic knowledge of the educational setting and its participants is for the kind of qualitative, applied linguistic study envisaged here. Additionally I could apply, and improve on, the study design and data collection techniques in this discourse-pragmatic ethnography, which will be briefly described below.

3.3.2 Classroom interactional data

Inspired by the teachers and students I interviewed and talked to during the pilot phase, I placed special emphasis on the first semester in terms of classroom observation as well as recording. As the schematic overview in Table 3.1 shows, almost half of all lessons observed and recorded took place in the first semester and less than ten percent in the fourth.

Table 3.1. Lessons observed and recorded

Semester	Number of lessons	<i>in %</i>
1	55	44
2	34	27
3	27	21
4	10	8
Total	126	100

Furthermore, the recorded sessions were not interspersed evenly throughout the semesters, but scheduled into phases, because of the research-inherent problem of what Labov (1972: 209–210) referred to as the observer’s paradox, i.e. “to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed [...] by systematic observation” (Wardhaugh 2002: 19). Based on the experience of the pilot phase, I expected that the participants would not notice the recording equipment after a certain time and act ‘normally’, which, however, turned out to be only partially the case. Especially after a longer period of absence, students commented, in an admittedly jocular manner, on the big-brother effect of the microphones, and some lecturers drew attention to my presence explicitly by,

for instance, reminding the students to ‘speak up’ so that they would be clearly heard on the recording. In other words, the novelty effect of me and my recording equipment wore off only temporarily, during the periods of intense taping. The recording sessions were therefore scheduled in phases in order to capture realistic classroom interaction.

A second important decision concerned the mode of taping employed. While video-taping is clearly the much more comprehensive means of data collection and has therefore also been employed in a number of classroom-based studies (for an overview cf. Chaudron 2000), the present one has only made limited use of video and concentrated on audio-taping instead.⁴¹ This was mainly done for two reasons: the problems of intrusion and alienation, as well as restrictions of the location on setting up the equipment. The first point relates to the afore-mentioned recurrent effect of the recording equipment. While each time the participants seemed to forget quite quickly about the relatively unobtrusive microphones, this was not the case after an extended period without observation; cameras would most probably have aggravated this situation. Secondly, owing to limited classroom space, students moved between rooms, the allocation of which was sometimes decided at very short notice. In addition, the rooms at the hotel school were partly very small or oddly shaped, which would have required considerable preparation time in order to set up, and later dismount, a useful video-taping arrangement. However, breaks between lessons were generally five minutes only, which left little time to set up even the simplest recording equipment; an arrangement with two or more cameras would, therefore, not have been possible. Since, in addition, detailed field notes were taken of all observed lessons with the specific focus on turn-taking, it was later generally possible to reconstruct individual exchanges and speakers based on the soundtrack, field notes and my memory of the individual situations.

The audio-taping was carried out with an MD-MT190 Sharp MD portable recorder and two AKG SE 300 B microphones flexibly mounted on a rail on top of a tripod, and set against each other at an angle of between 90 and 120 degrees to allow for maximum coverage of the whole room.⁴² The microphones were mounted at different places in the respective classrooms, depending on their shape and particularities, but always between the student desks and the

41. In those settings where audio-based recordings would not have delivered usable data, like in the kitchen, recourse was made to video-recording, which was done with a MV750i Canon digital video camcorder.

42. Many thanks to the ‘Phonogrammarchiv der Akademie der Wissenschaften’ (Audio-visual Research Archive of the Austrian Academy of Sciences) for giving technical advice on which taping equipment to use.

whiteboard, and facing the students, so that most of their contributions would be audibly recorded. The lecturer’s voice was taped from behind and, owing to physical proximity, always clearly audible. The MDs were then converted into MP3-files, which could be electronically archived and accessed on any PC.⁴³

With the audio-files readily accessible, a decision had to be taken on how many lessons should be used for detailed linguistic analyses. Apart from the highly practical considerations of how many lessons would be ‘doable’ for me as individual researcher, the longitudinal nature of the study and the relevance of the introductory weeks and months were important factors to be considered. As some students stressed that they had perceived the first few weeks as particularly relevant to the shaping of classroom interaction in their group, while others referred to the first semester more generally, it seemed worthwhile to specify the first two weeks as an introductory phase and separate them from the rest of the first semester. The next big changes were commented on as taking place a year later, during the third semester, mainly because all students had gained work experience in the summer (for a more detailed account see 4.2.3). Because of these emic evaluations, which were backed up by my own observations, I decided to focus on the three points in time as ‘introductory phase’, ‘well into the first semester’ and ‘a year later’ and to select lessons for detailed analysis accordingly. As given in Table 3.2, I refer to these three phases as T1, T2 and T3 respectively and chose around 11 lessons for each of them (for an overview of the lessons see Appendix C).

Table 3.2. Lessons transcribed

Phases	Duration	Number of lessons
T1 (‘introductory phase’)	first two weeks	12
T2 (‘well into the first semester’)	months 3–5	10
T3 (‘a year later’)	the third semester	11

These 33 lessons were transcribed in two phases. The first one resulted in rough transcriptions, for which students were hired who had experience in transcribing spoken data and/or received on the job training.⁴⁴ The resulting draft transcripts entered the second phase in which I checked them in detail for actual wording, and I added improvements by identifying speakers, indicating pauses of various lengths and general intonation patterns (rising, falling, level). The transcription

43. My most heartily felt thanks to Ivan Smit, whose computer expertise made the technical steps appear so problem-free.

44. I would like to extend my sincere thanks to David Nerbl, Christina Philippi and Susanne Schäfer for providing me with very useful rough transcripts.

system used in the present study (see Appendix A) is based on the VOICE transcription conventions of April 2003, which were adapted to the specificities of the present data in minor points.⁴⁵

3.3.3 Emic data

As already indicated in 3.3.1, the emic data are mainly taken from interviews, and two open-ended questionnaires, an overview of which is provided in Table 3.3. In addition, I used the breaks between lessons for regular informal talks with most participants (for a discussion of the emic data see 4.3).

Table 3.3. Questionnaires and interviews (see Appendix B for the abridged versions)

Technique		When	Number
questionnaires		start and end of programme	12
interviews			
<i>with students</i>	<i>1-on-1</i>	1 st and 2 nd semesters	28
	<i>small groups</i>	4 th semester	4
<i>with teachers</i>	<i>1-on-1</i>	2 nd and 3 rd semesters	15
<i>with administrators</i>	<i>1-on-1</i>	start of 2 nd semester	2

Based on the insights gained in the pilot phase, the questionnaires were designed with the aim of getting insights into the students' ideas about the programme right at the beginning and then again at the end of the programme. At the beginning, topics such as the students' motivations for choosing the programme and their expectations of the two years to come were in the forefront, while the students' general evaluations of the programme and their plans for their future careers were important issues at the end of the programme. As can be seen from the questionnaires (see Appendix B), both of them were short, so that they would not take too much of the students' time, and consisted of four main questions each. The first questionnaire asked for the students' motivations for doing a Hotel Management Programme and for choosing this specific one. It also elicited their expectations of the programme and of what it would prepare them for afterwards. The second questionnaire asked for the students' evaluations of their own English and how it had changed, their plans for their professional future and what the programme had prepared them for. In addition, the first

45. As the VOICE project has worked intensively on its transcription conventions since then, the present manual is much more elaborate and detailed than the draft version of April 2003 (cf. http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/voice.php?page=transcription_general_information; accessed 13 October 2009).

questionnaire included some questions on the students' personal background, i.e. their age, nationality, previous countries of residence, educational and professional background, and language competence, and the second questionnaire on their parents' backgrounds. The purpose of the latter was to get an idea of the extent to which the students' international orientation might go back to their parents' personal histories. The students did not seem to see any problems in answering any of the questions, as can be deduced from the return rate of almost 100%.

In addition to the questionnaires, I asked all students, teachers and administrators to reveal their ideas, opinions, and evaluations of the programme and the use of English as classroom language. The respective interviews were spread over all four semesters. Reflecting their positive attitude towards my project, all of the participants were willing to devote some of their limited free time to respond to my questions. The interviews were conducted in the school's visual studio because its sound-proof walls allowed a degree of privacy that was highly beneficial to the personal character of the exchanges. As the format of guided interviewing proved viable during the pilot phase, the interviews, as suggested by Hermanns (2004: 212–213) and Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2007: 361), were introduced by an explanatory statement on the aim and intended topics of the exchange (see Appendix B). With the help of a prepared list of questions, whose sequence and wording had been improved upon during the pilot phase, the interviewees received guidance, if this was necessary. Topics raised by an interviewee were always very welcome, enlarged upon, and allowed to take the interview in a different direction. Therefore the interviews dealt with the envisaged topics in differing degrees and they also varied in length, lasting between 20 and 40 minutes. All interviews were audio-taped so that transcripts could be prepared,⁴⁶ on the basis of which the interviews were thematically analysed.

The one-on-one interviews with the students took place during the first and second semesters, with the aim of gathering emic information on the programme, the group and English as classroom language during the first year of studies, but at various stages of familiarization with the setting. In view of the relevance of the internship for the students' hospitality knowledge, their patterns of participation in class and evaluations of the educational programme more generally, I planned to speak with all students individually before that break and interview small groups afterwards. This was done with between two and four students at the beginning of the fourth semester, at a time of relatively less course work. The topics of the one-on-one interviews were the interviewees'

46. I am greatly indebted to Catherine Quidenus and Christina Philippi, who prepared the rough transcripts of the interviews.

perceptions, ideas and opinions regarding (a) the lecturers' English as used as medium of instruction, (b) the students' English as used in class, and (c) the interviewee's own English and using it in class. In the fourth semester, the topics of the small-group interviews shifted towards classroom interaction as they asked for the interviewees' perceptions, ideas and opinions regarding (a) improving one's own English, (b) English in class: medium of instruction and/or object of learning and (c) English as only class language, or one of many.

The interviews with the lecturers were scheduled slightly later than the one-on-one student interviews, viz. during the second and third semesters, mainly because it was important that the lecturers should have some time to get to know the student group before sharing their opinions, evaluations and experience. I interviewed each lecturer whose classes I observed and taped. The topics discussed were (a) the interviewee's teaching approach, (b) the students' English and (c) the interviewee's English. In addition, I asked personal questions concerning the lecturers' language proficiency and teaching background. The interviews with the head of the school and the programme administrator took place at the beginning of the third semester, as this was a relatively quiet time in which both could spare an hour for my questions. In these interviews, I learnt more about the school and the Hotel Management Programme, its historical development and present characteristics. In addition, the administrator, who at that point had been in this position for one year only, shared her ideas on potential areas of improvement.

As in the pre-arranged interviews, most lecturers and students were very willing to share their ideas, opinions and feelings in informal conversations. Time permitting, I could lead numerous exchanges on a range of issues which concerned

- the programme, such as specific subjects and lecturers, problems encountered and potential solutions,
- my main interest – English as classroom language and individual reactions to and evaluations of it,
- group dynamics, such as tensions which sometimes surfaced amongst the various language groups, and
- requests directed to me personally, usually concerning an English expression or explanation that a lecturer or student was looking for, either in or out of class.

Such information I entered in my research diary, which I kept on a weekly basis during the data collection period with the aim of noting down the chronological events as well as my own perceptions and evaluations. This led not only to a valuable record of the steps and actions taken, but also to a basis of reflecting

with hindsight on singular events in their spatio-temporal embeddedness as well as the research process more generally.

3.4 Summary

In summarising the main points of this chapter, I will reverse the order of presentation for the sake of relevance and start with the data collection. During the whole period of the Hotel Management Programme in question, I observed and recorded numerous lessons and had informal talks with all participants, whenever we found a few spare minutes. These ad hoc exchanges delivered valuable insights which enriched the emic perspectives gained during the guided interviews and on the basis of the two open-ended questionnaires. A further source of information is the research diary I kept during the data collection period. Table 3.4 sketches the various data collecting techniques employed in this study and visualizes their temporal overlap.

Table 3.4. The data collection processes throughout the HMP

<i>start</i>	<i>semester 1</i>	<i>semester 2</i>	<i>semester 3</i>	<i>semester 4</i>	<i>end</i>
	lesson observations and recordings				
	research diary				
qu* 1	1:1 interviews with students			small group interviews	qu* 2
		1:1 interviews with teachers			
	informal talks				

* ‘qu’: questionnaire

At the same time, the schematic representation of Table 3.4 illustrates that interactional and emic data were collected in parallel, which, I would argue, is not only a temporal coincidence, but reflects the complementary nature of the research methodology applied here: it is applied linguistic as it focuses on a language issue in the real world – interactions in ELF as classroom language – and qualitative because it is based on an ethnographic perspective in that it aims to gain a well-founded understanding of the relevant participants’ opinions, evaluations and ideas. Therefore the present study is a qualitative, applied linguistic one in that it, as explained above (see 3.2), is emic, contextualized, naturalistic, long-term and longitudinal and aims at credibility in its methodological and analytical steps, dependability in terms of results and transferability of the insights gained to comparable educational settings. Since, in addition, it focuses

on the discourse-pragmatic aspects of classroom talk, the study is best described as a ‘discourse-pragmatic ethnography’.

As explained elsewhere (e.g. 1.4), the ethnographic approach has been crucial in identifying the relevant discourse-pragmatic investigative foci (see chapters 5, 6 and 7). More fundamentally, however, it has opened up detailed and diversified insights into the Hotel Management Programme, which have informed the following ethnographic account.

Chapter 4. An ethnographic account of the study site

4.1 Introduction

While the discourse-pragmatic analyses of the ensuing chapters rely overwhelmingly on the rich classroom interactional data, the emic data, viz. the participants' views, opinions and evaluations, should not be underrated in their relevance, especially as they surface regularly and in different shapes: partly as stimuli that have motivated an investigative focus, partly as individual comments (referred to as 'Quote' in the following) supporting an interpretative finding and, finally, as the continuously present detailed insider knowledge that I have drawn on in analysing and interpreting the discourse-pragmatic data. The latter role of the emic data is clearly the most important one, but, at the same time, it lacks the open recognition and acknowledgment it would require, simply because the investigative aim of these language-focused analyses does not leave enough room for appropriately detailed descriptions of the participants' views pertaining to the point in question. In other words, a rich as well as a thick description (cf. Davis 1995: 434) of the insider views on the Classroom Community of Practice (CCoP) in its wider context requires space on its own. This is what the present chapter will do by offering a detailed account of the Hotel Management Programme in question, or HMP for short, and especially its classroom interaction from the insiders' points of view, based on the ethnographic data collected during the four semesters of the programme.

Such a description is thus intended to meet two aims: to render a detailed and possibly also insightful picture of the target community and classroom interaction as its main 'practice', and to meet the fundamental requirements of qualitative research described in the preceding chapter: credibility, dependability and transferability. As regards the first aim, the point is to make clear that the target community is not only perceived as a community of practice etically by the researcher-analyst, but also one experienced as such emically by the participants themselves. In other words, it will be necessary, firstly, to relate the partly diverse and dynamically developing ways in which the participants saw the Hotel Management Programme, their group and classroom interaction and, secondly, to evaluate to what extent the lessons and the discourse going on in them were experienced as fitting to the three dimensions of a community of practice (Corder and Meyerhoff 2007; Wenger 1998: 76), i.e. mutual engagement, jointly negotiated enterprise and shared repertoire (for a discussion see 1.3). For this end, I will draw on all the emic data available to me as well as my own observations and field notes. As regards the latter aim, i.e. the quality-ensuring

requirements of qualitative research, the ethnographic account is a crucial tool study-internally in that it provides the necessary informational frame against which the reader will be able to assess the credibility of the methodological and analytical steps and to judge the dependability of the results drawn and interpretations suggested. The account also has a study-external function in terms of its transferability to other tertiary educational programmes conducted in English as a lingua franca. By providing readers with as detailed a rendering of the local specificities as possible, it is hoped that they will gain enough information to evaluate to what extent and degree the insights gained in the HMP can be transferred to their own situations.

Based on these considerations, the ethnographic account is split in two parts. Similar to the opening sequences of many books or films, the first part (see 4.2) will familiarize the reader with the setting and scene (cf. 2.2.1.2), by first ‘panning’ over the setting with a rather cursory description of the hotel school in which the Hotel Management Programme takes place (4.2.1) and then homing in on the main players, i.e. the HMP and its participants (4.2.2). As both descriptions are based on information gathered some time ago, they will be related in an account format, even though many of the general aspects might still be valid. In the final section of this part (4.2.3), I will take up the tradition of letting the author speak, by describing my own role on the set as well, thus taking cognisance of the fact that in long-term qualitative investigations the researcher-analyst becomes, at least to some extent, part of the scene and maybe even the story. The second part (4.3) delves into the ethnographic account proper. This section will relate how the HMP classroom interaction was experienced in differing ways by different participants and at different moments in time and in how far this multitude of views and opinions that the students and lecturers shared with me during the four semesters of the programme allows insights into their co-constructing a temporary Classroom Community of Practice (4.3.1), whose main practice was English as classroom language (4.3.2). The latter will cover the two aspects the participants singled out as particularly relevant, i.e. language improvement (4.3.2.1) and language use (4.3.2.2), both of which materialize as individual endeavours and community achievements. These emic insights taken together do not only reveal the inside views on the steadily developing interactional practice of the HMP, but also point to which discourse-pragmatic features fall into its shared repertoire (4.4).

4.2 The wider setting

The Hotel Management Programme was situated at a hotel school in Vienna, Austria. As I visited this school regularly in the course of my research and spent many days observing classes, listening and talking to teachers as well as students, I was able to gain a differentiated picture of the character of the school. Information concerning past developments and organizational matters I gathered in talks with the administrators and, particularly, in two interviews with the headmaster of the school and the administrator of the Hotel Management Programme. At the time of the interviews, which were conducted during the second semester of the programme, both had been working at the school for many years, and thus knew the programme very well, although they had not been involved in its original conception. The headmaster had been running the school for eight years and the administrator had been in charge of the programme for one year.

4.2.1 The hotel school

The school was located in the outskirts of Vienna, in an architecturally unique building of the 1970s, which had been highly innovative for its time. It allowed for a high degree of flexibility in room division and size, which could be advantageous for seminar setups, but also had two major shortcomings for a school. Firstly, a considerable number of the rooms did not have any access to natural light – which was a cause of continuous dismay for both teachers and pupils – and, secondly, the shapes of some rooms were very unorthodox and only suitable for specific subjects and group sizes. Owing to the large numbers of student and groups busy in the building at all times of the day, however, room allocation according to appropriateness of room shape was no longer possible, and many a lesson had to take place in a troublesome setting, relatively ill-suited to the needs of the pedagogic event. On a more positive note, the building could also boast the most up-to-date technical equipment of its time, including not only video and audio outlets in most rooms, but also fully functional audio and video studios. As the school's main technician assured me, both were still functional, but the visual studio was not in use anymore because of financial constraints. Since it had been designed for its present purpose, the building was also equipped with the necessary practical training facilities, such as two training kitchens and a canteen which doubled as training restaurant. Added to this, the school hosted a library and a computer laboratory, both of which had been added later on, occupying some of the original free-access areas. In general, the building was a very busy place all day long with students and teachers moving from room to

room and level to level between lessons and partly also within them, especially for practical training. To the visitor, it seemed an efficient, but maybe overly populated place, as the building had originally been designed for just over half of the 800 pupils and students registered at the time of the study. Similarly, the number of teachers had also increased over the years – a glance into the teachers' club and their crammed open-plan offices gave ample proof of that.

The school offered mainly upper, but also post-secondary vocationally-oriented education, thus catering for the age bracket of 14 to 24. The school's main strand, the upper secondary programme, was an example of the highly diversified range of vocationally and professionally-oriented education that pupils could choose from. These programmes are a specific feature of the Austrian educational system in that they combine general academic with work-oriented education, thus preparing pupils for a specific line of work and, at the same time, for university education in, theoretically at least, any subject-area. While such upper secondary schools take a year longer than the purely academic ones – five instead of four – they are very popular and sought after. The hotel school in question is no exception in this regard: each year there were more applications than available places, which meant that pupils had to go through a screening process. In addition, the school was a private institution under public law, which is relatively rare in Austria, and, in contrast to public schools, charged study fees. Both factors, the selection process and the school fees, reflected what the main funding body intended the school to be: an elitist educational institution with national and maybe even international recognition.

In view of this self-presentation and the resulting image as internationally acknowledged centre of hospitality education, the school also offered relevant courses at the post-secondary level. Originally, these courses were designed as alternative options to university degrees: they were limited to two years, and offered customized education and training directly relevant to a future career in the field. Later developments in the post-secondary educational sector in Austria led to a new type of university, 'university of applied sciences' (Fachhochschule), which offers academically-based, but job-oriented education. Like the upper secondary schools of this kind, they quickly proved successful and multiplied in the first few years of their existence. The hotel school in question here ran such a university course in hospitality and tourism management. While all of that school's programmes were successful in terms of student intake and graduates' work placements afterwards, they were all run in German and, thus, recruited mainly Austrian students. As many of the graduates could be expected to work abroad, these courses allowed for one direction of internationalization of the school; what these programmes did not offer, however, was the other direction, viz. the internationalization of the student body.

4.2.2 The English-medium hotel management educational programme

As stressed by the headmaster, it was for this reason that an international post-secondary course was designed in the late 1980s, with the explicit aim of attracting students from other countries and continents, and familiarizing them with the Austrian hospitality know-how that they could then take back into their respective countries. Despite changes within the hospitality educational sector since then and a concomitant shift from mainly European to more international student groups, the objectives of the programme remained the same, i.e. to make students “fit for a job in tourism in the shortest time possible [with the help of] Austrian tourism know-how” (headmaster, interview; 2nd sem, 1st mth) and “to carry Austrian hospitality into the world” (programme administrator, interview; 2nd sem, 1st mth).⁴⁷ Interestingly, this endeavour was pursued in a low-profile manner without major advertising campaigns; even the web-site presentation was kept at a minimum. The reason for this unusual approach can most probably be found in the school’s implicit vision of itself as, in the school administrator’s words, “an international family” (informal conversation; 4th sem, 4th mth), which had grown steadily based on personal relationships and networking. Fittingly, two thirds of the students observed in the present study had chosen this educational programme because of personal recommendation.

Applicants had to meet the admission criteria of, firstly, having attained a school-leaving certificate or gained appropriate work experience. Unless their secondary schooling had been conducted in English, the students were, furthermore, required to show proof of their English proficiency in the form of an excellent pass in an Austrian or international school-leaving exam or of an internationally accepted English proficiency test. Finally, all applicants were interviewed by the administrator of the course, a teacher of English as a foreign language (EFL) herself, either in person or, if this was not possible, over the phone. The point of the interview was to check their oral proficiency and their motivation for doing the Hotel Management Programme. This screening process usually resulted in the rejection of about 5% of the applicants, which left a group of about 35 students who were accepted into the programme, all of whom had to pay tuition fees, which were relatively high for Austrian circumstances; nor did the school offer any scholarships or reductions in fees. A final hurdle for the applicants with non-EU nationalities were the legal regulations concerned in the attaining of visas and residence permits. While this was a purely bureaucratic step, it was nonetheless steep and sometimes even insurmountable; some

47. As explained below (see 4.2.3), all references to moments in time are given in relation to the respective semester and month of the HMP.

applications for visas took so long to process that the applicants switched to similar programmes in countries with a more supportive bureaucratic system. Therefore, the student group in question was smaller and included relatively few students without European Union passports.

The word-of-mouth policy also came to the fore with regard to the recruitment of new lecturers, which was done when one of the acting teachers decided to discontinue his/her engagement. The most important requirement for a new lecturer was the candidate's professional expertise and experience, which should have been gained, at least in part, in international settings. This vouchsafes that the people in question had all had extensive work experience in English, but did not allow any stipulations as to their teaching background and experience, either in German or English. In previous years, the applicants' assessment of their own English skills had been taken as the determining factor, and the organizers of the programme had been satisfied with the lecturers improving their English 'on the job', i.e. during the first semesters of teaching. At the time of the investigation, however, the administrator's views differed, reflecting her own background as an English teacher at the hotel school. While professional expertise and experience were still the main criteria for a future lecturer, she stressed that advanced English proficiency should be seen as too important for successful teaching to be relegated to a *laissez-faire* attitude of 'it'll sort itself out'. A similar development could be observed with regard to aspects of teaching. While the previous organizers relied mainly on informal exchange and support between lecturers, the administrator at the time of the study recognized the pedagogical pitfalls lurking in the combination of untrained and/or inexperienced lecturers left to their own devices with generally vague curricula and little opportunity to communicate with each other. First attempts to amend this situation were made in one-off curricular meetings, which, mainly for organizational reasons, had not led to an institutionalized exchange of lecturers' views by the time of the study, but, as the administrator hoped, would still work out in the years to come.

The international Hotel Management Programme took four semesters and ended in a diploma qualification, which, while not directly leading to a bachelor's degree, was recognized as equivalent to the first 1.5 to 2 years of such degree programmes at a few Anglophone universities. The HMP was conducted in English and could only be done full-time. In each semester the students had a dense time-table, with between 32 and 34 weekly contact lessons of 50 minutes each. During the four-month summer break between the second and third semester the students were required to do practical training in a hospitality business for at least two months. Foreign students could do it in Austria, language proficiency permitting, and Austrian students were urged to go abroad for this time. While any kind of hospitality business was possible in principle, the target

sector was four and five star hotels and upmarket restaurants. This also came to the fore in most of the teaching, which focused mainly or solely on such establishments.

The curriculum of the Hotel Management Programme had originally been an adaptation of the German two-year diploma course, but as the curriculum was the responsibility of the school itself, changes could be added when deemed necessary without any bureaucratic hurdles. The curriculum obviously reflected the educational focus of the programme – hotel management – and the broad range of knowledge areas and skills associated with it. It thus included a range of subjects on:

- practical hospitality skills, like Cooking or Serving;
- hospitality management, like Hotel Management or Front Office Management;
- business administration, like Financial Management, Public Relations or Marketing; and
- general business skills such as Communications and Presentations, foreign languages, and computer skills for various software programmes.

In general, two thirds of the subjects were obligatory, the remaining third were required electives, and a few, like Austrian Law and foreign languages, were optional. The proportion of the compulsory subjects decreased by semester, which meant that all subjects were compulsory in the first semester, while in the fourth more than half of the subjects were required electives. A few core subjects ran through all four semesters, such as Hotel Management, Hotel Operations or Marketing, others stopped after the third semester (e.g. Accounting, Financial Management, Cooking, Serving), while most were restricted to a shorter period. Since all students were required to take courses amounting to 34 or 32 weekly contact lessons every semester, many required elective subjects were taken by almost all students. In all subjects chosen, whether obligatory or elective, student attendance was compulsory and checked for each lesson. It was also taken as one important factor for student assessment. Other factors depended on the subject and the lecturer and included a combination of written tests twice a semester, weekly written or oral ‘quizzes’, individual or group presentations, and written assignments of varying lengths. In accordance with the Austrian school system, there were no semester- or year-final exams, but students had the right to take an oral ‘colloquium’ at the end of the respective semester if they were in danger of failing a subject.

As regards the language classes, French, Italian, Spanish and Japanese were offered as optional foreign languages at the proficiency levels necessary for the students taking them. English (for the hospitality industry) and German (as a

second language) were obligatory in the first two semesters.⁴⁸ As the subject labels already indicated, all students were required to take English, but German was reserved for non-native speakers only. In other words, German L1 speakers were, but English L1 speakers were not exempted from the respective language classes. This regulation seems to reflect the different roles the two languages fulfilled within the programme. Arguably, it also indicates an underlying understanding that English was not only the programme's medium of instruction, but also the leading language of communication in the internationally-oriented hospitality industry; the status of the subject in the curriculum could thus have indicated that English was seen as removed from the notorious distinction between native vs. non-native speakers, and identified as the professional language.⁴⁹

To sum up, in its 15 years of existence prior to the present study, the international hotel management educational programme had kept to its objectives and aims, but had adapted to changing intake and circumstances. It was a well established programme that was intended to be small in size, but large in international impact. It had been designed, and could be characterized as a truly international programme, but was imbedded in a fully Austrian setting with regard to educational as well as hospitality characteristics. The resulting relationship of 'local' and 'global' surfaced also in the programme's multi-layered language-scape (see 2.3.1.3). Set in German-speaking surroundings, the Hotel Management Programme catered for a multilingual student group who shared one common language – English, which functioned as their classroom language. In view of the definition of English as a *lingua franca* given above (see 2.3.1.6), this programme can thus be described as a prototypical site of classroom interaction in English as a *lingua franca*.

4.2.3 The HMP and its participants

After having provided a general introduction to the hotel school as well as the four-semester English-medium hotel management educational programme, the discussion will now focus on the group in question, i.e. the students who formed the hotel management group observed in this study as well as their

48. Before the HMP, the German classes had been optional, but the insights gained during the pilot phase of how relevant some German proficiency was experienced to be by all students stimulated a change in the curriculum and made German an obligatory subject for all non-German speakers.

49. This handling of English throws light on a potentially implicit understanding of English as firstly relating to the specific purposes of the relevant professional discourse communities, rather than (native) speech communities (cf. the factors ESTABLISHED PRACTICES VS. LINGUISTIC REPERTOIRE in Table 2.3, chapter 2.3.1.5).

lecturers. For the sake of clarity, this group is labelled HMP, contrasting with 'Hotel Management Programme' which refers to the educational course more generally.

A further point needs to be sorted out before the HMP can be introduced. A study such as the present one faces a dilemma when it comes to considerations of anonymity. On the one hand, it is clearly of the utmost importance to the participants themselves, and many classroom recordings, interviews and discussions would have been impossible had it not been clear right from the start that the participants' identities would neither be revealed nor made easily guessable in any of the ensuing publications. On the other hand, a naturalistic in-depth study such as the present one integrates so much detailed information about individuals that it is very difficult to avoid the cues that would reveal at least some participants' identities in some ways. As with all dilemmas, there is no easy way out. One possibility of largely avoiding it, it seems to me, is to include all the details that seem relevant for the ethnographic as well as the discourse-pragmatic descriptions, but to keep the study-external identifiers as vague as possible. These clearly include the participants' names, age or nationalities, but also the exact dates of their studying period (see also 3.3). I have therefore decided to use arbitrary pseudonyms for all participants with the single clear marking for either student (4-letter combinations) or teacher (3-letter combination and capitalized). And, instead of exact dates, reference to time will be given by the respective semester and month (e.g. 2nd sem, 3rd mth). The HMP took place a few years into the 21st century.

4.2.3.1 *Subjects*

As the HMP's diverse curriculum consisted of more than 40 different subjects, taught by 35 teachers, I could not include all of these in the study, but started my observations in about a quarter of them. These I chose according to three criteria (numbers in square brackets refer to the subject numbering in Table 4.1.):

1. As argued elsewhere, the main focus was on theoretical, language constitutive subjects whose social practices crucially depend on classroom interaction [1–11].⁵⁰
2. Based on the longitudinal approach, a special interest was taken in core courses covering three or four semesters [1–6]. Additionally, two core courses

50. Additionally, in order not to side-line the practical training completely, observations and recordings were also done in selected Cooking classes, which provided valuable first-hand experience of the HMP interactions in the kitchen.

Table 4.1. Subjects included in the study

No.	Subject	Abbrev.	Lecturer*	T1	T2	T3
1	Cooking (theory class)	cook	RER	x	X	x
2	Service (theory class)	serv	FER	x	X	X
3	Hotel Management	hom	LER	X	X	X
4	Hotel Operations	hop	OUL	X	x	x
5	Financial Management	fin	TON	X	X	X
6	Marketing	mar	NER	X	x	X
7	Front Office Management	fom	AKL	X	x	—
8	F&B Management	fbm	AKL	—	—	X
9	Human Resources	hr	OPP	x	X	—
10	Public Relations	pr	MER	—	—	X
11	Austrian Law	law	XEN	X	X	—

Key: * pseudonyms for lecturers: arbitrary 3-letter combinations (capitalized)
 T1 = 'introductory phase'; T2 = 'well into the first semester'; T3 = 'a year later'
 x = lessons were taped and observed; X = lessons were transcribed;
 '—' = not taught in this semester

covering two semesters each were included because they were taught by the same teacher in years 1 and 2 respectively [7, 8].

3. The diversity of instructional foci is represented: practical hospitality skills [1, 2, 7, 8], hospitality management [3, 4, 7, 8], business administration [4, 5, 9, 10] as well as general business skills [5, 6, 9, 10, 11].

As specified in 3.3.2, I observed classes of each of these 11 subjects at regular intervals, resulting in more than 120 recorded lessons overall, of which about a quarter were then finally chosen for detailed transcription. These 33 lessons were selected with various criteria in mind. Besides the three mentioned above, care was taken to provide comparable data bases for the three emically established periods T1 ('introductory phase'), T2 ('well into the first semester') and T3 ('a year later'). Additionally, technical aspects played a crucial role, such as the quality of recording and the degree of interfering noise, which, because of the thin dividing walls between classrooms in the hotel school, turned out to be more troublesome than anticipated. All these factors taken together resulted in a relatively balanced spread of the lessons observed and recorded as well as transcribed (see last three columns of Table 4.1, 'x' and 'X' respectively). An overview of the 33 lessons is provided in Appendix C (Tables C.1, C.2 and C.3).

4.2.3.2 *Lecturers*

As can be gathered from Table 4.1, the 11 subjects under investigation here were taught by ten different teachers. With one exception, they were all Austrians with extended work experience in English. Apart from that, however, they did not form a homogeneous group, as the following brief sketch as well as the more detailed presentation of their ideas and views on using ELF in the classroom will show.

Table 4.2. Lecturers – personal information

Lecturer	Subject	Sex	L1*	L2s*	English use at work**	Teaching experience***	at HMP****
RER	cook	m	G	1	regularly	full time	10+
FER	serv	m	G	1	regularly in past	full time	~1
LER	hom	f	G	2	half the time	part time	3+
OUL	hop	m	G+other	2	mainly	part time	3+
TON	fin	m	E	2	mainly	part time	3+
NER	mar	m	G	3	half the time	part time	10+
AKL	fom/fbm	f	G	2	mainly in past	full time	3+
OPP	hr	f	G	2	regularly in past	newcomer	~1
MER	pr	f	G	2	regularly in past	part time	10+
XEN	law	f	G	3	partly	full time	~1

Key: * L1 = first language(s) as identified by the teacher, G: German, E: English; L2 = number of the other languages the teachers reported some proficiency in

** 'Work' refers to the teachers' jobs in the hospitality field (now or in the past), excluding their teaching careers in the Hotel Management Programme or, if applicable, the hotel school.

*** Teachers are placed in three groups according to their teaching experience: full time teachers, all at the hotel school; part-time teachers who work for various institutions; new-comers to the teaching profession.

**** Teaching experience at Hotel Management Programme is given in years: 10 or more; 3 or more; about 1.

As the overview in Table 4.2 shows, half of the ten teachers included in this study were male and half were female, which is a good reflection of the teaching staff on the whole. The balance of gender is, however, less due to affirmative recruitment policies, but rather reflects the traditional gender distinction between 'fact-oriented' subjects as rather male and those focussing on 'soft skills' as rather female; stereotypes that find their confirmation here. With regard to language proficiency levels, the teachers reported to have bi- or multilingual repertoires, most of which included more than just German and English. At the

same time, these two were evaluated as the strongest languages by all teachers, albeit in differing degrees: German as L1 for all except TON, who had, however, spent a good part of his adult life in Austria, and English as the main second language used on the job, either during an extended period in the past or still ongoing. As regards English language use for personal matters, the ten teachers revealed a higher degree of divergence: some did not use English at all outside their professional lives (e.g. RER, XEN), others, on the other hand, had used English very regularly at some earlier time in their lives (e.g. FER, AKL) or up to the time of the study (e.g. TON, NER). The heterogeneity within the group became most obvious when turning to their teaching background and careers. Next to experienced and trained teachers of the hotel school (RER, FER, AKL, XEN), there were those with a background in running in-service seminars (LER, NER, MER) and/or part-time teaching at tertiary level (NER, MER, OUL, TON), and a newcomer to teaching in general (OPP). With regard to the Hotel Management Programme, three teachers had already taught their subjects for many years (RER, NER, MER), four for a few years (LER, OUL, TON, AKL), while the remaining three only for one year or less (FER, OPP, XEN). These differences were not merely factual ones, but also reflected, firstly, the variety of pedagogical education in the group, which ranged from none to full-scale university studies; secondly, the diversity in students the teachers tended to teach, ranging from teenagers to young adults and hospitality employees; and, thirdly, the experience of using English as medium of instruction.

The heterogeneity found amongst the ten lecturers could also be witnessed in their evaluations of their own teaching approaches and understanding of how students actually learn.⁵¹ With regard to the latter, the lecturers seemed to hold their own versions of two main, partly implicit learning theories (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 265–276): learning was seen to take place either by knowledge transfer and/or experientially – what some named ‘learning by doing’. One lecturer (OUL) further specified the latter by stressing the relevance of tackling problems in groups. The exception here was the Austrian Law lecturer, who also worked as a personal coach, and believed in learning by ‘osmosis’ via humour and priming. Concerning their teaching aims, most lecturers identified knowledge as what they expected the students to gain, partly by doing case-studies or solving problems. The only exception in this regard was the Cooking teacher who emphasized skills and mutual respect as particularly relevant. While the former can be seen as contingent on the subject matter, the latter might seem rather

51. As the interviewees’ teaching approaches were only a side-issue in the interviews, the answers must not be taken as an exhaustive description of their approaches, but as a mere indication of the diversity practised by the ten lecturers.

unexpected at first sight. However, bearing in mind the cultural specificities of cooking, the teacher's views arguably reflect his experience-based awareness that students needed to be more actively and personally involved in his subject, and differences amongst them tended to come to the fore more clearly than in the knowledge-oriented subjects. Placing their emphasis on the link to the students' future professional lives, two lecturers (OPP, MER) stressed a very different aspect – getting the students interested in their fields of specialization. Interestingly, both lecturers had worked in the interpersonal fields of human resources and public relations.

Diverse expectations are also reflected in the four main foci of responsibility lecturers identified for themselves: firstly, providing new information; secondly, making sure that the information handed on was fully understandable to the students; thirdly, bridging between the school and the work settings; and fourthly, facilitating the skills necessary for the students to cross that bridge. Reflecting their experience and professional backgrounds, the interviews revealed clear preferences for one or two of them. LER and NER stressed the first focus as most important (transfer of knowledge); a bigger group (FER, AKL, TON and XEN) expressed their main concern with how the new information was received. The lecturers teaching practical subjects (RER, FER) were also those who, not really surprisingly, focused on developing skills necessary for the industry. At the same time they were joined by others (OPP, OUL, MER) in their endeavour to act as 'catalysts', motivating students for their future jobs. In other words, the lecturers revealed different views with regard to whether they saw themselves mainly as lecturers or teachers, as facilitators or trainers. At the same time, most of them viewed their roles in complex ways, which means that strict sub-classifications would not do justice to their self-evaluations; instead, the following descriptions will use the notions 'lecturer' and 'teacher' interchangeably for the person in charge of running the respective classes.

4.2.3.3 *Students*

The HMP included 31 students, two of whom dropped out during the first semester while one joined at the beginning of the third semester. The reasons why the two students dropped out were not disclosed, but seemed to have been due to personal circumstances. The student who joined the group in the second year only did so because he had completed the first year of a similar programme, but decided to change to the HMP because of its specific focus on hotel management and its good reputation. While, quite obviously, every participant's points of view would be interesting, the longitudinal focus of this study placed particular emphasis on continuity throughout the whole programme. I therefore

decided to focus on the 28 students taking part in the HMP for its complete duration. The following brief description of the students is mainly based on the initial questionnaires and one-on-one interviews.

As can be seen from Table 4.3, the male-female ratio was 1:2, and all students had at least a school-leaving certificate, with about a third of them having some further education – two students even in the hospitality field. The age range amongst the students was quite remarkable, with the youngest being half the age of the oldest at the start of the programme. The division into the four age brackets given here was established *emically*, based on the students' evaluations: the two oldest students saw themselves as quite different from the others in terms of their stage in, and expectations from life, and the youngest five mentioned their status as 'little ones' during conversations. Of the remaining students the older ones (7 students) seemed to form an age-bracket because they were quite aware of the extra post-school years they had had before the HMP and felt that this work experience set them apart from the remaining 14 students, who thus formed the age group of the 20/21-year-olds. The age difference is also reflected in the students' working background. While all of them had already done some jobs before the HMP, the younger ones, obviously, had had less time to diversify or hold permanent posts. As indicative of the kind of further education chosen, 22 students had already worked in the hospitality industry.

As may be expected from an international educational programme, the student group was international in its composition: not only did the 28 students have 14 different nationalities,⁵² they had also stayed in many countries almost all over the globe, partly for long-term residence, partly for extended holidays: in Southern Africa (Namibia, South Africa), the Caribbean (St. Lucia), South and North America (Brazil, Venezuela, USA), the Middle East (Kuwait, Lebanon, Egypt), Asia (China, South Korea, India), and many European countries in the North (Finland, Sweden, Norway), the West (England, Scotland, France), the South (Spain, Greece) and the centre (Germany, Slovenia, Slovakia and Austria). So, while the student group could boast living experience on almost all continents, there was a clear preponderance of European countries. The same is true when narrowing down the countries to those of residence: twelve students had had their places of residence in two or more countries before the HMP and half of the remaining 16 students had stayed in countries other than Austria. While this distribution is proof of the international character of the group, it also hints at the lop-sidedness of the internationalism towards the country of

52. The nationalities are not included in Table 4.4 because they are rather misleading: some students held nationalities of countries they had never lived in; others held one nationality but had lived in various countries.

Table 4.3. Students – some background information

Student	Sex	Age	Ed.	Jobs	Stays	Res	GL1
Alac	m	20/21	S	TH, TO	Austria, Southern Europe, South America	3	yes
Anap	f	22-25	S	TO	Austria, [North America], [Southern Africa]	1	yes
Anki	f	20/21	S	TH	Austria, [Western Europe]	1	yes
Anle	f	20/21	S	TO	Asia	2	no
Anns	f	20/21	T	TH	Asia, [Austria]	1	yes
Cana	f	20/21	S	TH	Southern and Central Europe	2	[yes]
Clap	f	22–25	T	PH, TH	Caribbean	1	no
Crek	f	30+	T	TH, PO	Asia, Middle East, Western and Central Europe	5	[yes]
Crik	m	20/21	S	PH	Austria, [Middle East]	1	yes
Elig	f	18/19	S	TO	Austria, North America	2	yes
Evak	f	22–25	T	PO	Southern Europe	1	no
Flor	m	22–25	S	PH, TH	Austria	1	yes
Hanb	m	22–25	S	PH, TH, TO	Central Europe, [North and South America]	1	[yes]
Hars	m	22–25	T	TO	Asia	1	no
Jenz	f	30+	H	PH, PO	Asia, Austria	2	yes
Jins	f	20/21	S	TH, TO	Asia	1	no
Kail	f	18/19	S	TH	Northern Europe, Central Europe	3	yes
Kama	f	20/21	S	TH	Austria	1	yes
Kari	f	20/21	S	PH, TH	Austria, [Western Europe]	1	yes
Kosk	m	22–25	S	TH	Southern Europe	1	no
Lula	f	18/19	T	PH, TH, TO	Middle East, Western Europe, North America, Austria	4	yes
Lura	m	18/19	S	TH	Central Europe	1	no
Mark	f	18/19	S	TH	Southern Europe, [Austria]	1	yes
Nama	f	20/21	S	TO	Northern Europe, Asia, Austria	4	yes
Renb	m	20/21	S	TH, TO	Southern Africa, Austria	3	yes
Suka	f	20/21	H	PH, TH	Asia, [Austria]	1	yes
Zian	m	20/21	S	TH, TO	Middle East, Austria, Western Europe	3	(yes)
Zuыз	m	20/21	S	TO	Asia, Austria	2	yes

Key: student: 4-letter pseudonyms are arbitrarily chosen

age: students grouped into 4 age groups (18/19; 20/21; 22–25; 30+)

ed. (= educational background): S (school-leaving exam), T (tertiary studies), H (further hospitality studies)

jobs (previous employment): PH (permanent, in hospitality), TH (temporary, in hospitality), PO (permanent; other fields), TO (temporary, other fields)

stays: areas where students stayed for longer than two months at a time, extended holidays are indicated by square brackets; for anonymity's sake, only larger areas are given, except for Austria

res: total number of countries of residence (for one year or longer)

GL1: residence in German L1 countries prior to the HMP; 'yes': in Austria; '(yes)' in childhood; '[yes]' in other German-speaking countries

the school – Austria. Six of the students had lived only in Austria, but eleven more had spent either years or months in the country, usually because of family links. This leaves eleven students who had not lived in Austria before the HMP, but of those four more had family connections to Austria, and a further three came from neighbouring countries. This means that only four of the 28 students had come to Austria purely because of the programme, all the others had had some other reasons and personal connections as well (cf. also Table 4.4). In other words, the generally international group of students can be characterized by a strong link to Austria, which, in a way, fits to the image of the school and its alumni: to form a world-wide web of family members (cf. 4.2.2).

As regards the students' motivations for doing a hotel management educational programme, and this one in particular, their open answers to both questionnaires, handed out at the beginning and end of the programme, revealed a wide-spread and persistent interest in the hospitality industry (see Table 4.4). Most students were motivated by personal work experiences and/or family businesses to start such a course and, on finishing it, were also willing either to work in the industry or to continue with related studies. For some, the programme had an enlightening effect of a different kind in that it made it clear to them that hospitality "might not exactly be my right subject to choose" (Zuyz, second questionnaire), which does not mean, however, that these students regarded the past two years as a waste of time. On the contrary, basically all students stressed their satisfaction with how much knowledge they had gained, which they perceived as useful for their future wherever life might take them. As gaining new insights, skills and knowledge had also been one of the main expectations mentioned in the initial questionnaire, it can safely be concluded that most students were satisfied with the programme's focus and with what they had learnt during the two years.

In view of this study's focus on English as classroom language, Table 4.5 provides an overview of the students' evaluation of their own linguistic backgrounds. In response to the initial questionnaire all students appeared happy with their English, judging it generally as good and some as average for the written mode. The ratings themselves should not be taken at face value as students were not given any information on what the descriptors 'Good', 'Average' and 'Poor' referred to. What they do reveal, though, is that all students felt confident about their English, irrespective of how they had learnt and used it before. And this was also the case, even though half the class had not previously used English as classroom language, but had learnt it as a foreign language only. The other half had experienced English as medium of instruction and learning before, either because they grew up in countries with English as the main language

Table 4.4. Students' responses to the open questions of the questionnaires

Questions	Answers
<i>1st questionnaire</i>	<i>(1st day of programme)</i>
why a Hotel Management Programme?	experience-based choice of career (12) job opportunities, family-based or other (9) international / multicultural business (9) working with people (3)
why this specific one?	reputation + recommendation (18) English as preferred medium of education (13) Vienna as setting, incl. improving German (8) multicultural / international setting (3) duration of programme (3)
which expectations for after the course?	good job in hospitality (17) managerial position (8) basis for further studies (8) own or family business (7)
which expectations for the course?	more / new knowledge and interesting insights (12) preparation for job (11) learn appropriate skills (5) intense programme / a lot of work (5) friendly atmosphere (4) multicultural experience (4)
<i>2nd questionnaire</i>	<i>(last weeks of programme)</i>
which plans for the future?	work in hospitality industry (15) further studies in hospitality (5) studies in other fields (6) work in other fields (3)
which gains from the course?	knowledge: hospitality in general (23) specific areas (12) preparation for work in hospitality industry (9) personal gains: friends (4), multicultural atmosphere (5), finding one's 'calling' (6)

Key: numbers in brackets refer to the totals of students putting forth the respective argument:
sum of all totals > number of students (multiple answers possible)

Table 4.5. Students – language proficiency (self-reported)

Student	English prof. L S R W	English past	German prof. L S R W	Lgs	Linguistic repertoires
Alac	G G G G	MoI	G G G A	4	multi (home, school)
Anap	G G G G	FL	G G G G	3	mono (home, school)
Anki	G G G G	FL	G G G G	4	bi (home, school)
Anle	G G G A	FL (MoI)	n.a.	3	mono (home), bi (school)
Anns	G G G G	MoI	G A A A	4	bi (home, school)
Cana	G G G A	FL	G G G G	3	bi (home, school)
Clap	A G A A	L1, MoI	G P P P	5	bi (home, school)
Crek	G G G G	FL	G G G G	6	mono (home, school), bi (work)
Crik	G G G G	MoI	G G G G	2	mono (home), bi (school)
Elig	G G G A	FL, (MoI)	G G G A	4	mono (home), bi (school)
Evak	G G G G	FL, SL	G G A A	4	mono (home, school), bi (work)
Flor	G G G G	FL	G G G G	3	bi (family), mono (school)
Hanb	G G A G	FL	G G G G	4	mono (home, school)
Hars	G G G G	MoI	n.a.	3	mono (home), bi (school, work)
Jenz	G G G A	FL, SL	G P A P	3	tri (family, school, work)
Jins	G G A A	FL	n.a.	2	mono (family, school)
Kail	G G G G	MoI	G G G A	5	tri: mono (home), bi (school)
Kama	G G G G	MoI	G G G G	3	mono (home), bi (school)
Kari	G G A A	FL	G G G G	2	bi (home), mono (school)
Kosk	G G G G	FL	G G G G	4	mono (home, school), multi (work)
Lula	G G G G	L1, MoI	G A A A	3	tri: mono (school), bi (home), tri (work)
Lura	G G G A	FL	G G G G	4	mono (home, school)
Mark	G G G G	FL	G G G G	3	bi (home), mono (school)
Nama	G G G G	MoI	G G G A	3	tri: mono (home), bi (school, work)
Renb	G G G G	MoI	A P A P	3	tri: bi (home), mono (school)
Suka	G G G G	MoI	P P P P	4	bi (home, school)
Zian	G G G G	L1, MoI	n.a.	3	bi (home), mono (school, work)
Zuyz	G A A A	FL	G A P P	3	mono (home, school), bi (work)

Key: student names are pseudonyms

German / English prof.: self-reported proficiency on 3 levels: ‘G’ – good, ‘A’ – average, ‘P’ – poor; according to the four skills: ‘L’(listening), ‘R’(reading), ‘S’(speaking), ‘W’(writing)

English past: past usage of English: ‘FL’ – foreign language, ‘MoI’ – medium of instruction (and learning) at school, L1 – (one of) the student’s first language(s)

lgs: number of languages student communicated in (self-reported)

linguistic repertoire: brief description of regular language use (excl. foreign languages) as mono-, bi-, tri- or multilingual, referring to the domains ‘home’, ‘school’, ‘work’ (if applicable)

of education, or because they attended international schools in Vienna or other places.

As can be expected from the diversity of the students' backgrounds, 14 different languages were given as home languages, and eight more as further languages of communication. German functioned as one of these languages for all but six students, which means that 80% of all students could use German right from the start; a fact reflecting the lopsided internationalism of the Hotel Management Programme identified earlier. The multilinguality of the group was also reflected in the linguistic repertoires of the individual students: most students could communicate in three or four languages and almost all used more than one language on a daily basis, as their evaluations of their language use in the domains 'home', 'school' and 'work' show (Table 4.5, right-hand column). Except for four students who needed only one language at home or school/work, all students had used between two, and in one case even four, languages in these domains before joining the HMP.

While the factors given here are only a rough means to measure the students' language proficiency and use, they show very clearly that, firstly, the students' diversity also came to the fore in their daily language use and, secondly, English was not only the classroom language of the programme, but also the only language for whole-group communication, i.e. their *lingua franca*. At the same time, the overview in Table 4.5 gives proof of the special role German played in the group. As language of the environment, first language of the majority of students (and, not to be forgotten, almost all teachers) and as second language to more than three quarters of the students, German was the most privileged of all languages other than English.

4.2.4 My role in class

In general, my main role during the four semesters was that of non-participant observer, which meant that I observed, and mainly audio-recorded lessons at regular intervals, without having any teaching function. At the same time, it must be conceded that the status of total lack of participation is hardly possible when the observer is a recurrent guest in a community's social activities during a period of two years. From time to time lecturers enquired language-related information from me, which means that they used me as 'authority' in class with regard to English language questions. After class some of them discussed pedagogical issues with me, mainly because they wanted to profit from my presence in their lessons and learn about my impressions of their teaching approaches. Students also turned to me, because either they needed information on local

matters, wanted to share their ideas or views on certain classroom events, or had language-related questions.

I was made into a kind of English language and teaching expert; a role with which I felt ill at ease at the beginning because it seemed to presuppose specific kinds of knowledge which I lacked, concerning teaching and learning pedagogy, the hotel school and also English for hospitality purposes. Later on, however, I accepted and then even welcomed this role because it was so much more tangible in this vocational setting than the one of applied linguistic researcher, and gave me a convincing reason to be there. Furthermore, and maybe even more importantly, it placed me outside the school hierarchy and its power structure. From my position as informed, supportive, but detached outsider, I could talk to all stakeholders and, if requested, act as advisor without having to fear that one group would feel somehow betrayed, and consequently exclude me from their considerations. Quite clearly, this was a very fine line to tread and sustain. What helped me retain this role in the eyes of most participants throughout the HMP, was my main concern, namely English as classroom language. While it was clearly important to all of them, it was generally regarded as a means to an end and not burdened with a great deal of emotional baggage and could thus be talked about relatively rationally. An observer on curricular or pedagogical matters would certainly have had a much harder time staying on good terms with all the stakeholders. In other words, my focus on classroom interaction was considered sufficiently relevant to justify such an extensive study and to keep most participants interested in my undertakings, but, with the exception of a single teacher (cf. 3.3.1, footnote 39), was not considered threatening or encroaching upon the stakeholders' personal space.

4.3 Emic perspectives

In view of the aims of this study, this section will sketch how the participants described the dynamic shaping of their community from the beginning to the end of the educational programme (4.3.1), followed by more in-depth representations of their emic perspectives on the use of English as classroom language (4.3.2), which dealt with language improvement, on the one hand (4.3.2.1), and, on the other, language use (4.3.2.2). The first focus will lead to a critical evaluation of the HMP as community of practice and its crucial developmental stages; the second will reveal the breadth of insider opinions and reflections on what ELF means in terms of language learning in the HMP; and the third will allow a detailed presentation of the students' and teachers' diverse and developing perceptions of using English as classroom language. In order to substantiate

the claims made in this section, I will make ample use of quotations taken from the one-on-one and group interviews. The excerpts follow the transcription conventions adopted in this study (see Appendix A). As most of the interviews with the lecturers were conducted in German, translations are added to the excerpts and printed in italics, for the sake of clarity.

4.3.1 On the HMP

Of the many topics and issues raised during interviews and informal conversations with teachers and students alike, I will focus in this section on the Hotel Management Programme as the ‘breeding ground’ of one or more community/-ies of practice (for a more detailed discussion see chapter 1.3). Because of its fixed starting and finishing dates the programme might be considered atypical in terms of communities of practice, as it can only allow for temporary ones with a clear expiry date. Similarly unusual is the fact that the focus here is on classroom interaction as main social practice shaping the teaching and learning processes at the heart of the HMP. And yet, as the insider views will show, the thus defined Classroom Community of Practice (CCoP) developed processes not dissimilar to other communities of practice.

In the interviews and informal conversations, it soon became obvious that, to put it generally, group-formation processes were a prime concern for all students, in particular the tendency towards language-based subgroupings and the differentiated use of the various first languages. As the students’ and teachers’ comments revealed clearly time-contingent dynamics, the following description will sketch this process by following the HMP through the four semesters. Since none of the students had had any previous contact with the school or the other participants, the first days were experienced as a highly exciting time of getting to know each other, the teachers and the setting. As can be anticipated from the diversity of cultural backgrounds, however, the levels of excitement felt differed enormously amongst the stakeholders. Quotes 4.1 and 4.2 illustrate the two poles: Hanb clearly appreciated the cultural diversity, but could do so in an emotionally detached way; most probably because as a Central European with German as L1 he felt culturally well equipped to delve into the HMP. Jins, on the other hand, had lived in Asian countries all her life. The way she described her initial feelings in Quote 4.2 reflects, on the one hand, the emotional stress she clearly went through during the first weeks of the programme because of her own perception of lacking the necessary socio-cultural experience and, on the other, the sincere relief that she experienced after having found common interests and conversational topics with other students.

Quote 4.1. Interview (2nd sem, 1st mth)

Hanb: I really like it to to be with ah people from all over the world and it's really really really cool [...] but- I don't know , I like to ja I just just to to deal with people from different cultures different nations . I think it's very interesting . to see to see their lives and how it works and well even if it's on the other er end of the world but you have still some some things that are you have in common with them . and what's what what I feel amazing . and (.) ja I like it .

Quote 4.2. Interview (1st sem, 2nd mth)

Jins: I was really , how can I , at first I felt really nervous , I had no idea , how how how- even I I I was really wondering . how can I go to the toilet alone ? @@ cause they're totally different from my countries . but I realized they are also same . [...] because we are same generation . we are- how can I- almost same age . so- the topic is really- sometimes similar . for example for girls , the most interesting topic is some kinds of love <@> with boyfriend or a girlfriend </@> and boy are so interested in some games , computer games or playstations , and it's almost the same . and they also like to (1) alcohol @ ja and go out and so like to see movies or go to the club, they you know they interesting thing is are similar . so- this why we are getting together , even if we are different .

In other words, most students seemed happy to have found common ground early in the programme. As Crik commented very perceptively, “the first two weeks were very good for everybody, then a few people had trouble.” (interview; 1st sem, 3rd mth) This trouble had various reasons, some of which were undoubtedly never revealed to me, but one that was discussed in detail and partly very emotionally were the small interactional networks that had developed after the initial phase, based in large part on shared linguacultural background. These subunits were clearly visible to the observer, too, since after the first two weeks the same students found each other as seating neighbours in almost every lesson of the first semester. This was even more remarkable as the students changed classrooms frequently and still arranged themselves in similar ways in rooms of different shapes. Owing to the constellation of the HMP, shared linguacultural background led to ‘the Austrians’, ‘the Greeks’, ‘the Indians’, ‘the Koreans’ and ‘the Chinese’. The latter three soon developed permeable borders and allowed a lot of ‘internal’ exchange, thus becoming ‘the Asians’. The remaining students either did not have any compatriots in class or were Austrians who did not feel like joining ‘the Austrians’ and formed ties between one another.

While belonging to one of these units did not pre-empt communication to the outside, it reduced the possibilities of interaction with the students sitting in the closer vicinity. So, for example, in a classroom with four rows of desks, the first row would converse regularly with the second, less often with the third and practically not at all with the fourth row. Interestingly, this communicational

behaviour was not restricted to classroom-based interaction, but was confirmed as reflecting interactional structures amongst the students more generally (see Quote 4.3).

Quote 4.3. Interview (2nd sem, 2nd mth)

Lula: well I see the Indians and the and the Chinese and the Koreans in one group usually , erm the <four> Austrian <girls> (3) NEVER try to communicate with anyone else (3) except for some of the Greeks which are half Austrian , (2) the Greeks also stay within themselves, [...] and yeah and then yeah you got everyone else who's left on the side which is Zian Alac Renb me Kail erm Nama , just different countries going out somewhere and we all kind of interact with each other [...] I mean NOW okay I see them talking to each other and everything but I guess friendships formed through that

In this quote, Lula, a student with extensive experience with multicultural learning situations, describes this situation very perceptively, also hinting at the slow, maybe partly undetected changes taking place during the second semester with more students interacting outside their L1-group. At the same time, however, her evaluation reflects her own perspective as well: as someone who always sat in the last row, at least in the first semester, she obviously did not take heightened notice of the first row either, which consisted of more 'single' students, who were later on regularly joined by some of the individual students of the last row, too, such as Alac or Renb.

The reasons for why these L1-based units were formed in the first place were most likely manifold and cannot all be reconstructed in hindsight. As the programme started with regular lessons right from the first day, the students did not have a lot of time to get to know each other at the outset of the programme. This scarcity of time and opportunities to make friends or build rapport might have intensified the clear tendency in the student group to build up initial ties with compatriots, wherever this was possible.⁵³ The students themselves acknowledged intrinsic as well as extrinsic motivation insofar as they indicated that they interacted in their subunits, in Dörnyei's (2001: 27) words "in order to experience pleasure [...] or] to receive some external reward". The linguacultural nets helped in reducing feelings of loneliness and homesickness on the one hand (see Quote 4.4), and, on the other hand, in following lessons or explaining subject matter (see Quote 4.5).

53. The ensuing hotel management groups were given three 'orientation days', during which the whole group was involved in group formation sessions, which, according to the students of those groups, helped tremendously in building ties between all students, irrespective of their L1s.

Quote 4.4. Interview (2nd sem, 1st mth)

Kosk: it helped me psychologically . because I have the feeling that I'm at home , that I'm not alone in this world you know , like the feeling that I had in the beginning and I was even with my suitcase at the entrance of my apartment .

Quote 4.5. Interview (2nd sem, 2nd mth)

Kama: it's definitely easier to communicate and I can help them , I can explain to them easier . if you have to explain it to somebody else , and I can't use German , it's difficult to translate for me as well , you know ?

That these small communities played an important role for all students became clear during the interviews inasmuch as all of them mentioned and reported on them. Some students evaluated them mainly positively in that they stressed their instrumental and integrative value (cf. Quotes 4.4 and 4.5 above). This was also acknowledged by some teachers who accepted these cliques as they had developed on a voluntary basis and would be beneficial to solving the respective tasks. A case in point is OUL's evaluation in Quote 4.6. Other teachers agreed, especially because they realized that these groupings usually changed during the course of the programme with the students working together more freely and flexibly in the second year of studies (see Quote 4.19 below).

Quote 4.6. Interview (4th sem, 3rd mth)

OUL: die Nationalitätengruppen bilden sich natürlich und ä is auch okay so is halt ä ä (1) sie sind ja sowieso sonst immer zusammen und bei case studies wo's wichtig is is es ganz okay wenn sie sich selber zusammen(.)mischen
[the nationality-based groups form automatically and it's okay like that (1) after all, they are also together like that otherwise and when doing case studies it is important and okay that they form their own groups]

Some students agreed with this basically positive evaluation, but specified it somewhat by stressing that these subcommunities would need permeable borders, so that a larger community of all HMP students could develop at the same time. As illustrated in Quote 4.7, Mark was one of the students who evaluated the linguacultural units as fitting into the whole HMP harmoniously. That such a harmonious parallel development was not what all students detected at that time became clear when I was talking to one student who was very much involved in his small community of three and admitted that he did not know any of the other students at that time particularly well (Quote 4.8).

Quote 4.7. Interview (1st sem, 3rd mth)

Mark: we are like a group , with all of them . [...] it's normal that we don't that [...] there are several small groups , but (1) it's okay . I mean everyone has his friends and the one that he wants to cope with and (2) [...] no big arguments . I didn't realize anything

Quote 4.8. Interview (1st sem, 3rd mth)

Zian: we're like me , [. . .] Lura and Hanb we are like a group so I I only know mainly about them

A few weeks later, things changed insofar as, at least as observed by some, more group-wide interaction seemed to have started to occur. As described by Anns in Quote 4.9, the originally relatively rigid borders of some of the subcommunities loosened and started to allow an HMP-wide practice of goal-oriented interactions. This development seemed to continue so that by the second semester Kail felt that all students had integrated into one community (Quote 4.10).

Quote 4.9. Interview (1st sem, 4th mth)

Anns: there should not be groups I mean always staying in the same group and not interacting with each other you'll not be able to know each other well in two years of gap . so . like earlier yes the Greeks were always together , they were not communicating with others , yes , but but now it's quite nice . I mean we all talk to each other [. . .] now it's changed that yes they are together in the free time , obviously you want to be with someone who know- who understands you well maybe . but here in the class like we didn't talk before but now we talk but if I don't understand each other if I don't understand what the teachers says or something if I when I go and ask them they'll tell me and they are quite friendly with each other now , it's quite well .

Quote 4.10. Interview (2nd sem, 3rd mth)

Kail: erm language wise it is fine I guess , we (2) it's no problem and generally especially now after a year I think everyone has integrated with the environment here I feel like it's a good group

One interactional aspect that caused massive problems for some students, however, was the use of languages other than English in class; more specifically, the extended use of German in class-relevant settings. While all students expressed their tolerance of the fact that native speakers of one language would make use of it amongst themselves, many took exception to such language use in the presence of students not competent in this language. Instead, English should be the only language used, and the respective native speakers should act accordingly (see Quote 4.11). In the case of Greek, Hindi, Korean or Chinese, this rule seemed to have been adopted very quickly, but the same did not happen with regard to German, which was sometimes used in the presence of non-German speakers as well, very much to their dismay (see Quote 4.12).

Quote 4.11. Interview (1st sem, 3rd mth)

Clap: maybe or if there was somebody else in the class from [home country] maybe I tend to want to speak more [home language] with them . so, I don't really have a problem . but when it's a group work , I think we all should be able to speak English .

Quote 4.12. Interview (1st sem, 2nd mth)

Suka: ja I mean I know and I do understand there are certain things you cannot express in English which you can only express in your own language even I I feel that I find Hindi more easier than English . [...] but then five of us are sitting [...] four of them know German . I I was only one who didn't know German , but er the two were keeping their mouth shut and rest two they were busy speaking in German using their own I mean their ideas and all in German then erm saying a little part I mean even we should know what they are thinking

Instances of students using German in class, like the one described by Suka in Quote 4.12, were definitely scarce – I did not observe any of them – and were restricted to the first months of the programme, as the students explained later on. It also seemed that the non-German speakers started to handle them differently. As Flor put it during his interview, which took place a month after the one with Suka, “Suka was always complaining about her [an Austrian student] expressing herself in German, but now she doesn't care anymore.” While this might be interpreted as a sign of giving up, it rather turned out to be an indication of a growing recognition of the special role German played in the HMP. As the language of the environment and the first or second language of most participants, it widened the linguistic repertoire of those competent in it to two languages, which they could, and did, use in combination. Both English and German thus developed into a resource that enriched the HMP communication. Put differently, German had considerably more “symbolic power” (Bourdieu 1991: 166–167) in the HMP than any of the other L1s; a symbolic power clearly recognized by all students, those proficient enough to use it from the beginning, such as Lura, a Central European with foreign language knowledge of German (see Quote 4.13) and those not yet proficient enough (see Quote 4.14).

Quote 4.13. Interview (1st sem, 3rd mth)

Lura: if I know a better way to say it in English , I say it in English , if I know a better way to say it in German , I say it in German .

Quote 4.14. Interview (1st sem, 3rd mth)

Jins: if I if I speak also German, I can get use erm I can get along the other (friends) easily quickly and I can learn English and German both of it at the same time (2) but you know there are a lot of people can speak German . so almost look at the group , are almost now separated , who can speak German , who cannot speak German . and so- they can speak German , and in class they can speak English , and in this group they always speak English . [...] if they when they talk about something in English , about the German culture or Austrian things , and somebody doesn't understand , they can also talk abou- talk in German .

Quote 4.14 is particularly interesting, because Jins not only commented on the tensions caused by German in the HMP during the first semester, but also evaluated what she saw as happening and in how far she and the other non-German speakers felt excluded from it. At the same time, she already anticipated that this German-contingent divide in the HMP would not continue for the whole duration of the programme, but would change with time. As all students were continuously exposed to German and also had German language classes at school, their own proficiency improved, as did their knowledge about “the German culture and Austrian things” (Quote 4.14). This is why, a few months later, Kail, a student with extensive experience in international educational setting, could describe the HMP as “I feel like it’s a good group” (Quote 4.10 above), which Lula expanded on in her interview, stressing the development of what she experienced as one ‘class culture’ (see Quote 4.15).

Quote 4.15. Interview (2nd sem, 3rd mth)

Lula: erm I mean culturally I think [...] the Asians were a bit more difficult to communicate with in the beginning

US: what do you mean by culture ?

Lula: I mean just like the way they’re raised to be quiet and to be conserved a little bit more and it’s just they don’t speak out their opinion they don’t try to be very loud and they’d watch you before they offend you and all these things so they really observed for a long time before they started to jump in with the class and start laughing and chatting out comments in the class and things like this

This development clearly continued in the third semester. The summer break and internships helped all students gain enough German to be able to follow the gist of German conversations. With everybody having gained at least receptive access to the symbolic power of German, it had lost its controversial status, as Flor, Clap and Jins agreed upon during their group interview at the beginning of the fourth semester (see Quote 4.16).

Quote 4.16. Group interview (4th sem, 1st mth)

Flor: I think it’s basically , it’s like the Germans are still together , like the Austrian girls they’re still together , but erm I realized especially after the internship , that when you speak in German with the others , the others also understand already . isn’t it ?

Clap: yeah I already tell you .

Flor: it’s like they’re already having that big ears and they’re listening to it and then they just have a smile on their face and then you know exactly that they understood . so it’s, I think it’s , I don’t know if it’s a big deal about speaking German .

[...]

Jins: if you understand maybe more than before German , you also don’t care about .

US: do you understand a bit more , for example .

Jins: yeah , a little bit more , not .

US: and you don't care ?

Jins: yeah .

Jins's last statement ("if you understand maybe more than before German, you also don't care about") is worth dwelling upon because it follows up on Flor's rendering of Suka's feelings a year earlier (see above) and throws a clearer light on what 'not caring' entailed. German had become so much part of classroom interaction that all students had accepted it in a similar way to the other L1s. As Anns and Anle explained during another group interview, the multilinguality of the students had become not only a familiar, but also a highly respected characteristic of the HMP (see Quote 4.17).

Quote 4.17. Group interview (4th sem, 1st mth)

US: and now about language use in class , you also said a lot already ,⁵⁴ there are just many languages around , people use their languages with each other and erm you're okay with it , basically , you do it yourselves , and you repeat it if somebody else there doesn't speak the language and it is necessary to repeat , you'll do it in English , is that right ?

Anns and Anle: yeah .

US: erm and German you said it is still a strong language in the gr- , in the class , cause many of the people speak it , many of them as mother tongue but others just very well , but that's how it is , @@ is that right ?

Anle: yeah and being surrounded by different languages I think you also learn some words out , so it make people happy actually if you (greet) them in their language they really smile .

These new, 'third semester' attitudes were reflected in the evaluations of the programme-internal developments made by most teachers. Most of those who had classes in the first and second years of study commented on the different behaviour they encountered in the third semester. As in Quote 4.18, teachers described the students as participating much more vividly and constructively after the summer break, and that even those students who had been particularly quiet in the first year started to take active roles in class.

Quote 4.18. Interview (2nd sem, 1st mth)

NER: der Bruch <im Mitarbeiten> is interessanterweise (.) nach der Praxis wenn sie zurückkommen [...] es kommen neue hinzu [...] es passiert ganz selten dass einer der sich von Anfang an (.) bestätigt abfällt aber es kommen dann immer neue hinzu ja es werden (.) gegen hinten hin mehr erfreulicherweise

54. As the recording equipment let me down during the first quarter of an hour of this group interview, I summarized what the two students had said once more and asked for more input.

[interestingly the change <in terms of class participation> takes place when they come back after the internship [...] then new ones become active. it happens very seldom that one student who was good at the beginning suddenly stops participating but rather more and more join the active ones (.) later on, fortunately]

From the teachers' perspective, the changes came about by gaining hospitality-related work experience as well as having had a year of cultural immersion in a European country and hotel school. This implied that the students would be able to contribute more independently to the lessons, which also became apparent in their freer approaches to building teams (Quote 4.19).

Quote 4.19. Interview (3rd sem, 3rd mth)

TON: in the second year they will group differently you know they're not so [stuck in their language-groups]

US: so you think there is a real difference between the first and second years ,

TON: yeah absolutely .

US: and you think is it the summer break that makes the difference or ,

TON: I think it's the summer break and the fact that they are actually you know they are working in some in some environment and they are seeing something erm yeah the second year is very different .

The latter evaluation found support in my own observations as regards the students' seating arrangements, which were considerably less rigid than in the first semester. Now students changed between rows, but also changed their seating neighbours when moving from one classroom to the next.

The developmental process did not stop here but continued into the fourth semester, when the imminent end of the programme seemed to exert centrifugal forces on the HMP as a community as well. At least, to some students, the whole question of which languages were or should be used started to lose its relevance (see Quote 4.20).

Quote 4.20. Group interview (4th sem, 1st mth)

Clap: to me right now it doesn't make any (sense) it's not an issue right now , I think it's about (hunting dandies) right now , so you don't even have to think about languages or what , it's like , it's like not making anything so much of a problem now .

US: because of what ?

Clap: because you know very soon it's going to be over , yeah @@ I mean why should we make such petty things . I mean at the beginning you have to get adjusted to it and complaining here , you're complaining there , but now it's like I say it's like okay , whatever and it it to me it's not much of a big issue .

Overall, the insider views and my own lesson observations paint a detailed picture of the developmental processes taking place in the HMP, which allows

an interpretation of the HMP in terms of community of practice and its three main processes: mutual engagement, joint negotiated enterprise, and a shared repertoire of negotiable resources accumulated over time (cf. 1.3). Within the set frame given by the institutionalized programme the students participated in mutual engagement for the duration of the four semesters in negotiating their own positions and relationships, on the one hand, and, on the other, the educational aims in collaboration with their teachers. As the emic perspectives presented here have shown, the former enterprise directly involved the many linguacultures represented by the students and developed through four phases. Since the first three of these stages form the basis of the discourse-pragmatic analyses chapters (cf. 3.3.2), they are referred to as T1, T2, T3 – for points in time 1 to 3 – and, in analogy, the last is called T4.

- T1. The first or introductory phase took about two weeks. During this period of already intensive learning and studying, the students got to know each other and were relieved to find common ground in their shared study interests and aims as well as aspects of shared youth culture.
- T2. The second phase was one of diversification, at the beginning of which many students seemed to have concentrated on forming small ‘subcommunities’ at the expense of the larger group. The main shared repertoires in these ‘subcommunities’ were the respective L1s and associated national cultures. Soon afterwards the proficient users of German, all of whom were also European, formed a larger ‘subcommunity’, building bridges between some of the smaller subcommunities, but excluding others. At the same time, however, the joint enterprise of the HMP – working towards the educational aims of the programme – apparently had its influence on the development of one HMP community as well. Its ongoing practice of classroom interaction through the negotiated repertoire of ELF (for more information see the next section), provided the basis for a comprehensive, rather than a divisive understanding of community: by the end of the first semester, at the very latest, the Classroom Community of Practice (CCoP) had become a social reality in addition to the smaller subcommunities of, for instance, German- or Greek-speakers.
- T3. The beginning of the third phase coincided with the start of the second year of studies as, after a long and eventful break, the students returned with a broader base of shared work experience and partly higher proficiency levels in German. Both factors taken together clearly boosted the relevance of the Classroom Community of Practice and weakened the smaller subcommunities.

T4. The final stage of the CCofP dissolving was clearly induced by the end of the programme. While some students already commented on this at the beginning of the fourth semester (cf. Quote 4.20 above), others only did so during the last month. In view of T4 thus largely coinciding with the end of the HMP, it was not included in the analysis of classroom interactions.

This overview of the emic perspectives indicates that the HMP was characterized by mutual engagement and various shared negotiated enterprises, of which the most central one, the educational process, seemed to have driven the development of the Classroom Community of Practice in the course of time. Owing to its institutionalized educational setting and aims, the ‘practice’ of this CCofP was mainly discursive; it is for this reason that the next section will present the students’ and teachers’ emic perspectives on the use of English as classroom language.

4.3.2 On English as classroom language

When talking about their classroom language, the immediate reaction of all participants, students and teachers alike, was generally appreciative and fundamentally positive. The students were convinced of the added value of doing a Hotel Management Programme in English, since, firstly, it would facilitate this international educational programme (see Quote 4.21) and, secondly, prepare them for ensuing careers in the business (see Quote 4.22).

Quote 4.21. Interview (2nd sem, 1st mth)

Kama: a lot of international students and I really enjoy that .

Quote 4.22. Interview (2nd sem, 1st mth)

Cana: er it’s interesting . I think it makes erm things much easier later on . [...] yeah I think it’s more difficult for them <students doing similar programme in German> afterwards to to work in a hotel and to use English than it’s going to be for us , because they have to they know everything in German and they have to translate it first in their heads like , they are not used to we hear the same expressions the whole day . so we know the expression by heart . [...] I don’t think I would choose to study medicine in English or something . but [...] but hotel management I would .

The same reasons surfaced in the teachers’ evaluations of why they enjoyed teaching in English. Most mentioned the added insights they would gain because of the multiculturalism of the student group (see Quote 4.23). The adequacy of English for the subject matter was clearly relevant to all teachers, as most of them felt equipped for teaching in English precisely because of their own professional experience in using the language.

Quote 4.23. Interview (2nd sem, 1st mth)

RER: ich unterrichte eigentlich recht gern in englischer Sprache (.) ja wei- weil ma des wieder (.) ä so ein bisschen (1) internationalen Weitblick internationalen Flair und und gibt also für mich is des ä an sich was sehr sehr Positives
[I actually like teaching in English (.) because that's how you get again a bit of an international approach, international flair, which is definitely something very, very positive for me.]

The law teacher was the only one who topicalized the relationship between language and content, mainly because of her subject area. While all other teachers were responsible for subjects directly relevant for the international hospitality industry, XEN had been asked to teach on legal basics in the Austrian context. She had agreed to do so, on the precondition that she could lead the class into a more international direction because she felt that Austrian Law would, firstly, be of little relevance to an international student group and, secondly, not suited to be handled through English or any other foreign language (Quote 4.24).

Quote 4.24. Interview (2nd sem, 1st mth)

XEN: ich hab diese Diskussion schon einmal geführt weil ich schon einmal gebeten wurde so einen Unterricht zu halten und damals hab ich gesagt (1) für Österreicher auf Englisch moch i kan Unterricht im österreichischen Recht weil es sinnlos ist .
[I discussed this point once before because I was already once asked before to teach such a class and then I said (1) that I wouldn't teach Austrian law to Austrians in English because it's useless.]

Cana's explanations in Quote 4.22 of why she preferred English for hotel management, but would not have done so for the second profession of interest to her – medicine – already indicate a further consideration that seems to have played an important role for many students and also for some of the teachers: improving one's English.

4.3.2.1 On improving English

The relevance of this aspect stands in direct correlation to the participants' English language learning backgrounds (cf. Tables 4.2 and 4.6), based on which the participants evaluated their own language proficiencies during the one-on-one interviews. These self-reports revealed that the teachers as well as students grouped themselves into three tiers of language proficiency. The top tier – highly proficient users of English – regarded language learning as less of a topic to them. The four teachers who categorized themselves as such (AKL, NER, OUL, TON) felt completely at home teaching in English and did not experience any language-related problems in class, and the seven students of the top rank (Alac, Crik,

Kail, Kama, Lula, Nama, Zian) had done most of their previous education in English and thus preferred English for studying over any other language. The third tier, on the other hand, contained the least proficient English language users who stressed their concern with improving their English. The two teachers of this tier (RER, XEN) admitted that they partly lacked the linguistic means they needed for class and that they wished to remedy this situation (see Quote 4.25). In the meantime they had adapted their teaching style, by relying on detailed written teaching materials and student support, when needed.

Quote 4.25. Interview (2nd sem, 4th mth)

XEN: für mich waren teilweise ä:m (2) (Lücken) da gesteh ich ja und (.) dadurch dass ich es im passiven Wortschatz wirklich sehr sehr viel habe aber im aktiven Sprechen und vor allem dann im Erklären (.) da kommen bei mir die: die die die Schwächen zum Teil heraus

[<on her English proficiency> for me there where partly gaps I admit it yes and seeing that my passive vocabulary is very very large but while speaking and especially explaining then my weaknesses become apparent]

The five students who placed themselves at the lowest proficiency level (Anle, Jins, Kari, Kosk, Zuyz) had obviously been worried at the beginning of the first semester that their English would not be good enough compared to the other students (see Quotes 4.26 and 4.27). Language improvement was thus very much in the forefront of their concerns.

Quote 4.26. Interview (1st sem, 3rd mth)

Anle: I was so surprised when Anns had a presentation in about hotel management I was so surprised and then I was just shocked , I'm like how can she speak like that I mean she seems like perfect , you know , she seems like professional , so I was so shocked and I was oh my god oh my god she's so good , she's so good . yeah , there I mean .

Quote 4.27. Interview (2nd sem, 1st mth)

Kosk: before <at the beginning of the first semester> I have the feeling you know that everybody it's gonna laugh with what I'm gonna say afterwards me you know because I don't have no standard at all not that good level as the others ,

The middle tier, finally, contains the remaining four teachers and 16 students who judged their English as proficient enough for the purposes of teaching or studying in the HMP. While the students were thus not worried about playing their roles in the classroom, they admitted that there was room for improvement. Crek, a senior student who was particularly aware of the gap between her proficiency level and how important English would be for her in the future, put it like this:

Quote 4.28. Interview (1st sem, 4th mth)

Crek: Englisch als Unterrichtssprache find ich großartig auch das Multikulturelle find ich gut . [...] es ist einfach auch der zusätzliche Lerneffekt . dieses parallele Lernen (.) den Inhalt und das Englisch . ich mein ich hätt auch noch mal nen zusätzlichen Englischkurs machen können , aber insofern läuft das halt beides zur gleichen Zeit und das ist gut so .

[English as medium of instruction is simply great and so is the multicultural element. [...] I also like the added learning possibility (.) learning content and English at the same time. I could also have done an extra English language course, but this way both happens at the same time, and that's very good.]

The four teachers in this middle tier felt that teaching in English was challenging, but also rewarding – amongst other aspects also in terms of language improvement (see Quote 4.29).

Quote 4.29. Interview (2nd sem, 1st mth)

LER: <auf Englisch unterrichten> mach ich sehr gerne erstens [...] weil ich mein Englisch trainiere (1) weil ich die Fachausdrücke in Englisch trainiere weil ich mich strukturiert mit den Inhalten immer wieder aufs Neue auseinandersetzen muss und sie damit auch besser (verstehe)

[I like it <teaching in English>, first of all because I can practise my English this way (1) because I practise the specific English terms, because I have to deal with the content again in a structured way and thus learn (to understand) it better]

As so many students already commented on language improvement during the first and second semesters, I included this topic in the group interviews of the fourth semester, as well as in the second questionnaire (see Appendix B). In response to the latter, basically all students agreed that their English had changed or improved during the HMP. So while not all of them had originally expressed any expectations in this regard, they all seemed to have experienced some change in their English language skills, and those who had had a clear interest in improving their English also reported that it had happened, at least to a certain extent. Overall, therefore, all students reported that they were content with their English at the end of the programme, and their evaluations ranged from completely to largely happy.

The group interviews gave the students enough room to expand on their descriptions. The areas of language proficiency that were mentioned as having improved considerably were oral communication and reading (semi)professional texts. While some found the latter particularly challenging during the first semester, all agreed that reading English texts had become second nature to them. As regards oral communication, the improvements were felt at different levels. Those of the third tier – the least proficient students – had obviously

developed fluent communicational skills. And even if they themselves were still not completely content with their communicating abilities, their colleagues definitely were. In Quote 4.30, for instance, Anns contradicts Anle's self-critical evaluations, stating that she does not see any hindrances in their communications.

Quote 4.30. Group interview (4th sem, 1st mth)

Anle: I said they improved but maybe I think like some sometimes I stopped .

Anns: yeah , I understand I mean , I can't say that she gets stuck , but if she feels it that way , then it could be . cause when she talks to me I understand everything and yeah sometimes when she's not able to say a word , then I complete it , it doesn't matter .

The students who had originally placed themselves on the second tier observed that their English improved, as Elig put it, "in a professional way" (Quote 4.31), with which she and other students probably meant stylistic widening and/or register extension as well as the acquisition of English for hospitality purposes.

Quote 4.31. Group interview (4th sem, 1st mth)

Elig: I think it did improve in a more professional way , because as you know I've been to the U S for a year and I had this typical kind of American high school English and I think it improved a lot , so I can also use it in hotels , you know it is like we don't have a room , @@ you shouldn't say that in this way .

English language improvements were experienced as most noteworthy during the first year of studies as some felt that they 'got stuck' afterwards (cf. Quote 4.30 above). One of the groups suggested during their interview that this might have been due to the fact that the first year laid the foundation for their introduction into the profession, also linguistically speaking (see Quote 4.32).

Quote 4.32. Group interview (4th sem, 1st mth)

Hanb: well , I would say erm (1) I don't know if you really can see changes now (to) the second and the third semester , but erm I would also say as Lura and Zuyz already did , that erm in the beginning erm I think that all the students improved a lot , but now , maybe erm you can see the improvement now , speaking better English , but for sure all the students can erm it's much more easier for them to understand the terminology and to get the context , like in Marketing , so many questions in the beginning we cannot understand , we don't know these words , and now of course there are some words still , you do not really know , but erm it changed a lot .

Another group of students formulated the same idea during another interview by stressing the relevance of subject-specific contextualization in extending their English (see Quote 4.33). While at other moments in this conversation Jenz expressed basically the same idea as Hanb, claiming that most language

improvement had taken place in the first semester, she conceded at this point in the interaction that this was not primarily so because of the semester of study, but rather because most of the subject areas were introduced in the first semester already. Psychology, which was introduced in the third semester only, showed her, and all other novices to psychology, that every new subject area implied linguistic extension, irrespective of when it was introduced.

Quote 4.33. Group interview (4th sem, 1st mth)

Jenz: psychology, I am honest I don't understand what is that , but now it is okay after one semester , that was quite difficult , you know you know psychology , it's no easy words , from Freud , @@ yeah they use erm very professional words .

Crik: complex terms .

Jenz: yeah , yeah and during test we have to explain that so I found I had really difficulties to explain that

Mark: me too .

[...]

Elig: I think every field has their specific vocabulary and you just , if you know it and if as Jenz said you've done it for a semester and so it's no problem at all and I think if she did it in Chinese , there are also specific words , she would also have to learn it , I don't think it's the English , just special terminology .

Elig summarizes this evaluation in her last statement (Quote 4.33), which is also interesting for another reason: the distinction she draws between 'English' and 'special terminology' reflects the difference commented on by most participants between fluency and discipline- or topic-specificity in language use. The former was generally experienced as dependent on pre-HMP language competence and practice, while the latter was linked to studying new subject areas. In the terms suggested in the preceding discussion on 'social language' (see 2.3.1.5), the dimensions at stake here are remarkably close to INDIVIDUAL REPERTOIRE and ESTABLISHED PRACTICE. Since, moreover, the stakeholders extended their two-dimensional interpretation by the third one of COMMUNICATING in the Classroom Community of Practice (for more details see the next section), it seems justified to argue that the insider views overlap with, and thus support, the definition of English as a lingua franca suggested in this study (see 2.3.1.6).

Interestingly, four of the students who regarded their English as different by the end of the HMP felt that it had deteriorated rather than improved in the preceding two years. This they explained by the lack of using English regularly for a wide variety of intellectually challenging topics (see Quote 4.34) as well as not having to produce such texts in writing (see Quote 4.35).

Quote 4.34. Interview (2nd sem, 2nd mth)

Lula: I think I'm losing it here in Vienna a little bit @ [...] I mean before I used to have like my friends who'd say come on , we'll elaborate on that and we used to have discussions and all these things and then you come here and nobody's gonna tell you elaborate on that then I go okay (xx) enough thanks .

Quote 4.35. Interview (2nd sem, 3rd mth)

Kail: I was reading my old essays <for a friend> who needed it this year who's still in high school and and I couldn't actually believe that I'd written it it's gotten much worse my English like the writing wise

The students who commented on 'losing some of their English' had done their previous education through English and belonged to the top tier in terms of English language proficiency. Their self-reflections show that the English they had encountered and co-constructed in the HMP was somehow different from what they had experienced previously, and also different from what they had learnt as 'good English'. In other words, what is apparent in these comments are the differences in relevance allotted to the language norms and conventions of MoESs (monolingual English speakers, see 2.3.1.2). The same realization was manifest in comments made by students who were generally very happy with the way their English had improved. Lura, for instance, was one of the middle-tier students at the beginning of the HMP and commented regularly on how content he was with his own language improvements. During the group interview he reconfirmed that he had become fluent and gained the necessary confidence to communicate in English "with anybody", so long as, he continued his argument, such exchanges did not take place on native speakers' soil because "they have a lot of different words, which we actually didn't learn here" (Quote 4.36). Being a positively thinking young man, he suggested as a solution to this problem that he would have to stay for a month to catch up on their language use. In other words, Lura saw his English as shaped in and for lingua franca contexts, but ready to be extended to native speaker settings, if this should be necessary.

Quote 4.36. Group interview (4th sem, 1st mth)

US: are you on the whole relatively happy with your English , the way you use it , is it what you expected from this course ?

Lura: yeah erm when I came here I erm knew some English , I knew how to speak and everything , but it wasn't fluent and didn't understand a lot of words and I think now when- wherever I go in the world , I can use my English , with no problem I can communicate with anybody who can speak either British English , it might be a problem sometimes with them , but erm I think it's no problem to communicate for me and I think I speak pretty fluent so .

US: obviously , yeah the problem with them , what do you mean ?

Lura: erm , yeah because if you go to the , to England , they have a lot of different words , which we actually didn't learn here , because we learn more American or Atlantic English , or how how is it called ?

US: mid-Atlantic English .

Lura: mid-Atlantic English and yeah English people have some words which might be , but if you get there for one month I think you get to stay there , it's no problem anymore .

Lura's positive evaluations of his English post-HMP, as well as Lula's and Kail's more negative views, indicate that the students experienced the English of the HMP, firstly, in relation to their pre-HMP language proficiency, i.e. their INDIVIDUAL REPERTOIRES; secondly, as shaped by hospitality as their field of specialization and by their job-oriented educational setting, i.e. ESTABLISHED PRACTICES; and, thirdly, as dependent on the language's function as the main common language, i.e. as the means of COMMUNICATING in their community of MuESs (multilingual English speakers). In other words, the insider views clearly support the analyst's interpretation of the HMP as an educational setting in which the classroom language functions and is experienced as the stakeholders' lingua franca (see 2.4).

A further case in point is the fourth language skill, writing, which, as is evident from the many quotes given above, was generally excluded from the comments on language improvement. This is not due to an oversight on either the stakeholders' or my part, but rather reflects the special position given to writing in the HMP. It might be surprising for a post-secondary educational programme, but writing of any sort featured only marginally in the programme. It was used for note-taking during the lessons in support of the information included in the respective textbooks. It was necessary in written tests, none of which, however, required anything more than short phrases, and it was required in the writing of a few collaboratively produced reports during the second year of studies. Overall, however, writing was avoided as much as possible, mainly because most teachers had had severe problems of intelligibility when it came to written texts produced by less proficient students in this as well as other groups (see Quote 4.36). As the HMP was explicitly designed as a practice-oriented programme (cf. 4.2.2), the teachers tended to judge writing as marginally relevant and thus decided to avoid it as much as possible. This generally met with appreciation from all students irrespective of their language proficiency levels (see Quote 4.37).⁵⁵

55. For a more detailed presentation and discussion of the roles played by writing in the HMP cf. Smit (2007b).

Quote 4.36. Interview (3rd sem, 2nd mth)

AKL: na der [Student X] schreibt ziemlich schwer also ich kann fast nichts verstehen [...] ja aber ich denk dann immer okay ich tu nicht [...] das Geschriebene beurteilen sondern ich sag mir ist wichtig dass er's versteht und die Mitarbeit passt

[he <a specific student> has real problems writing so that basically I can't understand any of it [...] but I always think that all right I won't assess the written bits but I think it's more important that he understands and that he participates in class]

Quote 4.37. Group interview (3rd sem, 2nd mth)

US: what about writing in English , do you feel there should have been more for you to pra- to improve your writing or are you happy with the way it's been done .

Crik: my opinion is there was enough writing .

Mark: yeah I agree .

Elig: a lot of homework and projects .

In conclusion, the stakeholders' evaluations of their own English shed light on their wide range of learning and using English prior to the HMP as well as the types of influence experienced through English as classroom language for the two years of the programme. Taking the diverse experiences together it seems safe to say that the students and teachers differentiated between two types of language development: professionalization in terms of English for the hospitality industry, on the one hand, and, on the other, increased fluency in classroom interaction and, by extension, everyday language use. The former type was recognized in the acquisition of new vocabulary, expressions or stylistic widening and was generally appreciated by all students as a necessary precondition for a career in the hospitality industry. The latter, however, was met by more differentiated evaluations since the type of ELF fluency acquired in the HMP was not experienced as purely enriching by all participants. Some of the highly proficient English language speakers felt a deficit in their own English language proficiency when comparing it to pre-HMP times. At the same time, however, they all acknowledged its positive impact on the HMP and, more generally seen, its participants as it facilitated their classroom interaction. More on the latter will emerge from the next section, which will present the students' and teachers' views on their classroom interaction.

4.3.2.2 On using English

As has become evident in many of the students' and teachers' quotes above, all participants were acutely aware of the fact that English functioned as their lingua franca. Whether they had used English in international contexts before or

learnt it as a foreign language, or whether they had had previous experience in English as an educational language or not, they embarked upon their joint two years knowing that they would need each other's support if they wanted to make classroom interaction work. Generally, all students agreed that communication was possible right from the beginning, despite the different types of English coming together. Just like Anns in Quote 4.38, most students expressed their readiness to make communication work across linguistic or other hurdles, which resulted in a highly collaborative atmosphere, as I could also tell from observing the group. The teachers were similarly positive and clearly impressed by how constructive and successful an interaction they encountered in their lessons. As FER phrased it rather humorously, he found the students' input clear and understandable because their language proficiency was comparable with his own (see Quote 4.39).

Quote 4.38. Interview (1st sem, 4th mth)

Anns: they do get on in class , but yes there are differences, some people are it is hard for them to understand because the way they have learnt English , is different . I mean even if you take the (Koreans) they have an accent . [...] when they speak sometimes yes the others don't understand . but we yes we try to communicate with each other without fight and stuff so we understand each other well . because they sometimes that what I speak maybe she doesn't understand or another person then I explain them .

Quote 4.39. Interview (2nd sem, 1st mth)

FER: bei dieser Gruppe hier is es eigentlich so dass ich persönlich finde und auch von den Präsentationen her schon gesehen habe dass das Englisch eigentlich bei denen funktioniert (.) die sind auf dem level FER (.) vielleicht ein bisschen drunter oder drüber

[with this group I think personally and I've also seen that in their presentations that their English works all right (.) they are on the same level as me (.) maybe a bit below or above it.]

Owing to the fact that almost all lessons were of the traditional kind in the sense that they were teacher-fronted and -directed (cf. 2.2.1.3), the teachers had the biggest share of classroom talk (see e.g. 5.3.4). This placed the bigger onus of understanding on the students, which was also manifest in the fact that students tended to describe teachers' use of English in much more detailed ways than vice versa. Quotes 4.40 and 4.41 represent the evaluations practically all students formulated during the interviews: they were generally of the opinion that all teachers could relate their subject matter in English, but that this partly happened in formulations that the students felt were lacking in linguistic specificity or precision. At the same time, though, they were not inclined to criticize the teachers for their language use because of the fact that English was their lingua

franca.⁵⁶ On the contrary, some students stressed that having teachers use ELF made their teaching more accessible to the students as well (see Quote 4.42).

Quote 4.40. Interview (2nd sem, 1st mth)

Cana: actually the [teachers] are all pretty fine but I know that they're I feel that there are some teachers that are they are not comfortable in teaching us in English . [...] I see that and I hear that and they make a lot of mistakes and like we're just sometimes we are laughing because it's so funny but actually it's unfair because we are making the same mistakes sometimes so but I I feel it [...] not they don't feel comfortable but I think it's really difficult for them as well to because they know their subject really well but maybe they sometimes can't express themselves so good in English but they want to express themselves but they can't . so it's sometimes like you can feel it . that's sometimes weird .
@

Quote 4.41. Interview (2nd sem, 1st mth)

Alac: yeah I mean they know basic they know good Austrian English that's about what I would say [...] some teachers have better vocabularies than others I guess , [...] but] you don't really need a high level of English cause that's not really the point I think . I mean as long as they get it across what they want to- what is important for this subject , if they don't have a fluent perfect English doesn't make a difference

Quote 4.42. Interview (2nd sem, 1st mth)

Kosk: for me it's better you know they're using low level English , for me it's better because they don't have high expectations and so on

This collaborative attitude was shared by most teachers who expressed their awareness of language-related problems of understanding, partly induced by the teachers themselves (cf. Quote 4.43). In other words, all participants were keenly aware of the fact that the use of ELF as classroom language made the process of constructing understanding a more difficult one.

Quote 4.43. Interview (2nd sem, 2nd mth)

OUL: und wir Lektoren alle sind ja nicht alle Engländer und wir sprechen sicher nicht alle ein top Englisch und deswegen is es natürlich auch für die Schüler wiederum manchmal schwierig ä ä alles (.) zuzuordnen weil der eine sagt so und der andere sagt so [...] kein Hindernis aber es macht's etwas schwieriger
[and us lecturers we're also not all English and we certainly do not use top English and that's why it's also more difficult for our students to make sense out of things because one lecturer says this and the other one says that [...] it's not a hindrance <to understanding> but it makes it somehow more difficult]

56. This contrasts markedly with other tertiary educational settings, in which students were reported to expect teachers' English to be more proficient than their own (e.g. Björkman 2009; Clear 2005; Suvinnity 2008).

This feeling was intensified at the beginning of the programme by certain severe problems of intelligibility students reported they had with classmates of linguistically different backgrounds. Most European students found it particularly hard to follow what some of the Asian students said (see Quote 4.44), and some of the less proficient English users found the English of the more proficient ones highly challenging (see Quote 4.45). The Austrian accent, quite strong with some teachers, also caused a few instances of little or no understanding and, in the case of the marketing teacher, NER, it was his use of complicated words that gave some students a hard time (see Quote 4.46), even if almost all of them were highly impressed with his lecturing style.

Quote 4.44. Interview (1st sem, 3rd mth)

Crik: at the beginning I didn't understand a word . I'm trying was trying (to) remember this one conversation [with Hars], it's yeah and it's the same yes that I really didn't understand anything .

Quote 4.45. Interview (1st sem, 4th mth)

Zuuz: maybe someone speaks so quick <e.g. Crik> , I cannot catch it , but (xxx) in case they speak slowly , then I can understand

Quote 4.46. Interview (1st sem, 3rd mth)

Anle: sometimes it's hard to understand <the teachers> , but still I think I can cope with them , I mean . I can cope with them but when they are using really really huge words you know , it's really ha- like big big words is it harder to like figure it out what they are talking about .

Besides moments of linguistic non-understanding, a few students also mentioned pragmatic difficulties of making communication work. Jins was particularly outspoken on this point, complaining that she and another Asian student 'didn't get' the kind of jokes repeatedly cracked by some classmates (Quote 4.47). By stressing the sexual nature of this kind of humour, it became clear that the main problem encountered here had not resulted from the choice of language, but was rather a cultural one of creating humour with what amounted to non-humorous and taboo-like topics for others.

Quote 4.47. Interview (1st sem, 3rd mth)

Jins: er it depends on the- I think it depends the character . so we we can understand , normal communications . but they are- they try to make a joke , sometimes we cannot understand . [...] Zian or Lura , they always try to make some sexual jokes , but we cannot get it , especially me , and Anle , doesn't get it .

With time progressing, however, the instances of non-understanding seemed to diminish. Already a few months into the HMP, most students conceded that they had become more accustomed to the different ways of using and pronouncing

English and had learnt to understand each other (see Quote 4.48) and the teachers better (see Quote 4.49).

Quote 4.48. Interview (1st sem, 3rd mth)

Crik: but now , I don't know . either I got used to it or he <Hars> improved , I don't know what , because now I actually understand what he says each sentence eighty ninety percent from what he says .

Quote 4.49. Interview (1st sem, 3rd mth)

Jins: at first I was really didn't understand anything from every teachers . [...] @ but more- more and more I take a class I think I getting used to be hear them . but I think I don- don't know the exact way how can I figure out their inter(xx) pronunciation . just just hear again and again , and then I get used to hear them .

In other words, the participants perceived an improvement in the communicational process of making interactions work. As Elig put it so succinctly:

Quote 4.50. Interview (1st sem, 3rd mth)

Elig: I think we all got used to each other . doesn't mean we're speaking English better , but we speak in a way that we definitely understand each other I guess

Clearly, the students still faced problematic interactional concerns, but they seemed to have developed ways of dealing with many of them. As regards the marketing textbook, for instance, which was considered particularly hard to understand, students found their strategies of getting to grips with its contents, such as going through it in groups (see Quote 4.51)

Quote 4.51. Interview (1st sem, 3rd mth)

Suka: because the language is uff I think it's all marketing language . or its very tough you really need a dictionary with that . [...] so then we sat down together and then we were reading like one gets one paragraph and then those who are understanding that paragraph that person is explaining

Concerning spoken communication, the first semester obviously helped in shaping specific interactional expectations. After a few weeks already, students observed themselves as no longer caring about what they referred to as 'correct language use'. Instead they reported that they simply used English to make communication possible (see Quote 4.52). With this single most important communicational aim in mind, the teachers' questions for comprehension seemed to have acquired special relevance, just as asking for further explanations oneself (see Quote 4.53).

Quote 4.52. Interview (1st sem, 3rd mth)

Flor: and for every sentence I was just thinking of erm is it right , is it grammatically right , and then just express it , I mean just say the sentence and then afterwards ,

er did I say it right or not , so you have to think about it and that's why the sentences are coming very slow . and right now I just don't think about it just keep on talking and maybe sometimes it's wrong , but yeah [...] yeah you feel very good .

Quote 4.53. Interview (1st sem, 3rd mth)

Flor: yeah anyway if we don't understand it they just ask once more do you understand it do you know what I really mean by it , yeah (.) if we have any questions we just ask them .

In other words, English had been accepted and, it seems also internalized, as the HMP's lingua franca by the second part of the first semester, i.e. at T2. During two group interviews a year later, the same topic was raised and, in both instances, different students formulated these interactional expectations as a fairly explicit rule that if more or new information on an ongoing exchange were needed then it was the hearer's task to initiate it, rather than the speaker's to explain without having been asked for it (see Quote 4.54). The discourse-pragmatic analyses will show in how far these developing interactional expectations were reflected in actual classroom exchanges (see e.g. 5.4.2, 6.4.2.3, 6.4.4.3, 7.4.4).

Quote 4.54. Interview (4th sem, 1st mth)

Lura: I think erm whenever somebody doesn't understand a word , everybody will help them , but as long as people don't ask nobody will actually then translate each word they say , so I think if somebody doesn't understand something , he or she should ask and yeah .

US: people do that , students , students ask .

Lura: yeah students ask , well I think it was more erm in the first two semesters , now I don't actually see this anymore , maybe time to time , once a week or twice a week , can you see it , but at the beginning it was more often .

MER, who got to the know the student group in their second year of studies only, made the same point in describing her view on using English for teaching in the Hotel Management Programme: "if something's unclear they need to make themselves heard" (Quote 4.55). She furthermore stressed the similarities between teachers and students as regards their use of English in that they all needed to collaborate in order to make it work.

Quote 4.55. Interview (3rd sem, 3rd mth)

MER: also ich denk immer wir sitzen alle im selben Boot ich sag ihnen in der ersten Stunde mein Englisch ist auch nicht perfekt , ich hab's nicht als Muttersprache ah wenn irgendwas unklar ist sollen s' bitte schreien wenn ich ein Wort nicht weiß werd ich selber sagen bitte wie heißt das ah und so geht's sicher vielen anderen auch deren Muttersprache nicht Englisch ist .

[I always think we are in the same boat, I tell them in the first class that my own English isn't perfect either, it's not my mother tongue. if something's unclear

they need to make themselves heard, when I don't know a word myself, I'll say myself excuse me, what is it called? (.) and this is most likely what many others feel like whose mother tongue isn't English.]

What is striking about this comment is the egalitarian and matter-of-fact way with which the teacher evaluated English as the HMP's lingua franca and its contingent communicational practices. While MER referred to "mother tongue [speakers]", this is done in order to stress the difference in language proficiency, rather than highlight linguistic deficiencies. Such a purely non-evaluative, comparative interpretation stands in contrast to opinions voiced by those teachers who started teaching the HMP in the first semester. In their comments, just as in those of most students during that time, communicational success tended to be confirmed, but the participants' language proficiencies were implicitly seen as deficient in relation to 'mother tongue speakers' (see Quote 4.56).

Quote 4.56. Interview (2nd sem, 1st mth)

OPP: ich glaub ich würd's also wemma von der Notenskala sieht (.) sicher eins bis drei [...] fünf goa ned und vier (.) würd ich auch nicht sagen (1) also es gibt halt Leute die si besser ausdrücken können weil sie auch Englisch als zweite Muttersprache haben
[if you take [our] grading schema <ranging from 1=excellent to 5= fail> I'd say one to three [...] five not at all and four (.) neither I'd say (1) there are some students who express themselves better also because English is their second mother tongue]

To put it differently, the evaluations show that native English played a role in evaluating the English of individuals throughout the HMP. At the same time, MER's and other comments reveal that COMMUNICATING HMP-internally was also taken as a point of evaluative reference, arguably with increasing relevance as the Classroom Community of Practice developed.

The group interviews added evidence to this interpretation as the students involved in them discussed their classroom interaction in the same light. In Quote 4.57 the three students present agreed that communication had clearly improved inasmuch as all could interact without any problems, but they differed in trying to find reasons for it. Crik believed that the interactional setup that had been established by then depended on individual language learning, Elig suggested that it was a mutual process of familiarization and linguistic accommodation, and Mark added the idea that the amount and intensity of individuals participating in interaction had increased since the first semester. As quite often happens in such situations, it is likely that all three students were right and each identified one of the many aspects of what had happened in the preceding year of studying and co-constructing their ELF interactional base.

Quote 4.57. Group interview (4th sem, 1st mth)

US: what is your impression , (.) has everybody improved in the way they're able to communicate ?

Crik: yeah , best example in my opinion is Hars , the first week I didn't understand him , literally I didn't understand him , now it's perfectly fine .

Elig: but maybe you just got used to the way he speaks .

Crik: I think it is a mix of both .

Mark: maybe now he speaks more with people , (.) maybe that's the reason .

Crik: he (.) I mean he improved definitely (.) he improved a lot .

Mark: I think everybody improved .

Crik: by him you can really see , (.) cause I said the first week we had such trouble to understand him . always think (.) erm , yeah . (.) and now it's fine , yeah it's great

Elig: I think we just sort of got used to how everybody speaks on their own .

An additional reason that was put forward was the increasing familiarization with the subjects as well as the professional hospitality world. Students mentioned the ease with which they could increasingly participate in classroom interactions because they had internalized the basics of the subject matter as well as gaining relevant work experience (cf. Quotes 4.32 and 4.33).

To sum up the emic perspective on using English in class, the quotes commented on above have painted a detailed picture of how it takes practice to shape lingua franca interaction so that all can profit from it. While all stakeholders confirmed their willingness to engage in ELF interactions in class, they also reported on severe difficulties and hurdles in the first weeks of studying together. What was seen as reasons for communicational trouble differed between the participants, but it seems fair to say that differences in accent were singled out as major cause of non-understanding, thus supporting Jenkins' (2000) tenet of the centrality of pronunciation to intercultural communication (cf. 2.3.3.1; see also 5.4.3). At the same time, most participants expressed their readiness to live with non-understanding in the hope that it might change, which it also seems to have done. A few weeks into the programme, students already reported on remarkably fewer instances of accent-based, and other communicational trouble as well as a growing familiarity with using English as language of teaching and learning. In addition, classroom interaction was reportedly starting to rely on a tendency to make oneself heard in case of insufficient understanding so that the interlocutors would know when further elaborations or explanations were necessary. By the third semester the students felt that they no longer had any language-based communicational problems, neither amongst each other nor with the lecturers. They had also gained enough hospitality knowledge and work experience to use English more self-assuredly.

4.4 Conclusions

In this chapter the site and social players of the present study have been approached and brought to life in two stages. The first one provided the overall description of the location – the hotel school – as well as the educational programme – the Hotel Management Programme – with a specific focus on the 11 subjects, 10 lecturers and 28 students involved in the study. Building on these factual cornerstones of the investigation, the ethnographic account proper could focus on the emic perspectives on English as classroom language and its development in the course of the programme, which, as it turned out, could not be separated from the participants' views of the changing relations among themselves, on the one hand, and, on the other, the dynamic developments of using English and, at the same time, improving their proficiency in it. This means that the participants revealed their awareness that using English as a lingua franca for classroom interaction came in a package with certain communicational patterns and specificities, as it were. It was seen as motivated by the international focus and design of the educational programme and as hanging closely together with its main educational aim, viz. introduction to, and familiarization with an area of professionalization, as well as the dynamic processes of developing an inter- or transcultural, educational, and temporary community. In other words, the participants contextualized 'ELF as classroom language' linguistically and socially. As regards the former, English was evaluated as lingua franca, but also as language for hospitality purposes, which meant that language learning featured in two ways: in improving HMP-internal and, by extension, other lingua franca communication as well as in acquiring the specific register of the respective subjects in preparation for future employment. As regards the latter, the participants were keenly aware of the HMP community, which, although forced on to them, turned out to be highly important to everyone for the duration of the programme, the ways in which they moulded it from first to last semester, and the central role played by the L1s and English in this process.

These emic insights into ELF as classroom language feature in the present study in multiple ways. As already indicated elsewhere, they helped in refining the conceptual frame of investigating ELF as classroom language (cf. Figure 2.2 in chapter 2.4) by offering supportive evidence for, firstly, the complex definition of ELF applied here (cf. 2.3.1.6) and, secondly, the multilayered interplay of relevant concepts and approaches (cf. 2.4). Similarly, the ethnographic account has provided the participants' evaluations of their temporary but crucially relevant Classroom Community of Practice (cf. 1.3), and offered insights into the emic reasoning for the longitudinal developments in classroom interaction,

which, furthermore, have led to the identification of T1, T2 and T3 as relevant periods for the discourse-pragmatic analyses.

Most importantly, the ethnographic account has offered a detailed description of what ‘community of practice’ and ‘ELF as classroom language’ meant for the social actors involved. While clearly the notions as such did not feature in the students’ or teachers’ evaluations of their daily classroom lives, the concepts behind them were experienced as highly relevant and were seen as interrelated. In short, the students, but also their teachers, regarded the group as a community of individuals working together in meeting their teaching and learning objectives (‘joint negotiated enterprise’), a process mainly facilitated by and through classroom interaction (‘mutual engagement’) in English as their common language (‘shared repertoire’), all of which was experienced as changing with time. While English as classroom language was seen positively throughout the HMP in that it facilitated the educational setting and prepared for future jobs, the participants were keenly aware of its implications for their undertaking. At the outset, the students and teachers seem to have had relatively low expectations as to how much repertoire would actually be shared. At the same time, they were ready to invest a great deal of time and energy in building up a broader base of shared interactional resources. A few weeks of engaging in such jointly constructed interaction had the intended effects – most students found it much easier to communicate with each other as well as to follow the classes. At the same time, the multilinguality of the HMP was prominent in the forming of linguacultural groupings as well as a partly unrecognized division according to German language proficiency. While some participants were originally disturbed by what they interpreted as divisive roles of the various L1s, and German as language of the environment, they soon realized that the respective subcommunities did not put a stop to the fruitful development of the Classroom Community of Practice, but that they thrived – and were practised – in parallel. With the students gaining more subject-related knowledge and interactional ease, the subcommunities were reported as becoming less relevant and the whole community and its interactional practice as particularly dynamic. Reflecting the temporary nature of such an educational community, the participants started to lose interest in the internal social processes in the course of the fourth and final semester.

As regards the community’s main practice – communicating in English as classroom language – the emic account showed that the participants were keenly aware of the role of English as their lingua franca. To begin with, successful communication was not taken for granted. On the contrary, some participants voiced their pleasant surprise at finding that they could communicate with others right from the start, and all acknowledged that there was a great deal of linguistic and interactive work involved in classroom interaction. This extra effort was

reflected in the generally shared views of personal and/or community language improvement or changes, seen as directly motivated by language use. While fully situated in the HMP oral practices, such considerations reveal similarities to more general considerations on the complex relations between language use and learning (cf. 2.2.2.2); considerations, which fit well to the descriptive frame of oral ELF practices (cf. Figure 2.1 in 2.3.1.5). New content areas and disciplines were identified with linguistic extensions insofar as everybody had to become familiar with the respective ESTABLISHED PRACTICES, including language use. Besides this generally welcome language professionalization of English for the hospitality industry, the students and teachers also observed general language improvement insofar as they could engage in interactions with increasing ease. The resulting heightened fluency was considered relevant to their internal COMMUNICATING. At the same time, it caused certain levels of insecurity for a few highly proficient users of English who, in comparing their post- with pre-HMP language proficiencies, deplored what they perceived as a degree of deterioration. While ‘HMP English’ was thus evaluated as important and appropriate by all, the participants’ emotional reactions differed depending on the developments they identified in their INDIVIDUAL REPERTOIRES as regards English proficiency. Taken together, these diverse emic evaluations of the English used as classroom language in the HMP clearly support the etic view of it as a *lingua franca*.

Apart from providing conceptual support and offering a rich description of the community of practice in question, the ethnographic account has revealed which aspects of interaction the stakeholders considered particularly relevant to classroom talk. As indicated above and developed in more detail in the respective subchapters below (5.1, 6.1, 7.1), students and teachers alike were particularly concerned to (a) seek understanding, (b) organize the lessons and develop educational talk in the joint endeavour to construct objects of learning (cf. 2.2.1.1) and (c) negotiate and construct knowledge. The following three analytical chapters will pick up these issues and focus on the classroom interactional data in an attempt to see how the different stages described in this chapter were embodied in the HMP lessons during T1, T2 and T3, and how the social actors handled their interaction as constantly under repair for improved understanding (see chapter 5), how they directed their exchanges in order to manage and develop their classroom interaction (see chapter 6) and how they jointly engaged in explaining new or unfamiliar concepts and ideas (see chapter 7).

Chapter 5. Classroom interaction ‘under repair’

5.1 Introduction

Irrespective of setting, purposes or participants involved, ‘co-constructing understanding’ must be one of the main points of communication in general. Furthermore, and this is specifically relevant to this study, it is crucial to any formal educational setting in two regards: understanding is a necessary precondition for meeting the respective learning aims and objectives, and at the same time it is integral to any (classroom) discourse, which in itself is central to the teaching and learning processes (cf. 2.2.1.1). In addition to this all-encompassing reality of reaching understanding, the preceding ethnographic account has clarified the emically established relevance of this topic to the Classroom Community of Practice (CCoP) of the Hotel Management Programme (HMP). As expounded on in some detail in chapter 4.3, both students and teachers voluntarily and eagerly shared their views on the kinds and degrees of communicative success they observed and experienced themselves. In brief, the stakeholders were keenly aware of their ELF communicational situation (e.g. Quote 4.55), the diversity of linguacultural backgrounds and English language proficiency levels represented in the community (e.g. Quote 4.38) and they also identified contingent communicational specificities, such as uttering directives (e.g. Quote 4.54), as well as change and development with the Hotel Management Programme unfolding (e.g. Quote 4.50).

This means that achieving understanding was topicalized beyond the relevance it tends to have in educational oral practices in general as it was brought in direct connection to using a lingua franca as classroom language. Furthermore, the stakeholders were obviously sensitized to the collaborative dynamics integral to the process of making meaning in their communicational endeavours. In brief, the students and teachers agreed on a high degree of communicational success in the HMP, while at the same time identifying developments in their discourse and commenting on actual and potential difficulties linked to using, or COMMUNICATING in ELF (see Figure 2.1 in 2.3.1.5). Given the investigative focus of this study, these ethnographic insights have stimulated the ensuing detailed analysis of the interactive practices applied in the co-construction of shared understanding.

At the same time, the emic insights reverberate with recent insights into (mis)understanding (e.g. Aijmer 2004; Bührig and ten Thije 2006; Bremer et al. 1996; Tzanne 1999). While more on this will be discussed in the following section, the stakeholders’ implicit assumptions allow for a few pointers here.

To begin with, understanding is conceived of as dynamic, referring “to both the process of explicating an utterance’s contextual references and the product resulting from calculating their communicative meaning.” (Fetzer 2004: 57) This means that understanding and misunderstanding do not stand in a dichotomous relationship, but form a scalar continuum from more to less. Additionally, understanding is dynamic in that interlocutors can interpret its kind and degree differently and that some instances of insufficient understanding might remain silent as the participants in question refrain from topicalizing them (Dannerer 2004: 104–105). Furthermore, understanding is seen as a collaborative undertaking with all participants working together on constructing successful communication. What is implicit in this conception is that problems in understanding are, firstly, an intrinsic part of communication and, secondly, they are a truly interactive feature, i.e. not to be ‘blamed’ on anybody specific (e.g. Stati 2004). Furthermore, such a dynamic, integrated, bottom-up conception of understanding also has implications from the top-down perspective: what is experienced as understanding depends not only on the line-by-line construction of discourse, but also on the participants’ expectations and their aims and purposes; in brief, on the oral practice in question (cf. 2.2.1.2).

In the present case, it is thus of paramount importance to keep in mind the specificities of the multilingual classroom setting with ELF as classroom language. Apart from the ‘normal’ features and patterns of classroom talk (see 2.2.1), two additional aspects played a role in the CCofP: cultural expectations of classroom discourse and turn-allocation, as well as levels of English proficiency. The former refers to the influence the students’ educational past has on their readiness to request the floor (cf. Jones 1999) and the latter to their (self-evaluated) linguistic abilities to follow the lesson. As became apparent in the one-to-one interviews, students who had been socialized into formal education in teacher-centred systems (e.g. Quote 5.1) were less ready to offer contributions than those used to more learner-centred ones, especially at the beginning of the course (see Quote 5.2, taken from an interview with the Financial Management lecturer). Furthermore, as long as students struggled to understand the gist of a lesson, they might have felt too overwhelmed to point out comprehension problems themselves (see Quote 5.3) and instead left them unaddressed.

Quote 5.1. Interview (1st sem, 3rd mth)

Jins: different education for my country . so I think this one is better [...] because in the class in Korea , they always take some notes , just they just listen to lecture . don’t have any activity .

Quote 5.2. Interview (pilot phase)

TON: and the other thing that is very very strong and affects the the way erm they <e.g. Chinese> can use their English is what their cultural assumptions are about their role in the classroom the the er distance there should be between them and the teacher [. . .] it can take up to a year before they start participating at all .

Quote 5.3. Interview (2nd sem, 2nd mth)

Jenz: [to understand teachers] oh ja ja that was hard . that was hard . because you have to figures out all the different character personality the way they talk , it was very hard , for first semester for first three months it was hard .

In other words, the oral practices of traditional multilingual classrooms like the ones investigated here not only reflect the institutionalized interactional patterns of all educational settings, but are additionally characterized by diverse cultural backgrounds, INDIVIDUAL REPERTOIRES and ESTABLISHED PRACTICES, all of which arguably influence the ratio of actual instances of insufficient understanding compared to those that are verbalized. While linguistic investigations in general cannot describe problems of communication that remain unaddressed (Tzanne 1999: 18–20), the specific educational oral practices probably exacerbate this generally valid analytical limitation. Analysing miscommunication thus seems a practically impossible task, which might be the (generally unacknowledged) reason why classroom research has generally not dealt with ‘miscommunication’, but focused on ‘negotiation of meaning’ (e.g. Long and Sato 1983; Lyster 2002; Varonis and Gass 1985) or ‘interactional repair’ (e.g. Dalton-Puffer 2007; McHoul 1990; van Lier 1988), thus concerning itself directly with the observable instances.

Such an approach will be followed here (cf. also Smit 2007a). I will focus my analysis on the instances when participants give voice to their problems in inferring meaning from the preceding interaction that seems appropriate to the ongoing interaction, i.e. when the participants engage in interactional repair to negotiate meaning. In order to throw light on the theoretical frame applied here, the central concepts and models will be presented first (see 5.2), followed by the description of the analytical framework applied (see 5.3). With the help of the research categories thus established, the classroom repair practices will be analysed (see 5.4) with regard to the two research concerns

- I. Who repairs what and how?
- II. What changes occur with time?

The resulting multitude of insights gained will lead to a detailed picture of how the HMP participants collaboratively repair their classroom interactions in their joint undertaking to co-construct understanding (see 5.5).

5.2 Conceptual background

As this section intends to offer a detailed presentation of the theoretical considerations underlying the ensuing analysis, it begins by discussing the central concepts (see 5.2.1) and analytical approaches (see 5.2.2) that have been integrated in the ‘interactional repair model plus’ (see 5.2.3.), which describes the sequential development of repairing and responds to the ‘who’ in research concern I. The two other aspects – ‘what’ and ‘how’ – are explicated in the final subchapter (see 5.2.4), which focuses on what is repaired and how these exchanges are linguistically realized.

5.2.1 (Mis)communication, intersubjectivity and (non/mis)understanding

Given the centrality of communicational success to discourse in general, miscommunication/(mis)understanding has been the concern of various theoretical approaches and schools of thought: it is “a typically interdisciplinary phenomenon” (Stati 2004: 49). As detailed and insightful overviews of the differences and overlaps can be found elsewhere (e.g. Dascal 1999; Fetzer 2004; House, Kasper and Ross 2003; Tzanne 1999: chapter 2), I will restrict the following discussion to the notions and concepts relevant here, before turning to the three approaches that have inspired my own analytical framework in the following section.

At the heart of the matter lies ‘understanding’ as a necessary precondition and aspired outcome of most communication. Reflecting its cognitive and pragmatic relevance, understanding can be described as a process in which participants engage in order to attain interpretative similarity in meaning at a level that corresponds to their expectations and interactional aims (Dannerer 2004: 104, quoting from Kindt and Weingarten 1984). Apart from combining cognitive with functional criteria, this description also acknowledges the interactional and joint nature of understanding. In this context a conversation analytical concept suggests itself, namely ‘intersubjectivity’. Conceived of as “systematic provision for a world known and held in common by some collectivity of persons” (Schegloff 1992: 1296), intersubjectivity captures the sociocultural level of sharedness which is needed for understanding to become possible (also Dalton-Puffer 2007: 71). While originating from predominantly monolingual and relatively mono-

cultural settings, this notion may also have a potential for post-modern cultural settings such as ELF communities of practice (Mauranen 2006b: 123). By foregrounding the respective aggregate of people interacting at a certain time and space as nurturing ground of a shared culture, it shows compatibility with the basic tenets of constructivist models such as community of practice as well as transculturality and 'third space'.

Whenever interactants cannot achieve comprehension in the sense given above, they encounter problems of understanding, for which a range of notions are in use in various definitions. For the sake of clarity, this study uses 'miscommunication' as referring "to the phenomenon as a whole" (Tzanne 1999: 33), with individual instances reflecting diverse shades of (mis)understanding, or degrees of "non-coincidence between the speaker's meaning and the listener's interpretations" (Stati 2004: 52) "in the particular context of interaction" (Tzanne 1999: 34). A distinction is sometimes drawn based on the degree of awareness on behalf of the listeners. As specified in Bremer et al. (1996: 40), when interlocutors "realize that [they] cannot make sense of (part of an) utterance", they encounter non-understandings, whereas in the case of misunderstandings they do make sense of the interaction, albeit in a different way than the intended meaning.⁵⁷ A certain proportion of misunderstandings can be expected to remain undetected or silent (Dannerer 2004), either because the participants themselves are not aware of differences in their respective interpretations or simply because they do not topicalize them. Such fittingly labelled 'latent miscommunication' (Linell 1995: 187) has received a great deal of attention specifically in interculturally oriented interactional sociolinguistics (e.g. Gumperz 1982), which tries to reveal the reasons for miscommunication in triangulating theoretical models, interactional data and retrospective interviews with the interactants (e.g. Chick 1995; House 2003b). While such interviews offer interesting insights into culturally-based differences, they are not unproblematic themselves, mainly because they happen post-hoc, dissecting the interactional process into its ingredients (Seedhouse 2005: 253). Abstracting from the interactional dynamics in such a way runs the risk of stereotypical attribution and generalized evaluations (e.g. Schifffrin 1994: chapter 4).

As reconfirmed in most recent publications, miscommunication is an integral part of any communication (e.g. Coupland, Wiemann and Giles 1991; House, Kasper and Scott 2003), but it is particularly rife in intercultural encounters,

57. A further distinction is based on the degree of volition on the part of the speaker. As, however, the present investigation has not yielded any instance of voluntary or strategic miscommunication (e.g. Dannerer 2004; Hinnenkamp 2003), this discussion focuses on involuntary cases only (as in Tzanne 1999).

so much so that House (1999) talks of "the myth of mutual intelligibility" in ELF discourse and suggests that, in the effort of keeping the ELF interaction going and accepting it as 'robust' in nature (Meierkord 1996), some participants tend to apply the let-it-pass principle (Firth 1996) to such an extent that they start talking past, rather than with each other. While this might be possible in relatively loosely structured conversations, the relevant investigations of task-oriented interactions in English as contact language have uncovered varying patterns. Ahvenainen's (2005) analysis of elicited information exchange dialogues revealed ample instances of interlocutors working on mutual understanding, but generally applying co-operative and face-saving means in order to achieve it. Lesznyák's (2002) study of a simulated meeting in a student conference shows that, obviously based on the assumption of mutual understanding, participants allow for a high proportion of vagueness and loose ends. In a similar discursive setting, but with different participants including English native speakers, Knapp (2002) reveals a similar understanding of the setting, but a less collaborative approach followed in the interaction. The most proficient English speakers, the English upper secondary pupils, took over the discourse, thus 'fading out' the nonnative participants. These contradictory findings in diverse ELF studies already hint at the possibility that an implicit assumption of mutual understanding might not be basic to ELF interactions in general, but rather contingent on the types of oral practice involved, with non-institutionalized talk arguably rather prone to give considerable space to the let-it-pass strategy than task-focused, institutional settings (e.g. Eggins and Slade 1997).

Some support for this suggestion can be gleaned from the first book-length investigation of ELF. While Jenkins' (2000) data were not taken from a clearly institutionalized context, the setting was classroom-like insofar as students were given clearly focused tasks to solve through interaction in groups. The students were all multilingual speakers of English (MuESs) who, in their interactions, did not seem to apply the let-it-pass principle throughout; on the contrary, they quite regularly voiced the problems they had in making sense out of the ongoing discourse, and tried to reach intelligibility, "word and utterance recognition", and comprehensibility, "recognition of word and utterance meaning" (Jenkins 2000: 77, 78). While these interactions did not take place in regular lessons, the findings are supported in a study of miscommunication in ELF exchanges in another educational setting. Based on parts of the ELFA corpus, Mauranen (2006b: 146) stresses the relatively rare instances of overt misunderstandings in a handful of academic seminar and conference discussions, as well as "the considerable effort invested in preventing misunderstanding" by, besides other interactional practices, engaging in repair work. These studies thus suggest that ELF interactants display considerable willingness to keep repairing their interactions; a finding

which is reminiscent of the abundant literature on classroom interaction and the participants' differentially active involvement in (re)modifying it to their own needs (e.g. McHoul 1990; Musumeci 1996; van Lier 1988; Varonis and Gass 1985). Of the many investigations designed to explain success in language learning (e.g. Foster 1998; Lyster 1998, 2002; Pica 1983) one fundamental finding is worth mentioning here: teachers and students tend to be actively involved in interactional repair and negotiation of meaning, with the aim and hope (at least, on the teachers' side) to increase shared understanding. Therefore, classroom interaction does arguably not presuppose mutual understanding, but works towards it. As the CCofP presents another classroom setting, it is the aim of this chapter to analyse and describe how the community members tried to make intelligibility, comprehensibility and understanding more generally possible by engaging in sequences of (re)modification of the interaction and, furthermore, which time-dependent developments their communicational patterns underwent with the community of ELF practice unfolding.

While it might be an overgeneralization to compare the afore-mentioned studies undertaken for different reasons in different settings and at different times, it still seems remarkable that, in contrast to other settings, the educational one apparently did not allow for the implicit assumption of mutual understanding being all-encompassing. It seems therefore reasonable to assume that the (language) classroom context in which the participants of the various studies found themselves played a role in their readiness to engage in interactional modifications with the aim of reaching the level of understanding they deemed necessary in that situation. Note here the relativistic phrasing: as mentioned above, communication research has shown that the widely-held assumption of an idealized complete understanding cannot be upheld in actual research. While it might help as a simplification in, for example, pedagogical discourse, such absolute metaphors do not reflect the nature of communication; it is rather a "matter of degree" (Linell 1995: 184). Ambiguity, vagueness or concealment might sometimes be preferred over disambiguation, clarity and directness. A case in point is research on doctor-patient interactions which has shown that some patients preferred more opaquely phrased medical statements laden with Latinized terms (West and Frankel 1991). On the other hand, very precise levels of understanding are required in other communicational settings, such as business negotiations. To put it bluntly, when large sums of money are at stake, unclear meaning or only vaguely shared understanding will not do, which is also apparent in respective ELF settings where participants have been observed to engage in precise meaning negotiation exchanges (e.g. Ehrenreich 2009; Louhiala-Salminen, Charles and Kankaanranta 2005; Pitzl 2005).

In sum, communication sequences are not in themselves failures or successes “but an intrinsic part of the cycle of creating a ‘working consensus’” (Coupland, Wiemann and Giles 1991: 8): whether a particular instance or stretch of communication is considered a (partial) failure can only be assessed in relation to the respective oral practice and its characterizing features, dimensions and patterns (cf. 2.2.1.2). In the present study this is classroom main talk in ELF (cf. 2.4). Miscommunication is understood here as resulting either from non-understandings, detected as such by the participants, or from misunderstandings which remain below the level of awareness. But even if interlocutors identify instances of miscommunication as such, they might not verbalize them for various reasons, contingent on all aspects of the respective oral practice (see also 5.2.4). In those cases where interlocutors do express the mismatches in understanding they perceive, they will engage in exchanges of negotiation or repairing meaning with the intent to construct a higher and more successful level of shared understanding.

Classroom talk arguably represents a special and seemingly contradictory case: on the one hand, the teaching and learning endeavour implies the communicational aim of minimizing non- or misunderstanding. On the other hand, latent non- and misunderstanding on the learners' part is inadvertently boosted because of the asymmetric power structures of classroom talk: teachers not only allocate most speaking rights, but they also control most of the topic development, including repair work as an aid to establishing intersubjectivity (Schegloff 1992; Dalton-Puffer 2007: 70–72). The traditional understanding of power as product, as reflected in the simplified presentation of power in the classroom given here, might lead to the mistaken belief that students are powerless. They are not, simply because power is also a process, a “set of relations among people and among social institutions” (Bloome et al. 2005: 162). As such, power is always contested, and classroom research has shown that it is also meant to be so (see also 2.2.1.2): teachers accept students breaking, or rather reconstituting the (interactional) rules (Bloome et al. 2005: chapter 4; Rampton 2006: 48–62). So, even if it is mainly the teachers who structure lessons and aim for intersubjectivity with the aid of repairing amongst other strategies, students are in a position to make that intersubjectivity reach them as well. Repair work is thus central to teachers and students alike, even though there might be differences in what they use it for. While acknowledging the intrinsic dilemma of classroom talk that repair work might only scratch the proverbial tip of the iceberg for some students (cf. also Quotes 5.1–5.3 above), this study will concentrate on the instances of interactionally visible non- or misunderstanding and the ensuing exchanges repairing ‘communicational trouble’ in the participants' joint endeavour to construct or negotiate meaning.

5.2.2 Analyzing communicational trouble

Reflecting the interdisciplinarity of miscommunication research, the analytical frame chosen here combines the three approaches, already introduced above:

- a. discourse analytical research on (mis)understanding/communication (Dannerer 2004; Linell 1995), influenced by social psychological insights (Couland, Wiemann and Giles 1991) and applied to ELF settings (House 1996, 2000; Mauranen 2006b);
- b. research on the negotiation of meaning (Pica 1983; Varonis and Gass 1985), motivated by second language acquisitional concerns (Ellis and Barkhuizen 2005); and
- c. research on interactional repair in the tradition of Conversation Analysis (CA) (e.g. Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977; ten Have 1999) and how it has been applied to classroom settings (Dalton-Puffer 2007; Markee 2000; van Lier 1988).

While all three approaches concern themselves with “mismatch[es] between speaker’s meaning and hearer’s understanding of it” (Tzanne 1999: 38) and thus employ descriptive research methods, they follow differing research agendas, which are already discernable from their respective terminological choice: the first one is concerned with the phenomenon in general by analysing and explaining the ambiguous, fleeting and intrinsically complex nature of (mis)communication as, it seems, expression of human existence and identity (e.g. Bühlig and ten Thije 2006). As it aims at the fundamental and generally unobservable nature of (mis)communication, it is highly interpretative.

The second approach starts off more narrowly by looking at a specific group of language users – namely language learners – and their possibilities of, firstly, making understanding work and, secondly, improving their language proficiency. Based on the interactional hypothesis of language acquisition (Ellis and Barkhuizen 2005: 166–167), the focus here is on both conversational partners developing mutual understanding by approximating to native speaker language use. In other words, the focus is on the negotiation of meaning and form. This approach is thus clearly educational, which generally means normative and, to a certain extent, prescriptive.

The third approach, Conversation Analysis, takes a very different route again (e.g. Markee 2000: chapter 2; ten Have 1999: chapter 1; Seedhouse 2005): as a micro-sociological theory, its central credo is to describe what actually happens when people interact with the aim to uncover the routines of conversation and the concomitant social roles the speakers enact. Owing to its fundamentally sociological interest, the research focus lies on the social order or, to use a less

hierarchical metaphor, social fabric, which is seen as continuously evolving in and through interaction. When this social fabric is 'woven' in ways that, to the participants, are unsatisfactory, it undergoes 'repair'. In other words, it is precisely the sequential development of conversation and the actors' involvement in it that form the prime concern of this approach, which can thus be characterized, first and foremost, as descriptive in all relevant micro-analytical details.

Given that the three approaches have developed out of such diverse scientific backgrounds and research rationales, the surprising fact is not that their assumptions and analytical methods show up a number of differences, but rather that there is enough similarity to allow for methodological integration. The crucial point of overlap is clearly the shared research object – mismatches in understanding between interactants – which lends itself to an applied linguistic study like the present one. As the three approaches have already been in use for decades, mutual infiltration, or more positively, cross-fertilization has already taken place, especially with regard to the three fundamental questions of (mis)communication research of any theoretical standing:

- i. What is the default model of communication?
- ii. Who or what causes communicational mismatches of intention and interpretation?
- iii. What solutions are offered for those mismatches?

The first question relates to the two fundamentally different models of communication that form the basis of communicational theories. The more traditional and positivistic transmission model is built on the assumption of complete understanding as ideal and instances of incomplete understanding as deviations from it. The constructivist model, already described as the one used in this study, views communication as situationally and interactionally managed; 'correct' and 'incorrect' are thus no longer relevant criteria (e.g. Wetherell, Taylor and Yates 2001: chapter 1). While the original conversation analytical model of the 1960s and early '70s still relied on the more positivistic thinking that was then prevalent (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977; Skovholt and Svennevig 2005), most present-day versions have abandoned the transmission model completely (e.g. Schegloff 1992; Seedhouse 2005). Similar tendencies are observable with the SLA approaches, although the normative setting of language use in education seems to provide a better basis for the assumption of 'ideal', i.e. trouble-free communication as norm.⁵⁸

58. Ellis and Barkhuizen (2005: 166–167) describe the 'negotiation of meaning' approach as analysing "the conversational exchanges that arise when interlocutors seek to prevent a communicative impasse occurring or to remedy an actual impasse that has

The aspect of language norm is also relevant in respect of the second question. Traditional SLA research identified the communicational problems with the less proficient speaker, i.e. the language learner; more recently, though, the interactional focus on language in use has also made inroads into language learning research (e.g. Firth and Wagner 1997, 2007). While CA has never had a linguistically normative agenda, it has been described as hearer-focused (Ellis and Barkhuizen 2005: 170), which is correct insofar as the explicitly descriptive and non-cognitive character of CA would not allow any interpretative analysis of potential speaker motivations. At the same time, though, I submit that CA does more than that as its main focus is to shed light on the interplay between the respective hearers-cum-speakers. As I see it, CA is also concerned with the interactional development, similarly to communication research.

The stances the approaches take to the third question – what solutions are offered – again mirror their research interest, but equally cannot be kept neatly apart insofar as they reflect partly the respective communication model, partly the rationale of a specific study. As long as incomplete understanding is seen as deviation, the obvious solution lies in the normative, i.e. problem-free, communicational behaviour. With communicational appropriateness becoming a much more fluid and oral-practice-specific concept, general solutions are hard to find, except maybe for research motivated by language learning, which tends to take recourse to first language norms of some type. As can be expected from its research agenda, the SLA meaning negotiation studies tend to feature prominently here, but so does (mis)communication research on ELF discourse. With the aim of describing what students of English should learn in order to become more successful ELF users in the future, House (1999), for instance, suggests the teaching of pragmatic fluency markers.

The brief description of how the three approaches deal with fundamental questions of analysing communicational mismatches has intended to throw light on their different research origins and agendas, but also, and more importantly, the many overlaps and parallels in research methodology that are particularly beneficial for an applied linguistic study as the present one. I will therefore combine the approaches insofar as I base my own approach on the insights of (mis)communication research that miscommunication is part and parcel of communication and widely ‘hidden’ from the linguistic surface, especially in the institutionalized oral practices at stake here (see 5.2.1). As my focus, however,

arisen”. The term ‘impasse’, i.e. “a situation in which progress is blocked” (*Collins Cobuild English Dictionary* 1998: 773), is highly revealing as it presupposes that a conversation can be blocked, a view of communication that seems closer to a transactional than a constructivist model of communication.

is less on what is hidden, but on what is expressed, my research interests are on the verbalized instances. In view of the fact that an ELF setting is by definition a linguistically quite open one, the notion 'negotiation of meaning' might seem a good choice, mainly because the participants are aware of the potential problems in jointly creating common meaning (cf. 4.3.2, 5.1). At the same time, however, negotiation of meaning is less fitting for two reasons: firstly and as pointed out correctly by Marton and Tsui (2004: 175), negotiating meaning is difficult in class because of the unequal power relationship between teacher and students. And secondly, the negotiation of meaning research approach reflects a clear focus on (classroom-based) language learning, requiring constant comparison with L1 language norms. While the present study acknowledges that language learning takes place on all occasions when language is used, its basic orientation is on language in use; language learning criteria are only marginally relevant (cf. 2.3.1.4).

I have therefore decided to adopt the CA approach to 'interactional repair'. It abstains from any normative or prescriptive aims, and requires the researcher to focus on the specific setting in order to give a detailed description of the respective interactional sequences and the different social roles adopted by the actors in them. While the repair approach is methodologically and sociologically well developed (for more details see below), it is fairly unspecific when it comes to linguistic analysis. The term 'repair' itself already indicates the sociological interest in interaction as social fabric, as does the notion 'trouble (source)' for the instances initiating repair (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977). This linguistic naivety is, however, not necessarily negative. It allows the researcher, firstly, to uncover the functions of a specific structure (Schiffrin 1994: 278) and, secondly, to integrate linguistically more precise concepts or models wherever this is deemed necessary. In this vein, I wish to label the analysis presented in the following 'interactional repair plus'. It takes the CA approach as point of departure and, as will be argued in the following section, integrates some aspects of the negotiation of meaning approach and the discourse analytical approach to (mis)communication.

5.2.3 The 'interactional repair plus' model

The CA model of interactional repair, as originally sketched in Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977) and applied to (language) classroom settings (McHoul 1990; van Lier 1988), talks of repair, repair sequence or repair trajectory when referring to the whole interactional event. Those instances which are repaired during the interaction are referred to as trouble source or repairables, followed by the repair proper, which in turn can consist of various parts, called initiation and outcome (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977: 365). While this model

seems clear at first sight, it is linguistically somewhat vague: the relationship between repair sequence and repair trajectory is not clear, repair itself is used twice in different roles, namely for the whole exchange as well as the reaction to a repairable, and the term outcome promises too much, especially for repair sequences that take longer than three moves, and are thus far from finished with the third move. Interestingly enough, in my attempt to improve on these weaknesses, I found the negotiation of meaning approach as described by Varonis and Gass (1985), particularly helpful. Its model is quite similar to that of interactional repair, but much more rigidly structured. The repairable, in negotiation of meaning terminology referred to as trigger, is followed by the resolution, which consists of an indicator leading to a response and a reaction to the response, with the possibility of the last two moves being repeated if necessary. Since this structure does away with terminological confusion, I have integrated it into my ‘interactional repair plus’ model and embedded it all into the rank scale structural description of pedagogical discourse (Edmondson 1981; Sinclair and Coulthard 1975; see 2.2.1.3 for a brief discussion).

As illustrated in Figure 5.1, a repair exchange consists of one or more repair trajectories (RTs). Each RT consists of a repairable (rectangle in the figure) and its ensuing repair (visualized as ellipsis). The repair can either be a one-off move, or consist of an initiation and a response, which can lead to a reaction. The repair can also turn out to be more elaborately constructed and involve loops of response and reaction moves.

Apart from illustrating the moves that make up repair exchanges, Figure 5.1 also seeks to represent the basic sequential structure of repair exchanges (Mar-

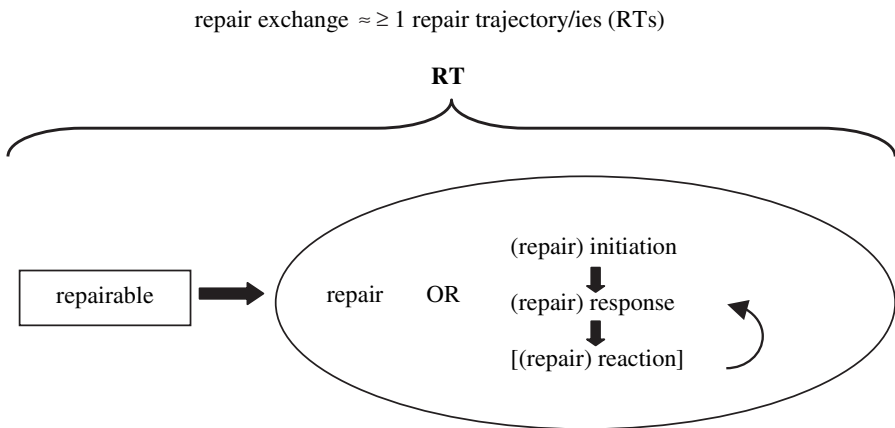
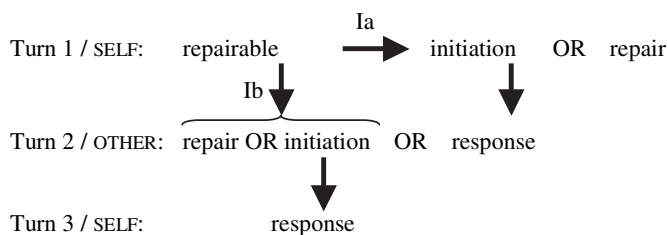


Figure 5.1. The ‘interactional repair plus’ model

kee 2000; Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977; ten Have 1999). In his insightful study of classroom interaction, van Lier (1988: 193) characterizes the sequential development of repair exchanges as relying fundamentally on the factors speaker (SELF or OTHER) and turn (first, second, third). Although from a purely mathematical point of view, the resulting combinations would be manifold and difficult to represent on paper, actual repair trajectories are less complex, as schematically represented in Figure 5.2 (cf. also Dalton-Puffer 2007: 209).



Key: Ia and Ib are alternative move continuations, just like those connected by OR.

Figure 5.2. Schematic representation of repair trajectories

As illustrated in Figure 5.2, the research trajectory starts with the repairable in turn 1, which either continues in the same turn (Ia) – with SELF repairing it or initiating a repair – or it find its continuation in turn 2 (Ib) with OTHER either offering a repair or an initiation. In case of initiations, the respective responses follow in turns 2 or 3.

Some of the resulting repair trajectories are illustrated in Extract 5.1. As indicated in *italics* in the three right-hand columns, this extract consists of three repair trajectories (RTs), identifiable by the three repairs given in bold in lines 4, 6–7 and 8. This example illustrates that the repair itself can be executed in one or more speaker turns (compare repair 2 with repairs 1 and 3). It shows, furthermore, that one speaker turn can fulfil different functions in different RTs

Extract 5.1. Front Office Management (T1)

1	AKL	well it's belongs to	RT 1			
2		Holiday Inn=				
3	Kosk	=Sheraton	repairable 1	SELF		
4	AKL	sorry ?	initiation 1	OTHER	RT 2	
5	Kosk	Sheraton	response 1	SELF	repairable 2	SELF
6	AKL	Sheraton is a sepa-			repair 2	OTHER
7		rate chain again				RT 3
8	SX-m	separate ?				repairable 3
9	AKL	yeah				SELF
						initiation 3
						OTHER
						response 3
						SELF

(lines 5–7), and that one speaker can act as OTHER and SELF within the same turn (AKL in lines 6–7).

This extract illustrates not only the sequential analysis the model makes possible, but also the central relevance it gives to ‘speaker role’ and ‘turn’. As neither notion is self-evident, they require some further explanations. While the CA scheme of the speaker roles SELF and OTHER mirrors the original focus on dyadic conversation, it also works well for classroom interaction (e.g. Markee 2000), even if not for all types. As Kasper (1985) has shown, repair sequences in language learning classes display differing roles for the student uttering the repairable and other students completing the repair. It can also be expected that student-centred lesson phases or group-work coincide with again different repair sequences (e.g. Stotz 1991). As far as the present study is concerned, however, non-traditional teaching styles in which students play a more active role in terms of speaking time as well as topic development (Cazden 2001: 50–51) are not relevant (cf. 4.2). It is therefore possible to restrict repair analysis to the interactions of teacher vs. whole class. Classroom talk of this kind can apparently be characterized by the distinction of teacher vs. student (van Lier 1988: chapter 7) and how the social actors work together to make teacher-directed lessons possible. At the same time, the emic approach adopted in this study also allows for a more differentiated treatment of the teachers and students, reflecting the full range of positional and personal roles (cf. 2.2.1.2) the participants might have adopted at different times.

The second criterion of CA repair analysis is the turn or the sequence of turns, which, as illustrated in Figure 5.2, are counted from the turn of the repairable, i.e. turn 1, turn 2 and turn 3. Between turns 1 and 2, CA research has also identified the turn transition relevance place (TRP) as a point where self-repair is likely to happen (van Lier 1988: 196). However, owing to the teacher-directed turn allocations, the TRPs are largely predictable in classroom settings (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 209), which arguably makes them negligible as repair options for present purposes. This leaves turns 1, 2 and 3 as relevant moments in repair sequences. While the distinction according to turn might be intuitively appealing, it is, to use a metaphor, analytical quicksand because of the undefined and apparently indefinable nature of a turn. Originally used unquestioningly, van Lier (1988: 100) already admits that ‘turn’ cannot be defined simply along the chronological argument of who speaks first, second and third. Instead, he attempts to clarify the concept with the help of the four relevant characteristics: initiative (selection), prominence (floor), progression (transition, size) and distribution (allocation). While these factors lead to a fairly complex system of (types of) turns, they still do not allow for a linguistically clear allocation of turns to actual data. One main problem in this context is the fact that these four characteristics can be

applied differently by the relevant interactants, as well as the analyst. A linguistic definition of turn, widely absent from traditional CA approaches, is offered in Edmondson’s (1981) model of spoken discourse analysis, in which, strictly speaking, an interactant’s communicative move counts as a turn at talk only if it is also an interactional move, i.e. if it is taken up interactively as a vital ingredient to the coherence of the ongoing discourse (Edmondson 1981: 157, 80). Put more simply, communicative acts that do not develop the interaction further, or influence it in some way, cannot be counted as turns at talk.

While this proffers a somewhat clearer functional criterion for either including or excluding speakers’ acts, the fact that the interactional functionality of individual moves cannot always be disambiguated already implies that clear decisions will not be possible in all individual cases. This is the case in Extract 5.2, which is taken from one of the very first lessons of the HMP.

*Extract 5.2. Financial Management (T1)*⁵⁹

- 1 TON the first thing first thing I forgot to say , what I didn’t do .
- 2 Suka switch off the-
- 3 TON **turn off** <GERMAN> **handies** </GERMAN> **ja** .
- 4 SS @@@
- 5 TON **so turn off mobile phones** .

The repair in turn 5 is clearly carried out by SELF (the teacher); what is open to discussion, however, is the interactional status of the intervening ‘turn’ 4. On the one hand, it could be regarded as a fully-fledged turn insofar as it might have been a reaction to the Anglo-German word *handies* (for ‘mobile phones’) and was then, in turn, interpreted as repair initiation by the teacher. If, on the other hand, the teacher used this German loan deliberately in order to release the generally felt tension in the classroom, the students’ laughter would not have functioned as repair initiation, but rather as sign of appreciation of the intended humour, and the teacher’s self-repair would have happened in the same turn as the repairable. Seeing that such examples can happen without disturbing the ongoing interaction in any way, I wish to suggest that they should not be treated as exceptional, but rather as indicative of repair work. As this shows that the interactional relevance of communicative acts cannot always be identified unambiguously, it seems questionable whether the turn should be retained as the central methodological entity which it is treated as in the CA approach to repair analysis. Instead, it could be used as what it has shown itself to be in the

59. For reasons of clarity, those sections of data excerpts that are referred to in the description or discussion are printed in bold in this and the next chapter.

present data set: a common sense notion that is very practical in dealing with interactional data.⁶⁰

A further methodological problem of the concept turn lies in the basic assumption of turn-taking as entailing one speaker at a time (for a detailed discussion cf. Meierkord 2000). Originally taken as a rule in the CA approach, other research acknowledges overlaps as normal (McCarthy 1991: 127), or even as a sign of interactive support (Edmondson 1981: 158–160) and collaboration. This, as critically commented on by Meierkord (2000), should have led either to a change of definition for ‘turn’ or to a new concept all together, such as ‘information unit’, defined as “completed when a semantic contents, [sic] which carries the conversation further, has cooperatively been negotiated.” (Meierkord 2000: 4) While such conceptual development seems a highly useful suggestion for relatively unstructured conversations, like the ones investigated by Meierkord herself, whole class interaction represents a fundamentally different oral practice. Its high degree of interactional structure is also manifest in the general tendency observed in the HMP data to follow the classic turn-taking of one after the other, even if some collaboration is obviously permitted.

To sum up the opposing ideas on ‘turn or no turn’, the theoretically founded concerns with the traditional understanding of the concept, while highly relevant in themselves, are not imminently so for the present analysis because of the interactional characteristics of the HMP data. Contributors to the whole-class interaction tended to have their say one after the other. So, even if its theoretical status as interactional unit is clearly questionable, it seems legitimate to use turn as an analytical heuristic for those speaker moves that have some impact on the ongoing interaction. What is important, therefore, is to underline the collaborative relevance of individual turns, as integrated in Edmondson’s (1981) interactive model of spoken discourse analysis. Instead of keeping one’s focus narrowly on turns as basic building blocks, as implied in the CA tradition (e.g. Markee 2000: chapter 6), an interactionally focused and thus more coherent unit seems to make more sense. As suggested above and integrated in the ‘interactional repair plus’ model, Sinclair and Coulthard’s (1975) notion of exchange comes in handy, especially in the classroom setting, albeit in the more functional re-interpretation offered in Edmondson (1981: 80): exchanges are defined as discourse units producing interactional outcome, irrespective of how many turns this might entail. When applied to repair work, it seems plausible to interpret the outcome as the interactional unravelling of the conversational

60. Acknowledging this conceptual vagueness, the extracts used in the following analysis are further specified by reference to run-on lines rather than turns (see first column in all extracts).

mismatch, which justifies the use of 'repair exchange' for any sequence that interactively elaborates on a repairable in order to reach that outcome.

So far, this discussion has thrown light on the basic sequential criteria used for describing repair exchanges and, thus, has provided the conceptual frame for analysing

- who takes on what speaker roles in the sequential development of carrying out repair.

In order to complete the investigative picture, however, the explications will now turn to the other two investigative aspects:

- what is being repaired and
- how this is done.

5.2.4 On realizing repair(ables)

As implicit in the model, repairables are understood as established through the interaction itself; that is *a posteriori*. So, in other words, a repair makes a repairable and not the other way round. Repairables are thus not analysed in relation to any external language or discourse norms, but purely situation-internally. While this fundamental tenet of CA (e.g. ten Have 1999: 116) has its limitations when applied to (language) classrooms in which language use is evaluated in relation to some, usually L1, language model (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 217–220), it fits particularly well to the continuously developing oral practice of the CCofP. A further distinction which it is important to make in this context is that between repairable and error, especially so as repair and correction have been compared right from the very beginnings of repair research (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977). Since, particularly in the context of schooling, the notions 'correction' and the contingent 'error' come with a pejorative or at least prescriptive connotation, linguistic descriptive research has generally preferred repairable (e.g. Ridley, Radford and Mohan 2002) and decided either to place error as subcategory, defined by teachers' pedagogic judgement (Chaudron 1988: 149), or to use them rather interchangeably (McHoul 1990). The latter option has been convincingly criticized as merging the 'co-operating operations' of understanding and knowledge construction, although they are experienced as doing different types of work in the classroom (Hall 2007). As Macbeth (2004: 729) puts it "classroom correction seems tied to a normative order of correct and correctable replies, repair in conversation – and classrooms – is tied to the practical achievement of common understanding". Since the HMP did not aim at language learning, classroom interaction was generally seen as vehicle towards knowledge construction, rather than its object. It is for this

reason that the following analysis focuses on repair serving all interactional aims – negotiating form, content and arguably most comprehensively, meaning; the repairables of interest are thus similarly diverse and multilayered, ranging from acoustic to semantic, pragmatic and intertextual problems (Stati 2004: 52–53).

A review of the literature shows that there is, firstly, the type of repairable alluded to above that aims at negotiating form (e.g. Lyster 1998), i.e. at changing or improving language items used in reference to, usually, L1 norms. When such prescriptive repair work on “syntactic, phonological, stylistic or discoursal [trouble]” (van Lier 1988: 183) takes place, it usually falls under the heading of correction (Macbeth 2004) carried out in language (learning) classrooms (Kasper 1985; Lochman 2002), and, to a much more limited extent, also in CLIL settings (e.g. Dalton-Puffer 2007: 219–121; Mariotti 2007). While linguistic correction is certainly not at the interactional forefront of ELF talk, the appearance of linguistic repairables should not be discarded out of hand (Mauranen 2006b). In contrast to the form-focused repairables, the second type of repairable concerns those “stating that which is not the case” (van Lier 1988: 183), i.e. factual repairables, which relate closely to knowledge construction in the classroom. This type of repairable subsumes all instances of topic- or content-linked repair exchanges (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 218), through which the participants foster their understanding of what is being talked about. In view of the fact that regulative classroom talk has been shown to differ from instructional talk (see 2.2.1.3; Christie 2002: 14–15), it makes methodological sense also to take heed of this distinction when dealing with content-related repairables and their repair exchanges and treat them separately (cf. also Dalton-Puffer 2007: 246).

Finally, repairables relate to the most central aspect of ongoing interaction – negotiating or constructing understanding, which “normally oriented directly to finding a situated meaning and appropriate response” (Linell 1995: 184). This means that at any moment in ongoing discourse, interactants need to make, and find, the previous words or utterances, as Smith and Nelson (1985) put it, intelligible (recognizable), comprehensible (recognizing their meaning) and interpretable (recognizing the speaker’s intention). These three subprocesses require a great deal of communicative competence (Canale and Swain 1980; Hymes 1972) and shared sociocultural background. By definition this is, however, not an integral feature of an ELF setting, in which “speakers ‘have little in common’ apart from their [...] varying proficiencies in the] L2 and the mutual desire to achieve a particular goal” (Jenkins 2000: 73–75). This means that the interactants need to bridge their divergent backgrounds and proficiency levels with regard to all three levels of understanding. It is therefore not surprising

mishearings: identity of words and utterances spoken	<i>intelligibility</i>
reference: referential perspectives; meaning specifications (aspects of semantic potential activated)	<i>comprehensibility</i>
illocutionary force speaker’s attitudes towards topic frames, perspectives adopted	<i>interpretability</i>

Figure 5.3. Types of repairables

that repairables can be related to the three levels of understanding (see Figure 5.3).⁶¹

With the repair trajectories and repairables explicated, the discussion can now turn to the last investigative interest – verbalizing repair. More precisely, we will focus on how the repair exchanges are started off and what implications this might have interpersonally. In the sequential view of repair exchanges, the first step of initiating or repairing something that appears to be a repairable is obviously the most important part. This is also true when looking at the interlocutors’ involvement in the interaction and how they participate in constructing it. While raising one’s voice at particular moments in institutionalized discourse might be difficult for everybody, it becomes even more challenging when it is done in an additional language. Amongst other factors, one simple reason is that it takes so much longer to formulate a contribution, which Anle, a Korean student with little experience in speaking English outside of Asia, comments on during an interview in the second month of the HMP (Quote 5.4)

Quote 5.4. Interview (1st sem, 2nd mth)

Anle: they <her classmates> speak very fast . but I need to time to think to say something because I have to think in Korean and I have to trans- trans- translate into English , then I speak . so it takes much more time than they do .

Avoidance can thus be a widespread technique, but it is far from the only one. In their model of procedures for indicating non-understanding in institutionalized intercultural interactions, Bremer et al. (1996: 73–90) discuss a cline of possible ways of dealing with repairables or, in their words, problems of understanding, which ranges from the very implicit and unspecific (over-riding and lack of uptake) to the highly explicit and specific (metalinguistic queries and comments). The advantage of this approach is that it covers the whole range of possible initiations, and, as implied by the fact that it is seen as a cline, it allows for overlaps

61. A similar three-fold distinction is offered in Svennevig (2008: 337), who distinguishes between problems of “hearing, understanding or acceptability”.

between categories. At the same time, it receives support from a fairly different research tradition, namely classroom research in the CA tradition. In their description of repair initiations formulated by students and teachers in their L2, Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain (2003: 379) produce a set of categories of more or less specific repair initiations, which is largely similar to the one described first. The high degree of agreement between the two categorization systems is so remarkable because they were established not only from different theoretical points of view but also for different oral practices: intercultural interviews in the majority language vs. relatively monocultural classroom interaction in the minority language. As the oral practice analysed here – intercultural classroom discourse – presents a blend of those two, both analytical frames are highly valuable to the present analysis (see 5.3.3).

Apart from its link to language proficiency, the question of repair realization relates to considerations of face. Originally proposed by Goffman (1967: 5), face refers to “an image of self delineated in terms of approved social attributes”. As elaborated on elsewhere (e.g. Dalton-Puffer 2007: 243–245; Markee 2000: chapter 6), threat to the social image of SELF and OTHER is seen as an integral danger in repair work. In handling such face-threat, speakers employ certain strategies which either soften or enforce the (potential or actual) threat. In an, admittedly, simplistic representation, the argument goes that, by repairing, interactants acknowledge a conversational problem, the blame of which comes with a loss of face. As interactants generally try to avoid causing loss of face in their others, repair work seems to be carried out in such a way that the one who starts it puts the blame on him/herself. So it is either the speakers who self-repair or the hearers who initiate repair by claiming some fault of their own (e.g. Svennevig 2008). This will also prevent them from being ‘negatively sanctioned as arrogant’ (Lörscher and Schulze 1988). Such, at least, is the scenario found in (English) L1 everyday or non-classroom conversation (Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain 2003: 376).

When turning to lingua franca settings the situation could be expected to be slightly different. While the research to date indicates different repair realizations, the picture is fairly diversified. With their focus on (mis)communication in ELF role plays, House and her students (e.g. Lesznyák 2002; House 1999, 2000) have found that the generally shared assumption of mutual understanding does not seem to allow for too much explicit repair work. Participants apparently try so hard to assure each other of their abilities to follow the conversation that they dare not go against the let-it-pass principle unless the conversation is in danger of failing completely. In their studies on problem-solving mechanisms in elicited information exchange dialogues, Ahvenainen (2005: 114–121) and Watterson (2008: 400) report on a similar readiness amongst the interlocu-

tors regularly to leave cases of misunderstanding dormant or to change topics abruptly. This, however, the authors attribute not only to interactional behaviour, but largely also to the relatively loosely formulated conversational tasks set for their participants, because, when conversationally necessary, the interlocutors displayed their readiness to tackle mismatches of intention and interpretation, albeit in more indirect and cooperative ways. Studies undertaken with authentic data paint a slightly different picture again, such as Wagner and Firth's (1997) description of the communication strategies employed in business telephone calls in ELF. While the authors acknowledge the let-it-pass principle, they state that the interactants "attempt to use all available information in a conversation as a resource to create and continually (re)negotiate interpersonal meaning" (Wagner and Firth 1997: 342). Repair is one such resource that listeners use regularly, with other-repair also fulfilling the role of acknowledging understanding. Pitzl's (2004: 132) analysis of business negotiations supports this evaluation, in that her observations show that the interactants "most often employed [...] explicit [repairing] procedures" (cf. also Suh 2007). In Mauranen's (2006b: 147) study focussing on misunderstanding in ELF academic discussions, the relevance of self-repair is underlined and interpreted as revealing a "strong orientation toward securing mutual intelligibility"; explicit links to considerations of face are not made, but could be implicit in the preponderance of self- rather than other-repair.

While the results are much too scarce and diverse to (dis)prove a dependency between repair and attendance to face in ELF settings, they arguably show that the link, if indeed there is one, is a much more indirect and complex one. Repair has been confirmed as largely influenced by communicational purposes, aims and expectations; face threat is conceived of as integral to (interactional) impositions. The crux of the question is thus to what extent repair is experienced as a form of imposition. If the still limited results are anything to go by, there is no easy solution available, as it is exactly this connection that seems changeable and fluid, depending on the more relevant respective communicational aims and expectations. Similar insights into the complex nature of face and repair come from the literature on classroom discourse. In (English) L1 classrooms other-initiated self-repair has been identified as the most frequently used trajectory, which has also been explained with the face-threat argument (McHoul 1990). Van Lier (1988), however, argues that a direct transfer of everyday conversational considerations of face to those of L2 classroom discourse is not only simplistic, but also analytically misleading. The transactional didactic discourse of classrooms requires and forms a different understanding of face-threat. And teachers' supporting moves, be they other-initiation or other-repair, are often considered face-saving rather than threatening (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 244; Seedhouse 1999).

In addition, they function as an important pedagogical tool not directly linked to considerations of face (Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain 2003: 377; Seedhouse 1997).

To sum up, since repair work is crucial to (co-)constructing understanding, it picks up on a wide variety of repairables, including aspects of linguistic form, interactional function and knowledge construction. In how far repairables are interactionally acknowledged as such and dealt with in repair exchanges depends on a bundle of interrelating factors, such as the oral practice in question with its contingent communicational aims, purposes and expectations. Additionally and specifically relevant to ELF studies, the participants' English language proficiency levels must also not be overlooked, as well as considerations of impositions and potential face threats.

5.3 Framework of analysis

Based on the theoretical considerations given above, this chapter will now elucidate the categories applied in the repair analysis of the HMP classroom data. This will be done with regard to the three factors included in the first research concern ("Who repairs what and how?"), repair trajectories (5.3.1), repairables (5.3.2) and realizing repair (5.3.3).

5.3.1 Repair trajectories

As argued in detail in 5.2.3, the 'interactional repair plus' model reflects the conception of repair as jointly constructed social action, undertaken by interlocutors in their endeavour to reach understanding in relation to the respective oral practice, including their own communicational aims, purposes and expectations. In view of the correspondingly developing local manifestations of intersubjectivity, the sequential characteristic of repair has been foregrounded in stressing the trajectories in which the interactants engage (see Figures 5.1 and 5.2). As the instances of repair identified in the set of HMP data chosen for this analysis reveal dyadic exchanges between the respective teacher and one or more student(s), the individual speakers can be identified in relation to the respective repairable, as SELF and OTHER uttering repairs, (repair) initiations and (repair) responses. By doing so, the speakers are seen as jointly constructing repair exchanges which consist of one or more instances of five different repair trajectories (see Figure 5.4). Each of these will be described in more detail in what follows.

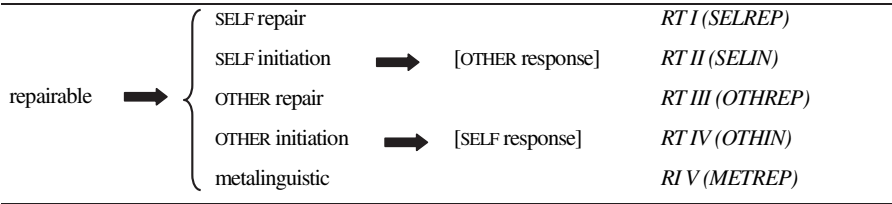


Figure 5.4. Repair trajectories identified in this study

5.3.1.1 *RT I (SELREP): self-repair*

When speakers make use of SELREP, they repair their own utterances, or parts thereof, without any prompting from their interactants. This description might sound straight-forward enough, but does not turn out to be so when considered in more detail. In addition to the difficulty of clearly identifying the absence of any kind of initiation, such as, for instance, a puzzled or absent-minded face in the audience, there is the further methodological problem of distinguishing markers of self-repair from the phenotypically similar phenomena of on-line processing in general. The former have been described as hesitations, pauses, word-replacements, rephasings and rising intonation (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977), all of which can also be manifestations of spontaneous speech, especially when performed in a second language, in which speakers tend to invest more effort in verbalizing their contributions. The areas of overlap are thus so large that it seems impossible to assign the individual cases clearly to one or the other phenomenon (for similar considerations cf. Dalton-Puffer 2007: 211). It was thus decided to omit all instances that revealed some kind of process-orientation from the analysis (Extract 5.3, in italics) and to include only the remaining cases that could be identified as clearly product-oriented (Extract 5.3, in bold), interaction-oriented (see Extract 5.4), or in rare cases form-oriented (Extract 5.5). This means that SELREP excludes false starts or hesitation phenomena, but potentially caters for all instances of self-correction.

Extract 5.3. Hotel Management (T1)

- 1 Cama <giving a presentation> and there will be more *business-* (.) *b-bu:siness* travellers
- 2 which will be: **who will be** w:omen ? (.)

Extract 5.4. Financial Management (T2)

- 1 TON somebody drops an egg , (2) because this is a well run factory , that egg must be
 2 cleaned up , (.) you hear it when you go to the (.) shopping centres (1) er
 3 <GERMAN> Reinigung Reinigung zu irgendwo </GERMAN> <1> **sorry , in**
 4 **English </1> cleaning staff cleaning staff to the vegetable department . (.)**
 5 somebody has dropped a banana
 6 SS <1> @@ </1>

Extract 5.5. Service (T2)

- 1 FER or some of them are just working four (.) five or six hours , (1) if you look carefully
 2 at the operation (.) times , **operating hours** .

5.3.1.2 RT II (SELIN): self initiation [other response]

SELIN is the second repair trajectory in which speakers act ‘proactively’, i.e. before other interactants indicate the need to engage in repair work. In first language (or MoES) settings, interlocutors sometimes need to handle lexical or memory gaps as they have problems finding a fitting word. Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks (1977: 377) state that these cases of self-initiation often lead to self-responses at a later stage. Classroom settings with speakers not fully competent in the language have yielded different results: this trajectory is used more frequently as learners require help to formulate their contributions (van Lier 1988: 201), often by way of try-marking, i.e. with rising intonation to express the learner’s insecurity about the applicability of the expression (van Lier 1988: 202; Extract 5.6). Linguistic insecurity is also a feeling expressed by HMP teachers (Extract 5.7).

Extract 5.6. Front Office Management (T1)

- 1 AKL [...] and they want to have a living room a separate living area like=
 2 SX-m **=kitchen ?**
 3 AKL =kitchenette and a minibar and a microwave where they can so they don’t have
 4 to eat in a restaurant each day [...]

Extract 5.7. Service (T3)

- 1 FER to bring the menu , (.) the design of the menu to the table , (1) sometimes you
 2 have to use the scissor . (1) **how do you call it in English** ,
 3 SX-f to cut ?
 4 FER yeah , to cut the menu in a special shape . [...]

As these extracts show, the participants mainly used English when repairing lexical gaps. This underlines the language-scape of the HMP as different from EFL and CLIL classrooms, in which the joint first language is repeatedly used for this repair trajectory (e.g. Dalton-Puffer 2007: 216). The diverse individual repertoires of the HMP participants allow recourse to other languages mainly in side-talk, when students, and sometimes also teachers turn to others competent in their L1 for further help (Extract 5.8).

Extract 5.8. F&B Management (T3)

- 1 Kosk <referring to *roster*> roadsters ? (.) rosters ? <speaks in Greek to Cama>
2 Cama <replies in Greek>

In addition, SELIN carries the interactional function of comprehension checks, i.e. "utterances that seek to confirm that the material in an interlocutor's previous utterance has been heard or understood" (Williams, Inscoc and Tasker 1997: 310). In accordance with the power structure in the classroom as well as the distribution of speaking time, they are mainly uttered by teachers in either explicitly formulated questions (Extract 5.9), or elliptical format (Extract 5.10). As the latter includes minimal expressions such as *okay*, *right*, *yeah* which are often used as gambits for very different interactional functions (Edmondson and House 1981: chapter III), special care has been taken to include only those instances whose co-texts indicate their functioning as confirmation checks, by including either a student uptake or a markedly long pause after the repair initiation.

Extract 5.9. Front Office Management (T1)

- 1 AKL management revenue management **have you heard this** (.) <1> **word before**
2 </1>
3 SX-m <1> (xxx) </1> before
4 AKL yes
5 SX-m well (xxx)
6 AKL straight before
7 SX-m yeah
8 AKL okay fine so you tell me what it is

Extract 5.10. Hotel Management (T1)

- 1 LER s:souvenirs , gift shops , in some resorts you have er gift shops within the hotel
 2 if it's not a very large areas , you have retail stores within the hotel but in
 3 other towns where there is lots of tourist attractions you immediately have
 4 different types of retail stores . (2) other activities include recreational
 5 activities , cultural events , meeting and convention centers . **okay ? (14)**

5.3.1.3 RT III (OTHREP): other-repair

In contrast to L1 settings, where other-repair is reported to happen rarely in casual conversation (Markee 2000: 103) and slightly more often in classroom interaction (McHoul 1990: 365), L2 classroom settings seem to allow for other-repair much more readily (van Lier 1988: 199–200), especially in language-focused phases (Kasper 1985; Varonis and Gass 1985), and also in CLIL lessons (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 214–215). Studies on ELF non-classroom settings have yielded very few instances of other-repair (Ahvenainen 2005) and many more, partly used for reconfirmation (Firth 1996).

The ELF classroom interactions studied here have revealed other-repair in abundance (Extract 5.11). Given that other-repair has been reported on as intrinsically face-threatening, it is interesting to note that it is carried out by teachers as well as students in the data (Extract 5.12).

Extract 5.11. Financial Management (T1)

- 1 TON <after a lengthy explanation> (by financial accounting) we have numbers @ and
 2 by management we have er=
 3 SX-f whats=
 4 Lura =decisions @
 5 SX-f dec-
 6 TON **NO we have more numbers**

Extract 5.12. Financial Management (T2)

- 1 TON on the next part it says calculate overhead totals of the production environments
 2 Cama erm where ?
 3 TON after the first set of numbers .
 4 Hanb **no**
 5 TON yes . so-
 6 Cama **it doesn't say , no**

RT III (OTHREP) represents a merger of two trajectories described and found to be distinct in previous classroom interactional research, namely 'other-repair in same turn' and 'other-repair in next turn' (van Lier 1988: 199). The former

is seen as helping and supporting the speaker, while the latter refers to a next speaker self-selecting, often in the sense of correcting the previous speaker. While this distinction has been revealing in foreign language as well as CLIL classes (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 214–215), my data suggest that it might not be applicable in ELF lessons. The few instances that could be described as helping can just as easily be seen as other-repair inasmuch as the OTHER might not simply try to help the SELF verbalize their contribution, but might have real trouble understanding the utterance(s). Extract 5.13, for example, could be interpreted as a classic example of a teacher helping a student rambling on by offering a fitting expression (LER in line 7). At the same time the teacher might have had real problems understanding the gist of the student’s contribution (lines 1–3), which is quite likely, given the range of accents found in the student group as well as the interfering noise at the time of speaking (lines 4–5).

Extract 5.13. Hotel Management (T1)

- 1 Lura easier reserving (.) erm: (.) easier marketing like (she said/s) (.) but there are also
 2 problems (in) the internet (1) erm: (1) hackers you know (1) they can: break up (.)
 3 break in in your (.) hotel system (.) <3> they: can mess up everything </3> (.)
 4 SX-1 <3> (xxxxx) </3>
 5 SX-2 <4> (xxxxxx) </4>
 6 Lura so <4> your (1) <5> hotel </4> (xxxxx) </5>
 7 LER <5> (1) (secure-) </4> **security is a question ?** yeah </5>
 8 Lura yeah . (1)

In other words, other-repair in ELF classroom interaction seems to merge ‘supporting the speaker’ and ‘repairing the interaction’ by virtue of mutually helping each other to make the interaction work.

5.3.1.4 RT IV (OTHIN): other initiation, self response

RT IV, other-initiation self-response, has been described as a relatively common trajectory in casual conversation (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977), and as the most common in (traditional) classroom discourse (Markee 2000: 104; McHoul 1990: 355). The present data set is no exception in this regard; OTHIN is the most often encountered trajectory. In response to diverse trouble sources such as problems of hearing (Extract 5.1 above) or of understanding (Extract 5.14), teachers and students alike often initiate repairs in the form of more or less elaborate clarification requests.

Extract 5.14. Service (T2)

- 1 FER beverages yes . the guest orders the beverages <1> with the head waiter . </1>
- 2 Lura <1> **he is not ordering food** </1> (.) **also with the head waiter ?**
- 3 FER the food waiter ,
- 4 Lura oh so even have different (xx)

The preponderance of OTHIN in classroom discourse has been mainly attributed to the typical teacher role of ‘cluing’ (van Lier 1988) or offering the right prompts so that, as Pica (1983: 11) has formulated it so pointedly, students can “work, not toward mutual understanding with their teachers, but at meeting their teachers’ expectations as to what is an appropriate response to their questions”. Seeing that the HMP data are classroom based, it is not surprising that cluing should appear (Extract 5.15), but it does so much less frequently than might be expected. This is mainly due to the same methodological problem encountered with regard to the preceding trajectory, RT III: individual instances of other-initiated repair cannot be clearly identified as cluing because the teachers’, or students’, repair initiations could just as likely be signs of unsatisfactory understanding (Extracts 5.16 and 5.17). Other-initiated repair, whether by teacher or student, is thus seldom a pedagogical crutch. Rather, it is an interactional necessity employed frequently by all participants.

Extract 5.15. Front Office Management (T1)

- 1 AKL forecasting ? you’ve heard the word forecasting before ? (.)
- 2 SX-m mm
- 3 AKL no yes forecast (.) what’s a forecast
- 4 Alac <1> to product predict <1/>
- 5 SX-f <1> (xxx) <1/>
- 6 AKL **predict yes**
- 7 Alac predict what’s gonna happen
- 8 AKL **what’s gonna happen in terms of**
- 9 Alac rates

Extract 5.16. Financial Management (T2)

- 1 TON er how many days national holidays do you think we have ,
- 2 Cana five
- 3 TON <HIGH>**five** ?</HIGH>
- 4 Cana four to five

Extract 5.17. Service (T2)

- 1 Anle it depends on the situation , yeah ?
 2 FER it depends of how the- the lady or the man could erm
 3 Anle **perform ?**
 4 FER performs @ correct . (.)

5.3.1.5 RTV (METREP): delayed metalinguistic repair

The last trajectory refers to the instances of delayed metalinguistic repair, which typically occur in classroom discourse in reference to previous language-based activities. While they do not stand in the direct chronological dependence actually implied in the term trajectory, they form an interactionally, and thus also empirically, relevant type of repair (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 216–217). In the present data set, METREP is carried out either as feedback to student presentations (Extract 5.18) or in reference to something discussed earlier in a previous (part of the) lesson (Extract 5.19); it is thus used by teachers and students to repair SELF as well as OTHER.

Extract 5.18. Hotel Management (T1)

- 1 LER <after a few student presentations> **if you give information. (.) to someone . (.)**
 2 **who needs it (1) prepare it in a way ? (.) that they are afterwards able ? (1)**
 3 **to see ? (.) how this could impact them . (2)**

Extract 5.19. Financial Management (T2)

- 1 TON <referring to problem solved in preceding lesson> rents and rates you needed the
 2 basis of apportionment . which basis , Cama , did you think was appropriate .
 3 Cama (2) for allocation ?
 4 TON yeah .
 5 Cama **I don't know . I didn't (need/mean) to understand how to do it .**
 6 TON I though we- I thought we've done it .
 7 SS @@

5.3.2 Repairables

As argued elsewhere, repair work captures those instances of miscommunication that are interactionally constructed as such, which also implies that repairables, i.e. the triggers of repair, are identified by the interactants rather than the analyst. Resulting from such an emic conception, the kinds and range of repairables are not only interesting in themselves, but also allow insights into what the participants in a specific oral practice consider centrally relevant to the process

of establishing intersubjectivity and the co-construction of shared understanding and knowledge. It is in this light that the repairables identified in classroom interactions gain analytical relevance beyond the mere listing of what HMP students and teachers verbalized as mismatches in understanding when engaging in classroom talk. In order to undertake such interpretative analyses, however, a classificatory characterization of repairables is a necessary initial step.

Based on the theoretical considerations explicated in 5.2.4 and the repair exchanges included in the data base, the present study distinguishes between three basic sets, i.e. repairables relating to linguistic form, to interactional function and to instructional facts or objects of learning. The first set contains communicational trouble sources that are due to problems of either pronunciation, grammar or lexis. What is important to mention in this context, however, is that the ensuing repair does generally not aim at linguistic correction. A case in point is the presumably unintended grammatical correction in line 7 in Extract 5.20.

Extract 5.20. F&B Management (T3)

- 1 AKL in the Hilton hotel they've changed the hotel organization chart , they (.) have the
- 2 so called director of operations , (.) and the director of operations er is actually in
- 3 charge of food and beverage , (.) and (.) in charge of the rooms as well . okay ?
- 4 Lura no ,
- 5 AKL no ?
- 6 Lura in <GERMAN> Stadtpark </GERMAN> not.
- 7 AKL **at the** <GERMAN> **Stadtpark** </GERMAN> **not** .
- 8 Lura they have F and B manager and er front office manager .

The second set of repairables concerns mismatches in understanding of an interactional type, such as problems of topic development or referential specification. Most centrally in this set are the numerous instances of mishearing, i.e. of occasions at which one interlocutor – the OTHER – acknowledges acoustic difficulties in catching what the preceding speaker – the SELF – has said. While the acknowledgement of hearing problems does not necessarily reflect underlying acoustic problems (e.g. Svennevig 2008), repair work based on mishearing is not only wide-spread, but, as the analysis will show, also revealing as regards ELF as classroom language (see 5.4.3).

The third and final set of repairables is arguably linked more closely to the oral practice in question than the preceding two sets, as it contains all instances of factual problems of understanding directly linked to the instructional and regulative aims of classroom main talk. In other words, this set includes the communicational trouble sources that are identified with regard to the joint construction of the respective instructional topic or object of learning (see 2.2.1.1)

as well as those problems that are identified in classroom managerial exchanges. In sum, the following repair analysis is based on eight categories of linguistic, interactional and factual repairables, an overview of which is given in Table 5.1.

As already indicated in Table 5.1, individual instances are often much richer than a single category of a repairable can do justice to and can therefore be described by more than one category. The illustrative example of 'mis', for instance, could be seen as one of 'pron' at the same time, because it is clearly the student's pronunciation of the lexical item that has caused the misunderstanding. And yet, the teacher's interpretation of the student's utterance represents a mishearing, as the student's response shows. Next to the multiple classification of individual instances, the categories themselves are also diverse in terms of range and overlaps. 'Pron' relates to linguistically easily identifiable trouble; 'mis' on the other hand, describes the OTHER's reaction only and allows for a wide range of possible reasons. Compare the illustration of 'mis' given in Table 5.1 with Extract 5.21. Here, it cannot be said for certain what the student's problem in understanding the teacher in line 4 actually is. While it could be his pronunciation, it seems more likely that it is more than that, such as the terms he used ('voc'), the situated meaning ('ref') or maybe the topic development ('dis'). As we cannot be sure for what precisely the student needed the repair, it is most viable to classify it according to the one aspect we can be sure of, namely that she was faced with problems of intelligibility (for further analysis see 5.4.1).

Extract 5.21. Financial Management (T1)

- 1 Jins that I don't have any experience in hotel ? and yeah I canno- explain this co- this
- 2 subject so well so a lesson don't expect me @@
- 3 TON you won't you will recognize the numbers .
- 4 Jins **hmm**
- 5 TON you will recognize the numbers .
- 6 Jins **yeah**
- 7 TON when I write numbers you will understand ,
- 8 Jins yeah and maybe I can get used @ (2)

The second point of interest about the categories is the overlaps mentioned in Table 5.1. The categories relating to meaning are particularly relevant here because a clear-cut distinction between lexical meaning ('voc') and situated meaning ('ref') cannot always be drawn. Similarly, the point when factual, instead of lexical, information is being repaired is open to interpretation, especially with regard to technical terms (see also 7.4.5). Extract 5.22, for instance, presents a case of overlap between 'voc' and 'fact' as the denotation of a tech-

Table 5.1. Categories of repairables, examples taken from the HMP data set

Category name	Code	Explanation and example
linguistic:		
pronunciation	pron	phonological and pronunciation-linked problems T: the six seven star hotel the only one in the world Abdul , in Dubai Abdul some S: Al Arab Burj T: BURJ Al Arab
grammar	gra	morphological and syntactic problems S: in Stadtpark not T: at the Stadtpark not
vocabulary	voc	lexical choice, unclear denotation or idiomatic expressions, technical terms (can overlap with ‘ref’ and ‘facI’) S: unless you buy- throw away pa- er @ <1> @ </1> T: <1> plastic plates </1> or you use plastic plates . S: yeah @
interactional:		
mishearings	mis	problems of intelligibility (can overlap with ‘pron’, ‘voc’, ‘ref’) T: what do we what do we control , S: income ? the cost ? the money , T: we control the past , S: the cost , T: the cost .
reference	ref	problems of referential specifications, situated meaning S: you have to be very careful about (x of course) T: the food you get ? S: because everybody’s (.) sick .
discourse	dis	problems of topic development and turn-taking T: you decide well , the money you’re allowed to spend I s’pose mh ? S: is the budget , T: ja . but I was gonna say let’s ignore the cost of the course
factual:		
instructional	facI	topic or content-linked repairables in instructional register T: well it’s belongs to Holiday Inn= S: =Sheraton T: Sheraton is a separate chain again
regulative	facR	topic or content-linked repairables in regulative register T: on the next part it says calculate overhead totals of the production environments . S: erm where ? T: after the first set of numbers .

nical term is repaired. In some cases, like this one, the co-text helps in deciding which category to take – the teacher previously mentioned the term, the students’ questions are thus not ones that influence the development of the topic (‘fact’), but simply lead to a lexical repair (‘voc’).⁶² In other cases, though, clear identification is more difficult; double categorization is thus the only feasible choice.

Extract 5.22. Hotel Management (T1)

1 Kosk (3) rev-par (1) <3> **what does it mean ?** </3>

2 SX-f <3> **(and this) means ?** </3>

3 LER revenue (.) per (.) available (.) room . (1)

5.3.3 Verbalizing repair

After “who is repairing what”, the third aspect according to which repair will be analysed is repair realizations, i.e. how interactants actually formulate repairs, how they express their problems understanding each other and how they express modifications of previous contributions. The interest here is two-fold: the first aspect stands in close connection to the relevance of face when performing repairs, as it tries to find out in how far repair formulations reveal interactants’ responses to the face-threat inherent in repairs in general. As argued in detail in 5.2.4, the role that repair plays in face work, and vice versa, seems to depend in a lasting way on the type of oral practice in question. Owing to the similarities in setting, I can therefore benefit from Dalton-Puffer’s (2007: 243–253) study as a point of departure for my own analysis. In the Austrian CLIL classes, the amount of face-threat implicit in repair seems linked to age group – the younger the students, the less face-threat – and to the type of repairable: lexical and factual content repairs, especially in the instructional register, seem to have little impact on the other’s face, while language and procedural (i.e. factual in regulative register) repairs have more impact, as can be seen from the degree of indirectness with which they are formulated. The former are without any mitigating or modifying devices, and the latter employ some degree of indirectness. A possible reason for this could be “that the interlocutors are on a more equal footing with regard to those [regulative repair] than with regard to content repair.” (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 250) In an attempt to trace this rela-

62. This extract is one of the rare examples of a repair initiation formulated by two speakers at practically the same time. The teacher’s response shows that this is not experienced as a problem, but rather supports the underlying dyadic assumption of teacher vs. students.

tionship in the HMP classroom discourse, I will therefore focus on the repair verbalizations according to their degree of directness of the potentially most face-threatening repair trajectory, other-repair (RT III). Table 5.2 provides an overview, adopted from Dalton-Puffer (2007: 241–242), and examples from the HMP data set.

Table 5.2. Verbalizations of RT III, OTHREP

Code	Brief description	Example
dirn	direct + negative evaluation	S: <about management accounting> we have decisions T: NO we have more numbers
dir	direct	T: now number nine , S: number nine is already done
dirp	direct + positive evaluation	S: switch off- T: turn off handies ja
mod	modified	S: luxury T: luxury it's hm s not really luxury it's just for business travellers

The second analytical interest in realizing repair focuses on the first step in repairing, and aims at an analysis of the types of formulations interactants choose in responding to a contribution they perceive to be a repairable. As has been argued elsewhere (summarized in 5.2.4), these formulations span a wide range in terms of specificity and im/explicitness, reaching from total avoidance to explicitly formulated repair or repair initiation. Inspired by partly comparable studies (Bremer et al. 1996: chapter 4; Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain 2003), six different categories of repair initiations have been identified as relevant to the present study. Table 5.3 not only explains and exemplifies each of them, but also visualizes their respective position on a cline from most explicit/direct ('def') to most implicit/indirect ('non').

In conclusion, the analysis of repair in the HMP data was undertaken with the help of the three sets of criteria: repair trajectories, repairables and repair realizations. As repeatedly referred to, these sets relate to the first general research concern, (I) *Who repairs what and how?* The second general research concern – (II) *What changes occur with time?* – will be dealt with regarding all aspects of the first one, as it reflects the longitudinal focus of describing the developing nature of the HMP classroom discourse.

Table 5.3. Verbalizations of RT IV, OTHIN

Cline	Code	Brief description	Example
direct explicit	def	request for definition, explanation or translation	S: hubs what do you mean by hubs ,
	req	request for repetition	T: maybe I I understood your question wrong . (.) say it again .
	hyp	OTHER’s understanding or hypothesis	T: now . ye- you mean get an extra job ?
	rep	(partial) repeat (with question word)	T: in general what ?
	min	minimal feedback or query that initiates repair	T: sorry ? hm?
indirect implicit	non	no verbalized initiation / no uptake	S: <in response to question> that we work in (here) or come from outside then: we a:re (kept) (to) change our clothes and put in a: (.) staff locker T: so you need (.) let us start

5.3.4 Data set, method of analysis, research questions

As described in 3.3.2, the set of HMP classroom data comprises 33 full lessons. While this amounts to a selection of all lessons observed, it would still have been too large a base for the repair analysis, mainly for methodological reasons: interactional patterns are, as implied in the term ‘pattern’, repetitive. More and more data will therefore lead to more tokens, but, after a certain magnitude, no more types. How large this certain data set should be is, of course, difficult to ascertain. Relevant studies rely on differently large data sets, ranging from two (Markee 2000) or three (Musumeci 1996) to ten (Dalton-Puffer 2007) or eleven lessons (Liebscher and Dailey-O’Cain 2003). In view of the fact that the HMP data set consists of three subsets (T1 or introductory phase, T2 or first semester, T3 or third semester), the final choice fell on three lessons each, i.e. nine in total. As can be gleaned from Table 5.4, the lessons chosen cover diverse subject matters and, where possible, re-occur at other points in time:

- Financial Management (‘fin’)
- Front Office Management (‘fom’), F&B (Food and Beverage) Management (‘fbm’) and Hotel Management (‘hom’)
- theory classes to Cooking (‘cook’) and Service (‘serv’)

As regards the teachers, care was taken to represent the diversity of English language repertoires (cf. 4.2.3), including highly proficient English speakers (TON, AKL), those relatively fluent for general and discipline-related purposes (LER), and, finally, RER as a relatively fluent speaker for discipline-related purposes only. With regard to teaching styles, the lessons are homogeneous in the sense that a large part of all of them can be characterized by ‘dramatized teacher monologue’ (‘Lehrervortrag mit verteilten Rollen’, Ehlich and Rehbein 1986: chapter 4). At the same time, though, they are not completely identical: 1fom1 and 3serv1 include longer stretches of lecturing as reflected in the relatively higher percentage of words spoken by the lecturers than in the other lessons (see Table 5.4, last column). Students gave short presentations in small groups in 1hom2 and 3hom1, which explains the comparatively low percentages of words the teachers spoke in each of them (see Table 5.4, last column). Finally, the Financial Management lessons differed in relation to the subject matter. Like all subjects based on numbers and calculations, Financial Management focused on problem-solving, which is reflected in the group size – the HMP group was split in two subgroups – as well as teaching style. While still led and dominated by the teacher (cf. also the percentages in Table 5.4, which blend in with the other lessons), the group tackled problems together, resulting in more student contributions unprompted by the teacher.

Table 5.4. Lessons analysed for ‘repair’

	Lesson	Teacher (T)	Mins	Turns	T turns in %	Words	T words in %
T1	1fin1	TON	49	349	47	5146	78.9
	1fom1	AKL	47	266	47.4	5432	92.5
	1hom2	LER	47	387	42.4	8669	58.6
T2	2fin2	TON	41	452	41.6	5610	79
	2serv1	FER	40	370	40.5	5340	80.5
	2cook1	RER	41	564	44.9	6500	80.1
T3	3hom1	LER	45	148	38.5	7550	61.7
	3serv1	FER	40	196	45.4	6910	88.7
	3fbm1	AKL	44	349	41	5935	79.2
<i>Total</i>			<i>393</i>	<i>3081</i>	<i>47.4</i>	<i>57092</i>	<i>76.6</i>

Based on the refined lesson transcripts, all instances of repair could be identified and classified according to the conceptual and analytical framework described in the preceding subsections. In view of the methodological relevance of credibility and dependability (see 4.1), the analytical process of identifying and classifying instances was repeated on three different occasions, thus assuring what might

be referred to as intra-rater reliability. This seemed to suffice, as the classification of the second re-run largely overlapped with the preceding one. With the categories thus established, the data were prepared for further analytical procedures. While the main focus of the whole study lies on qualitative, in-depth analyses, the sheer number and diversity of the repair instances has made an initial quantitative approach necessary. The resulting rough description of the data yields an overview that opens up a view of the proverbial wood and not only its many trees. It thus provides the ground work on which detailed qualitative analyses can be based; an approach typical of ethnographically oriented interactional research (e.g. Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain 2003; Saville-Troike 1982; see also 3.2). In other words, quantification is necessary for establishing general repairing patterns in terms of sequential development, object and realization of repair, and chronological changes, the last of which is particularly necessary for the second research concern of the longitudinal developments. As numerical differences need to be checked for how reliably they represent actual differences, chi-square tests for rows by columns contingency tables were conducted for the relevant tables.⁶³

In order to approach the first research concern, (I) Who repairs what and how?, in more detail, the quantitatively established patterns require qualitative analyses of specific (types of) repairs, which also allows for discussions of individual teachers and students and their changing roles in the HMP's repair work. As this research concern is analytically complex, it can be described in more detail as:

- How frequent is (which type of) repair?
- What speaker roles do teachers and students take on in repair work?
- What causes (which type of) repair?
- Repair, face threat and specificity: How (in)directly is repair carried out by OTHER?

5.4 Classroom practices

The ensuing analysis will approach the research questions in the order given above and rely on tables for the quantitative and data excerpts for the qualitative information. As above, in both tables and excerpts bold print is used to high-

63. The calculations for levels of statistical significance were undertaken with the help of 'VassarStats: Website for Statistical Computation' (<http://faculty.vassar.edu/lowry/VassarStats.html>) (accessed between June to September 2005).

light the relevant aspects that are referred to in the description and discussion. Quotes from teacher and student interviews are added in support of some of my interpretations of the repair data.

5.4.1 Frequency of (types of) repair

Overall, repair has proved to be a frequently employed communicational strategy in the nine lessons analysed here. 341 repair instances could be identified during the 393 minutes of classroom interaction, which means that, from a statistical viewpoint, a repair was carried out every 69 seconds (or 1.15 min), which seems quite frequent, especially in light of the unbalanced weighting of speaking time in favour of the lecturers, who, on average, uttered three quarters of all words spoken (cf. Table 5.4, last column). At the same time, though, frequencies have little interpretative power in themselves. It seems necessary, therefore, to look outside this study for comparable results. As so often, direct comparisons are difficult, especially because repairs and repairables are defined in different ways, but even on this note of caution, the HMP frequency of repairs seems high. Dalton-Puffer's (2007: 222) investigation of Austrian CLIL classes yielded considerably fewer (about 300 for 560 minutes), but still more than Lyster's (1988) study in American ESL classes. Reasons for these differences are not easily identifiable – apart from the differences in theoretical models and contingent understanding of concepts, the age of the students and type of education most likely play a role as well. The HMP students were (young) adults and therefore the oldest of the three groups investigated and, in addition, many of them were very fluent in English. Both of these factors would surely influence their communicative behaviour irrespective of the degree of transculturality found in the group. At the same time, transculturality cannot in itself be taken as a precondition for an increase in negotiation of meaning as some of the ELF investigations have shown (e.g. Ahvenainen 2005; House 1999; Lesznyák 2002). In brief, all we can say at this moment is that the HMP data have yielded an exceptionally large number of repairs. The why will have to be answered study-internally.

The 69-second stretch between repairs is only a statistical assessment, as becomes apparent when the overall number is broken down by the individual lessons (see Table 5.5). Here the range of absolute frequencies varies between 18 to 51 per lesson, which, when put in relation to the length of the lessons, means 1 repair per 52–133 seconds. Those lessons with comparatively low frequencies of repairs (3serv1, 3hom1) are also the ones with the longest stretches of continuous talk; in the first case because of a long narrative given by the teacher and in the second because of student presentations, followed by a teacher monologue. 3fbm1, on the other hand, already struck me, while I was observing it, as a

Table 5.5. Quantitative distribution of repair trajectories over all lessons

RT	Total	%	1fin1	1fom1	1hom2	2cook1	2fin2	2serv1	3serv1	3fbm1	3hom1
I	38	11.1	5	3	4	4	5	4	1	7	5
II	61	17.9	5	6	5	8	7	8	4	13	5
III	106	31.1	13	18	9	18	12	9	7	14	6
IV	115	33.7	20	15	13	9	16	16	5	16	5
V	21	6.2	1	1	5	2	5	1	1	1	4
Total	341		44	43	36	41	45	38	18	51	25

highly interactive lesson. The fact that it is the lesson with the highest density of repairs, is possibly not a numerical accident, but rather a sign of the degree of its interactivity.

Table 5.5 yields information on a further aspect of repair, namely the frequencies of the repair trajectories. The overall percentages reveal clearly that trajectories III (OTHREP) and IV (OTHIN) are the most frequently used ones, with each counting for about a third of all repair instances. The remaining third is then shared between II (SELIN), I (SELREP) and V (METREP) in descending order of frequency, which shows that, already on this very general level, the data reveal that repair in the HMP was not mainly initiated or carried out by SELF, but by OTHER. This underlines the differences between this ELF setting and L1 everyday conversations described elsewhere (e.g. Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977). Furthermore, other-repair is employed as often as other-initiated repair, which marks the ELF classroom setting as different from L1 and ESL/EFL classrooms in which self-repair plays a major role and OTHER is mainly involved as initiator or the one giving clues (e.g. McHoul 1990; van Lier 1988). A similar picture emerges from the analysis of Austrian CLIL classes (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 234): self-repair is the most frequent trajectory, with other-initiated and other-repair each amounting to about 15% of all repair instances. Again, comparisons are difficult to make as the present analysis does not include the subcategory cluing, but even so, the overall ranking of trajectories marks the HMP data as clearly different from other data sets.

The numerical distribution of the repair trajectories is also revealing when applied to the three time periods the data represent (see Table 5.6). While the numerical distribution of all five trajectories is not statistically significant, the decrease in repair instances between the first and third semester is remarkable. One possible explanation of this reduction by a third is the fact that, at the later point, students and most lecturers had known each other for an extended period of time on a personal, professional and discoursal level. It might thus be a first hint at a time-dependent development in the CCofP classroom talk, thus

Table 5.6. Quantitative distribution of repair trajectories for T1, T2, T3

RT	T1		T2		T3		Total of RT
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
I	12	9.8	13	10.5	13	13.8	38
II *	16	13.0	23	18.5	22	23.4	61
III	40	32.5	39	31.5	27	28.7	106
IV *	48	39.0	41	33.1	26	27.7	115
V	7	5.7	8	6.5	6	6.4	21
Total	123		124		94		341

* Distribution of RT II and RT IV (at T1, T2, T3) is close to statistically significant; chi-square: 5.33; df: 2; $p = 0.0696$

underlining the relevance of the longitudinal research approach. If we turn to the trajectories themselves, the relative frequencies of RT I, III and V do not reveal any developments, which cannot be said for the remaining two trajectories: self-initiated repair (RT II) increases, while other-initiated repair decreases, with the numerical patterns coming close to statistical significance. This means that it is quite likely that self-initiated repair gained in relevance towards the third semester, while other-initiated repair was particularly important at the beginning of the HMP. This tendency could hint at the feature of ELF interaction described in non-classroom settings that SELF assumes mutual understanding unless indicated otherwise by OTHER (e.g. Firth and Wagner 1997; Knaur 2009).

Extract 5.21. Financial Management (T1); [also used in 5.3.2]

- 1 Jins that I don't have any experience in hotel ? and yeah I cannot explain this co-
2 this subject so well so a lesson don't expect me @@
3 TON you won't you will recognize the numbers .
4 Jins **hmm**
5 TON you will recognize the numbers .
6 Jins **yeah**
7 TON when I write numbers you will understand ,
8 Jins yeah and maybe I can get used @ (2)

Extract 5.21 is a case in point. It took place at the beginning of the very first financial management lesson, in which the lecturer asked the students to introduce themselves and mention their previous experience in hotel management in general and the relevant subject in particular. In response to their self-evaluations, TON, the lecturer, tried to put them all at ease, irrespective of their level of subject-specific knowledge and degree of confidence. His attempt here to help Jins (line 3), a visibly and audibly anxious student, leads to an unspecified

response (line 4), which TON interprets as a case of acoustic difficulty, thus repeating his contribution (line 5). Jins's following minimal feedback (line 6) again indicates problems of intelligibility, which initiates a simplified rephrasing in line 7. As TON is an experienced teacher in multilingual settings, he not only uses simpler words (*understand* instead of the original *recognize*), but also splits the original simple clause into main and subclause by spelling out a pre-supposition. His attempt is successful as is shown by Jins's acknowledgement of having understood TON's move in line 8. Note that with both repairables (lines 4 and 6), it is OTHER who starts the repair trajectory.

In general, the analysis of the frequency of repair in general has shown that it appeared relatively frequently in the HMP data-set compared with other studies of classroom interaction. It also displayed its own characteristic distribution of repair trajectories, or sequential developments of repair instances. Self (initiated) repair was generally much less frequently employed than other (initiated) repair. The assumption that the HMP's ELF language use might be at the heart of these repair patterns has found some support in the predominance of other-initiated repair right at the beginning of the course (T1). In the later stages, when the participants had become familiar with one another (T2) and the Classroom Community of Practice had entered the second half of its life-time (T3), repair work not only decreased in general, but its realization patterns also shifted, allowing for self-initiated and other-(initiated) repair trajectories in equal shares.

5.4.2 Speaker roles in repair work

As argued above, the strategies of OTHER repairing or initiating repair do not disappear with the HMP moving on, but they seem to become less central, with the relative frequencies of RT II (self-initiated repair) increasing. In order to examine this point in more detail, a shift in focus is needed by, as it were, zooming out of the close-up look at repair trajectories and homing in on the bigger units which are made up by the trajectories – the repair exchange. As argued in 5.2, the repair exchange covers the sequential development of one instance of repair work in its entirety, which means that it allows for a comprehensive analysis not only of interactionally coherent units, but also of the speaker roles teachers and students take on in this process. Extract 5.21, for instance, contains one such repair exchange, consisting of two trajectories, with the teacher as speaker, SELF, and the student Jins as OTHER initiating the repair and indicating its successful completion.

Table 5.7 gives a quantitative overview of the distribution of repair exchanges, differentiated by main trajectory type (usually the first one employed) and sequence of speakers, starting with the one whose utterance turns out as repairable

Table 5.7. Repair exchanges by trajectory, speaker sequence and lesson, general distribution

RTs Lesson	I		II			III				IV			V		Total
	TT	SS	TT(S)	TTS(TS)	SST(ST)	ST	STS(TS)	(T)SS	TS(TST)	STS(TS)	TST(ST)	TSS/SSS	T	S	
1fin1	4	2	1	1	1	8	2	0	1	15	1	0	1	0	37
1fom1	3	0	3	2	1	9	3	0	5		2	1	1	0	39
1hom2	3	1	3	0	0	1	2	0	6	3	3	5	4	1	32
2cook1	4	0	8	0	0	10	3	1	2	1	4	3	1	1	38
2fin2	5	0	4	2	1	5	1	1	5	8	7	0	2	3	44
2serv1	4	0	4	2	2	2	5	0	4	5	3	3	1	0	35
3serv1	1	0	3	1	0	2	0	1	4	2	3	0	1	0	18
3fbm1	7	0	5	6	1	1	5	1	5	5	7	3	1	0	47
3hom1	3	2	3	1	1	0	2	0	4	2	2	1	3	1	25
Total	34	5	34	15	7	38	23	4	36	50	32	16	15	6	315

Key: T = teacher; S = student;

sequences given in table reflect interactional sequences of speakers, starting with repairable

in the unfolding of the interaction. Owing to the basically dialogic character of whole class interaction, most exchanges take place between the teacher as one interlocutor and one student as the other; exceptions to these are a few cases of RT III (other-repair) and RT IV (other-initiated repair) where students entered into repair with each other. In all other instances of RTs, teachers responded to students and vice versa.

RT I has, by definition, only two subtypes: T or S self-repairing. The numerical distribution shows that students self-repaired very seldom, while teachers uttered a few in each lesson. The lesson with the highest number is 3fbm1, the highly interactive, third semester lesson already mentioned above. In talking very animatedly, the teacher repairs her own language use particularly frequently (e.g. Extract 5.23). It cannot be clearly decided whether this is because of her speed of delivery or because of her credo of 'saying what comes to her head' (interview, 3rd sem, 2nd mth). Whatever the reasons, AKL, like many other HMP teachers, regularly finds herself searching for the English equivalent of a German expression and, if she does not find the English word herself, asks the students for help (Quote 5.5). As this is generally accepted as a normal measure to take, by teachers as well as students (Quotes 5.6 and 5.7), such instances might point to a characterizing feature of ELF classroom interaction.

Extract 5.23. F&B Management (T3)

1 AKL it's about (.) one thousand eight hundred or about two thousand Euros , (.) you get
 2 , but not net , you get <GERMAN> brutto ? **brutto** ? </GERMAN> **gross** , (.)

Quote 5.5. Interview (3rd sem, 2nd mth)

AKL: und wenn mir manchmal selber nicht Ausdrücke einfallen die mir jetzt nur auf Deutsch einfallen frag ich die Schüler [...] wie heißt das schnell und die sagen mir das
[and when I sometimes can't remember the expression which I can only think of in German then I ask the students [...] what's it called and they tell me that]

Quote 5.6. Interview (1st sem, 3rd mth)

Crek: bei manchen <LehrerInnen> da merkt man , dass sie sich schwer tun etwas zu erklären , sie fragen manchmal die Studenten nach den Vokabeln , [...] es kam dann am Ende (immer) das raus , was hätte rauskommen müssen .
[with some <teachers> you can see that it is difficult for them to explain something, they sometimes ask students for words [...] at the end, we have always reached the intended outcome.]

Quote 5.7. Interview (2nd sem, 2nd mth)

Lula: <referring to the applied marketing teacher> it's the first time she's teaching in English and [...] she cannot <say what she wants to> but we have four Austrian in the class and she usually refers to them er how do I say that erm I'm actually okay with it

The other trajectory that is exceptional in that it does not include any real interaction is RT V, delayed meta-level repair, which is either the teacher or, more rarely, a student giving feedback or commenting on previous verbal activity. As the numerical peaks in the Hotel Management classes show, meta-level repair is mainly given in response to student presentations (see Extract 5.18 in 5.3.1). The other lesson where it is used more often and, even more surprisingly, by students, is the Financial Management class at T2. In the group attempt to recap a problem solved in the preceding lesson, students use delayed meta-level repair three times, firstly, to indicate that they have not understood the solution offered previously (see Extract 5.24) and then, more extremely, that this problem-cum-solution has been too difficult for the class to comprehend (Extract 5.25). As the laughter caused by Hanb's delayed meta-level repair (line 3 in Extract 5.25) shows, this move is considered unusual by the students themselves and, furthermore, does not find any parallel in the data-set.

Extract 5.24. Financial Management (T2)

- 1 TON <referring to a problem solved previously> which basis , Cana , did you think
 2 was appropriate .
 3 Cana (2) for allocation ?
 4 TON yeah .
 5 Cana I don't know . **I didn't (need/mean) to understand how to do it .**
 6 TON I though we- I thought we've done it .
 7 SS @@
 8 Hars ja but we-
 9 TON rent and rates
 10 Hars rent and rates
 11 Cana ah okay yeah .
 12 TON yeah .
 13 Cana **but I I'm didn't understand the re (.) allocate**
 14 TON ah no we haven't got there yet . we're just recapping what we've done so far .

Extract 5.25. Financial Management (T2)

- 1 Hanb <directed at TON> @ **have you expected us** for: (2) I don't know **to: think of**
 2 **this way**
 3 SX-m @@@
 4 Hanb **to get a solution** ? (3) or

RT II (SELIN) is another trajectory mainly used by teachers, either throwing up an unspecific comprehension question, which generally receives no verbal answer (speaker sequence TT(S) in Table 5.7), or more specific ones asking for explanations or definitions (speaker sequence TTS(TS)). The former was used most extensively by RER, who might have done so in compensation for his comparatively weak English, which he was acutely aware of himself (Quote 5.8). As in Extract 5.26, the teacher gives information and concludes with an unspecific comprehension check, followed by a pause. In conversation analytic terminology, this forms a TRP (transition relevance place) at which any student could take their turn, other-selected by the teacher's confirmation check.

Quote 5.8. Interview (4th sem, 2nd mth)

RER: ich würde mein Englisch als (1) verbesserungswürdig beschreiben [...] i hob kein Problem [...] im praktischen Unterricht oder im Geschehen fern der Heimat mit mir wild Fremden [...] im Theorieunterricht ist es für mich [...] wesentlich schwieriger hier fließend den auch für mich neuen Stoff er umzusetzen

[I'd describe my English as worthy of improvement [...] I don't have any problems in the practical classes or <when I'm cooking> with complete strangers far from home [...] in the theory lessons it is [...] much more difficult for me to describe the topics which are partly new to me too]

Extract 5.26. Cooking (T2)

1 RER (1) one of the stewarding: depart:ment is picking up er all the (.) wor- er all the
 2 dirty towels the jackets or and something like that (1) and so (.) er don't put it in
 3 the locker . (1) **okay ? (.)**

When leading to an extended repair exchange (TTS(TS)), RT II is often employed as part of standard didactics in rather teacher-centred ways of constructing knowledge in lock-step: teachers first introduce a term and then initiate repair concerning its meaning, picking up the response that suits their own plans. This strategy can also be employed to bridge the heterogeneity of general as well as hotel-specific language proficiency of the HMP group and sort out problems of lexical meaning. In Extract 5.27, for example, the term at stake, *stewarding*, is a very basic one to the food and beverage industry, which could be taken for granted in the third semester. In order to make sure that all students can follow her, however, the teacher initiates a negotiation-of-meaning sequence here.

Extract 5.27. F&B Management (T3)

1 AKL so what are the responsibilities of an F and B manager ? in a classic hotel
 2 operation , (1) here they are , (.) kitchen , restaurants , bar , banquet , stewarding .
 3 **anyone knows what stewarding is ?**
 4 Lura <1> dishwashing .</1>
 5 SS <1> yeah </1>
 6 AKL dishwashing . pot wash . dish wash . (.) stewarding , (.)

As already hinted at above, RT III (OTHREP) and RT IV (OTHIN) are used regularly by teachers as well as students in various speaker sequences (see Table 5.7). Other-repair without reaction is almost exclusively carried out by teachers, and it is particularly frequent in the first semester, maybe owing to the efficiency of the sequence in creating meaning (e.g. Extract 5.11 above). Furthermore, it is also frequent in the Cooking classes at T2 (see Table 5.7, RT III, column ST), reflecting the generally brief turns offered by RER. In line 1 in Extract 5.28, for instance, a large part of the content is left implicit. The student's answer in line 2 shows that he has filled the missing bits in correctly – most likely because of parallels to previous points of information – but uses an incorrect term, which the teacher repairs in line 3 in a friendly, yet minimalist way. This supports the teacher's own evaluation of his English as lacking the necessary proficiency level for teaching the theory classes.

Extract 5.28. Cooking (T2)

- 1 RER and ? (1) maybe you have leftovers
 2 SX-m staff kitchen
 3 RER **staff canteen that's true** .

As regards students' other-repair, most cases are imbedded in more extended sequences, except when it is directed at fellow students, which is usually completed in a single turn. The reason for that is most likely to be found in the fact that these exchanges are carried out by social equals and furthermore, in side-talk, i.e. potentially interfering with the main talk. They are thus kept as short as possible.

Other-initiated repair (RT IV) was initiated by teachers or students with almost equal frequency (see Table 5.7). Those teachers who were highly proficient in English and also experienced HMP teachers (TON, AKL) made use of RT IV more often than others and also received comparatively many instances of student-initiated other-repair. Interestingly, the latter is only true after the introductory phase: 2fin2 (TON) and 3fbm1 (AKL) produce 14 instances of student-initiated other-repair, while there are only 3 in 1fin1 (TON) and 1fom1 (AKL) taken together.

As this preliminary result points to different repair patterns at T1, T2 and T3, the whole data set will be analysed accordingly. In Table 5.8, the repair exchanges are split according to the three points in time and given in absolute frequencies (N) as well as percentages (%) per period. As could be expected from the overall assessment, the temporal split of the RTs I and V does not reveal any new insights; with the one exception that the low, but steady frequencies of both trajectories substantiate that their characteristics described above are independent of the stage of development in the Classroom Community of Practice. RT II also appears relatively stable, except for the teacher self-initiated repair at

Table 5.8. Repair exchanges per point in time (in absolute frequencies and percentages)

	II				III *				IV **				I+V			
	TS(TS)		ST(ST)		ST(STS)		TS(TST)		STS(TS)		TST(ST)		T		S	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
T1	9	8.4	2	1.9	25	23.4	12	11.2	27	25.2	12	11.2	16	15.0	4	3.7
T2	8	7.6	3	2.9	26	24.8	13	12.4	14	13.3	20	19.0	17	16.2	4	3.8
T3	11	12.1	2	2.2	10	11.0	24	26.4	9	9.9	16	17.6	16	17.6	3	3.3

* RT III: chi-square: 13.52; df: 2; p = 0.0012

** RT IV: chi-square: 8.75; df: 2; p = 0.0126

T3, which shows a slight increase in compensation for the relative decrease of other (initiated) repair at T3 commented on above.

In spite of this overall decrease of the RTs III and IV at T3, their statistically significant numerical distributions at T1, T2 and T3 reveal interesting, and partly reverse, developments. While at T1 teachers make use of both trajectories much more often than students, this relationship is reversed for RT IV at T2, but for RT III at T3 only. In other words, students displayed their willingness to initiate other-repair immediately after the first few weeks of getting to know each other and the HMP in general, but it took them a whole year to undertake other-repair on a large scale. Besides the shifting predominance in repairables, which will be discussed in the next section, one reason for this move towards more student (initiated) other-repair can be found in the types of contribution the students made during the three time periods. At T1, students had obviously not yet gained any subject-related knowledge, and could only initiate other-repair based on their general knowledge, as is the case in Extract 5.29, where the teacher's claim that a hotel comes without receptionists raises disbelief (line 2).

Extract 5.29. Front Office Management (T1)

- 1 AKL <referring to a type of hotel> there is no receptionist there
- 2 Suka **nobody is there to receive you**,
- 3 AKL yeah there will be one person there yeah but after ten o'clock there is nobody
- 4 there
- 5 Suka mhm

The few students who had gained relevant work experience before the HMP could already contribute on a different level at T1, as does Kosk in Extract 5.30. After the teacher has talked about the opportunities and risks involved in individual hotels cooperating with international brands, he wants to know how high the fee for such a cooperation would be (lines 1–2) and, based on his own experience, reacts with utter disbelief in line 9, reinterpreting the teacher's answer as a mispronunciation (*eighteen* instead of *eighty*). The teacher gives credit to Kosk's status as peripheral member (Lave and Wenger 1991) in the hotel industry by not simply correcting him, but rightly assuming that they have just uncovered a misunderstanding, which they both unravel in the ensuing interaction. Interestingly, this is the only instance of an instance of miscommunication in the whole data-set that is cleared up retrospectively by the participants. In other words,

this is the only true misunderstanding recorded of which the participants are unaware at the time of utterance (cf. 5.2.1).⁶⁴

Extract 5.30. Hotel Management (T1)

- 1 Kosk how much is (1) is er percent of the revenues . (or of) the total revenues . if you
- 2 have a brand (.) is it twenty percent ?
- 3 LER this is <8> totally <8> different </8>
- 4 Kosk <8> or (.) higher </8>
- 5 LER there is no system .
- 6 Kosk about (1) <9> or (do/don't) you have any idea . <9>
- 7 LER <9> I can't (.) I can't say it </9> no (.) no . it depends . (.) sometimes it's (.) it's
- 8 eighty percent sometimes it's twenty percent (1)
- 9 Kosk **EIGHTY percent ? (1) eighTEEN percent . (2)**
- 10 LER maybe I- I understood your question wrong . (.) say it <1> again . </1>

While the students offered as much other-repair at T2 as at T1, the number of students involved in other-repairing doubled: two months into the HMP 15 students mustered the confidence to initiate repair based on their limited professional background (see Extract 5.31).

Extract 5.31. Serving (T2)

- 1 FER head waiter , beverages (.) AND he is taking care of the checks .
- 2 Alac **and the staff ? (2) he does not control the staff ?**
- 3 FER the head waiter has only got one employee if you want . and that's the food
- 4 waiter .

During the third semester, then, not only had the students already completed half the course, but they had also gained hospitality-related work experience during their internships. These two facts taken together arguably equipped them with the background not only to influence the teacher-led classroom talk, but also to add knowledge of their own, as in Extract 5.32. Here, Hanb refers to his personal

64. While such misunderstandings must have happened more regularly, only a single student, Elig, could remember one misunderstanding she was involved in, when asked during the one-on-one interview (2nd sem, 2nd mth):

like we had a misunderstanding about below and above [...] In a presentation like we were discussing some kind of average, and how you calculate that and some student was using below saying above, @ and then we got kind of struggled because we were thinking totally different and we though hold on, there is something wrong, it couldn't be like that, and it was a person who also speaks German so I asked him what he actually mean and he told me in German so we figured it out that we meant the same thing but expressed the different things.

work experience and offers an alternative expression for what the teacher refers to as *bus boy* and, by doing so, enlarges not only his fellow students', but also the teacher's knowledge base, as AKL's acknowledgement in lines 15–16 illustrates.

Extract 5.32. F&B Management (T3)

- 1 AKL very strict system . but then have still , you have a bus boy as well . what's a bus
 2 boy , have you heard about this ,
 3 SX-m (xxxx)
 4 AKL he's the poor guy who has to carry the big trays to the station .
 5 Hanb **food runner** .
 6 AKL (.) food runner , (.) who was that ?
 7 Hanb me .
 8 AKL <@> food runner . </@> you wouldn't call it food runner @
 9 Hanb **no really** in .(.) (xx) it was the
 10 AKL is this erm is that an expression
 11 Hanb **they call them food runners** ,
 12 AKL who calls it food runner ?
 13 Hanb well <1> (xxxx) </1>
 14 SX-m <1> (xxx) </1> road runner
 15 AKL road runner @ food runner , (.) okay so there are more expressions . I've never
 16 heard food runner but bus boy ,
 17 Hanb =food runner is the guy who bring the overall food from the kitchen to the er (.)

Overall, the analysis of the speaker roles taken on by teachers and students in the repair exchanges has led to the following outcome:

- Irrespective of the moment in time, self and delayed meta-level repair strategies are used at low but steady frequencies and are, while sometimes also used by students, mainly employed by the teachers.
- The same is true for self-initiated repair, except that teachers use it more readily at T3, with the community of practice more firmly established.
- Other-repair is also used more often by teachers, in general and during the first semester (T1 and T2). In the third semester, however, students repair teachers' turns more often than vice versa.
- Other-initiated repair is the only type that is used equally often by teachers and students alike in the overall assessment, but displays different distributions in the course of time. At T1, teachers initiate other-repair more often, while students do so after the introductory phase only, i.e. at T2 and T3.

These results show that both teachers and students were actively involved in the HMP repair work, which might be a sign of how relevant repair was to ELF instructional settings on the whole. At the same time, they preferred different strategies at different stages in the developing community of practice, thus dis-

playing the different, even if fluent, roles that teachers and students take on in any classroom setting. Put briefly, teachers' repair behaviour can be characterized as aiming at an increase in mutual understanding by mainly offering other (-initiated) repair regularly, even more often so at the beginning of the course, and, less frequently, by using self-initiated repair. Self-repair was also used for the same purpose, except for a few cases of linguistic correction, but more on that later. Meta-level repair, on the other hand, was used seldom and if so, overwhelmingly in support of didactic concerns. While the students were also involved in all five types of repair, the numerical distributions show that their main activity lay with other-initiated repair and, with the HMP moving on, also with other-repair. In other words, their repair involvement took place reactively rather than proactively. In view of the fact that almost all lessons included (and observed) were clearly teacher-directed and -driven, the repair work described here accords well with the social roles of teachers and students, on the one hand, and, on the other, with the social dynamics in developing the community of practice. At the same time, however, the relatively high percentage of other (-initiated) repair carried out by students marks this classroom as different from those recorded in previous studies; this could be because of situation-specific variables (e.g. the age of the students), but it could also be influenced by the group relying on a lingua franca as their main medium of communication. In how far the latter reason is applicable will be examined more critically in the following analysis of the types of repairables.

5.4.3 Reasons for repair

As explained in 5.3.2, the list of repairable types contains eight categories, referring to different aspects of linguistic, interactional and factual trouble or conversational mismatches. The list is reprinted here in Table 5.9, together with the overall numerical distribution of the categories.

According to absolute occurrences, the categories can be subdivided into 'low' (gra, dis, ref, pron), 'middle' (facR, mis, voc) and 'high' (facI); a ranking that arguably mirrors the focus of the HMP classroom interaction. The repairable most often picked out (37%) is 'factual in the instructional register', which points to the transactional and content-oriented focus of the classroom discourse. The next most often used category, 'vocabulary' (21%), strengthens this focus. 'Mishearings', as third strongest category (19%), mirrors the relatively frequent problems of intelligibility and comprehensibility, so typical of ELF discourse (Jenkins 2000: 78). And the fourth one, 'factual in regulative register' (9%), underlines the instructional setting of the present data set. The four low frequency repairable categories (between 3% and 4%), finally, include the two linguistic

Table 5.9. Repair categories (overall distribution)

Types of ‘trouble’	Category name	Code	N	%
linguistic:	pronunciation	pron	14	4.1
	grammar	gra	10	2.9
	vocabulary	voc	70	20.5
interactional:	mishearing	mis	66	19.4
	reference	ref	13	3.8
	discourse	dis	11	3.2
factual	in instructional register	facI	125	36.7
	in regulative register	facR	32	9.4
Total			341	

aspects often at the forefront of attention in foreign/second language classrooms, namely pronunciation and grammatical correctness. As the numbers show, these are much less relevant for this ELF classroom interaction. Moreover, it also contains the interactional features ‘ref’ (i.e. establishing reference) and ‘dis’ (i.e. topic development and turn taking), which, most likely owing to the instructional setting, are much less often open to discussion than could be expected in less structured, everyday communication.

Overall, the frequency-based ranking of the eight categories (see Table 5.10) illustrates that the HMP repair work concentrated mainly on the kinds of repairables relevant to the classroom interaction: ‘facI’, ‘voc’, ‘mis’ and, to a lesser extent, ‘facR’. As the preceding analysis has shown that the patterns of repair

Table 5.10. Repair categories, per point in time (percentages per repair category)

Repairable categories	Overall	T1		T2		T3	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
facI *	125	41	32.8	50	40.0	34	27.2
voc *	70	25	35.7	21	30.0	24	34.3
mis *	66	36	54.5	21	31.8	9	13.6
facR *	32	11	34.4	12	37.5	9	28.1
pron	14	6	42.9	4	28.6	4	28.6
ref	13	3	23.1	5	38.5	5	38.5
dis	11	3	27.3	6	54.5	2	18.2
gra	10	6	60.0	2	20.0	2	20.0
Total	341	131	38.4	121	35.5	89	26.1

* chi-square: 13.21; df: 6; p = 0.0398

trajectories changed during the HMP, Table 5.10 presents the data according to the three points in time (T1, T2, T3). Interestingly, while the frequencies of the four most important categories of repairables reveal actual differences in usage (at a statistically significant level, see Table 5.10), it is only for one repairable category – mishearing – that a clear pattern is discernable. Of all mishearing cases, almost 55% took place in the introductory phase (T1), a further 32% a few weeks later at T2 and a mere 14% in the third semester (T3). This consistent decrease is a clear indication of a development in the HMP towards increased mutual intelligibility and comprehensibility.

With regard to the other categories of repairables, the temporally-based numerical distinction does not clearly identify any patterns. This does not mean, however, that developments are not observable in the data. As a qualitative approach reveals, the three main categories ‘facI’, ‘mis’ and ‘voc’ work together in different ways at the three points in time. At T1, the main problem is clearly the highly frequent cases of mishearing. What is at stake is thus intelligibility; the other aspects, i.e. specific lexical items or factual information, are somehow dealt with at the same time. Extract 5.33 is a case in point. Hars, an Indian student with previous education in accounting, offers an explanation of what financial accounting is all about (lines 1–2, 4, 6–7). While it is factually correct, it is only partly intelligible to TON (lines 3, 5, 8) (but also to the transcribers as the many inaudible syllables show). Therefore, TON and Hars enter into an elongated repair exchange (lines 8–18). By picking up various repairables, TON reconstructs Hars’s original comment, supported by his affirmative minimal responses, until they reach an outcome that seems to be successful to TON as well (cf. his confirming response in line 18). Similarly to other examples at T1, ‘mis’, ‘voc’, and ‘facI’ repairables work together in the generally teacher-driven attempt to make understanding possible.

Extract 5.33. Financial Management (T1)

- | | | |
|----|----------|--|
| 1 | Hars | (financial accounting)’s referring after they have managed erm after they |
| 2 | | managed the (period) |
| 3 | gra TON | uhu financial accounting is after the end of the- |
| 4 | Hars | after the end of the- perio- |
| 5 | voc TON | it’s historic . (2) |
| 6 | Hars | (let’s say make decision in financial accounting and it’s for the world or |
| 7 | | xx accounts xx) |
| 8 | mis TON | (1) sorry they , who who does that ? paying |
| 9 | Hars | internal management |
| 10 | facI TON | they do the day-to-day , |
| 11 | Hars | they plan (xt)he (xx) money they plan how to spend it , how to spend this |

- 12 facI TON **they plan how to spend the money**
 mis
 13 Hars ja
 14 facI TON **=they plan on the costs ,**
 15 Hars yeah
 16 voc TON **they plan the income , the sales**
 17 Hars yeah
 18 TON yes .

In contrast to the relatively passive role of the student in Extract 5.33 (and many other instances at T1), exchanges at T2 reveal a more active role taken on by the student participants in terms of reconstructing what has been said as well as which repairables need to be attended to. In Extract 5.34, for instance, the same players as in the preceding extract are trying to establish which category(ies) need(s) to be taken next in the process of solving an accounting problem. Hars's opinion (lines 2–3) is again unintelligible to TON, but this time it is not the teacher who rephrases the student's ideas, but the student himself (lines 6, 8, 10). As the teacher does not indicate his understanding (long pause at the end of line 10), another student tries to help out. This leads to TON's other-repair, which, however, is not correct in the eyes of Hars (line 13), who offers a repair himself (line 15). This the teacher finally accepts (line 16).

Summing up, Hars's increased activity in the ongoing repair exchange has surfaced in various ways, which are characteristic for T2 on the whole: students took on repair work themselves, which also included accepting or rejecting what seems fitting to them. One precondition for such behaviour was that the interactants were able to grasp quickly the preceding contributions; mishearings, whether acknowledged or not, must thus be much less frequent than at T1. This also came to the fore in the combinations of repairable categories, which include 'mis' much less often at T2 than at T1.

Extract 5.34. Financial Management (T2)

- 1 TON area everybody agree with that ?
 2 Hars within this is only this: area that we can choose . but if it is given building or
 3 what have then we can: what we have to use area as well as building . (2)
 4 mis TON I'm not quite sure what the wint- I'm not **I don't understand your**
 5 **question** (unfortunately) .
 6 Hars wh- when area begin: (.) the base from of area
 7 TON <3> yeah </3>
 8 Hars <3> and then like </3> this rent and rate
 9 TON yeah

- 10 Hars but if it is building given (.) area as well as building , (2)
 11 facI Suka **if both are given (.) building and area** .
 12 TON you mean u- some outside area or what .
 13 facI Hars **no**
 14 TON area=
 15 voc Hars =area **area means building** <1> and </1>
 16 TON <1> yes </1> yes okay

At T3, the situation is quite different. Mishearings happen seldom and if they do, then usually because an interactant starts their turn while another one is still going on, which leads to acoustic overlap as well as lack of concentration on concurrent contributions on the part of the speaker. The T3 data set does not include a single occurrence of ‘mis’ leading to repair on lexical or factual information anymore; instead, many more instances can be found of extended factual information repair as exemplified in Extract 5.35. This episode follows on a long narrative given by the teacher in which he tells about a former colleague who was unexpectedly fired from his hotel managerial post after a few months of successful work. Extract 5.35 contains the ensuing discussion, which reveals a high level of student involvement as they try to find out more about the reasons for and implications of receiving one’s notice so abruptly and unexpectedly. Factual ambiguities in the teacher’s representation of the event are questioned four times by two different students (lines 4, 12, 18, 25) and generally responded to by the teacher immediately except for the time lag right at the end of the exchange (lines 26–30). A lexical problem that arises in connection with the lack of an English equivalent for the Austrian expression *Kollektivvertrag* (lines 15, 16) can be bypassed because most students have gained enough background knowledge about Austrian labour legislation to know that this term refers to a collective agreement on minimum wages or salaries.⁶⁵ The fact that HMP- and future job-related German expressions have become part of group-knowledge is also indicated by Renb’s reference to trade unions with the German word (*Gewerkschaft*, line 25), which goes through as a non-repairable (on the role of German in the HMP classroom talk see also 6.4.4.2 and 7.4.5.3). This example is typical of extended repair at T3 in another sense: the individual steps contributing to a repair trajectory or exchange are not easily identifiable, mainly because the point at issue is more than simply negotiation of meaning; rather, the interactants are busily co-constructing knowledge.

65. As *Kollektivvertrag* becomes important in the analysis of interactive explaining, more information is given in ch. 7.4.5.3.

Extract 5.35. Service (T3)

- 1 Renb <in reference to a story the teacher has told about a colleague of his being
 2 fired with no apparent reason> <1> and what </1> was the reason ? (.) just ,
 3 FER there was no reason .
 4 facI Renb **he can't fire him**=
 5 FER =his superior ? his superior (.) was frightened (.) that he (.) might (.) gets
 6 the superior's job . (.) that was the reason . (2) that was the reason .
 7 Alac so
 8 FER never outspoken of course , never outspoken .
 9 Alac never be <1> (xx) </1>
 10 FER but now is my friend , now he's he is (.) general manager of
 11 Intercontinental , (.) in one of these hotels , (.) sorry ,
 12 facI Zian **they do no- not (.) kick you out just like that**, (.) they have to give some
 13 time notice in advance , (.) that's er (.) management .
 14 voc FER but er (.) because in in Austria if you work in management , (.) level (1)
 15 you do earn more money than the (.) <GERMAN> Kollektivvertrag
 16 <GERMAN> , (.) **I I can't say** , (.) in German <GERMAN>
 17 Kollektivvertrag <GERMAN> , so (.) er this this depends .
 18 facI Zian **yeah but it's in the contract** . you know like they have , (.) usually they
 19 have a probational period and then (.) if they want to (.)
 20 FER yeah
 21 Zian leave y- you out from the company=
 22 Renb =(xxxxxxx)=
 23 FER =yeah , yeah but (1) two days erm two minutes (1) two minutes pardon you
 24 leave the place .
 25 facI Renb <2> **but what about** (1) <GERMAN> Gewerkschaft </GERMAN> </2>
 26 FER <2> of course you get your salary (.) </2>yeah yeah you get your salary ,
 27 but you're not allowed to come BACK (.) into your office . (.) you get your
 28 salary . (.) you get your leave pay , (.) and so on and so on . (.) you do not
 29 lose any money in that case . (.) but of course you lose your face . (.) let's
 30 be honest .

Next to the intricate ways of how factual repairables are treated in different patterns with the progress of time, the analysis of repairable categories also reveals how certain repairables are preferably treated in the ensuing repair. This entails not only a correlation between the relevant categories of 'who' repairs 'what', but also a further subclassification according to the three points in time (T1, T2, T3) and identification of the speaker (T, S) who sets the repair going. The role which that speaker takes on depends on the repair trajectory: either as repairer (RT I, RT III) or as repair initiator (RT II, RT IV).⁶⁶ Table 5.11a includes

66. As RT V (delayed meta-level repair) has been used too infrequently for analysing it for preferential patterns, it has been omitted from this comparison.

Table 5.11a. Infrequently used repairable categories (by repair trajectories)

		I		II*		III		IV	
		T	S	T	S	T	S	T	S
pron	T1						2	3	1
	T2	1							3
	T3	1	1	1			1		
ref	T1	1				1	1		
	T2	2				3			
	T3			1		2			2
dis	T1			1		2			
	T2	3				1			
	T3						1		
gra	T1	2	1			3			
	T2	1				1			
	T3	1				1			

* Not all instances of RT II are included as the repairables of self-initiated repair without response are not clearly identifiable.

the four infrequently used categories of repairables, while Table 5.11b contains the four frequently used ones.

Taken in relation to the size of the corpus, the frequencies of the categories ‘pron’, ‘ref’, ‘dis’ and ‘gra’ are so low (see Table 5.11a) that they will have to be analysed with extreme caution. I will therefore restrict my interpretation to the fairly obvious distinction between ‘pron’ on the one hand and ‘ref’, ‘dis’ and ‘gra’ on the other hand. The distinction is based on repair trajectories chosen as well as players involved: referential, discursal and grammatical repairs are carried out mainly in self- or other-repair, while pronunciation repair is dealt with more interactively in other-initiated repair. This interactivity already implies that both teachers and students are involved in repairing pronunciation-based problems, which stands in contrast to the other three categories repaired mainly by teachers.

While, as stated above, the numerical base is relatively weak, the differential treatment could be an indication of how relevant the four categories were perceived to be in the given setting. Pronunciation repairables easily interfere with intelligibility, which means that, like ‘mis’, they receive attention from teachers and students. Referential, discursal and grammatical repairables can obviously also lead to problems of understanding, but the data show that they were only identified as such by the teachers. The reasons for this one-sidedness might be manifold and are beyond the analytical strength of the limited data set available

here. On a mere speculative level, I could imagine that the one-sidedness of the teacher-led instructional setting might have played a role as regards students' widespread 'let it pass' approach when it came to teachers' referential or topic-developmental ambiguities. Grammatical correctness, on the other hand, was not, on the whole, considered relevant, as was also found in interviews with students (e.g. Quote 5.9) and all teachers, including TON, who was British by birth (e.g. Quote 5.10). The irrelevance of grammatical correctness is reflected in grammatical repair, which often seems to have taken place out of habitual language use rather than grammatical considerations (see Extract 5.36, line 7; see also Extract 5.20 in 5.3.2).

Quote 5.9. Interview (2nd sem, 1st mth)

Alac: you <i.e. teachers> don't really need a high level of English cause that's not really the point I think . I mean as long as they get it across what they want to- what is important for the subject , if they don't have a fluent perfect English doesn't make a difference I would say

Quote 5.10. Interview (pilot phase)

TON: I got used to the fact that nobody speaks English properly [...] I don't really expect it . I simply try to adjust to what's going on , make sure the message gets through .

Extract 5.36. Financial Management (T1)

- 1 TON inside and outside , erm (.) why do we have to do accounting for the outside
- 2 world at all .
- 3 Clap ad<2>vertisment for (x) </2>
- 4 TON <2> yes , </2>
- 5 Clap for advertize the
- 6 SX-m company
- 7 TON **to advertize,**
- 8 Hars to submit the government ?
- 9 TON submit the gover- the government .

Of the frequently used repairable categories the one with the clearest pattern of preference is 'mis'. As clearly discernable in Table 5.11b, cases of mishearing were usually treated by other-initiated repair, at T1 mainly initiated by the teachers, and then more evenly by teachers and students. This result fits in with the previous description of mishearings, firstly, as relying on OTHER to be started, and, secondly, as being one of the main reasons for repair at T1. This longitudinal development away from 'mis' as highly relevant repairable adds a new insight into previous research on ELF interactions in different settings (e.g. Jenkins 2000; Wagner and Firth 1997), in that it shows that intelligibility and comprehensibility are major issues in ELF communication only as long as the

Table 5.11b. Frequently used repairable categories (by repair trajectories)

		I		II*		III		IV	
		T	S	T	S	T	S	T	S
facI	T1	3		5	3	11	7	8	3
	T2	2		4	1	17	7	7	12
	T3	1	1	3	1	5	9	5	8
Voc	T1	4		4		6	1	3	4
	T2	4	1	7	1	4	2	1	2
	T3	6	1	8	1	3	3		1
Mis	T1	2			1	3		24	4
	T2	1						6	10
	T3							6	3
facR	T1	1		1	1	3	4	1	
	T2				1	3	6		2
	T3	1		1		1	3		3

* Not all instances of RT II are included, as the repairables of self-initiated repair without response are not clearly identifiable.

participants do not know each other so well; that is, as long as they have not established a functioning community of practice.

As exemplified in Extracts 5.33, 5.34, 5.35, ‘voc’ and ‘facI’ were the most central categories to repair work throughout the HMP data. This is supported by the correlational view taken in Table 5.11b, which shows that all repair trajectories were employed in carrying out lexical and factual repair in the instructional register. Similar to the result of the preceding section, self(-initiated) repair tends to be teacher-driven, other(-initiated) repair shared between teachers and students. What is new information here is the preferential treatment of ‘facR’, factual repair in the regulative register. In contrast to instructional facts, it was mainly dealt with in other(-initiated) repair, instigated by students more often than by teachers. In Extract 5.37, for instance, Cana other-repairs the teacher’s assumption in line 5, pointing out that their materials do not include what TON presupposes.

Extract 5.37. Financial Management (T2)

- 1 TON <referring to a problem given in the textbook> what are they asking us to do by
- 2 the time we are finished . (3)
- 3 Cana (xx simple) questions
- 4 TON hm ?
- 5 Cana (1) **there is no (valid) question**

- 6 TON yeah
 7 Hanb **no**
 8 Cana <@> in our books there isn't </@>
 9 Hanb (here is by any xx so much)
 10 SX-f @@ (6) <TON paging in his book>
 11 TON now you're right
 12 SS @@@@

In conclusion, the analysis of the correlation between repairables and trajectories further describes the patterns of repair work already introduced in the preceding sections. Let us start with what repair work in the HMP data is not. It is not mainly focused on grammatical correctness or referential or discoursal disambiguation, and if such repairs are carried out, then this is usually by teachers without initiation move (RT I, RT III). This indicates their marginal status in making the HMP interaction a successful one, which, in turn, marks the HMP as fundamentally different from ESL/EFL classroom interaction with its high percentage of repair for linguistic correctness (e.g. Markee 2000: 110–111), but as relatively closer to CLIL classroom interactions. While the results of Dalton-Puffer's (2007: 236) study are not directly comparable (non-repaired deviations from the L1 language norm were counted as repairables), similarities can be detected with regard to the marginality of grammatical repairs. Pronunciation repairs, on the other hand, were executed much more frequently in the CLIL classes, most likely because of the generally accepted L1 norms, which the data have underlined to be comparatively irrelevant in the HMP lessons.

What repair work in the HMP data *is* all about can best be described by turning to the frequently employed repairables. The one most often repaired, 'facI' (instructional facts), is also the most central one insofar as it is treated by teacher and students alike with the help of all repair trajectories during all three time periods. Its functional overlap with 'voc' (lexical items) established previously, has found support in the constructive collaboration in which these two repairables engage in the process of establishing intersubjectivity in terms of both language and content. This is another point where the HMP and CLIL classroom repair work show parallels (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 239–240). The second most frequent repairable in the HMP data-set – 'mis' – marks it again as different from culturally homogeneous CLIL classes. Mishearings are more restrictedly repaired in temporal and interactional terms. The fact that they are concentrated at T1 (introductory phase) and preferably treated by RT IV (other-initiated repair) mirrors this category's prime relevance in keeping up intelligibility in the ELF interaction, especially when it is taking place between factual strangers. After the introductory phase, mishearings are less and less frequently identified: a

point in favour of a developing community of practice with its growing shared repertoire.

The final category of repairables, factual information in procedural matters ('facR'), is handled in all trajectories, but mainly by other-repair. It is executed by teachers as well as students who show general interest in the regulations and requirements of the developing lesson.

5.4.4 Face threat and (in)directness: repair carried out by OTHER

Extract 5.37 not only illustrates students' pro-activity in the sorting out of procedural issues, but it is also an example of how directly other-repair is often verbalized in the data set. Both students formulate their opinions or contradictory ideas without using any modifications or gambits, i.e. pragmatic lubricators (Edmondson and House 1981: 180). On the one hand, this is an instance of 'calling a spade a spade', i.e. formulating one's intentions as clearly as possible, which is what is important, especially in an ELF setting. On the other hand, however, such unmitigated contradictions are somewhat unexpected in view of the potential face-threat associated with other-repair, especially when performed by the conversationally less powerful party (see 5.3.3). It is therefore even more remarkable that the teacher's response does not reflect any surprise at all. He first contradicts the student's opinion statement (in line 6), but, after having checked the student's claim, agrees with it in line 11, without any detectable sign of anger or insult. While this example fits the high degree of directness observed in ELF interaction in other settings (cf. 2.3.3), it is in sharp contrast to observations made in English L1 discourse on the relevance of indirectness to linguistic politeness (e.g. Brown and Levinson 1987, see also 6.2) as well as some of the classroom based studies referred to earlier for the sake of comparison (5.2.4). Since, however, indirect formulations are often linguistically opaque, they can lead to transactional vagueness, which is, I would suggest, the heart of the problem of indirectness in ELF settings. How this two-sidedness of indirectness – transactional vagueness and interactional appropriateness – is dealt with in other (-initiated) repair in the HMP will be discussed below.

The focus here is on the linguistic realization of the other-initiation move for RT IV and the other-repair move for RT III. As explicated in 5.3.3, each move has been analysed according to its own classificatory set of categories. Both sets describe indirectness, but of different kinds. The one relating to RT IV (OTHIN) concerns specificity and explicitness, and relates to the transactional clarity of the repair-initiation. The other one, used for RT III (OTHREP), classifies (in)directness with regard to modification of evaluative judgements, thus dealing with the interactional sensitivity of other-repair to the interactant's face.

Table 5.12. Verbalizations of repair move (RT III) and initiation-move (RT IV)

RT III (repair move)			RT IV (initiation move)	
<i>Code</i>	<i>Brief description</i>		<i>Code</i>	<i>Brief description</i>
dirn	direct + negative	direct/ explicit	def	request for definition, explanation or translation
	evaluation		req	request for repetition
dir	direct evaluation	indirect/ implicit	hyp	OTHER’s understanding or hypothesis
dirp	direct + positive		repw	(partial) repeat (with question word)
	evaluation		min	minimal feedback or queries
mod	modified		non	no verbalized initiation / no uptake

The categories of both sets are reprinted in Table 5.12, together with the brief descriptions originally given in Tables 5.2 and 5.3.

Table 5.13 contains the quantitative overview of the realization strategies of RT IV. As some instances of other-initiation consisted of more than one strategy, the total sum is slightly higher than the 115 cases of RT IV given in Table 5.6. Otherwise, the numerical distribution shows that the strategies have been employed to varying degrees. The lowest is a mere two for the most indirect strategy, ‘non’, which stands for the lack of any uptake of the initiation. In both examples, the teachers decided to ignore the respective student contributions originally asked for by continuing with the explanation themselves. In both cases, one is included in Table 5.3, I suspect the teachers judged the student’s contributions to be in need of repair in more than one way, with regard to factual content as well as intelligibility, which might have led to their ad-hoc decision to ‘overrule’ the student contributions by offering their own explanations. That such instances occur only twice in the whole data-set suggest, however, that teachers preferred not to use it at all. Their general approach seems to have been to try to make sense of students’ contributions.

Table 5.13. Realization strategies for other-initiation (RT IV)

		Total		T-initiated*		S-initiated*	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
direct	def/expl	20	16.4	5	7.2	15	28.3
	req	17	13.9	11	15.9	6	11.3
middle	hyp	14	11.5	5	7.2	9	17.0
	rep(w)	34	27.9	18	26.1	16	30.2
indirect	min	35	28.7	28	40.6	7	13.2
	non	2	1.6	2	2.9	0	0.0
Total		122		69		53	

* Columns included in the chi-square test: chi-square: 18.96; df: 4; p < .0008

The students' tally in the 'non' category is zero. If taken literally, this could be interpreted as an indication of students always initiating repair when considered necessary by them. This is, of course, far from reality. Not only do students take mental time-outs at regular intervals in any kind of classroom setting, the generally imbalanced division of speaking rights and times would also not allow for students offering their other-initiation whenever they have lost the thread. The tendency is rather the other way round: the more often students find the ongoing interaction non-understandable, the less likely it is that they will initiate a repair. Jins, for instance, admitted in our one-to-one interview (Quote 5.11) that she had had immense problems following the classes, but was one of the quietest students in class, as my own observations showed and teachers' comments confirmed. In view of these facts, the unreported cases of students following the 'non' strategy must be assumed to be noticeably more numerous, which also fits to similar results from (mis)communication research described earlier in this chapter. So, what is actually measured by the zero account for 'non' on the students' part, is something different, namely that there were no instances in which a student had the turn at talk but ignored a preceding teacher or student initiation. In other words, it shows that students always acknowledged preceding contributions.

Quote 5.11. Interview (1st sem, 3rd mth)

Jins: at first I was really didn't understand anything from every teachers [...] but more- more and more I take a class I think I getting used to be hear them .

When turning to the other strategies, interesting differences in use between teachers and students become apparent (Table 5.13, last two columns). In four out of five cases, teachers made use of three strategies (min, rep(w) and req), and most often they used minimal queries. This stands in contrast with the students who made use of all five strategies more evenly, but preferred to initiate repair by repeating parts of the prior utterance (rep), rendering their understanding of what they heard (hyp), or asking directly for definition or explanations (def). So, generally speaking, students initiated repair in more direct ways and more often than teachers. This result finds support in Liebscher and Dailey O-Cain's (2003) study on repair realizations in integrating content and language classrooms at tertiary level in a foreign-language context. In their study, students were also found to use more direct strategies immediately, while teachers tended to start an other-initiated repair exchange with an indirect strategy first, before applying more direct ones. This, the authors convincingly argue, is due to the differences between instructor and learner roles that the participants are enacting. Their students "try to understand the vocabulary used and they show that they follow the classroom discourse by providing a candidate understanding ['hyp'], making sure that their understanding is the right one". (Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain

2003: 388) At the same time, the students do not use minimal, unspecific queries because, so the authors claim, it might reveal their lack of attention. Whether this is a valid point for more language and content integrating classes cannot yet be ascertained with the available studies, but it is definitely not the case for the HMP classrooms. Minimal queries, most of which are provoked by a mishearing, were an integral part of making understanding work in this ELF classroom, for teachers as well as students. As can be judged from the interactions following such repair initiations, the employment of ‘min’ was not interpreted as a sign of a lack of attention on either side. Extract 5.38 stands for many other examples in which the teacher interprets the student’s unspecified repair initiation (line 2) as indicating non-understanding of his prior move, rephrases it (line 3) and thus achieves shared understanding (line 4).

Extract 5.38. Financial Management (T2)

- 1 TON it’s the number of yards in a mile . @@@ okay , you- India has gone metric . (1)
 2 Suka **yeah ?**
 3 TON you’ve got kilometres now ,
 4 Hars yeah kilometres

One implication for such a typical co-occurrence of problems of mishearings and minimal repair initiations is that its frequency might change with time. As established above, cases of ‘mis’ decreased dramatically from T1 to T2 and T3, as did the ‘min’ instances (see Table 5.14). While the numerical distribution of the other categories does not reveal any statistically significant, temporally-bound changes, the steady decrease in minimal queries in absolute numbers as well as percentages relative to the point in time (T), seems to indicate a preference for the use of other strategies instead of the fairly unspecific minimal query. A quantitative argument for this development is the afore-mentioned decrease in

Table 5.14. Realization strategies of OTHIN (RT IV), per point in time

		T1		T2		T3	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
direct	def/expl*	6	11.1	9	21.4	5	19.2
	req*	7	13.0	6	14.3	4	15.4
middle	hyp*	6	11.1	3	7.1	5	19.2
	rep(w)*	17	31.5	10	23.8	7	26.9
	min*	18	33.3	12	28.6	5	19.2
indirect	non	0	0.0	2	4.8	0	0.0
Totals		54		42		26	

* Rows included in the chi-square test: chi-square: 5.46; df: 8; p = 0.7053

mishearings. In addition, however, a qualitative look at the actual instances of other-initiated repair shows that, even in the cases of mishearings, the students' initiating behaviour after the first introductory days also seems to have undergone some changes. Instances of mishearing at T2 (there were very few at T3) were often treated in different and more direct ways than at T1.

Extract 5.39. Service (T2)

- 1 FER P T means part time and F T E full time equivalent .
- 2 Anle **hu ? how to say ?**
- 3 Anns **equivalent hu ?**
- 4 Anle last one as well or ? (.) **how to say ?**
- 5 Anns I don't understand. (xxx) <turning to Alac> **what did he say ?**
- 6 Alac P T is part time and F T (E) is (xxxx)
- 7 FER P T is written down ar- already .
- 8 Anle **what is the last word ? (20)**

In Extract 5.39, for instance, Anle, a Korean student with limited experience in using English as medium of instruction, and Anns, an Indian student whose complete educational career was conducted in English, cannot understand the teacher's explanations of field-specific acronyms (line 1), and initiate repair by using minimal queries, but in combination with other strategies: Anle adds a request for repetition (line 2) and Anns a repetition of parts of the repairable (line 3). As the students' initiations take place at a moment of increased interfering noise, the teacher does not respond immediately. This makes the two students specify their problems and repeat their questions, first directed at the teacher (line 4) and then, as the teacher is busily writing on the white board, directed at a fellow student, Alac, who provides them with the required information, immediately followed by the teacher drawing their attention to the white board where he has written down the requested information. While this combination helps Anns to grasp the concept, Anle is still unsure about the last word and initiates another repair trajectory (line 8), which is then responded to non-verbally by Anns showing Anle her own notes (information taken from written field notes).

This example, which chronologically is the earliest one of this type, thus illustrates how students started to help each other linguistically after the introductory phase and how, irrespective of their language proficiency level, students showed readiness to use various, and mainly quite explicit, strategies to gain a more detailed understanding of the lesson events.

Besides the application of different strategies for one type of repairable, a detailed analysis of actual repair initiations can illuminate how the same strategy was used differently at T1, T2 and T3. Such an approach not only transcends

the limits of quantification, but also sheds light on the developing social roles teachers and students took on. A case in point is the use of the most explicit realization – request for definition, explanation or illustration (‘def’) – and how one student made use of it at three occasions. Extract 5.40 took place in the first Hotel Management lesson of the HMP, Extract 5.14 in a Service Theory lesson almost two months later, and Extract 5.42 in a Food and Beverage (F&B) Management lesson a year later. This means that three different subjects and teachers were involved, but the same student who acted as repair initiator in all three cases. Lura started the HMP with no professional knowledge and very limited previous experience in using English, but with a high level of motivation to learn in both regards, as his response to my question shows whether he would choose the HMP again (see Quote 5.12).

Quote 5.12. Interview (1st sem, 3rd mth)

Lura: I wanted to go out of [home country] and I wanted to erm get more international because [...] that are my goals , so I wouldn’t change it , because actually I learn I think after this course I will speak perfectly English , because I will use it the whole time for two years , and then I will probably continue studying <in an English-speaking country>⁶⁷

As Lura also displayed a genuine readiness to be actively involved in the classroom interaction, his regular turns at talk make such a chronological comparison possible. In all three extracts, the repairables are aspects of content presented by the respective teacher, about which Lura requires more information. At T1 the factual repair could also be due to problems of intelligibility: Extract 5.40 follows the introduction of a new term, usually referred to by the acronym ‘revpar’. Lura has obviously not grasped the term in full and requests further specification in line 1. As the teacher is still busy finishing her previous thought in line 2, Lura repeats his request in part again (line 3) and receives the required information in line 4.

Extract 5.40. Hotel Management (T1)

- 1 Lura: **does it mean** per available ROOM or per available <8> ROO:M:S: . </8>
- 2 LER <8>(edu)</8>(c)ation ? (2) I (find) it’s (xxxx) <LER talking to other SS>
- 3 Lura: **room** ?
- 4 LER revenue per available room

In the example of T2 (Extract 5.14), the teacher is describing the duties and responsibilities of specific positions in restaurants and reaches the ‘head waiter’

67. This is also what Lura did. He continued his hotel management-related studies at an Australian university.

in line 1. Here, Lura, again overlapping with the teacher's turn, requests an extension of the job description given by the teacher by indirectly questioning his explanation of the head waiter's duties (line 2). The teacher's response turns down this request by adding more factual knowledge and thus enlarging Lura's knowledge base (line 4). So Lura's request for more explanation has led to precisely that, even if in ways not anticipated by the student.

Extract 5.14. Service (T2); [also used in 5.3.1.]

- 1 FER beverages yes . the guest orders the beverages <1> with the head waiter . </1>
- 2 Lura <1> **he is not ordering food** </1> (.) **also with the head waiter ?**
- 3 FER the food waiter ,
- 4 Lura oh so even have different (xx)

In Extract 5.41, turn 2 (line 4), Lura applies the same requesting strategy, again questioning an implicature of the teacher's preceding turn, this time that hotels of a certain size have their own room service departments. In this case, however, he further specifies his request for explanation by offering the restaurant as alternative himself. The teacher's response in turn 3 (lines 6–7) is interesting because it is, in interactional terms, so different from the one Lura received in Extract 5.14. In Extract 5.41, AKL not only acknowledges Lura's suggestion, but also, in a rather vague fashion, combines it with the preceding information given by another student. While these two pieces of information display differing ideas of hotel management structuring, the teacher accepts both, thus granting the students the expert knowledge they both gained theoretically at the HMP and practically during their internships (cf. 7.4.4.2 for similar findings).

Extract 5.41. F&B Management (T3)

- 1 AKL six hundred fifty rooms means thousand two hundred beds , (.) so you would need
- 2 your own room service department . (.) of course five star class Hotel Shangrila is a (.)
- 3 quite priced=
- 4 Lura **=don't they usually do it round their kitchen ?** (.) room service ? it doesn't go under
- 5 restaurant .
- 6 AKL usually , (.) if you don't have a separate room service department , (.) like Jenz
- 7 said , (.) it goes- it's a revenue producing area , but usually it's run by the restaurants .

In contrast to the two preceding examples of initiating repair by requesting a definition, explanation or illustration, the one of T3 has thus led to a student's initiation not only (a) clarifying a student's mishearing or (b) unclear understanding of the content matter, but also (c) lastingly influencing the interactional outcome of the repair exchange for the whole group. These three aspects are hierarchical

and cumulative in the sense that (b) presupposes (a) and (c) presupposes (a) and (b). A note of caution is, however, necessary here: by using examples of T1, T2 and T3 to present the three types of interactional impact of 'def' as repair initiation, I do not wish to imply that each type is exclusive to its respective point in time. In the face of the multiplicity of repairables and ensuing repair initiations throughout the data set, this would be a rather preposterous simplification and also misleading, as the data also show: cases of (a) can be found throughout the data-set, (b) starts 'flourishing' after the introductory days and those of (c) are rare and appear in the second year of the HMP only. In other words, I have chosen to analyse these very examples because of their typicality of the other-initiated repair exchanges at the three points in time as they exemplify the respective hierarchical notch which repair exchanges have reached by that time in the HMP interaction.

Overall, the analysis of the realizations of repair-initiations used in the HMP data has shown that teachers as well as students generally preferred rather explicit and direct realizations, except when this was not possible, as in the case of unintelligibility. Since these cases of utter non-understanding decreased with the HMP progressing, minimal queries were also used less often at the later stages. More direct strategies were employed relatively frequently, also in connection with repairables of factual information. Here, the detailed analysis of three examples of 'def' has shown that one and the same realization type was employed for different interactional purposes in relation to intelligibility/comprehensibility and knowledge construction. In other words, directness in terms of explicitness has a very important role to play in repair-initiation.

What does this outcome imply for directness in other-repair with its potentially implicit face-threat? As shown above, indirectness tends to be seen as an important carrier for face-saving interactional behaviour and linguistic politeness, at least in L1 contexts, and other-repair has been found very rarely in everyday conversation, which has been explained by the potential face-threat inherent in it. Even in L1 classroom settings, fully-fledged other-repair, i.e. the non-cluing type, has been recorded less often than other-initiated self repair (McHoul 1990: 354). In additional language classrooms, however, more other (-initiated) repair seems normal (e.g. Dalton-Puffer 2007: 234, Kasper 1985) and the face-threat inherent in it is somehow suspended in favour of language correctness and achieving intelligibility. While the former is, as has been shown above, not an issue in the HMP, the latter surely is.

With other-repair as popular as it is in the HMP data set, the question remains: how (in)directly is it formulated? Table 5.15, second column provides the simple answer: very direct. Of all 106 instances of other-repair, only 13 are modified in some way ('mod'), all of the others are formulated without any

Table 5.15. Realization strategies of OTHREP (RT IV)

			T1 *		T2 *		T3 *		T1		T2		T3	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	ST	TS	ST	TS	ST	TS
dirn	42	39.6	9	22.5	21	53.8	12	44.4	4	5	12	8	3	9
dir	41	38.7	23	57.5	8	20.5	10	37.0	15	7	5	2	5	5
dirp	10	9.4	4	10.0	5	12.8	1	3.7	3	0	4	0	1	0
mod	13	12.3	4	10.0	5	12.8	4	14.8	4	0	4	1	1	3
Total	106		40		39		27		26	12	25	11	10	17
%		<i>per T</i>							68.4	31.6	69.4	30.6	37.0	63.0

* chi-square: 13.87; df: 6; p = 0.0311

modifications or gambits of any kind. Ten of them are explicitly positive in their repair ('dirp'), while the others are either neutrally formulated ('dir') or negatively so ('dirn'). This means that the use of lubricating devices considered so central to 'good' language use and relevant to considerations of face (e.g. Edmondson and House 1981: 69; House 1999) appear only occasionally, such as in Extract 5.42.

Extract 5.42. Front Office Management (T1)

- 1 AKL Best Western is not a hotel chain **necessarily**, it's a referral group we talk
2 about it's a marketing corporation yeah

As these few modified instances were uttered by four teachers and three students with highly different linguistic, cultural and professional backgrounds in reaction to four different types of repairables (dis, voc, facR, facI), it is not possible to discern any specific patterns of use. Therefore, modified other-repair can only be described as an exception to an apparently shared convention of repairing as directly as possible. The temporal view on the data (see Table 5.15, columns 3–5) supports this interpretation: directness is equally preferred at all three points in time. The only difference recorded is a statistically significant increase in negatively formulated evaluations at the expense of neutrally formulated ones. At T2 this is partly due to the interactional style of RER, the teacher with relatively low English language proficiency. As illustrated in Extract 5.43, the teacher encourages the students to keep guessing until the anticipated response has been found, which leads to a succession of negative other-repair.

Extract 5.43. Cooking (T2)

- 1 RER <7> (1) first you have to order the fresh chicken (1) what's next (2) </7>
2 Kosk <1> wash <2> it </1>
3 SX-m <1> hm <2> wash </1> it </2>
4 Sy-f <2> (xx) </2> clean <3> it </3>

5 Sz-f <3> clean </3> it
 6 SX-m (wash the chicken)
 7 RER **no**
 8 Zian marinate it
 9 RER **no**
 10 Anns clean it
 11 Lura debone it
 12 RER **no**
 13 Kosk take it out of the box
 14 RER **no**
 15 Alac chop the head off
 16 RER (1) e:r (2) the chicken (.) is al:ready dead
 17 Zian check <1> if the chicken (1) check if the chicken is good at all . (.) if <2> it
 18 sme:lls , </2> </1>
 19 SS <1> <@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@@> </1>
 20 RER <2> **no** (.) </2> the next one is (.) check the quality
 21 Zian **that's what I said**

But not all of the increase in negatively formulated other-repair at T2 and T3 can be linked to individualistic language use. As the numerical distribution already indicates (Table 5.15, last three columns), students made use of negatively formulated other-repair more often with the progress of time. Explicit and unmitigated contradictions to the teachers' statements of opinions became more frequent, as in Extract 5.44, line 3. In this case the student seems to feel misrepresented by the teacher's summarizing statement and disagrees vehemently. Interestingly, the teacher's reaction does not reveal any surprise at such an evaluatively forceful student-repair. On the contrary, AKL integrates the points made by the student and adapts her own view accordingly. There are, in other words, no indications of any hurt feelings or lacking considerations of face.

Extract 5.44. F&B Management (T3)

1 Jenz =AND the rooms- room service , they order the food from the restaurant .
 2 AKL yes , (1) they order food from the restaurant generally ,
 3 Jenz **NOT from the restaurant (chain)** , (.) the restaurant
 4 AKL from the from the kitchen , (.) from the main- from the restaurant they order
 5 from the menu which is in the restaurant . (.) they work there together with the
 6 kitchen . (2)

Summing up the analysis of OTHREP (RT IV) instances, it has become quite clear that directness, even when it is negatively formulated, functions as the generally preferred way of carrying out other-repair throughout the HMP data set, irrespective of repairable or speaker role. In contrast to Austrian CLIL classes,

where modified repairs were preferred for older students and/or procedural repair (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 247), the modifications recorded in the HMP data are so rare and exceptional that they support the apparent convention of being direct. That the directly formulated other-repairs did not trigger any negative reactions, either in the ongoing interaction, or in comments later on, is a good indication that paying attention to OTHER's face was not linked to the degree of (in)directness of other-repair. To put this differently, concerns of face-threat did not seem to play a role with regard to how (in)directly HMP participants carried out other-repair. This marks the HMP classroom interaction as different from ELF/ESL and CLIL classrooms, in which degrees of directness could be linked to (potential) face-threat (e.g. Dalton-Puffer 2007: 250; Seedhouse 1997).

In combination with the preference for direct repair initiations established above, it seems safe to conclude that the interactants of the HMP lessons valued directness highly. This does not, however, reveal some lack or strangely different considerations of face; rather, it is arguably a consequence of the interactional asset of explicitness inherent in direct formulations, which, the data seem to suggest, ranks particularly highly in the ELF classroom discourse. Therefore, it can be suggested with some confidence that the overwhelming directness in initiating and executing other-repair in the HMP data-set was not experienced as an expression of the interlocutors' face-wants, but rather of their intention to increase intersubjectivity by being as explicit, specific and, by implication, direct as possible. Seeing that the relevance of explicitness did not seem to falter with the progress of the HMP, directness in this sense can be described as an integral feature of other-repair in the HMP classroom interaction.

5.5 Conclusions

The detailed analysis of repair strategies has opened up an intricate web of insights into how the participants of the HMP, teachers as well as students, engaged in repair work in co-constructing shared understanding, against all the odds of diverse linguistic, cultural and professional backgrounds. In what follows I will unravel the most important threads of this web of results and conclude this chapter by tracing how the interactants worked on their interactions 'under repair'.

As the creation of shared understanding is a complex process that works on various levels, I will first turn to what cannot be discerned from the surface level or the textual evidence of the ongoing interaction. As latent miscommunication plays an essential role in the interactional success experienced by the respective interlocutors, but lies largely beyond the reach of linguistic analysis, insights into

these hidden areas could only be gained from the participants' evaluations voiced in the interviews. As described in detail in 4.3.2 and summarized in 5.1, most teachers acknowledged the different levels of language proficiency amongst the students, but judged the level of understanding as generally sufficient. The students' comments revealed more diversity in their views on how successful the HMP communication felt to them, but they generally agreed on the increasingly positive experience all of them had once the initial phase of getting to know each other was passed. In other words, while the latent communication problems individual students experienced in following the lessons or understanding other students lie beyond linguistic description, the interview data suggest that they diminished in number and relevance with the progress of the programme. Mutual understanding, including intelligibility, is thus, I would suggest, not simply a 'myth' of this ELF discorsal setting (cf. House 1999), but a goal the participants were consciously aware of and pursued consistently and actively throughout the whole HMP.

On the reassuring information about the dwindling size of the '(mis)communication iceberg', we can turn to its tip – the verbalized instances of mismatches between speaker intention and listener interpretation, i.e. the cases of interactional repair. The quantification of all instances has shown that, compared with other classroom settings, repair is a very frequently used strategy in the HMP and that it decreases over the course of time. In contrast to everyday communication (Schegloff, Jefferson and Sacks 1977), but also most classroom settings (e.g. Markee 2000) as well as ELF academic discussions (Mauranen 2006b), other-repair was used very frequently overall: in the first semester mainly by teachers, who were then overtaken by the students. A similar shift in active users is observable with the second most frequently employed repair trajectory – other-initiated repair. Here, teachers were more active users in the introductory days of the HMP only. Afterwards, students initiated more repairs in the role of OTHER. While this trajectory has been described as highly popular in most classrooms (e.g. Kasper 1985; van Lier 1988), its interactional role seems to be a different one in the HMP data: instead of the wide-spread endeavour of ESL/EFL/CLIL teachers to help students express what they want to say by giving them the right clues in other(-initiated) repair, HMP teachers (and also students) needed to enter into repair sequences because of genuine communicational trouble. Cluing and helping (van Lier 1988) were thus not used as a pedagogical strategy, but were rather an integral part of interactional work as such. In other words, in order to make the interaction into a success for the participants, they all worked together (cf. Mauranen 2006b), indicating to

each other when further elaborations were needed, which seems to me to be an integral feature of ELF classroom interaction.⁶⁸

The strongly-felt interactional focus also explains why self(-initiated) repair plays an exceptionally minor part on the whole. Except for a few cases of self-initiated repair with which teachers try to pre-empt potential interactional problems, self(-initiated) repair is obviously not judged interactional enough to respond adequately to interactional ‘trouble’. Additionally, participants seemed to feel little need to self-repair potential linguistic errors, which is also discernable from the negligibly low incidence of language-norm related repairables in the data. In this respect, repair at the HMP is fundamentally different from that found in other classrooms so far, since in the latter corrective repairs for the purpose of keeping up generally established language norms are regularly executed. Even in the Austrian CLIL classrooms, in which most teachers do not want to correct students’ linguistic errors, mispronunciations are often repaired (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 236). The absence of such repairables in the HMP is a clear sign of its ELF nature. It shows that the participants focus on COMMUNICATING in the fully situated here and now. Furthermore, repair is most often dependent on what matters most in the Classroom Community of Practice – facts of content or of classroom procedure and lexis. Procedural matters are clearly important to all participants and solved whenever necessary, often in other-repair. Lexical uncertainties about items used are relevant throughout the HMP and partly overlap with uncertainties about factual information, which is why the two repairables have been looked at jointly.

During the introductory phase (T1), factual repair is not only noticeably shorter, but also frequently intertwined with problems of intelligibility and comprehensibility. Once students and teachers have learnt to “understand each other” (Quote 4.50), mishearings happen much less frequently, which is even quantitatively deducible from the significantly reduced frequencies of repairs triggered by mishearings during the second part of the first semester (T2) and even more so a year later (T3). This long-term development within the HMP classroom talk is revealing in two ways. There is, firstly, the preponderance of problems of intelligibility and comprehensibility identified as typical of ELF communication (e.g. Jenkins 2000; Wagner and Firth 1997). While the present results support this finding, they specify it further in that the longitudinal developments away from repairing mishearings to co-constructing (views on) topics suggests that problems of intelligibility and comprehensibility characterize ELF talk only initially

68. As the following discourse-pragmatic analyses will show, this interpretation finds support in similar communicational patterns as regards directives (see 6.5) and interactive explaining (see 7.5).

(cf. also Ehrenreich 2010). Once an ELF community of practice has established itself, such difficulties based on mishearings are arguably decreasingly relevant, allowing more space for negotiating interpretability as well. Secondly, this temporary relevance of pronunciation-based trouble to ELF talk has implications for long-term educational communities of ELF practice: with the intelligibility hurdle lowered considerably, repair on factual information can develop more and more into jointly constructing knowledge, which means that teachers and students can increasingly devote more discursive attention to the actual teaching and learning processes.

A longitudinally more stable pattern has been detected in the actual verbalizations of other(-initiated) repair. Generally speaking, directness in terms of explicitness has surfaced as the driving force in initiating as well as executing other-repair. Concerning the latter, most other-repairs are carried out without any modifications, irrespective of whether they are neutrally or negatively evaluative. As the data have not offered any hints at directness having any implications for SELF's public face, it seems well founded to suggest that directness in other-repairing comes stripped of any face-threat in the Classroom Community of Practice (CCoP). This interpretation is further supported by OTHER initiating repair and its preferred directly formulated initiations. Apart from the cases of mishearing, repairs to which can only be initiated by fairly unspecific minimal queries, teachers, and even more so, students preferred explicit ways of initiating repair. The fact that it was students rather than teachers who used more direct initiations reflects the differences between instructor and learner roles, with the latter wanting to (show that they) understand what is going on in the lesson (cf. Liebscher and Dailey-O'Cain 2003). While the direct student-initiations of other-repair support their learner role, the increasingly complex ways in which students use direct initiation strategies indicate a qualitative change in their learner role from primarily unravelling cases of intelligibility/comprehensibility at the beginning of the HMP towards participating in joint construction of knowledge in the third semester.

If we pull the individual findings together, the analysis of the HMP repair work permits three revealing conclusions. Firstly, repair is a highly relevant discoursal strategy in such an ELF educational setting in interactional as well as transactional terms. Interactionally, it enables the participants to achieve intersubjectivity (Schegloff 2000) across the different sociocultural backgrounds and sociolinguistic experiences and expectations to be found in the Classroom Community of Practice. On a transactional level, repair permits students to engage actively in the construction of objects of learning even when this is not anticipated or invited by the teacher. It is with the help of other(-initiated) repair that students are able to offer their expertise and to influence what is finally

accepted as the factual content of the respective lesson. One precondition for other(-initiated) repair to be used for this end is that the students must have left their professional novice status behind and gained some relevant experience themselves.

This insight already hints at the second conclusion to be drawn from the preceding analysis: the repair activities of the HMP classroom interaction reflect the participants' interactional roles and how they develop over time. At the beginning teachers and students engage in repair work with the aim of sorting out problems of intelligibility and comprehensibility that might impede the content the teacher is trying to get across. In other words, the repair activities support the instructor and learner roles of teachers and students respectively. In the third semester at the latest, repair is used much more widely, also as regards social dynamics. Since the students have gained CCofP-specific as well as more general hospitality expertise, they can engage in more challenging repair work as regards what is being repaired, but also in terms of the implications this interactional process has for the participants' roles. While the learner roles as such remain unquestioned – the students have, after all, chosen them voluntarily –, they undergo some extension, allowing for the learner's expertise as a source of new information. As repair work is an interactional process, the role extension is made possible by students and teachers alike.

The third conclusion relates to the specificities of the repair verbalizations found in the data-set. The pervasively found directness with which other (-initiated) repair tends to be formulated points to a locally developing interactional convention along the lines of 'directness means explicitness, and no threat to public face'. Directness in other(-initiated) repair thus supports the assumption of the HMP participants forming a community of practice with its own interactional expectations and communicational conventions.

Chapter 6. Directives in aid of classroom organization and educational talk

6.1 Introduction

In view of the present study's aim of describing classroom interaction in ELF discourse-pragmatically, it would be a methodological oversight to bypass the discursive devices that stimulate most interactional exchanges in the first place – questions, or more generally put, directives (e.g. Searle 1969). After all, except for the monologic lecturing so typical of large university classes (e.g. Flowerdew and Miller 1996; Goffman 1981), teachers, but also students, keep 'directing' each other in the general motivation to develop lessons interactively.

If we keep their different institutional roles in mind, it is not surprising that teachers and students engage in classroom exchanges and their initiations differently (see 2.2.1.2). Research has shown that teacher questions and directives are all-pervasive and function in various ways (for a discussion see 6.2; e.g. Iedema 1996; Richards and Lockhart 1994: 185–188; Tsui et al. 2004). Most importantly, they help to organize the progress of the lesson and thus allow for and require students' active participation (Morell 2004: 328). While students' social role can be described as reactive rather than active, especially so in teacher to whole-class interaction in traditional classrooms (Cazden 2001: 50–51), the local interactional dynamics do not preclude exchange initiations from their side. On the contrary, it has been shown that students have, and find an active part, even if in varying degrees, from very few (e.g. Musumeci 1996) to highly diverse student questions and/or directives (e.g. Dalton-Puffer 2007: 101–123).

This finding is particularly relevant as the HMP lessons were clearly traditional in style with teachers in the generally dominant role. HMP classroom interaction, on the other hand, can be described as under repair (see chapter 5) in the metaphorical as well as the conversation analytical sense. Within the social role relationships of traditional lessons, teachers and students alike regularly worked on their communicational success by participating in the process of establishing intersubjectivity. In other words, the participants sought understanding in support of making the teaching and learning endeavour a satisfactory one for both sides. The fact that teachers and students acted in concert in this regard goes hand in hand with the two characteristics which the ethnographic description (see chapter 4) has identified as endonormatively fundamental for the HMP: its choice of classroom language and its educational specificity. As expressed so well by the Public Relations teacher MER (cf. Quote 4.55 in chap-

ter 4), using English as classroom language places both teachers and students ‘into one and the same boat’ of those struggling to achieve understanding by using a lingua franca. Furthermore, the educational specificity of the HMP implies the ulterior motivation of the participants to build up a solid knowledge base necessary for, and advantageous to a future career in the hotel business. Given that the students decided on the Hotel Management Programme of their own free will, and paid a considerable fee for it, the knowledge to be gained in the HMP was not only a necessary precondition for passing the course, but also had course-independent relevance (cf. Table 4.4, 4.2.3.3). As expressed by Anns in Quote 6.1, many students indicated their vested interest in making the knowledge offered in the HMP classes their own.

Quote 6.1. Interview (1st sem, 3rd mth)

Anns: yeah because now I’m more motivated to study than I I I’m like I have to do it and in India was least for the (xx) I left one chapter in science , I’ve not done that chapter , okay , nothing matters , it’s only for five months I leave it . but now I think I’m really into studies because I have to study now . and I want to actually .

Seeing that classroom organization and discourse can thus be described as particularly important to both teachers and students, it is the aim of this chapter to investigate how the ‘directing’ was being done, and responded to, in and through ELF in the HMP classroom and the roles teachers and students played in this dynamic process. To put it differently, the following investigation will describe teacher-student exchanges in view of how the participants organize classroom activities and construct the respective object of learning (cf. 2.2.1.1) by focussing on directives.

In an attempt to avoid confusion about the understanding of ‘directive’ applied in this study, Halliday’s (2004: 107) elusive rendering of the primary speech functions is used as a basic description (cf. Dalton-Puffer 2007: 180). As illustrated in Table 6.1, speakers can either give or demand whatever is at stake (metaphorically described as commodity), which in turn can be either goods and services or information. This leads to the four primary speech functions, of which all but statement can function as exchange initiators. Questions, defined as demanding information, elicit verbal responses, while offers and commands, both of which fall into what is often described as directives, concern actions and goods, i.e. non-verbal commodities.

In an attempt to capture the ‘directing behaviour’ in the HMP in its entirety, the ensuing analysis will include directives for both commodities and how they are employed by the social players in aid of discursively developing lessons. As points of comparison, two kinds of research suggest themselves: the classroom-

Table 6.1. Speech functions

Speech role in exchange	Commodity exchanged	
	(a) goods-and-services	(b) information
(i) giving	offer <i>(would you like this handout?)</i>	statement <i>(he's giving her the handout)</i>
(ii) demanding	command <i>(give me that handout!)</i>	question <i>(what is he giving her?)</i>

based studies already referred to above and research on ELF discourse. While the latter has mainly been concerned with oral practices other than classroom talk, it offers helpful preliminary insights into formal and functional aspects of how ELF users issue directives (e.g. Meierkord 1996). In sum, this chapter will analyse ELF directives (i.e. questions, commands and offers in the Hallidayan sense), produced by teachers and students as they are employed to initiate exchanges in organising the class and constructing objects of learning. Therefore, this chapter aims to provide results relevant to the research concern ‘Who utters what directives when and how, and what changes in the course of the HMP?’. Before the data analysis can be presented (6.4), however, the analytical framework will be described (6.3), which, in turn, necessitates a detailed discussion of the concepts employed and how they relate to previous research (6.2).

6.2 Conceptual background

Directives have received a good deal of investigative attention in recent decades, especially so because of their function as speech acts, used by speakers to influence the hearers’ behaviour in a way advantageous to the speaker (Vine 2004: 15–17). This means that they impose the speaker’s will on the hearer, thus influencing interpersonal relationships. The strategies used in handling relations with others while pursuing one’s interactional goals have cumulatively been referred to as linguistic politeness (Thomas 1995: 158). As it includes strategies intended to improve relations, but also those that aggravate relations, it is seen as an explanatory model for why speakers’ impositions on their interlocutors are phrased in certain ways. Apart from this generally shared understanding of politeness, however, it has been described differently in the main theoretical approaches that have dealt with it (e.g. Kasper 1996; Lakoff and Ide 2005; Watts 2003). The most influential theory is clearly Brown and Levinson’s (1987) universalist approach, which has been harshly criticized, however, for transmitting

a Western bias, lacking a clear definition of politeness, confusing formal and functional criteria, and postulating mutually exclusive categories that square badly with actual speech act realizations (for an overview of the criticism cf. Meier 2004). In brief, the theory appears fundamentally shaken in its claim to universality and applicability. Interestingly, though, many present-day studies still refer to it (Kasper 1996; Lakoff and Ide 2005), if for no other reason than the tenet that politeness behaviour is intrinsically linked to people's face (cf. 5.2.4), which has been taken over in politeness studies as the speaker's and hearer's "feeling[s] of self-worth or self-image" (Thomas 1995: 169). These in turn can be, and often are, threatened by certain speech acts or simply by the fact of being spoken to.

Among these strategies, a very prominent one is indirectness (cf. 5.2.4), which "occurs when there is a mismatch between the expressed meaning and the implied meaning" (Thomas 1995: 119). While this mismatch is far from easy to describe insofar as indirectness refers to "any type of deviation from a straightforward [...], immediate [...], explicit, and unambiguous expression of the things and issues meant (including their implications)" (Linell and Bredmar 1996: 419), data-based analyses have the advantage that they do not need to treat the distance between the two expressed and implied meaning comprehensively. Rather, they focus on individual instances of indirectness, whose linguistic realizations can be used for the assessment of the 'expressed meaning' or, in Searle's (1969) terminology, propositional act, while their co-texts and wider contexts offer insights into the 'implied meaning' or illocutionary act as well as the hearer's interpretation or perlocutionary act. These types of meaning are also influenced by the modifications that speech acts come with, such as hedges or supportive reasons. In general, it must be pointed out that analysts are limited in their analyses by what evidence there is in the respective discourse, and that they might, and often do, miss certain shades of meaning simply because they have not left any traces in the text being analysed.⁶⁹ On the other hand, however, the reliance on textualizations has the great advantage that analyses are transparent in themselves and can be compared with each other. In other words, the first step of analysing speech acts according to levels of (in)directness might be time-consuming, but is relatively straight-forward. What is more difficult is the second step hinted at above, namely how to interpret the (in)directness observed in the data. As so often in data interpretation, theoretical considerations as well as research aims play a major role here.

69. Cf. the discussion on misunderstanding in ch. 5.2.1 for the same problem of not being able to uncover all levels and aspects of miscommunication in discourse-based analyses.

This means that, in analysing directives, indirectness and modifications are both highly relevant because they can soften the blow of the potential imposition, i.e. they can help reduce the face-threat of the directive. But the situation is slightly more complex than that: it has been shown that there is no simple inverse relationship between indirectly formulated directives and face-threat, nor for that matter between indirectness and politeness (for an overview cf. Meier 2004). Depending on situation and context, indirect speech acts can even increase the face-threat, especially so when they are considered inappropriate. In other words, what interlocutors consider as fitting and acceptable in a specific setting and at a certain moment in interaction plays a crucial role in what kind of linguistic politeness a certain form carries. For this reason, Meier (1995: 351) suggests social acceptance or appropriateness as the main descriptor of politeness. Research should thus not focus on the degree of politeness inherent in certain linguistic features, but instead analyse how they “pattern and are perceived in particular contexts to fulfil certain functions.” This means that preconceived notions should be abandoned in favour of those evolving as relevant from the ongoing interaction (cf. also Locher and Watts 2005).

This understanding of politeness is particularly helpful for studies into ELF (House 2008). As Aston (1993) argues so convincingly for bi/multilingual speakers of English (B/MuESs) in general, their points of departure and expectations for making intercultural communication work are highly different from those of monolingual English speakers (MoESs). This is also reflected in the interactional norms and conventions followed in the joint efforts taken to make interactions work transactionally, but also interactionally in pursuit of comity, i.e. “the establishment and maintenance of friendly relations” (Aston 1993: 226). As I have argued repeatedly above, both aspects were clearly equally relevant for the participants of the HMP because of its two-year period of forming and developing a community of practice that functioned in a *lingua franca*. Therefore, considerations of politeness in the following analysis of directives should be understood as those of appropriateness.

In view of the many investigations focusing on directives, it is not surprising to find that the key concepts have been used in various, partly overlapping ways. It is therefore deemed necessary to define them as they are employed here and delineate in how far this differs from other relevant studies (6.2.1). This will be followed by a critical assessment of the conceptual complexities involved in using and analysing control acts (6.2.2) and questions (6.2.3).

6.2.1 On defining directive

Since the early days of speech act theory (Austin 1962; Searle 1969), ‘directive’ has been defined as capturing all communicative acts which are “attempts [...] by the speaker to get the hearer to do something” (Searle 1976: 11). While other terms – notably request – have been used instead of or together with directive in later studies (Vine 2004: 24), its basic meaning has remained relatively intact. Where different interpretations became apparent, it concerned what the hearers were supposed to do. As discussed in detail in Vine (2004: 23–26), Searle’s original conception included verbal and non-verbal action on the hearer’s part, but subsequent researchers tended to handle the notion divergently. Some followed Searle (e.g. Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989; Ellis 1992), while others restricted directives to non-verbal actions either implicitly (Ervin-Tripp 1976) or explicitly (e.g. Jones 1992). This was also true of classroom-based research of the early days (e.g. Holmes 1983), which followed Sinclair and Coulthard’s (1975) explicit distinction between elicitation (requiring a verbal response) and directive (requiring a non-verbal response). When seen in connection with Halliday’s classification of primary speech functions (see Figure 6.1), the distinction between the two types of commodity (goods-and-services vs. information) is not only a functional one, but it is also formalized in the linguistic system: while the giving and demanding of information have prototypical grammatical resources (statement and question), the giving and demanding of goods-and-services do not (Halliday 2004: 110). In other words, the language system itself supports the decision many researchers have taken in distinguishing between directives that require verbal and those that require non-verbal responses.

With regard to classroom research, the verbal vs. non-verbal distinction is also engrained in the oral practice itself, the main purpose of which is an information-based teaching/learning process carried out verbally. Especially with regard to teacher-whole class interaction in non-practical subjects, as is the focus here, non-verbal behaviour fulfils a subordinate role. The fundamentally different roles played by information exchange vs. behaviour in the classroom also come to the fore in the distinction between the regulative and instructional registers and their differing interactional patterns (see 5.4.3, 7.4.2). While there is no one-on-one mapping between register and commodity asked for, the following discussion will reveal the intricate roles played by directives in distinguishing the two registers.

The question therefore is less whether to draw the line between speech acts requiring verbal and non-verbal responses, but rather which terms to use for the subcategories (see also Figure 6.1). Since directive has generally been retained as the superordinate term (e.g. Dalton-Puffer 2005; Vine 2004: 26), the present

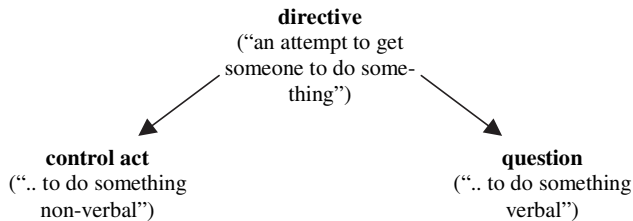


Figure 6.1. Terminological distinction

study will do the same and use directive as a cover term for all “attempts on the part of the speaker to get the hearer to perform some kind of action or cessation of action” (Ellis 1992: 5), with speaking being one kind of action. For the directives requiring verbal responses the most obvious term is ‘question’, which will also be used in this study. Its appropriateness rests on the combined effect of theory and practice as, on the one hand, it reflects Halliday’s theoretical distinction of speech functions and, on the other, it is also the descriptor used in all classroom-based research, be it rather pedagogical/educational (e.g. Edwards and Westgate 1992; Mehan 1979) or applied linguistic (e.g. Ehlich and Rehbein 1986; Marton and Tsui 2004). This leaves the second type of directive in need of a fitting term. Given that command has been used as semantic descriptor (Leech 1983: 114) of a more specific kind of directive (Schiffrin 1994: 58; Vine 2004: 26), this study will use Ervin-Tripp, Guo and Lampert’s (1990: 308) notion ‘control act’, which is defined as “any moves which could be interpreted by the speaker or the hearer as an attempt to affect the [non-verbal] behaviour of an addressee or hearer.”

6.2.2 On control acts

Control acts have not only been studied relatively frequently, but also in diverse oral practices, ranging from parents-children interaction to work scenarios of various kinds (cf. Vine 2004: 16–19 for a concise overview). The main motivation for doing that lies in the mainly interactional, or, in Hallidayan terminology, interpersonal nature of control acts. While they are uttered so as to trigger specific responses, they also lastingly influence how social players relate to each other. By analysing such communicative acts, researchers therefore aim to gain insights into how interactants make use of language to achieve certain reactions from co-interactants in specific discourse settings, by which they co-construct their complex and constantly developing interrelationships. Ervin-Tripp’s (1976) influential early study, for instance, concludes that directives were uttered in different forms depending on non-linguistic factors, such as familiar-

ity, rank or difficulty of task. Within speech act theory, these influencing factors have also come to the fore in the linguistic and contextual rules or conditions that have been de- and prescribed for specific speech acts (Schiffrin 1994: 64–66). The problem inherent in such a structural understanding, however, is that it leads to a degree of abstraction of utterance types that seems to square badly with the dependency of the individual utterance on its specific co-text (Schiffrin 1994: 60). As a consequence, such research has produced an array of detailed descriptions of speech acts with their own sets of rules and conditions (e.g. Leech 1983: 203–212; Mey 1993: 118–123). Recently, and most probably influenced by the philosophical current of social constructivism, discourse analytical studies seem to have moved away from such a predilection for hard-and-fast rules and generalizable results. Instead, fundamental distinctions are sought, according to which qualitative analyses of instances of speech acts within ongoing talk are undertaken. Two convincing studies along such lines are Holmes and Stubbe (2003) and Vine (2004), which investigate, amongst other linguistic aspects, control acts in workplace settings in New Zealand. While their analyses are based on partly different concepts, both show that the relevant factor for the type of control act carried out is power, especially when considered in its complexity as product and as process. As product, power is regarded institutionally and surfaces in interactions in the social role relationships between interlocutors, which co-defines their “ability to control others and [...] to accomplish [their] goals.” (Holmes and Stubbe 2003: 3) As process it surfaces in ongoing discourse when interactants “enact[], reproduce[] and sometimes resist[] institutional power relationships”. With regard to control acts power as product becomes apparent in the relative institutional status of the interactants and the type of control act carried out by the speaker. Power as process, on the other hand, becomes apparent in the hearer’s handling of the directive (Vine 2004: 30–31).

While the present study is not concerned with workplace settings, the two faces of power are equally relevant in its classroom setting. As argued in 2.2.1.2, the teacher holds the higher institutional status, generally unquestioned by all students, which still leaves the students with their own interactional power, however, as will be shown by the following overview of research undertaken on classroom interaction in English as an additional language. More precisely, we will turn to relevant studies undertaken from three areas of research: inter-language pragmatics (ILP), and, as in the preceding chapter, language-focused research on integrating content and language in education (ICL/CLIL) as well as English as a lingua franca (ELF).

Besides its concern with the acquisition of pragmatic aspects in classroom settings, ILP research has focused on describing classroom language use in an additional language which has led to a sizable number of observational studies

(cf. Kasper 2001 for a concise summary). While those studies that concern control acts rely on diverse terminology, such as requests or directives, they all concern speakers' moves to make hearers "do or stop doing something" (Hatch 1992: 122). It is thus possible to compare the relevant studies as regards the three focal points 'forms of classroom organization', 'classroom socialization' and 'degree of (in)directness'. These points aim to capture underlying research motives and are not intended to be mutually exclusive.

The first group of studies concerns differences in pragmatic language use and how they relate to different forms of classroom organization, such as teacher to whole-class, group- or pair-work interaction. While the detailed results are less interesting for the present study with its focus on teacher to whole-class interaction, these studies show clearly, and not unexpectedly, that the organizational form has a clear impact on students' verbal behaviour insofar as teacher-whole-class interaction disfavours active student involvement in uttering control acts. From the typical ILP point of view with its interest in language use as an indicator of language learning, the "teacher-fronted lockstep format" (Kasper 2001: 36) is thus fairly restrictive as it precludes students from actively using, and thereby practising, certain speech functions.

The second grouping of interlanguage pragmatics studies focuses on those whose main issue is socialization patterns and their influence on control acts used in class. This developmental perspective has led to two research interests: the procedural one of (generally young) pupils being socialized (e.g. He 2000; Iedema 1996), on the one hand, and, on the other, the linguistic consequences resulting from such socialization processes (e.g. Ellis 1992). The latter strengthens the outcome of the first group of studies summarized above by illustrating that the type of language aspects used and thus practised in classroom settings cannot be as broad and varied as in non-classroom settings. In other words, it is relevant to keep in mind that patterns of language use cannot easily be dissociated from the oral practice and situation in which they have been established.

The former research interest of socialization patterns, the procedural one, springs from the pedagogical endeavour to make usually implicit aspects of classroom management explicit and thus enable all students, also those with different sociocultural and sociolinguistic backgrounds, to become active and empowered participants in classroom discourse (Christie 2001; Christie and Martin 1997). With regard to control acts, Iedema's (1996) analysis of teacher commands based on systemic functional linguistics shows convincingly that they become more abstract, varied and indirect the more advanced, and thus more socialized, pupils are. As the HMP is attended by advanced – and educationally socialized – students, initial educational socialization is less of a concern here. What is more relevant in this context, however, is the multiculturalism of

the group and the concomitant differences in educational socializations which the individual students bring with them (cf. 4.2.3.3, 4.3.1). While this is a general feature characterizing the HMP overall, it can also be expected to surface in actual language use. Even if only partly comparable, He's (2000) study of language use in Chinese Heritage Language Schools in the USA illustrates that the Chinese teachers employed control acts in aid of socializing their students, who usually attend mainstream American schools, into their version of Chinese "cultural views and norms regarding the self and the other". (He 2000: 136). The situation of the HMP is clearly different with mainly Austrian teachers involved in professional education of an international group of adults. Linguacultural aspirations can thus be expected to focus on making communication work in the lingua franca and in preparation for a professional culture rather than any national or ethnic ones (cf. also 2.3).

The third grouping, degree of (in)directness, refers to a very fundamental motivation of undertaking interlanguage pragmatics studies on the whole, namely to describe the realization strategies of, in our case, control acts in relation to the degree of (in)directness and types of modification employed, which are then interpreted in terms of sociocultural and interactional factors, such as speakers' L1s, levels of L2, power relationships and appropriateness/politeness. In order to provide an overview that presents this point in all its complexity, I will draw on various studies in what follows, including some not set in classrooms, but often interpreted in terms of language learning.

Following a cross-linguistic approach by comparing Japanese- and English-medium classes, Falsgraf and Majors (1995) analyse the degree of (in)directness in teachers' control acts and find that the directives uttered in elementary Japanese (as native and foreign language) classes are formulated much more directly than those in English-medium classes. This, the authors conclude, reflects two relatively disjunctive factors: the authoritative status of the teachers as well as the close and informal relationship between teachers and students (Kasper 2001: 38). Lörcher and Schulze (1988), on the other hand, investigate directives used in German EFL classes and interpret directness quite differently. In accordance with Brown and Levinson's (1987) theory of politeness, they understand politeness as intrinsically linked to indirect formulations and consequently interpret the high degree of directness found in their EFL classroom data as lacking politeness. This they attribute to the asymmetric power relationship of classrooms as well as the absence of pragmatics teaching, which leaves the students lacking indirect or modified ways of realizing their contributions. This means that each study finds one of its explanations in its respective research motivation: language use as influenced by sociocultural factors (familiarity between teacher and students) vs. language use as an indicator of language learning. What is in-

teresting is that, despite the obvious differences in setting and research agenda, both interpretations assign the high degree of directness in part to the asymmetric power structure in classrooms. As the power imbalance is a recurrent feature in classroom research more generally, it must not be overlooked, but should, at the same time, also not be given too much emphasis in explaining indirectness. Other factors such as the specific institutional settings, students' age, degree of familiarity between teachers and students, or language proficiency levels seem to play a sizable role as well.

A further line of explanation is that of cross-cultural influence. So, German native speakers have been found to favour direct over indirect strategies (e.g. House and Kasper 1987), and this could also have played a role in Lörcher and Schulze's setting. In view of the many results of interactive sociolinguistics that point out the strong influence L1 communicative norms have on L2 language use (e.g. Gumperz 1982; House 2003b), it would not be surprising to find a similar kind of cross-fertilization in speech act behaviour. A case in point is the study by Bardovi-Harlig and Hartford (1996), which compares the preferential use of English speech act types of native and non-native speaking students in interaction with native speaking tutors. Its insightful finding that the two groups of students use different speech acts – suggestions vs. rejections – supports the cultural embeddedness of speech acts on the whole. This is also true for the linguistic realizations of speech acts as has been shown in detail in one of the most influential ILP projects, the CCSARP (Cross Cultural Speech Act Realization Project, e.g. Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989). The aim of this very ambitious project was to provide speech act realization data from speakers of various first and second languages, which was intended to be comparable for cross-cultural analyses. For that purpose, the researchers decided on two speech acts – requests and apologies – and designed a discourse completion test, i.e. a list of scenarios requiring the respective speech act which the respondents were asked to complete in writing. The responses given were then coded, which provided quantitative data for cross-linguistic/cultural comparisons. The dimension of indirectness is particularly prominent in the CCSARP as it is one of the main classificatory dimensions of the speech act strategies employed. While the methodology has been criticized for eliciting in writing what should be spontaneous speech acts and thus leading to results that can only with difficulty be interpreted as actual speech act realizations (e.g. Trosborg 1994: 300–304), the various results clearly show culture-specific differences in, amongst other linguistic features, indirectness, thus bringing forth ample evidence of the cultural embeddedness of speech acts.

The latter consideration also plays a role in content-and-language-integrated (CLIL) classrooms, as they make use of an additional language, but are often

marked by “one default reference culture” (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 177) that should be taken into account when interpreting speech act realizations. The problem in this context, however, is that classrooms, as indicated above, have their own discourse rules as well, which complicates the decision on what is specific to the L1 culture, and what to the oral practice. Nikula (2002), for instance, reports on an investigation of Finnish CLIL and EFL classrooms in which most control acts were carried out in a limited amount of mainly direct strategies despite the teachers’ much wider linguistic repertoire. While this could be seen as a cultural specificity, it concurs with the German EFL classroom data in Lörcher and Schulze (1988) described above. The question is thus what is more important: the classroom setting and/or using a second language. As far as previous research shows, there is no easy answer because it is most probably much too sweeping a question, ignoring the multidimensionality of the subject matter. A study that illustrates how these two cultural levels of classroom and language interrelate is Dalton-Puffer’s (2005, 2007: chapter 7) investigation of directives in Austrian CLIL lessons. Her detailed analysis paints a highly situated and differentiated picture: student directives generally lack any modifications, whether they are formulated in the L1 or L2, while teachers’ directives differ in directness depending on various factors, such as students’ age, familiarity, type of classroom register (instructional vs. regulative), but also preceding discourse and idiosyncratic specificities. These differences are convincingly argued as reflecting in subtle and mediated ways the “interrelated factors [...] ‘personal communicative style’, ‘cultural style’, ‘L2 persona’, and ‘degree of language proficiency’ ” (Dalton-Puffer 2005: 1287).

The linguacultural intricacies become even more extreme when turning to ELF interactions. Instead of the ‘mere two’ of CLIL classes, ELF situations often deal with so many that it becomes unfeasible to try and attribute specific verbalizations to one specific linguaculture. As argued in 2.3.1.3, the multilayered and fluid mix of diverse linguacultures creates transculturality (e.g. Pennycook 2007) or a third place (Kramsch 1993). In other words, culture is still a very relevant, multilayered factor, but its complexity warrants specific interpretative care and a particularly detailed analysis of the relevant textual occurrences. Along these lines, the ELF study that has dealt with speech acts most comprehensively – Meierkord (1996) – contains a detailed description of ‘requests’, or directives according to the definition given above. During dinner-table conversations amongst international students at a UK student residence, Meierkord (1996: 172–190) collected 108 instances, 70 of which were directly described from audio-tapes and the rest were taken down in field-notes. Based on an analysis according to the CCSARP coding system, she finds that the participants in this type of casual conversation (Eggins and Slade 1997) prefer relatively direct

formulations, i.e. direct and conventionally indirect ones, with little modification. This is interpreted as a consequence of the participants' desire not to be misunderstood, a point clearly at stake in ELF communication.

In summary, the studies of control acts described above hold the following insights relevant to the present study. Firstly, the oral practice teacher-whole class interaction has its own norms of how control acts are employed and also by whom, especially with regard to the high institutional status of the teacher. In keeping with the transactional focus of classroom interaction, control acts come in a limited set of strategies. While investigative results differ, rather direct strategies and little modification seem to be more commonly used, which is also what the admittedly limited ELF insights seem to suggest. At the same time, the possibility of more varied realizations of speech acts cannot be ruled out either for the Classroom Community of Practice (CCoP) since differentiations according to familiarity, personal and cultural communicative styles as well as L2 language proficiency have been observed in relatively comparable CLIL classrooms. A final insight to be drawn from previous study concerns research methodology. The step of explaining degrees of indirectness and types of modifications employed is highly interpretative and must be undertaken with due caution.

6.2.3 On questions

Questions seek "a response that facilitate[s] the transmission of information in line with the overall goal" (Schiffrin 1994: 182) of the oral practice. They thus direct the listeners into responding or, put differently, impose a preferred action on to them. In other words, questions can and need to be described in terms of imposition and face-threat, which also surfaces in the types of indirectness and modification strategies employed. In the oral practice in question, however, the situation is different because it is centrally defined by the exchange of information. As the HMP students' answers, given in the questionnaires and interviews, reveal (cf. 4.2.3), most of them contended that their main motivation for taking such a programme was learning about hotel management as the basis for a career in the hospitality industry. Of course, other reasons also played a role, such as the school's reputation, the medium of instruction or the duration of the course, but they were taken as facilitating in the process of accessing the new information that many students expressed as their main aim.

While teachers have a clearly different role in any classroom, the wish for information exchange and input from all sides was also very prevalent in the teachers' comments. In Quote 6.2, for example, the Front Office teacher reports that she likes to ask students for their assistance in areas in which they have

gained practical experience. As illustrated in Quote 6.3, other teachers judge the exchange of information to be a two-way process since they themselves profit from the internationality of the student group and the diverse kinds of information present in it.

Quote 6.2. Interview (3rd sem, 3rd mth)

AKL: when I introduce the subject dass ich sag okay wer hat schon gearbeitet an der Rezeption und so wie's im [anderen Kurs] ist ist der [eine Student] zum Beispiel der hat schon viel gearbeitet an der Rezeption sag ich okay you'll be my assistant for this semester also dass ich die einbinde und sag okay springt's wenn ich was erzähl wo jemand anderer das schon weiß auch er soll da mit mir den Unterricht gestalten

[when I introduce the subject I ask who has already worked at a reception, just like it is in [another course] where there is a student who for example has already got a lot of front office experience, then I'll say okay you'll be my assistant for this semester so that I integrate them and I tell them to jump when I talk about something that somebody else knows something about, then they should structure the lesson together with me]

Quote 6.3. Interview (2nd sem, 2nd mth)

OUL: ich bin immer offen natürlich [...] weil's ja doch Leute sind aus vielen Nationen wenn einer irgendwo gearbeitet hat irgendwo in an internationalen Hotel oder auch in an lokalen Hotel im Ausland zu erfahren wie's dort läuft ja es ist natürlich nur in auch in meinem <@> Interesse </@> auch egozentrisch gedacht weil es ist sehr interessant auch für mich zu erfahren wie's dort läuft

[I'm always open of course [...] because there are after all people from many different nations so when somebody worked somewhere in an international hotel or also in a local hotel abroad (I'm always open) to learn how things work there it is after all also in my own <@> interest </@> thinking selfishly because it is very interesting for me to learn how things work there]

Overall, the participants' opinions illustrate quite well that information is central to the theory classes of the HMP and therefore also to its classroom interaction. Goods and services, on the other hand, are peripheral, as they are used, required and needed in support of information exchange, rather than in their own right. In other words, questions can be expected to function differently from control acts.

Furthermore, questions are "organizational devices within a lesson and [...] indicate the desire for a shared discourse" (Morell 2004: 328). The latter aspect echoes the imposition generally associated with directives as well as the benefit to the speaker indicative of control acts (see above and Vine 2004: 31). The function of questions mentioned first, however, seems to reduce the amount of imposition to the level of all interactional language use and, at least potentially, to widen the benefit to all participants. After all, when teachers or students formu-

late questions so as to make a lesson better organized and thus more accessible, they further the process of exchanging information rather than imposing on the hearers. In the light of what formal education is all about, a better organized lesson should be considered beneficial to teachers and students alike. These considerations have found support in previous research, which has pointed out that questions for information tend to be formulated very directly, i.e. without reflecting the speakers' awareness of a potential imposition on their part. (e.g. Dalton-Puffer 2007: 195)

The centrality of questions to formal education is not only something all of us remember from our school days, but they are also the “the most distinctive feature of classroom discourse” (Tsui et al. 2004: 113). This is probably so because they can fulfil various roles. Particularly crucial to primary education, there is the role questions play in discursively reconfirming classroom social order (Margutti 2006). Furthermore, and more relevant to secondary and tertiary education, questions are central in making teaching tasks cognitively accessible to students, as described in Ehlich and Rehbein's (1986: 13) approach to formal education as “accelerated learning”.⁷⁰

While many stakeholders would subscribe to this positive assessment, more critical voices have been heard in relation to teacher questions and their actual impact on students' learning. Especially the questions to which teachers know the answers already have been decried as pseudo-questions and as intrinsically less useful. Disapproving of a question type so categorically contrasts with research into pedagogically-oriented interactions in general, which has shown that a contextually-sensitive use of known-answer questions can be an important pedagogical device (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 94; Poole 1991; Tsui et al. 2004: 113–114). On a more fundamental level of critiquing teacher questions, Dillon (1988) provides counter-evidence for the generally shared assumption that “so-called higher-order questions stimulate higher levels of pupils thinking” (Edwards and Westgate 1994: 144) and argues instead that, as with lawyers' questions at court, teachers tend to use questions as a tool to put their own agenda through. This he found particularly prevalent in what he called ‘recitation teaching’, while in lesson phases that allowed discussion, students were given more room to find their own voices and even raise questions of their own.

70. Accelerated learning refers to the fact that formal education does usually not relate to individuals' actual problems or learning needs, but suggests topics that are taken as relevant to the whole group of learners. Lacking personal and affective knowledge wants, “it is necessary to guide individual learner to problem awareness on a cognitive level in order to create a kind of opening or ‘gap’ in which learning can occur.” (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 94)

While this critique is well argued, it rests on the belief that successful education depends on active student involvement in class: an assumption that is rarely queried, but might need to be in certain school settings. Many of the HMP students, for instance, stressed repeatedly in informal conversations that for certain subject matters they preferred teacher-fronted lessons, in which, they argued, they could gather a great deal of new information and did not feel the need to be given more interactional space themselves. In other words, students' own expectations of the educational process might favour 'recitation teaching' and the types of questions used in it; at least in certain subjects, with certain students and under certain circumstances.

Whether criticized or appreciated, classroom questions undoubtedly hold a very special status in the teaching and learning process, which also becomes evident in the many attempts at describing them (e.g. Ehlich and Rehbein 1986; Hatch 1992; Mehan 1979; Tsui et al. 2004; Wells 1993). Questions not only take up a sizable amount of class time, but also function widely in constructing objects of learning interactively, revealing and streamlining the knowledge present in the group, and clarifying ambiguity or misunderstanding (McCormick and Donato 2000: 183; Richard and Lockhart 1994: 185).

At the same time, it remains difficult, as Cazden (2001: 92–93) points out, to establish from an observer's point of view how valuable questions actually are to the learning process. In a recent study, however, Tsui et al. (2004) have found a way of doing precisely that. By comparing two English lessons on the same topic in Hong Kong grade 1 classes, their detailed analysis shows that the different types of questions employed by the two teachers led to different perceptions amongst the two student groups as to the focus of the lessons. Furthermore, the researchers compared two science classes taught by the same teacher, once through the medium of Chinese and once in English. By raising a series of questions, the teacher managed to focus the students on the critical aspects of the object of learning in both classes. Interestingly, the medium played a decisive role in the types of questions employed. In order to allow for linguistically simpler responses in the students' second language, the teacher made use of closed and blank-filling questions asking for 'what', instead of 'why' (for a description of question types see 6.3.2).

These results are not only interesting to the learning process in general, but also to classroom interaction in an additional language. They show that teacher questions seem to be influenced by considerations of language proficiency (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 125; Zuengler and Brinton 1997: 265). In addition, the ESL/EFL literature has shown that varying levels of language proficiency find their reflection in the numerous questions focussing on language items (e.g. Richard and Lockhart 1994: 185). Long and Sato (1983) categorized such ques-

tions according to comprehension, clarification and confirmation, which found their way into the literature on correction and repair (cf. 5.3.1.2). Such questions, raised by teachers as well as students, are not only restricted to English language classes, but have also been found in content subjects taught in an additional language. Interestingly, Dalton-Puffer (2007: 102–103) reports that a high percentage of all student questions in the CLIL lessons in question refer to such language-related issues. Additionally, they are marked by language choice. When students raise content questions they use English as the medium of the class, but for language-focused questions they revert to German as the group's first language.

Such code-switching is something that a multilingual group like the HMP does not have at its disposal. This does not mean, however, that English as 'official' classroom language is really the only language used in the lessons. As described in detail in 4.2.3.3, the language-scape of the HMP consisted of various languages other than English which were spoken by subgroups of students; with German being the most relevant one as the language of the environment.

As a further complicating factor already hinted at in the preceding section, multilingual groups must also work with culturally based differences. As regards asking questions in classrooms, different classroom scripts (cf. 2.2.1.1) require different behaviours. In the most extreme cases, some students might not want to raise any questions at all (Freeman 1998: 129; Jones 1999). This was clearly also a topic in the HMP, but, as RER's comment in Quote 6.4 illustrates, it was not necessarily evaluated negatively. On the contrary, and as argued in 4.3.2, multiculturalism was experienced as an integral part of this educational setting. Teachers were aware of potential differences and also of how these kept developing with the progress of the HMP (see Quote 6.5). It will be interesting to see in how far this developmental increase in active participation on the part of some students is noticeable in the questions raised and responded to at the various stages of the HMP.

Quote 6.4. Interview (3rd sem, 4th mth)

RER: hier ist für mich auch der kulturelle Hintergrund wichtig weil es gibt eben Leute die die ned so aus sich herausgehen aus der Kultur heraus schon ja ich denk jetzt an an an an an die zwa Chinesinnen ja die die eher eher zurückhaltend reserviert san ober des des is in deren Kultur so (.) ja (.) und des muas i respektieren

[I think that the cultural background is important, too, because there are people who do not participate that much. because of their culture already. I'm thinking of the two Chinese students who rather keep back and are reserved which is part of their culture and yes I must respect that]

Quote 6.5. Interview (pilot phase)

TON: for instance the Chinese students take typically nearly a whole year to emerge and start talking [... partly because of] what their cultural assumptions are about their role in the classroom, the distance that should be between them and the teacher [...] I noticed with (.) in one case with an Indian student who's now in the second year. what obviously completely changed her view on life was her summer work in a hotel in Vienna because since she came back she talks all the time . up until that point I don't think that she thought that she had the right erm she's very quiet shy sort of person and now she knows that she can talk and that it's part of her job to talk .

In general terms, this overview of the use and nature of questions has shown that, on the interpersonal plane, they function quite similarly to control acts insofar as they act as impositions on the hearers. In classroom interaction, however, the situation is different: questions are a major discursive tool in structuring the lesson in terms of content development and participant involvement. Thus, they are not considered particularly face-threatening and are generally verbalized directly. As the admittedly limited quantity of ELF data also indicates a preference for directness and little modification, the HMP data can be expected to reveal the same. In addition, the more sizable results of ESL/EFL-focused studies indicate that questioning strategies and verbalizations reflect language proficiency levels. In their function as pedagogical devices, questions have been researched widely and found to be indispensable. Whether they are 'good' with regard to establishing objects of learning is a different matter, which cannot easily be assessed. Formal criteria alone are poor indicators and need to be combined with the functional goals pursued in the respective lesson (phase). In view of the fact that the present study cannot include comparative analyses along the lines of Tsui et al. (2004), the aim here is not primarily to analyse the questions encountered in terms of their value to the teaching or, even more difficultly, learning processes. Rather, I aim to provide the first detailed descriptions of questions in ELF classroom interaction, which will also allow initial interpretations as to their pedagogical relevance in ELF educational programmes.

6.3 Framework of analysis

As the preceding sections have tried to clarify, the analysis of the directives used in the HMP classroom interaction has profited from the insights gained from numerous previous studies reflecting various approaches. To begin with, functional linguistics provides important insights in respect of the two types of registers – regulative and instructional – that teachers and students use in

classroom interaction (e.g. Christie 2002) and also in respect of Halliday's (e.g. 2004) distinction of speech functions according to commodity traded (information vs. good-and-services). Quite clearly, speech act theory (e.g. Searle 1969) is fundamental to the analysis of directives in general and in particular to the third influential approach, ILP (Interlanguage Pragmatics) with its detailed empirical basis as regards speech acts of second language users and cross-cultural differences (e.g. Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989; Kasper 2001; Trosborg 1994). With regard to the intercultural concerns of the interaction in the Classroom Community of Practice (CCoP), the literature on ELF discourse (e.g. Knapp and Meierkord 2002, Lesznyák 2004) as well as on language and culture (e.g. Kramsch 1993; Sarangi 1996) have proved to be particularly helpful. Various approaches to discourse analysis (e.g. Edmondson 1981; Sinclair and Coulthard 1975; Widdowson 2003b) argue lucidly that speech acts should not be treated by themselves, but as an integral part of ongoing discourse. Furthermore, the institutional nature of the interaction in question here requires that the analysis of directives must pay special attention to considerations of power (e.g. Holmes and Stubbe 2003; Vine 2004) and politeness, understood here as appropriateness (Meier 1995, 2004). Finally, educational research on questions in classroom (e.g. Edwards and Westgate 1994; Hatch 1992; Wells 1993) provides detailed descriptions of the nature and use of questions in the process of content development. In addition to this array of different approaches, the present study has profited considerably from a number of recent studies on directives in classroom interaction (Dalton-Puffer 2005; Morell 2004; Musumeci 1996; Tsui et al. 2004) as regards their research methodology and also their results.

6.3.1 Basic considerations

Against this colourful backdrop of research approaches and actual investigations, this section will present the analytical framework employed in analysing the directives used in the HMP classroom interaction. Beforehand, however, I intend to lay the foundation, as it were, and place within classroom interaction the two main subtypes of directives established above, control act and question.

As presented schematically in Figure 6.2, teacher-whole class interaction consists mainly of instructional and regulative discourse (ellipses with broken lines). The former aims at furthering the object of learning, while the latter organizes classroom matters. As indicated in Figure 6.2, they can overlap in certain instances (see also 2.2.1.3). In the data set analysed here, the overlap becomes most visible in a lesson phase in a class on Austrian Law of the introductory phase of the course, i.e. at T1. The objective of the lesson phase was to get the students to remember the seven fundamental principles of the Austrian constitu-

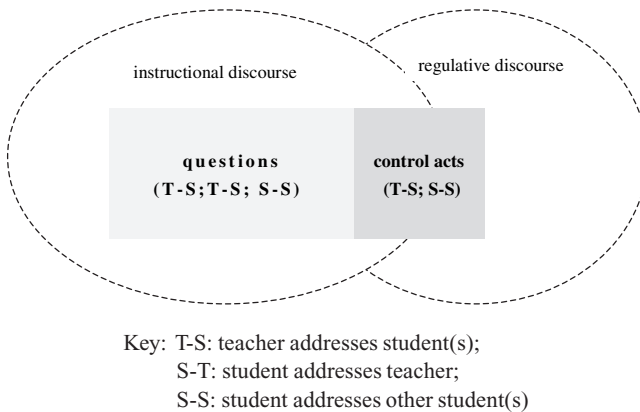


Figure 6.2. General distribution of directives, incl. their speakers

tion. In her endeavour to help the students, the teacher applied a motor-activity supported learning method. Each principle of the Austrian Constitution was associated with one specific movement, which the teacher invited the students to perform with her. As Extract 6.1 illustrates, the teacher uses questions to elicit content information (lines 1, 4, 6–7) in combination with control acts that are meant to influence students' behaviour (lines 15, 18). As such, this could be interpreted as the expected distribution of instructional and regulative registers, the latter supporting the former.

Extract 6.1. Austrian Law (T1)

- | | | | |
|----|------|---|----------------------------|
| 1 | XEN | what's the what's the meaning of democracy , (20) | <i>instr.; question</i> |
| 2 | Crek | that everybody can (.) hel- help in making a decision ? or let's | |
| 3 | | say can take part in= | |
| 4 | XEN | =yeah and how can you take part of it | <i>instr.; question</i> |
| 5 | Crek | ele ele= | |
| 6 | XEN | =elections ? correct , yeah so er who is er giving Austria its | <i>instr.; question</i> |
| 7 | | law ? (4) who is giving the law to laws to Austria | <i>instr.; question</i> |
| 8 | Elig | people, people himself (2) | |
| 9 | XEN | people yeah, so. the will of the people ? (.) people are | |
| 10 | | elect(ing) representatives , one hundred and eighty three , (.) | |
| 11 | | who are sitting in a national council . so you get take all the | |
| 12 | | will of the people , (2) you take the will of the people (1) and | |
| 13 | | you put it into a little sack ? and there it is that's the | |
| 14 | | parliament and this is the republ- er republic principle . the | |
| 15 | | will of all the people . just help me <makes movements> the | <i>regul., control act</i> |
| 16 | | will of the people if we are going to (catch/fetch) it . the will | |
| 17 | | of the people and we put it in one little bag into the parliament | |

18 . come on , **try it and say it.** <1> the will of the people </1> *regul., control act*
 19 SS <1> the will of the people </1> @@@
 20 XEN come on thank you

In this specific lesson phase, however, the teacher uses movement not only in support of the interactional learning process, but as constituting a relevant part of it. As she specifies in Extract 6.2, both are intrinsically connected in the teaching strategy she is pursuing here, which also explains why the regulative and instructional registers can no longer be kept apart (lines 6–7).

Extract 6.2. Austrian Law (T1)

1 XEN <explaining her teaching strategy of connecting concepts
 2 with movements> so just (.) put it that way . yeah ? and
 3 help yourself . (.) and then you don't have to learn . if
 4 you are doing it here and you you join me and you do it
 5 seriously (.) then you will never forget it . I trust er I
 6 promise you will have it for the rest of your life . (3) **how**
 7 **do you call this one ?** <XEN makes movement> *instr+regul; question*
 8 SX-f (xx)
 9 XEN law of
 10 SS (rules of x)
 11 XEN the rule of law

Apart from the merger of the two registers, Extracts 6.1 and 6.2 exemplify two characteristics typical of interaction in the CCofP. Firstly, directives tended to be carried out by teachers rather than students (see the quantitative analysis in 6.4.1). Secondly, the directives used in these two extracts are directly formulated. In the light of previous research (see above), this is not surprising, but will still be discussed in more detail later on (esp. in 6.4.2.2).

As the detailed analysis of the data is based on various analytical categories, I will present the linguistic ones relevant to all directives (indirectness, perspective and modification) in 6.3.2 and the informational ones that only concern questions in 6.3.3.

6.3.2 (In)directness, perspective and modification

As I have argued above, directives have attracted so much pragmatic research interest because of their mainly interpersonal function. By uttering directives interlocutors (re)constitute their relations to each other, which surfaces in the verbalizations used. Whether considerations of face (threat) or comity (As-ton 1988) are in the foreground, or whether interactants strive for harmony

or disharmony, it will influence the directives used and how they are formulated and evaluated with regard to (subjectively and culturally perceived) norms of appropriateness. Quite clearly, the range of possible verbalizations is wide, which is why the categories established in the two ground-breaking studies on directives, Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper (1989) and Trosborg (1994), are so very helpful. Based on speech act theory in combination with Edmondson and House's (1981) interactional grammar, the CCSARP project developed an operationalisable tool for categorising individual instances of directives, which was then tried out, and found to be useful, in a number of different studies based on the discourse completion test (Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989). Trosborg (1994) adapted the CCSARP coding scheme to her own needs investigating directives in spoken interaction. While her results differ partly from those reached on the basis of the written discourse completion tests, her study proves that the CCSARP system of categorising English directives works for spoken data as well. Since Meierkord's (1996) investigation makes the same point for ELF interactions and Dalton-Puffer (2007) for CLIL classroom interaction, I have also decided on this categorising scheme, and adapted the two versions (Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989: 17–19, 278–289; Trosborg 1994: 204–219) to the present needs.

Extract 6.3. Front Office Management (T1)

AKL	and [class (.)]	take maybe a few notes	unless it's in the script I don't know
	ALERTER	HEAD ACT	SUPPORTIVE MOVE
			(EXTERNAL MODIFICATION)

As illustrated in Extract 6.3, every directive must have a head act, which can be extended by attention getters or alerters (added to the extract for illustrative purposes), and/or supportive moves, such as precommitments (*could you do me a favour*) or, as in the example given here, supportive moves that modify the directive externally to the head act. The head act, i.e. the directive proper, can be described with regard to perspective, strategy type and internal modification. An example of the latter is the lexical down-toner *maybe* in Extract 6.3. In the following, I will describe the three classificatory criteria in relation to their application in the present data set.

'Perspective' refers to which agent is thematized – speaker, hearer, both or impersonal *it* – and describes thus the roles given to the speaker and hearer. In Extract 6.3, for instance, the perspective is on the hearers, which is also the perspective taken most frequently in the present data set. In a sizable number of instances, though, teachers take on the typical caretaker perspective of hearer and speaker together, as in Extract 6.4. Predominantly, the inclusive *we* is employed

in the *let's*-construction as, for instance, in Extract 6.5. The third perspective which directives can take is to focus on the speaker. This happens very seldom in the HMP data, and then either with explicit teachers' wants (cf. strategy III in Table 6.2 below) or in a more discourse organizational way as in Extract 6.6.

Extract 6.4. Front Office Management (T1)

1 AKL I've got some review questions here **which we can do** at the end of this session ?

Extract 6.5. Financial Management (T1)

1 TON it wants its taxes . all stakeholders have an interest . now, now **let's think** of a few
2 more stakeholders . who are the most important stakeholders ?

Extract 6.6. Human Resources Management (T2)

1 OPP **let me** give an example

The second dimension – the one of strategy type – spans a range of verbalizations, which have been placed on a cline of (in)directness. The original CCSARP classification of nine different types (Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989: 18) was largely taken over by Trosborg (1994: 205) and forms the basis of the scheme adopted here.

One of the original categories that will not be used in the ensuing analysis is 'suggestory formulae' because it appears only in one instance in the data set. And yet, this only instance of a *how about* question (Extract 6.7, line 4) is worth looking at in its own right. It was directed at the Law teacher at T1 by Crek, a student with very little background in using English at that time. In a purely speculative manner, it could be suggested that this construction – maybe recently overheard in interaction with other classmates – helped her formulate a syntactically simple question. What is more interesting, however, is that neither she, who turned out to be actively involved in classroom interaction, nor any other student or teacher ever used *how about* again in asking questions or formulating control acts in the data base. Whether this is because of the spoken and rather informal nature of this formula⁷¹ or because ELF speakers might at times prefer to avoid formulaic language use (Prodromou 2007, 2008; Seidlhofer and Widowson 2007), cannot be ascertained on the basis of the present study alone. It is worth noting, however, that Dalton-Puffer (2005) reports the same nil finding for

71. An online query in the British National Corpus delivered 50 randomly chosen examples of the 1007 hits of *how about* in the corpus. As far as this can be ascertained with the limited context given, all instances came from spoken and/or relatively informal settings (<http://sara.natcorp.ox.ac.uk/lookup.html>, accessed 2 September 2009).

suggestory formulae in the Austrian CLIL classes. Furthermore, the language use observed allows her to conclude that CLIL lessons “should be conceived in terms of Lingua Franca communication.” (Dalton-Puffer 2005: 1291) In view of this interpretation, it seems quite likely that the absence of such formulae in ELF directives in classroom interaction is not simply idiosyncratic or haphazard. What it actually means, however, awaits more, and specifically focused research.

Extract 6.7. Austrian Law (T1)

- 1 XEN the chamber of commerce is the address where you have to address to ? because it has
 2 trade delegations in all countries (.) er (.) er which Austrian industry has
 3 economic interest in . (.) yeah ?
 4 Crek **and how about banking er how about er hotel industry ?**
 5 XEN er even er for for such things if it's commerce yeah trading
 6 Crek mhm

All other directives in the HMP data set display some variation of the six strategies, listed and illustrated in Table 6.2. The only fully indirect strategy, ‘hints’, tends to be used in aid of achieving two goals, as illustrated by the examples given (for a more detailed discussion see 6.4.2.3). In a handful of disciplinary instances, teachers require students’ attention by hinting at the futility of their present behaviour. The more frequent use of hints is not linked to disciplinary measures, but to drawing the participants’ attention to printed or displayed teaching materials in support of the ongoing classroom talk. Of the conventionally indirect strategies, the substrategy asking for ability (*can, could*) is by far the most frequently employed one, which fits in well with other studies (e.g. Meierkord 1996). As illustrated in Table 6.2, ‘needs/wants’ directives focus mainly on the teacher’s wishes about what students should study and learn. Obligation statements can be used for externally determined rules or teacher’s expectations. In contrast to previous research which did not record any performatives at all (e.g. Dalton-Puffer 2005), the HMP data set includes three instances of this second direct strategy. Imperatives, which can be combined with all three perspectives, form the final direct strategy. As the quantitative analysis will show (6.4.1), this strategy is used very frequently by teachers for classroom management purposes.

After having described perspective and strategy type for the purposes of the present study, the third classificatory aspect that still needs to be delimited is modification. Directives can be modified internally, i.e. within the head act, or externally to it (cf. Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989: 281–288; Trosborg 1994: 209–219). The latter has been described as supportive moves, of which

Table 6.2. Strategy types employed in the HMP

Cline	Strategy	Example (taken from the HMP data set)
indirect	I. hint	MER: <asking students to stop whispering the right answer> it's very nice of you but Elig doesn't need it AKL: <asking students to turn to their textbooks> within your books you will find some sample organization charts as well
	II. ability, willingness permission	XEN: perhaps you can stand up ? MER: would you be prepared to repeat what we discussed last week ? TON: what we have NOT discussed here , (.) you may you can ignore
conventionally indirect	III. wants, needs	AKL: so what I want you to remember is that management contract is the most common way of managing a hotel XEN: erm and I would like you to (.) learn these six principles , would you like to learn them ?
	IV. obligation	TON: it's not a new book , you have to give them back at the end . MER: you should know how the editorial department is being organized .
direct	V. performative	OPP: er I ask you (.) to just read the complete (.) chapter after our lesson have finished . (.) okay
	VI. imperative [+elliptical phrases]	AKL: let's finish control , Kail please MER: please be careful with that . TON: <looking for a student to help out> anybody else ?

the HMP data set contains a few 'preparators', which "set the scene" for the ensuing directive by either preparing the content or the speech act (Trosborg 1994: 216). Most of the supportive moves fall under the category 'grounders' (Edmondson and House 1981: 46), which explain, justify or give further reasons for the directive. Following Trosborg (1994: 218), they will be referred to as 'supportive reasons' (examples are given in Table 6.3).

One instance of a supportive move stands out from the rest insofar as the relevant teacher phrased it as a threat (Extract 6.8). While threatening is an established means for persons of authority to ensure compliance with their directives, the single instance disproves, rather than proves that HMP teachers made use of threats in this sense. As the students' reaction in Extract 6.8 (line 4)

shows, they took TON's 'threat' (lines 2–3) as a good joke at the end of their very first Financial Management lesson. Based on the many times I observed TON's classes I am convinced that their interpretation also coincided with his original intention.

Extract 6.8. Financial Management (T1)

1 TON (3) okay , if if there are no more questions (.) let's (.) stop there . read this chapter
 2 one , (.) identify what we talk- talked about and (.) ask questions . **because if you**
 3 **don't ask me questions , I shall ask you questions .**
 4 SS @@.

Directives are modified internally by choice of syntax and lexicon. This can be done in order to soften the impact the directive has on the hearer or to increase it. As the data set does not include instances of the latter, the overview of modification types in Table 6.3 includes downgraders only.

Table 6.3. Modifications employed in the HMP

Modification type	Example (taken from the HMP data set)
<u>syntactic</u>	
interrogative	XEN: is there anyone who can come with me and we are going to fix it immediately ?
(control acts) /	
declarative (questions)	Clap: and so we keep this book ?
tense	SX-m: could you please (take it) back
negation	Jins: can you not be the (one teacher for one subject) ?
tag questions	XEN: then you are going to explain it next time , okay ?
<u>lexical</u>	
politeness marker	AKL: please turn around MER: Kosk so (.) please
consultative device	AKL: what are they in charge of do you think , are they in charge of managing only the staff or the figures as well . Kosk: what's do you think is the best (.) organization in the (three restaurants)
downtoner	XEN: but perhaps you can stand up ? OPP: just have a break AKL: take maybe a few notes
understatement	AKL: wait a minute , wait a minute , there is one more thing .
<u>external modification</u>	
preparator	Elig: I have a question . <followed by a request>
supportive reasons	TON: in order not to be panicked by this kind of question (.) identify the five stages .

As some of the examples included in Table 6.3 show, directives often combine various modification types. For clarity's sake, however, they are presented sep-

arately. The first syntactic modification given here refers to the choice of clause type. Due to syntactic differences between default control acts and questions, the two types of directives require different classificatory parameters. Following the CCSARP project and Trosborg (1994), the interrogative is taken as a modification of strategy II control acts, e.g. *Can you turn to page 15?* (fictitious example). While it might seem questionable to label such a seemingly ordinary request as modification, it is certainly not so within the present data set. Most control acts of strategy II come in declarative form (cf. examples in Table 6.2); interrogatives are thus classified as modified. As far as questions are concerned, the interrogative is obviously the default option, with the declarative syntax being the modification. In most such cases, like the one given in Table 6.3, the declarative is combined with an intonational rise, which helps in interpreting the utterance as a question for new information.

The next two syntactic modification types refer to the use of mainly the past tense and of negation, each of which can down-tone the imposition of a directive (Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989: 281; Trosborg 1994: 210; Vine 2004: 95). Concerning the present study, however, it is questionable whether all *coulds* or *woulds* are used strategically or in how far they have become formulaic already (see 6.4.2.2). The analysis will also show that negation is mainly used with questions, which then carry an evaluative connotation (6.4.4.1). The final syntactic category is tag questions. As the example in Table 6.3 already indicates, the tags encountered here do not all fall into MoES language use, but are generally recognized as attempts to appeal to the hearer's consent (cf. Trosborg 1994: 210).

Similarly to other L2 or B/MuES studies, the present investigation includes a relatively limited set of lexical modifications used in directives, which, additionally, play a minor role in general. In alphabetical order these are *(verb) a bit*, *(verb) a minute*, *just*, *kindly*, *maybe*, *perhaps*, *please*, *probably* and *roughly*. Of these the politeness marker *please* and the down-toner *just* are the only ones used more regularly; with control acts, for instance, they are employed 14 and 13 times respectively. All the others appear between one and three times only in the complete data set. Similarly, consultative devices, also called 'cajolers', and understatements appear in a handful of cases only. Furthermore, directives are never hedged, neither are they interspersed with interpersonal markers, although expressions such as *sort of*, *kind of* and *you know* or *I mean* are clearly familiar to the participants, since they appear quite regularly as hedges or interpersonal markers as, for instance, in Extracts 6.9 and 6.10.

Extract 6.9. Human Resources Management (T2)

- 1 Cana **I mean** if you're paying like (.) I don't know twenty Euros for the night ? **I mean**
 2 you can't expect them to be like in a five star hotel,

Extract 6.10. Austrian Law (T2)

- 1 XEN but if it's in contradiction to their national right , (.) they have erm **sort of** special
 2 **kinds of** , (1) well erm (1) let's call it windows . yeah , (.) to e:rm get their
 3 national rights before (.) the human rights catalogue .

The ensuing analysis will show that the absence of such discursive devices arguably supports the generally direct ways in which the HMP interactants tended to demand goods-and-services or information from each other. Interpersonal concerns were voiced with the help of a limited set of syntactic and lexical modification. Vagueness or explicit attention to concerns of face were restricted to specific instances only (see 6.4.3).

The three sets of criteria presented so far – strategy type, perspective, modification – apply, at least theoretically, to all directives. In the case of classroom interaction, however, questions hold a different status interpersonally. As argued above, demanding information is the bread-and-butter of formal education and thus not experienced as imposition or *a priori* face-threatening. In view of the relevance of questions for constructing objects of learning and the aim of this study to establish how this is done when the medium is ELF, the analysis of questions will go beyond considerations of indirectness and turn to the roles they play in the teaching and learning process.

6.3.3 Analytical categories for questions

Research on questions used in classrooms generally focuses on the teacher and, as summarized succinctly in Dalton-Puffer (2007: 95–97), categorizes their questions in two main typologies. The first one is the distinction between open and closed questions, which refers to the amount of freedom the interlocutor is given in answering them. An open question, theoretically at least, gives the respondent full scope to decide on their answer, while a closed one gives a choice of a certain set of answers only. In settings where such sets of responses can be defined beforehand, as in questionnaires or guided interviews, the distinction between open and closed questions is quite easy to draw; either the interviewers give a selection of answers to choose from (which makes it a closed set), or they do not, and allow the interviewees to respond openly. In ongoing interaction, however, the scope of potential responses envisaged by the questioner is not always clear, either to a participant or an observer (Cazden 2001: 92–93). Even

the prototypical closed question – the *yes-no* question – is often responded to in an open fashion, while the prototypical open question – the *wh*-question – can lead to brief responses of a previously established set of answers. At the same time, the classroom setting with the teacher as ‘primary knower’ and the students as ‘secondary knowers’ (Tsui et al. 2004: 113; see also 2.2.1.2) might add limits to how openly students and teachers can answer questions on the whole as the other party is seeking a certain response (Cazden and Beck 2003: 177). In a nutshell, the form-function relations between open and closed questions can only be decided on in each individual case, and quantitative analyses of the distinction are therefore difficult to interpret (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 97–98). The distinction according to openness has thus not been used for the present analysis: the more so because the focus of this study is not primarily a pedagogical one analysing teachers’ abilities to formulate open questions or students’ abilities in providing long and complex answers (Tsui et al. 2004: 128).

Since the focus of this study is, rather, on the way questions are used in developing educational talk interactively in this ELF educational setting, two other typologies seem to capture differences in questions raised and answers given more fittingly. The first is the well-established difference of display and referential questions (e.g. Long and Sato 1983; Mehan 1979; Morell 2004) and throws light on whether the speaker knows the information asked for beforehand (for examples see Table 6.4).⁷² As institutionally defined secondary knowers, students are prone not to know the answers before raising questions, which the analysis will basically confirm, albeit with some restrictions (see 6.4.4.3). Teachers, on the other hand, are famous, or, as sometimes conceded, infamous, for knowing almost everything beforehand. After all, the classic teacher question aims “not to obtain information that the teacher does not have, but to check whether the students have the missing information indicated in the question” (Tsui et al. 2004: 113). And in this sense, as commented on by Dalton-Puffer (2007: 95), display questions indirectly reveal new information on the students’ state of knowledge and can also fulfil pedagogical functions, such as seeking or maintaining attention (Musumeci 1996: 295). Referential questions, also called information questions, directly ask for new information. These are the questions we expect students to ask, but teachers do that, too. They are not primary knowers throughout a lesson and raise a number of referential questions as well with regard to procedural, but also to instructional issues. While Long and Sato (1983) and Musumeci (1996) report on clearly more display than referential questions, Dalton-Puffer (2007: 101) found them used relatively evenly. The

72. Cf. Ehlich and Rehbein’s (1986: 68) distinction of ‘Examensfragen’ (test questions) and ‘Informationsfragen’ (questions for information).

more interesting issue, however, is not how frequently the one or the other is used, but for what purposes and under what circumstances. Here, Zuengler and Brinton (1997: 265) and Tsui et al. (2004) describe the use of more display questions as a sign of L2 teaching and learning and Dalton-Puffer (2007: 109) points to the relevance of the students' level of subject-specific practical experience. It will be interesting to see what the relation is between display and referential questions in the CCofP, also from a longitudinal point of view (see 6.4.4.3).

The second typology of questions that will be employed in this study takes a finer look at what kind of information is sought. In continuation of distinguishing between control acts and questions, the latter will be analysed with regard to the objects asked for. Zuengler and Brinton (1997) already make the point that the respective topic influences the type of question itself. As the first study, to my knowledge, to use such a typology, Dalton-Puffer (2007: 98) suggests as potential categories: facts, explanation, reasons, opinions, inner states and emotions, and metacognition. When applied to the HMP data set, some adaptations turned out to be necessary. The resulting list of types of question is included and illustrated in Table 6.4.

Table 6.4. Typologies of questions

Category	Example (taken from the HMP data set)	
<u>A) Status of information</u>		
display question	TON:	why do suppliers suffer if I go bankrupt ?
	XEN:	first principle the will of the people and it's the principle of ?
referential question	AKL:	any question to this organization chart ?
	Anki:	if the chambers of commerce do they have to belong to a special party ?
<u>B) Object of question</u>		
fact	TON:	but what happens if (.) I'm making (2) a chip this big (.) for a machine that you make ,
	Lula:	[a new Viennese hotel] is opening soon?
reason + explanation	TON:	why would I expect a bigger divid: end from Intel than I would from Wallmart
	Jens:	what is (E E O) .
opinion	OPP:	why do you think , (.) is er a completely structured job er er important er for my training programmes
comprehension	XEN:	plaintive , you know the word ?
	Kari:	do you know what I mean ?
translation	AKL:	arabic guy <GERMAN> ein Scheich was heißt Scheich </GERMAN> <a sheik what do you call a sheik>
	Kama:	and also with the erm (.) <GERMAN> wie heissen die ? </GERMAN> <what are they called ?>

As with all attempts at categorizing language in use, the categories are not without overlap. Even the distinction in display and referential questions becomes blurred on certain occasions (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 108), either because of the teacher's own doing (e.g. Extract 6.11) or because the state of knowledge is unclear to the analyst (e.g. Extract 6.12). Extract 6.11 illustrates how a referential question becomes a display question within a single turn: AKL asks first for the students' opinions, knowledge she cannot have beforehand. But, without giving anybody a chance to respond and take up their turn, she rephrases the question immediately into one to which she clearly knows the answer herself. In Extract 6.12, a clear decision on whether this question is display or referential cannot be taken as neither the preceding nor the ensuing interaction reveals whether the teacher actually knew the answer to his question in advance. Interestingly, though, the number of such ambiguous instances is comparatively low; it is most probably an integral feature of teacher-fronted lessons that questions can usually be identified relatively easily as either referential or display.

Extract 6.11. Front Office Management (T1)

- 1 AKL **what are they in charge of do you think , are they in charge of managing only**
2 **the staff or the figures as well .**

Extract 6.12. Financial Management (T2)

- 1 TON **how many hours do people work a year .**

Referential vs. display keeps its relevance when turning to the goals or objects of questions. Both types of questions are used when facts and reasons or explanations are at stake, but all the other objects, i.e. opinion, comprehension, translation, background knowledge, are reserved for referential questions only; simply because such objects become relevant enough to be asked for precisely because the answers are not known to the requester.

As in other content-based lessons (e.g. Musumeci 1996; Dalton-Puffer 2007), the general focus of questions in the present study lies on facts, be they instructional or procedural. It seems that content teaching turns so solidly around facts that other aspects always come second. Such is the case for the next category, reasons and explanations. They have been grouped together because actual question-answer sequences reveal that interlocutors tend not to differentiate clearly between the 'why' and the 'how' when they demand or offer background information on facts (see also chapter 7.2.1, footnote 79). In Extract 6.13, for instance, the student formulates an incomplete question in line 2, which the teacher reads as a 'why' question. Her answer, however, includes aspects of reasoning (line 3, in *italics*) as well as explaining (lines 3–4, in **bold**).

Extract 6.13. Front Office Management (T1)

- 1 AKL any question to this organization chart ?
- 2 Kosk (about) the human resources and the security (and the) ,
- 3 AKL why the security , *this is just sometimes in most hotels* that **security works with**
- 4 **human resources , it could also be with rooms division** (.)

With questions for opinions, the focus is placed on the hearer and their ideas. Quite clearly, these are amongst the questions that could lead to relatively longer and more complex responses. As the analysis will show, this is true only under certain circumstances (see 6.4.4.4).

While reading the lesson transcripts over and over again, two further categories have suggested themselves; not necessarily because they cater for so many questions, but rather because they help to capture the specificities of the data set. Questions for comprehension are undoubtedly relevant in all interactions, the more so when they are used in an additional language and in a trans- or intercultural setting. As the analysis of the HMP repair behaviour deals with this aspect in detail (chapter 5), the focus here is more on the interactional role these questions play in the CCofP. Questions for translation are used relatively infrequently, but the qualitative analysis will reveal their special role with regard to the status of, on the one hand, German and, on the other, language expertise in the Classroom Community of Practice (see 6.4.4.2).

Overall, the analysis of directives rests on the basic distinction among commodity required and the five dimensions of indirectness, perspective, modification, question type and question object. These dimensions are neither metaphorically nor literally seen as quasi-Cartesian coordinates, describing directives exhaustively and mutually exclusively. Instead, they are understood as a methodological frame that offers anchor points with which the mainly qualitative analysis of directives embedded in ongoing interaction can be undertaken.

6.3.4 Data set, method of analysis, research questions

As in chapter 5 and in accordance with previous comparable studies (e.g. Dalton-Puffer 2007; Morell 2004), the data set used for the analysis of directives consists of nine lessons spread over the three points in time T1 (first two weeks of semester 1), T2 (mid-semester 1) and T3 (semester 3). The coarse quantitative characterization of the lessons in Table 6.5 illustrates that the percentage of teacher turns is relatively stable around less than half of all turns uttered, but the percentage of words spoken by teachers is much higher at almost 80%. While there is a slight decrease from T1 to T2 and T3, the overall ratio of four out of

Table 6.5. Lessons analysed for 'directives'

	Lesson	Teacher (T)	Mins	Turns	T turns in %	Words	T words in %
T1	1fin2	TON	39	199	45.23	4408	90.99
	1fom2	AKL	41	204	47.06	7022	91.94
	1law2	XEN	45	379	48.55	6064	88.42
T2	2fin1	TON	43	372	37.63	6575	74.52
	2law1	XEN	45	401	47.88	5985	79
	2hr1	OPP	48	241	44.81	7856	71.52
T3	3fin1	TON	45	365	40	5991	69.29
	3fbm2	AKL	34	313	40.9	6622	68.2
	3pr1	MER	50	370	43.24	9347	82.48
<i>Total</i>			<i>390</i>	<i>2844</i>	<i>43.7</i>	<i>59870</i>	<i>79.26</i>

five words spoken by teachers is a clear indication of the dominant teacher role typical of teacher-whole-class interaction.

The choice of lessons depended on the seemingly contradictory factors comparability and variation with regard to subjects, teachers and their corresponding teaching styles. As can be gleaned from Table 6.5, Financial Management (fin) lessons were included at all points in time, ensuring comparability. Since that teacher – TON – was male and British by birth, care was taken to include female teachers (AKL, XEN, OPP, MER), whose English language proficiency levels varied considerably. As explained in detail in 4.2.3.2, AKL was a highly fluent Austrian teacher with ten years of experience living and working in English-speaking countries. Depending on the semester, she taught slightly different subjects, Front Office Management (fom) at T1 and Food and Beverage (F&B) Management (fbm) at T3, but followed a similar teaching approach in both of them. XEN, the teacher of Austrian Law (law), was another full-time teacher, but with very little experience in teaching and working in English, reflected in her comparatively low level of English proficiency. The two remaining subjects – Human Resources Management (hr) at T2 and Public Relations (pr) at T3 – appear only once each in the data set as neither of them was offered in the other semester. Their teachers were very experienced users of English in professional settings, with MER being also an experienced trainer and teacher at various institutions. For OPP, on the other hand, this class was the first pre-service teaching job ever, while, as a human resources manager, she had had extended experience in offering in-service trainings.

The analytical steps taken in studying directives resemble those used for repairs insofar as, with the help of the transcripts, all instances of directives were identified in the nine lessons in question and categorized according to the criteria

established in 6.3.1 and 6.3.2. In order to reassure analytical dependability, the categorization process was repeated twice. The resulting categories and their examples were analysed in two ways: firstly, for the quantitative description which aims to give an overview of the present data set (see 6.4.1),⁷³ and, secondly, for the qualitative in-depth analysis of specific instances that exemplify a typical or atypical use of a certain directive strategy or verbalization (see 6.4.2 to 6.4.4). The research interests approached in the quantitative and qualitative research steps can also be formulated as research questions:

- 1) What types of directive are used by whom and when?
- 2) Who controls classroom behaviour by using which (in)direct strategies?
- 3) How and why do teachers and students use procedural questions and what are their respective reactions?
- 4) What roles do which instructional question types play in constructing objects of learning and speaker relations?

The ensuing analysis of classroom practices of directives will deal with the four research questions in the order given here.

6.4 Classroom practices

6.4.1 Overall distribution of directives

As can be expected from a speech act so crucial to classroom interaction, directives appear frequently in the data base; to be exact, more than 700 times (see Table 6.6). This means that, on average, almost two directives were uttered per minute of classroom talk; a result which overlaps neatly with Dalton-Puffer's (2007: 183) results based on six CLIL lessons. That this average is rather mathematical, though, becomes obvious when turning to the individual lessons, which display a considerable range from between one directive per two minutes (Human Resources at T2) to almost three directives per minute (Austrian Law at T1 and T2). As the lessons with fewer directives are also those that include extended teacher monologues (3pr1, but also 1fom2 and 3fbm2), this result shows that directives are clearly a relevant factor in structuring classroom interaction. When turning to rows 2 and 3 of Table 6.6, the absolute frequencies indicate clearly that, overall, directives are much more likely to be used by teachers than

73. The calculations for levels of statistical significance were undertaken with the help of 'VassarStats: Website for Statistical Computation' (<http://faculty.vassar.edu/lowry/VassarStats.html>, accessed between January to March 2006).

Table 6.6. Overall distribution of directives

Directives	1fin2	1fom2	1law2	2fin1	2law1	2hr1	3fbm2	3pr1	3fin1	Total
Teacher	74	33	90	77	73	31	51	69	65	563
Student	9	14	19	21	35	3	10	24	16	151
Total	83	47	109	98	108	34	61	93	81	714

by students. Again, this is not a surprising result, but mirrors the speaker roles of the teacher as dominant organizer of classroom interaction.

The differences in speaker roles gain even more in shape when splitting the data according to commodity demanded (see Table 6.7). While questions are used by teachers and students in a ratio of 3:1, control acts are only used by teachers. The five instances of students uttering control acts were directed at other students, which is why they are placed in square brackets and excluded from the overall quantitative analysis. In other words, students did not once direct a request or demand at the teacher that would have influenced his or her behaviour in class (for further discussion see 6.4.2.1).

Table 6.7. Control acts and questions

		1fin2	1fom2	1law2	2fin1	2law1	2hr1	3fbm2	3pr1	3fin1	Total
Control acts	T	15	9	33	11	11	7	20	24	9	139
	[S]	[1]						[3]		[1]	
Questions	T	59	24	57	66	62	24	31	45	56	424
	S	9	14	19	21	35	3	10	24	16	151

With regard to teacher control acts, three lessons stand out as clearly more structured by control acts than others. This, I would argue, is not merely a whim of figures, but reflects specific teaching phases absent from the other lessons. In the Austrian Law class at T1 the teacher needed control acts in support of her teaching style (cf. the detailed discussion in 6.3.1). In the two lessons at T3 that reveal higher frequencies of control acts (3fbm2, 3pr1), students were asked to present on certain aspects, in the course of which more classroom organizational directives became necessary. Overall, however, control acts were used sparingly, which most probably reflects the fact that the HMP catered for adult students who had consciously decided on doing this elite educational programme in preparation of their professional careers. Therefore, disciplinary measures were generally not necessary (see 6.4.2.3) and control acts were mainly used for classroom organizational matters.

As Table 6.8 illustrates, the majority of the directives belong to the instructional register overall, but also with regard to each lesson: three out of four di-

Table 6.8. Directives in regulative vs. instructional registers

Directives	1fin2	1fom2	1law2	2fin1	2law1	2hr1	3fbm2	3pr1	3fin1	Total
regulative	25	12	40	13	29	8	26	27	17	197
instructional	58	35	69	85	79	26	35	66	64	517

rectives concern instructional matters; the only exception is again the Austrian Law class at T1 for the reason given earlier. This result marks the HMP classroom interaction as different from others studied, especially at secondary level, where regulatively-oriented exchanges feature generally more prominently (e.g. Dalton-Puffer 2007: 184; Musumeci 1996). So few regulative questions could reflect the fact that the HMP learners were highly experienced in formal educational settings and clearly familiar with general classroom procedures.

Table 6.9. Instructional questions, distribution by speakers

	1fin2	1fom2	1law2	2fin1	2law1	2hr1	3fbm2	3pr1	3fin1	Total
Teachers	54	21	52	65	55	23	25	43	52	390
Students	4	14	17	20	24	3	10	23	12	127
Total	58	35	69	85	79	26	35	66	64	517

chi-square: 1.42; df: 2; $p = 0.4916$

Like directives in general, instructional questions are much more frequently raised by teachers (see Table 6.9), with the percentage of student questions varying from below 10 (for 1fin2) to above 50 (for 3pr1). The reasons for this broad range are multifaceted and, as will be shown, not easily reducible to numbers. One factor that has turned out so central in the repair work carried out in the HMP (see chapter 5) comes to mind here, namely the temporal progression within the programme and its link to interactional changes from T1 to T2 and, finally, T3. It could be expected that students would raise instructional questions rather when they had become familiar with each other and the HMP on the whole (at T2) or when they had gained professional experience themselves (at T3). But, as Table 6.10 shows, the numerical distributions do not reflect such time-

Table 6.10. Instructional questions according to point in time

	T1	T2	T3	Total
Teacher	127	143	120	390
Students	35	47	45	127
Total	162	190	165	517

dependent developments. The numbers thus indicate that teachers and students raised instructional questions in similar distributions at the three points in time.

The picture changes when turning to the subcategories of questions, the first of which divides questions according to the state of knowledge of the questioner – whether the answer is known beforehand – into display and referential ones. This, as indicated in Table 6.11, leads to three categories when combined with speaker. Reflecting traditional speaker roles, teachers asked display and referential questions, while students tended to ask referential ones (for an exception see Extract 6.44 in 6.4.4.3). Interestingly, this distinction reveals a statistically highly significant temporal development, the direction of which can already be interpreted on the basis of the absolute frequencies: at T1 teachers ask twice as many display as referential questions, at T2 the distribution is almost even, and at T3 it is reversed with 1.5 as many referential as display questions. In other words, the numerical distribution hints at a decrease in display question to the benefit of referential ones. The qualitative analysis will discuss possible reasons and likely consequences of this development (see 6.4.4.3).

Table 6.11. Instructional display and referential questions according to point in time

	T1	T2	T3	Total
Teacher display	84	77	47	208
Teacher referential	43	66	73	182
Student referential	35	47	45	127
Total	162	190	165	517

chi-square: 19.47; df: 4; $p < 0.0006$

The second subcategorization of questions is the one according to object asked for, or goal of question. While basically all regulative questions aimed at elucidation of facts, the instructional questions required more wide-spread information. Here, five categories have been identified, albeit in different numerical strengths (see Table 6.12 for goals ordered in decreasing order): almost two thirds of all instructional questions aimed at factual information, thus making it the most popular object of questions. This is followed by questions for reasons or explanations and opinion. The numerically weaker categories are questions for comprehension and, in only 13 instances, questions for translations from German to English.

As the absolute frequencies of questions for fact and reason – the former falling and the latter rising – indicate a potential temporal development between T2 and T3 (cf. also the chi-square test), it seems useful to look at these two categories in more detail by combining them with the previously employed

Table 6.12. Objects of questions – numerical distribution according to point in time

Objects	T1	T2	T3	Total	% of total
fact	114	120	92	326	63.1
reason/explanation	20	28	40	88	17.0
opinion	13	27	13	53	10.3
comprehension	13	13	11	37	7.2
translation	4	1	8	13	2.5
Total	164	189	164	517	

chi-square (excl. last row due to low frequencies): 15.24; df: 6; $p < .0185$

distinction into display vs. referential questions. By correlating these two typologies, the relevance of the time factor becomes even clearer (see Table 6.13). As the numerical distribution of the four categories included in Table 6.13 is statistically highly significant, the chances are good that the steady decrease in display questions for facts and the steady increase in referential questions for reason reveal actual developmental processes in the participants' questioning behaviour. In other words, the numbers suggest that during the first two weeks of the HMP, teachers preferred display questions for facts. A few weeks later, their dominant position was steadily weakened by (teacher and student) referential questions for facts. A year later, the situation looked again different inasmuch as referential questions for reasons had become more frequently employed.

Table 6.13. Display and referential questions for facts and reasons

Question types	T1	T2	T3	Total
display questions for facts	73	61	41	175
display questions for reasons	12	16	6	34
referential questions for facts	41	59	51	151
referential questions for reasons	8	12	34	54
Total	122	139	125	386

chi-square: 38.32; df: 6; $p < .0001$

So far, this quantitative analysis has not mentioned a very central aspect of describing directives, namely that of their degree of indirectness. With regard to directives for information, i.e. questions, the data reveal that indirect directive strategies were only used in a few exceptional cases. In most of those the question itself is the indirectness strategy as the speakers' intentions seem to be different ones, such as to voice their disagreement or disbelief with the preceding propositions (for a more detailed analysis see 6.4.4.1). This general absence of indirectness in true questions for information supports the argument voiced ear-

lier: the exchange of information is, as it were, the bread and butter of education and, therefore, does not require indirect formulations.

Control acts, however, are a different matter in terms of imposition and potential threat to the interlocutors' public face, which leads to interlocutors preferring conventionally indirect strategies (e.g. *Can/will you pass that around? May I ask a question?*), also in classroom settings. Dalton-Puffer (2005: 1285), for instance, reports on a preponderance of conventionally indirect and only a handful of direct control acts in her Austrian CLIL classes. Seeing that the HMP students are all adults, it could be expected that teachers might avoid direct directives even more thoroughly.

Table 6.14. Strategies of control acts

(In)directness	Strategy	T1	T2	T3	Total	% of total
indirect	I hint	6	3	5	14	10
conventionally indirect	II ability/willingness	14	1	7	22	16
	III wants/needs	4	2	4	10	7
	IV obligation	4	2	8	14	10
direct	V performative	0	2	1	3	2
	VI imperative (+ elliptical phrases)	29	20	27	76	55
	Total	57	30	52	139	

The quantitative overview of the strategies used for carrying out control acts in the HMP, however, presents a very different picture (see Table 6.14). More than half of all control acts fit to strategy VI with less than ten percent being elliptical phrases. This means that about half of all control acts reveal a clearly direct, imperative form. While this preponderance could be expected at primary level (Holmes 1983: 96), it is rather unusual at upper-secondary (e.g. Lemke 1990: 63) and, by extension, tertiary levels. Conventionally indirect formulations aiming at ability and willingness (strategy II) are, on the other hand, considerably less frequent and appear in less than twenty percent of all instances. In other words, the HMP control acts present an unusual preference for direct rather than conventionally indirect strategies, which could point to two, or maybe three, interpretations. Firstly, the data could be called into question on grounds of methodological or analytical weaknesses, such as the inherent problem of categorization. Such a study-dependent misanalysis is unlikely, however, because imperatives are easily identifiable. Secondly, it could be the case that HMP teachers were particularly rude. But as not a single student raised this point in the many interviews and informal conversations conducted with them, this

also seems a highly unlikely possibility. This leaves a third option: direct teacher control acts might not generally be evaluated negatively, but as playing their appropriate role in the HMP lessons, at least for certain interactional purposes. The qualitative analysis in the next section will delimit these purposes in more detail.

In general, the quantitative overview of the directives used in the nine HMP lessons chosen as the database has shown that all participants placed a clear focus on instructional, rather than regulative, discourse, reflecting the high degree of familiarity all participants had with formal education. At the same time, the speaker roles of teachers and students were generally different in that teachers carried out practically all control acts and the majority of questions, with students being limited to questions. While this surely mirrors the power imbalance of classroom interaction, it is arguably also a consequence of the investigative focus on teacher-fronted lessons, which, by definition, give teachers a highly dominant role. Furthermore, the developmental aspect of the dynamically developing Classroom Community of Practice is manifest in the numerical distribution of types of question asked by the teachers. While display questions dominated at the beginning of the course, referential questions became more frequent as the HMP progressed. In other words, teachers tended to ask more questions to which they did not know the answers in advance as the students gained more specific knowledge and experience. This trend is strengthened by the fact that the objects of an increasing number of these referential questions are explanations or reasons. In other words, both teachers and students seem to have required more detailed information unknown to the speaker with the progress of the course. While this developmental pattern can be numerically measured independently of individual lessons, the data have also revealed a lesson-specific employment of directives. Above-average use of control acts can be correlated with specific lesson phases, not included in other classes. Disciplinary measures, on the other hand, did not play a measurable role as they were taken in a handful of cases only. As regards the degree of (in)directness reflected in the HMP directives, the quantitative overview has clearly shown that, in addition to the expected directness of questions, most control acts were also formulated directly. The apparent norm of directness and exceptions to it will be expounded on in more detail in the following.

6.4.2 On ‘controlling’ classroom behaviour

6.4.2.1 *Who is doing it*

As clearly proven by the quantitative analysis, classroom behaviour is almost exclusively controlled by the teachers (for examples see 6.3.2, Table 6.2). While this is what one might expect from teacher-fronted lessons, it is noteworthy that

the nine lessons analysed in detail have hardly revealed any student directed control acts. Where students did use control acts was in a few instances directed at other students, generally because they took on, or were temporarily given, a quasi-teacher role. In the exchange preceding Extract 6.14, for instance, the teacher has made one of the students responsible for handing out the textbooks, which leads to the modified directive, followed by a regulative question in line 1.

Extract 6.14. Financial Management (T1)

1 SX-m **could you please (xxx) back** <(3) SS take books> has everybody got one ?

That this status is really something special and cannot simply be assumed by students of their own will becomes clear in Extract 6.15. In response to the teacher's question of which group member would start presenting their assignment, Kosk, who, it has to be added, tended to be very active in class, but also slightly bossy towards his colleagues, tries to command Cana to talk for the group (line 1). His impersonally phrased, but unmodified control act fails, however, as another group member has taken the initiative herself, accepted by the teacher. Lines 2 and 3 are interesting as neither of them responds to Kosk's command explicitly, but, by offering and supporting an alternative behaviour implicitly deny Kosk the institutional status to control his colleagues' behaviour. Therefore, this extract provides negative evidence in support of the positive one of the preceding two examples in that all three underline the fact that control acts in the Classroom Community of Practice were only sanctioned – or regarded as felicitous (Searle 1969) – when they overlapped with the role of the classroom organizer.

Extract 6.15. F&B Management (T2)

- 1 Kosk **Cana (is going), Cana has to do it . if I have to decide I decide Cana (xx)**
 2 Cana Lula is there ,
 3 AKL Lula is getting out in front of the class , here we go.

6.4.2.2 *Being (almost) direct*

Previous research has shown that performatives tend to be avoided in institutional settings in general (Dalton-Puffer 2005: 1284; Ellis 1992: 19; Koester 2002). This is largely reflected in the present data set, except for three instances, in which the respective speaker has recourse to performatives. Extract 6.16 captures two of them: the Human Resources Management teacher uses *I ask you* twice, once with and once without the modifier *kindly*, in giving the students instructions on the requirements linked to a rather extensive assignment. It is noteworthy that this phrase, which has the stylistic connotations of written busi-

ness requests,⁷⁴ is used by the least experienced teacher who, on the other hand, had considerable experience in using English professionally.

Extract 6.16. Human Resources Management (T2)

- 1 OPP if we are not er complete today **I kindly ask you** just for the homework of er
 2 today . (.) just er to pick up the subject for your classmate who is absent , (.)
 3 okay ? just to give him or her (.) the (.) little piece of paper which is er
 4 concerning the homework until the end of the month . [...]
 < 1 min. later >
 24 er **I ask you (.) to just read** the complete (.) chapter after our lesson have
 25 finished . (.) okay ? (.) just to read , (.) all the press cuttings , which (I) include
 26 in the manual , (.) which are very very interesting , okay ? (.) just to to give
 27 yourself (the/a) chance to get a whole knowledge er concerning the the topic we
 28 have discussed . [...]

What is interesting is that the students neither commented on this exceptional language use, nor, as my observations and field notes show, did they show any non-verbal surprise. Whatever the students' internal reactions might have been, they accepted it interactionally. In other words, the students' behaviour suggests that the teacher's use of this performative was perceived as neither unusual nor inappropriate, but as interactionally helpful in adding clarity to the respective control act.

Explicitness in the form of directness is clearly the fundamental driving force behind the HMP control acts more generally as the quantitative analysis has already shown. The numerous imperative constructions vouchsafe the clear preference for directness, the more so as many of them come unmodified. Commands, as given in Extract 6.17, are very 'normal', numerically, but also pragmatically speaking. Thus, they do not seem to be seen as face-threatening at all.

Extract 6.17. Financial Management (T2)

- 1 TON (.) **read the question there** . what are they asking you to do .

74. While searches for 'kindly ask' have not led to any results in various language corpora (British National Corpus, MiCASE, LOB and Brown Corpora, all accessed on 19 October 2009), a simple Google search, undertaken on the same day, has unearthed countless occurrences of 'kindly ask (you)' in the internet. A brief scan of the first hundred of these instances has confirmed my original hunch of this phrase being used for formal business requests.

A special case of an imperative is *let's*. Due to its inclusive perspective on hearer and speaker, it places a different focus on the command uttered (cf. Dalton-Puffer 2005: 1290). This is, however, not only a feature of the hearer-cum-speaker orientation of the inclusive *we*, it is also due to the kinds of command that are introduced by *let's*. As illustrated in Extracts 6.18 and 6.19, *let's*-commands refer to actions teachers join, be it specifying a concept (Extract 6.18) or acting in a certain way (Extract 6.19). Extract 6.19 is especially revealing as it includes the hearer-oriented imperative *help me* (line 1), followed by the hearer and speaker inclusive *let's*. Functionally, they are clearly different, as the former directive asks for student activity, while the latter refers to an action which the teacher and the students will perform together. In other words, the use of *let's* cannot be reduced to a rhetorical feel-good version of a hearer-oriented imperative; it fulfils a different pragmatic function as it concerns joint activities.

Extract 6.18. Financial Management (T1)

- 1 TON it wants its taxes . all stakeholders have an interest . now , now **let's think** of
2 a few more stakeholders . who are the most important stakeholders ?

Extract 6.19. Austrian Law (T1)

- 1 XEN you know that there are federation and (3) <HIGH>**help me** come
2 on</HIGH> (2) **let's do** a bit together there is the federation and (3)

Of the various possibilities of modifying directives, the direct control acts come in a fairly restricted range of modifications (cf. Table 6.9 in 6.3.2). Apart from occasional supportive moves (as in Extract 6.20), the typical internal modification is lexical by using the politeness marker *please* (e.g. Extract 6.21) or down-toners like *just*, *perhaps* (e.g. Extract 6.22) or, more unusually, *a bit* (as in Extract 6.19 above). *Please* is also prominently used in elliptical phrases as in Extract 6.23 and thus, fitting the oral practice and the speakers' roles, functions as indicator of a control act, rather than of a request (cf. House and Kasper 1987: 1274).

Extract 6.20. Financial Management (T2)

- 1 TON we are not finished but **in order not to be panicked by this kind of question**
2 . (.) **identify** the five stages [of allocation]

Extract 6.21. Front Office Management (T1)

- 1 AKL see each other next week , **please have a look** at this er a brief look through
2 the star system

Extract 6.22. Human Resources Management (T2)

- 1 OPP **just have a break** , mhm , (2) get a little bit of fresh air and then we will
 2 continue .

Extract 6.23. F&B Management (T3)

- 1 AKL let's finish control , **Kail please**

Syntactically, control acts are mainly modified with the help of modal verbs, which either implies obligation (directive type IV) or conventionally indirect directives (directive type II). In addition, past tense forms, the interrogative or negation are used occasionally. In Extract 6.24, TON finishes off the lesson by giving instructions on what the students are expected to prepare for the next lesson. He therefore chooses the obligational *you should read*, but, as in all such instances, modifies the command lexically (*roughly through chapter one*). The second command in this turn (line 3) is first modified by *may*, which is then self-corrected by *can*, the most pervasively used modal on the whole. This exchange in modal verbs is revealing, as *may* features very seldom on the whole. It is quite likely that it is avoided for fear of misinterpretation.

Extract 6.24. Financial Management (T1)

- 1 TON <paging in book> so , (1) **you should , you should read** . (2) **ROUGHly**
 2 **through chapter one**, (.) for the ideas that we discussed here . (.) what we have
 3 NOT discussed here , (.) **you may you can ignore**. (1)

Extract 6.25. Financial Management (T1)

- 1 TON could you , **could somebody please arrange** then to give this back .

Overall, directives do not come with many syntactic modifications. Extract 6.25 is exceptional in that it combines the use of modal *can*, past tense, interrogative and, additionally, the politeness marker *please*. What is interesting is that this accumulation of modifications is produced by TON, i.e. the only L1 English speaking teacher; and at the very beginning of the HMP. At T2 and T3 his control acts tended to be imperatives with occasional lexical or external modifiers (cf. Extract 6.20 above). More generally, control acts at T2 and T3 were modified sparingly, which seems to suggest a possible communicational need behind it.

Extract 6.26 provides counter-evidence in that it is a case of communicatively ineffective indirectness. MER, the Public Relations teacher wants to ask Elig, an Austrian student, to review the preceding lesson. The teacher's first control

act in line 5 is syntactically and lexically modified in a highly atypical way. The modal verb *will* is generally barely used for directives, as is the phrase *be prepared to*. In addition, the teacher chooses the past tense. The student's reaction in line 7 – an unspecified sound in interrogative intonation – shows that she cannot interpret the teacher's intention. It could, of course, be argued that Elig has a semantic problem, but this is not very likely as she was a very experienced and proficient user of English. So instead of a lexical gap, it is more likely that the student has encountered a pragmatic one insofar as, after more than a year of HMP interaction, she does not associate such a formulation with teacher control acts. The teacher's paraphrase in line 8 includes the relevant trigger *can* in combination with the past tense, which, as Elig's reaction in line 10 shows, leads to the desired interpretation.

Extract 6.26. Public Relations (T3)

- 1 MER you missed one quiz.
- 2 Elig when was this ?
- 3 MER four weeks ago.
- 4 Elig oh really ?
- 5 MER **would you be prepared to** repeat what we discussed last week ? (.) so you
- 6 make up for the quiz that you missed ?
- 7 Elig ua:: ?
- 8 MER **could you give us** an overview about the media landscape ? (.) the topic we
- 9 discussed last week , which media exist and ?
- 10 Elig oh yes .
- 11 MER I think it's not too difficult .
- 12 Elig okay .
- 13 MER just very briefly .

6.4.2.3 Being (almost) indirect

In view of the findings which point to a clear preference for directness, it is important now to turn to those control acts that are indirectly formulated – namely the hints – and find out in how far they fit into the picture. After all, 14 hints in the data set are too many simply to sideline them as exceptional and/or irrelevant. If we look closely at these instances, it soon becomes clear that they were used for two fairly specific purposes, both of which were well established, if not routinized aspects of classroom management: firstly, to make students use the supportive, usually written, materials that go with the ongoing lesson and, secondly, to discipline students. An example of the former is Extract 6.27, in which the teacher hints at the fact that the students can find all the necessary information in their textbooks (*manual*, line 1). Since this utterance is opaque in terms of what Weizmann (1993: 124) identifies as “type”, namely its illocution-

ary force, it might be difficult to see why it should be a verbalization of control, rather than another speech act. What helps in this regard is the students' generally non-verbal reaction of turning to their books in search of the respective pages. As the teacher's (re)action shows that she anticipated such behaviour, it seems justified to treat such a comment as control act formulated as a strong hint (cf. Blum-Kulka, House and Kasper 1989: 18).

Extract 6.27. Human Resources Management (T2)

- 1 OPP **it's all written in the manual , of course** . okay ? (.) you have it detailed , (.)
 2 item for item . (.)

The second purpose for which hints were used is to discipline students. As mentioned above, the HMP teaching situation was such that the teachers found a highly restricted need for calling students to order, but when it happened, then hints were apparently used for the instances of little emotionality. Extract 6.28 is one of the few instances in which a teacher asks students to stop talking. That this is an exceptional move in the data base is also shown in the indirect and humorous mode that is adopted. First the teacher draws the interfering students' attention to the microphones placed right in front of them and then hints at the implications for having their side conversations recorded. This he does by using a well established phrase of detective stories, clearly familiar to all students (cf. their laughter in lines 2 and 5).

Extract 6.28. Financial Management (T3)

- 1 TON <directed at three students who keep chatting> (.) **you're being recorded** .
 2 SS @@@@.
 3 TON **everything you say , (.) everything you say can be taken down and used in**
 4 **evidence against you** .
 5 SS @@

This example shows that, on the one hand, all participants were so familiar with generally expected classroom behaviour that opaque illocutionary hints sufficed to rein students in if necessary. At the same time they allowed teachers to keep a humorous or detached note. As clearly stated in some interviews, teachers experienced the groups doing the Hotel Management Programme as mature and work-oriented (e.g. Quote 6.6); teenage classroom behaviour did not fit for them and neither did any contingent teacher behaviour (e.g. Quote 6.7). So when teachers felt the need to discipline, they tended to do that somehow apologetically.

Quote 6.6. Interview (2nd sem, 4th mth)

RER: bei 14–15-Jährige[n . . .] is zwei Drittel Erziehungsarbeit und a Drittel bleibt fürs fachliche Arbeiten über (.) des is im HMP sicher nicht der Fall ja da wird hoit hier und da amoi eine message ausgesandt wenn irgendwos ned stimmt (.) ja ja aber im Großen und Ganzen wissen die warum’s herin sitzen (.) ja und des erleichtert (.) ä die (.) das (.) Vermitteln von fachlichen Inhalten schon schon sehr sehr deutlich

[with 14 or 15 year-olds two thirds of your time is educating them and one third is left over for working on the content (.) this is clearly not the case in the HMP yeah sometimes you’ll send out one or the other message if something’s not right (.) but in general they know why they’re here and that makes teaching curricular content a lot easier]

Quote 6.7. Interview (3rd sem, 3rd mth)

TON: <relating his reaction to a student reading a novel in his lesson> I didn’t [do anything because] she wasn’t she wasn’t disturbing and I didn’t want to dignify I didn’t want to dignify her [lack of attention] with any notice at all

The one occasion when this was clearly not the case was an emotionally laden exchange between AKL and two students, Alac and Lura, at the beginning of the F&B Management class at T3 (Extract 6.29). The moment the two students enter the classroom, the teacher addresses them (line 1) with a reprimand on coming in late and immediately adds a control act by using a conventionally indirect strategy, with the perspective on herself (*I don’t expect you to leave*). Lura offers a reason to justify their leaving the classroom before the end of the preceding lesson, which AKL uses as trigger for yet another control act, this time phrased directly (line 5). And again she repeats the reason behind her negative feelings by stressing her expectations of appropriate behaviour. This repetition seems to have clarified the problem for Lura who offers an apology (line 7). AKL seems so upset, however, that the simple *sorry* does not suffice. She reiterates her concern (line 8), does not accept Lura’s attempt in line 9 at minimising their wrong behaviour and repeats her control act first in elliptical format (line 10) and then again by spelling it out (line 12). This long and repetitive disciplinary attempt is not only unusual when compared with other such instances, it also causes a very unusual atmosphere in this otherwise very relaxed class; so unusual that even the teacher tries to cool it off, as it were, by referring to her responsibilities as class teacher in the case of a fire alarm in her final supportive reason (lines 12 and 13). This comment triggers laughter, maybe of relief, which in turn allows Lura to acknowledge his wrongdoings (line 15) and Alac to apologise more formally (line 17).

Extract 6.29. F&B Management (T3)

- 1 AKL here, Alac (.) and Lura , (.) you left early and you came late . (.) please next
 2 time when we do group work , **I don't expect you to (.) er leave without**
 3 **telling me=**
 4 Lura =but did everything already=
 5 AKL =yes , **but then tell me we are finished . that would at least I can expect , (.)**
 6 **okay ?**
 7 Lura sorry ,
 8 AKL we're finished and- but you just disappeared , (1)
 9 Lura two minutes before ,
 10 AKL no , (.) I just had a look and noticed you weren't here . **so please next time=**
 11 Lura =okay=
 12 AKL =when we do a group work , **then let me know where you go , (.)** in case
 13 there's fire alarm <2> (and xxx) </2>
 14 SS <2> @@@@ </2>
 15 Lura okay ,
 16 AKL okay ? so=
 17 Alac =sorry about the misunderstanding ,

This exchange is not only interesting in itself, but also with regard to the strategies chosen for control acts used in support of calling students to order. The data suggest that as long as teachers keep a cool head they prefer strong hints for disciplining students, but that this strategy is too indirect for the few occasions when a teacher feels really upset about student behaviour. Then, as Extract 6.29 has shown, more direct strategies seem much more appropriate. In other words, serious disciplining arguably requires the kind of directness generally typical of directives in the CCofP.

6.4.2.4 *Concluding remarks on control acts*

On the basis of the findings, it can clearly be stated that the HMP teachers tended to use rather direct control act strategies, with hints serving very specific and clearly identified purposes. This contrasts markedly with Lemke's (1990: 63) observation that in the high school science classes he observed "[e]xplicit orders, directives, and even requests are fairly rare" (cf. also Edwards and Westgate 1994: 139). While the two research settings are clearly different with regard to age and sociocultural background of the learners as well as the subject matter at stake, the centrality of explicitness in the HMP control acts is remarkable. Whether these differences can be causally linked to the different functions fulfilled by English as classroom language cannot be ascertained, however, without further research into ELF as a classroom language.

What can be done in the present study is to look in more detail at the possibly most obvious factor that potentially influences how teachers formulate directives, namely their language proficiency levels. As the five teachers included in the present data set had different language learning and use backgrounds, it could be assumed that these might have determined, at least in part, the degree of directness used in uttering control acts. This, however, is not the case. Irrespective of whether they were highly proficient users of English (AKL), proficient users (MER, OPP) or less proficient (XEN), all teachers clearly preferred direct directive strategies with limited modifications. Most remarkably, even the British-born teacher (TON) used mainly imperative constructions, especially after the introductory phase.

With a teacher-independent clear tendency towards directness established, the results also revealed individual preferences, which, for instance, point to the relevance of teaching experience. Performatives, for instance, were only used by OPP, the teacher without any previous teaching experience, and a misleadingly indirect control act was performed by MER at a time when she was a newcomer to the CCofP. XEN, finally, lacked experience in teaching in English, which became clear in her repeated use of the same lexical modifiers (see e.g. Extract 6.30).

Extract 6.30. Austrian Law (T2)

1 XEN and **now just put** this map Austria in front of you ? (.) **just put** your hands on
 2 the borders of this country . **just just just just see** it , so Lower Austria Upper
 3 Austria Vienna (.) Burgenland Styria (.) what's there Styria Carinthia ? and then
 4 the last hand goes into Tyrol Vorarlberg Salzburg , huh Upper Austria again .

In sum, control acts in the HMP classroom interaction were carried out almost exclusively by teachers in remarkably direct ways with the help of a handful of lexical modifiers and even fewer syntactical constructions. As this preference in formulating speech acts was less influenced by the teachers' language proficiency levels than their teaching experience in the HMP and similar setups, it seems plausible to describe direct and sparingly modified control acts as a characteristic interactional feature in the Classroom Community of Practice.

6.4.3 Questions in aid of regulating classroom behaviour

As the quantitative overview has shown, a small proportion of all questions raised in the data set refer to procedural matters. As exemplified in Extracts 6.31 to 6.34, these questions are stimulated by upcoming procedural needs and raised by teachers and students alike. Since, additionally, they are asked directly with minor modifications, such as the appeler *did you say now* in Extract 6.31

(line 2), they do not seem to be linked to specific speaker roles. Whoever feels the need to solve an immediately relevant procedural point, raises the relevant question. In Extract 6.31, for instance, the teacher wants to know about the length of the lesson and the whereabouts of absent students, while Extracts 6.32 and 6.33 display student questions concerning teaching materials and quizzes. None of these questions seems face-threatening or imposing; on the contrary, they appear completely sanctioned in this formal educational setting.

Extract 6.31. Front Office Management (T1)

- 1 AKL good so we talked about the difference er between a (.) chain hotel and an
- 2 independent hotel ? (1) **so what time do we finish did you say now**
- 3 SX-m <1>six minutes earlier</1>
- 4 AKL <1>**eleven fi** </1> **forty five hu ? or eleven yeah**
- 5 SX-m forty four (2)

Extract 6.32. Financial Management (T1)

- 1 TON <TON hands books out (10)> okay
- 2 Clap **and so we keep this book ?**
- 3 TON yes you could , you should keep these books for the length of your stay here and
- 4 do not, hm: ?
- 5 Clap **after(wards) we'll have to return the book ?**
- 6 TON it's not a new book , you have to give them back at the end .

Extract 6.33. Public Relations (T3)

- 1 Alac **are we getting a quiz now ?**
- 2 MER do you want one ?
- 3 Alac no

It might be expected that procedural questions were more prevalent at the beginning of the HMP. This is not the case, however. They were uniformly scarce at all times, most likely because general procedural matters of formal education were well known to all participants. Moreover, there was a weekly lesson with the class teacher in which regulative matters relevant to the HMP were dealt with. This, as was borne out by the data, left only a small number of procedural points to be discussed in class.

The few examples of student-student exchanges featuring regulative questions support the well established routines which experienced participants in formal education share. In Extract 6.34, which took place during the first HMP day, a student displays his momentary responsibility as assistant to the teacher; a role his new classmates clearly accept.

Extract 6.34. Financial Management (T1)

- 1 SX-m <(3) SS take books> **has everybody got one ?**
 2 SX-f yeah

The few examples of regulative questions given so far all point to the high degree of directness found in the HMP data. That such direct formulations were not only normal, but also generally expected is evident in Extract 6.35, in which Elig, an Austrian student who acted as class representative of the HMP for some time, asks XEN for a change in class times. Elig's original request is exceptionally modified (lines 1 and 3). The teacher's immediate reaction is highly supportive (lines 5 and 7) and phrased in a similarly modified way (lines 14–16). That such a high degree of modification also seems unusual for the participants becomes clear in Crek's clarification in line 17 and the teacher's reaction in line 23. Crek, later supported by Jenz, feels the need to clarify that the request concerns only a single class, which unveils the teacher's misapprehension that the students' request might concern her class time for the rest of the semester. While the reason for this misunderstanding can be semantically explained by the ambiguous use of *the class* in line 3 as referring to a whole course or to an individual lesson, the pragmatic meaning of the questioning strategy used by Elig should not be underrated either. In contrast to the usually very direct and unmodified formulations, she chooses to phrase her question indirectly and to modify it heavily. Such a marked formulation must have appeared highly face-saving, which in turn might have favoured an interpretation of *class* as semester course rather than individual session.

Extract 6.35. Austrian Law (T1)

- 1 Elig **I have a question**
 2 XEN yeah
 3 Elig **many students phoned me that they wanted to do the class on Thursday ?**
 4 because we have a huge break you know ,
 5 XEN er **so if we can change it from Monday to Thursday .**
 6 Elig yeah
 7 XEN **so is that the will of all of you ?**
 8 SS (xxx)
 9 XEN (xxx) I have lessons on Thursday afternoon
 10 SX-f all four
 11 XEN four thirty
 12 Crek yes from nine fifty up to (2) five twenty five <SOFT> we have a break
 13 </SOFT> okay, the two lessons (xxx)

- 14 XEN ah okay I I can look it up I'm going to talk to er [HMP administrator] , okay ?
 15 **would it be better for the all of you** <SS make noises> **Thursday , better**
 16 **than Monday afternoon , (2) would it be- be better for you ,**
 17 Crek it's just for the two hours that we have
 18 Jenz yes
 19 XEN okay
 20 Jenz up to the schedule
 21 XEN okay
 22 Jenz (x) have to see these two hours
 23 XEN I thought I thought in general you want to change it from Monday
 24 Jenz no
 25 XEN I have to look it up yeah and I'm going to tell you next Monday=
 26 Jenz =yeah
 27 XEN the day after next Monday yeah (.) and then we will fix it . great thank you . so
 28 it's er lesson number six to: (.) eight including eight six seven eight

In other words, the regulative questions found in the data set reveal that they were generally not considered face-threatening and tended to be formulated directly with little modifications. Any diversion from this questioning behaviour was interpreted as marked and as carrying special meaning, irrespective of whether this had originally been intended.

6.4.4 Instructional questions

As the bulk of all questions included in the database falls into the instructional register, they allow a multifaceted description of how teachers and students used what types of questions in co-developing objects of learning and how they reacted to questions asked by their interlocutors. This description will begin with two aspects that have been found to be quantitatively marginal, but are nonetheless quite revealing, concerning the nature and role of instructional questions: the discursive meaning of indirectness (see 6.4.4.1) and of questions for translation (see 6.4.4.2). I will then turn to the types of questions which the quantitative analysis has established as central, i.e. display vs. referential questions asking for facts and reasons/explanations, and describe how the interactants used them in varying ways during the three crucial phases, T1, T2 and T3 (see 6.4.4.3). This will set the scene for an in-depth analysis of how teachers and students jointly constructed educational talk and the roles played by instructional questions in this process (see 6.4.4.4). A summary of the main results will conclude the analysis of instructional questions (see 6.4.4.5).

6.4.4.1 (In)directness

In view of the fact that formal education rotates around the exchange of information, Table 6.15 lists a selection of the many informational questions, all of which ask for the respective information directly, even if they make use of occasional modifiers.

Table 6.19. Illustrative examples of instructional questions

Class	Teacher question	Student question
1fin2	TON: why do suppliers suffer if I go bankrupt ?	Kosk: you mean laundry for the clients ?
1fom2	AKL: what do they- what are they in charge of do you think .	Jenz: this department they (include) everything . also including the service ?
1law2	XEN: where is our parliament situated , have you ever seen it ?	Anki: if the chambers of commerce do they have to belong to a special party ?
2fin1	TON: how many days are people sick (1) a year ?	Zian: yeah but how many of them [holidays] are on weekends .
2law1	XEN: yeah what's an: attorney ,	Hanb: in the court ?
2hr1	OPP: do you have any questions . (.) concerning this .	Jenz: what is E E O .
3fbm2	AKL: if a bar (.) is not doing very well in a five star hotel, what could you do with this bar ,	Kosk: are you doing this in cooperation with a: (.) executive chef ? or
3pr1	MER: who is doing the work actually . (.) who is writing the articles .	Alac: where do the sixty million go to ?
3fin1	TON: are there any questions to do with the feasibility study ?	Kari: do you know what I mean ?

Considering the overwhelming preference for directness, the few instances of indirectly formulated questions are worth mentioning. Mainly posed by students, they are linguistically marked by the use of negation. As Extracts 6.36 and 6.37 illustrate, they are indirect insofar as they are framed as questions for information, but are actually expressions of objection or disagreement. In the first extract, the teacher describes freedom of speech as unlimited (lines 1–4), which triggers Anki's objection in line 5 as to its limits to personal insult; an objection which is formulated as a question. XEN acknowledges Anki's point in line 6 and integrates it into her original statement in line 8, which is met by Anki's approval (line 9).

Extract 6.36. Austrian Law (T1)

- 1 XEN liberal principle . liberal principle means we are free in the state . I can go on the
 2 street and say parliament is sh- yeah something . yeah ? and nobody is going to
 3 tell me <QUOTATIVE> you don't have to say it go to prison </QUOTATIVE>
 4 yeah ? (2) I'm FREE (.) in this country
 5 Anki **but you do not not allowed to say something bad to a politician no ?**
 6 XEN no I can't say Mr Haider is sh-
 7 SX-f @
 8 XEN but I can say the whole politic is sh-
 9 Anki uhu

In Extract 6.37, Evak objects to AKL's statement of outsourcing a bar. In contrast to comparable exchanges from the first semester, this objection is phrased as question for information without any modification at all (lines 2, 8 and 10). This, I would suggest, is a sign of the advanced point in time at which it took place (for more discussion on this point see 6.4.2.2). Evak's first question in line 2 leads to AKL elaborating on the strategic plans mentioned in line 1. After the student's reiterated question, the teacher is clearly unsure about what is unclear to Evak, especially since she knows that outsourcing can no longer be a foreign concept. Evak's third question supports this assumption as she finally verbalises more clearly which aspect of the teacher's explanations she cannot accept. This allows the teacher to explain in more detail why and how such outsourcing would be done.

Extract 6.37. F&B Management (T3)

- 1 AKL strategic plans would be like we said the example of outsourcing before .
 2 Evak **what do you mean=**
 3 AKL =if if the bar hasn't been doing well for let's say five years , (.) or I observed it
 4 since the opening , (.) the bar has not been doing well , (.) and I've been trying out
 5 (.) campaigns , advertising , promotional activities ? (.) and (.) they didn't (.)
 6 prove to be successful ? (1) you decide for example , (.) in the long term , strategic
 7 , you will out:source this outlet, this is a longterm (xx)=
 8 Evak **=which means ?**
 9 AKL outsource ?
 10 Evak **how many outsource a bar <1> (are there) </1>**
 11 Alac <1> you rent </1>
 12 AKL <1> you can , </1> you can let's say you you go to Planter's Bar , (.) and you
 13 speak to the guy there (.) who is in charge of the Pla- you know the Planter's Bar ,
 14 SX-f mhm
 15 AKL of course you do , and you say to him are you interested in running my bar: , (.) er
 16 my hotel and he might say yes (.) sounds good , it's a five star hotel , it's in
 17 a prime location , I'm interested (.) to er rent it , and pay you a certain fee for
 18 renting this (.) bar and I will call it Planter's Two .

While not all objections raised in the database are phrased indirectly, it is noteworthy that, as illustrated by the two extracts given here, all indirectly phrased questions for information are actually objections. Even more revealing is the fact that they were all asked by students and that teachers clearly preferred to express their objections directly. In view of the different role allocation of teachers and students in specifically teacher-fronted lessons, a possible interpretation would be that the students' choice of indirect formulations carries pragmatic meaning and that objections raised by students might be evaluated as potentially face-threatening. Since questions for information have been established as carrying no imposition value in the HMP (and other) classrooms, they seem well suited as face-saving devices when students want to express their disbelief or disagreement (cf. also Dalton-Puffer 2007: 190).

6.4.4.2 Translation – German as supportive language

As argued elsewhere (e.g. 5.2.2), ELF interactions are arguably characterized by the fact that authority over language expertise cannot be localized with specific participants. For an educational setting, this implies that teachers need not act as experts when it comes to language questions. This is also what some HMP teachers mentioned during the interviews when they stressed that they asked the group for help in case of lexical gaps or retrieval problems (see Quotes 4.38 and 4.54 in chapter 4). A few such instructional questions asking for translations appeared in the data set chosen for this analysis. Extract 6.38, for instance, is taken from the introductory phase and includes two verbalized lexical gaps on the part of the otherwise very fluent teacher. In both cases, AKL offers the German expressions and indicates that the English equivalents elude her (lines 2 and 12). Immediately, students help out, offering English expressions (lines 4 and 14+15), which AKL integrates into her statement. The first time she does so without any noticeable unease (line 5). The second time, however, laughter and repetitions (line 16) show that the teacher is aware of the exceptional nature of the occasion.

Extract 6.38. Front Office Management (T1)

- 1 AKL the Grand Hotel was running at a sixty percent occupancy , only paying off the
- 2 <GERMAN> **Zinsen jetzt foits ma net ei** </GERMAN> <interest I can't think of
- 3 it right now> the
- 4 SX-m interest rates=
- 5 AKL =the interest with eighty percent occupancy they were making money , with
- 6 sevent- seventy percent occupancy sixty to seventy they were still not making
- 7 money . so who wants to take a management contract for a company that's not
- 8 making money . okay? so
- 9 Lura do they have er got the contract now ?

- 10 AKL they have it yeah , the er er er er it's now called er J J W it's it's it's it's it's an
 11 Arab- er Arabian Arabian ? Arab <@>guy</@> Arabic Arabic (.) Arabic guy
 12 <GERMAN>ein Scheich was heißt Scheich </GERMAN> <a sheik what do you
 13 call a sheik>
 14 SX-f sheik
 15 SX-m sheik=
 16 AKL =sheik an <@>sheik</@> he had a lot of money and he decided to take the Ana
 17 Grand f- Hotel for the price

The second example, Extract 6.39, comes from the Public Relations class. This lesson took place a day after the whole group had been on a guided tour through the studios of the most popular radio station in Austria, which is also known for its up-to-date traffic news featuring warnings of wrong-way drivers. As the exchange between the teacher and students shows, they can only think of the German expression, *Geisterfahrer*, and simply use *ghost-driver* as loan translation. At this point, however, Hanb (line 7) wants to know the established English expression. As none of the group can help, the teacher turns to the researcher in her role as language expert (lines 10+11), who, unfortunately, has to disappoint them as well (line 12). *Ghost-driver* thus remains the only expression available, which, as MER's summarising comment in line 13 shows, works well group-internally.

Extract 6.39. Public Relations (T3)

- 1 MER every half hour they are broadcasting the traffic news and they are interrupting the
 2 programme , when do they do that ?
 3 Lura if it's something special .
 4 MER something special , what is something shp- special ?
 5 Lura accident o:r <2> <GERMAN> Geister- </GERMAN> </2>
 6 MER accident or ghost <2> driver .</2> yeah ?
 7 Hanb **are they really called ghost-driver ?**
 8 MER I have no clue . <3> I really don't know . </3>
 9 Elig <3> @@@@ </3>
 10 MER Ute . (.) **just let us know** . (.) you are the expert , **the English expression for**
 11 <GERMAN> **Geisterfahrer**= </GERMAN>. <wrong-way drivers>
 12 US =I don't know=
 13 MER =yesterday we said ghost driver, but everybody knew what we were talking about .

To sum up, the questions for translations are interesting in two respects. They firstly confirm the self-reported willingness of all participants to call on each other's language expertise if in need, which supports the ELF character of the HMP classroom interaction. Secondly, they reveal that German functioned as fall-back language in classroom interaction. While the participants would use their other languages, such as Greek, Hindi and Arabic, in side-conversations in

class and on other occasions out of class, German was the only language other than English to which they had recourse during main classroom interactions. In other words, the role that German played in the classroom reflected its numerically strong position as well as its status as language of the environment (see also 4.2). As more and more students gained at least some competence in German in the course of the HMP, its status as second common language became even more relevant during the second year of studies, so much so that, at least for specific expressions like *Geisterfahrer* in Extract 6.39, German became a shared code as well.

6.4.4.3 *Question types: changing roles at T1, T2 and T3*

The developmental aspect deducible from questions for translation becomes even more prominent when turning to the frequently employed types, i.e. display and referential questions for facts and reasons, for which the quantitative analysis (see 6.4.1) has established a shift from a focus on teachers' display questions on facts in the introductory phase (T1), via an increase in referential questions on facts by teachers and students in the second part of the first semester (T2), to more referential questions asking for reasons and explanations a year later (T3). Correspondingly, the in-depth analysis of how these question types were used and by whom will focus on exemplary extracts taken from the three critical phases.

As in formal teaching settings more generally, the HMP teachers made ample use of questions to scaffold complex content matter by breaking it down into simpler questions (Hatch 1994: 26; Tsui et al. 2004: 128). While this could be observed throughout the HMP, it was overwhelmingly used at T1. In these introductory days, teachers placed less emphasis on using questions to open up new information and create a space of learning (cf. 2.2.1.1), and instead tried hard to come up with display questions that would help to create a friendly and collaborative atmosphere, by inviting students to share what they already knew and putting them at ease at the same time. In Extract 6.40, for instance, AKL first appeals to common knowledge and then asks for an explanation in lines 1 and 2, but does not receive any response. Instead of nominating somebody or restating her *why*-question, AKL prefers to change it to a *yes-no* question in line 3, which is particularly simple to answer as it asks for what the teacher has already presupposed in her original question. Consequently, all students are inclined to affirm it (line 4). Based on this voluntary response, the teacher returns to her original question (line 5), which Suka, a student with experience in hotel management education, now tries to answer. Again, the very second the student seems to get stuck, AKL interferes by changing her question to one asking for facts (line 7). This, together with the teacher's supportive minimal

responses, allows Suka to come up with an extensive answer drawing on her own experience (lines 8, 10, 12+13).

Extract 6.40. Front Office Management (T1)

- 1 AKL you've seen organization charts before , **why is it important to have an**
- 2 **organization chart for a property that's three hundred rooms for example ?**
- 3 **(1) is it important to have one ?**
- 4 SS yes
- 5 AKL yes , **why ?**
- 6 Suka in er
- 7 AKL **what does it show**
- 8 Suka the duties like everything is (really) separated for each person
- 9 AKL right
- 10 Suka er it's not possible that each person can handle everything .
- 11 AKL yeah
- 12 Suka there er a person should be specialized in a particular department and there should
- 13 be department head , very very (xx)
- 14 AKL the lines of authority
- 15 Suka yeah

Another questioning strategy employed quite regularly especially in the early days of the HMP, was for the teacher to provide most of the expected sentence, but to let the students fill in the key expression. Extract 6.41 is a case in point. As pointed out by Tsui et al. (2004: 136–138), such blank-filling questions can be very helpful, especially for students with varying levels of language proficiency. In addition, I would concede that the same might be true for teachers who find teaching in English somewhat challenging as, for instance, XEN in Extract 6.41, because blank-filling questions allow for an interactive, but teacher-dominated teaching style, while keeping the syntactic reformulations to a minimum.

Extract 6.41. Austrian Law (T1)

- 1 XEN okay , first principle the will of the people **and it's the principle of**
- 2 SS <SOFT> democracy </SOFT>
- 3 XEN democracy democracy

While teachers raised most questions at T1, students also asked for whatever they felt was truly necessary. As they were clearly in the role of the secondary knowers, these questions were always referential. In Extract 6.42, for instance, Jins is unclear about one step taken in solving an arithmetic problem and asks for more explanation (line 1). Interestingly, she introduces her question with the preparatory *excuse me*, a move taken very seldom on the whole, but most likely

felt necessary at this early stage in the HMP. After TON provides the required information (lines 4 and 6), Jins summarises what she has understood as main point (line 7), receives the teacher's confirmation (line 8) and acknowledges it (line 9).

Extract 6.42. Financial Management (T1)

- 1 Jins (3) **excuse me ? how could you get that re:- ?**
- 2 TON retained profit . so=
- 3 Jins **=in again**
- 4 TON (1) we decided , we wanted to keep
- 5 Jins uhu
- 6 TON about half to reinvest . (.) this is a decision .
- 7 Jins I understand no calculate
- 8 TON no
- 9 Jins no calculate @

After the first few weeks of the course, such generally successful exchanges tended to become more extended and complex as students started taking on more active roles in responding to teacher questions, but also in formulating their own. In Extract 6.43, for instance, various students respond to a teacher's question for facts and, in the process of jointly finding the answer, collaborate in solving the resulting calculation in question-answer sequences. The roles of requester and respondent change so frequently that the distinction between teacher as primary and students as secondary knowers becomes momentarily suspended. Students respond to and ask each other questions, which at two points can be characterized as display rather than referential ones. For the sake of space, the extract contains only the first part of the exchange.

Extract 6.43. Financial Management (T2)

- 1 TON **how many hours do people work a year** .⁷⁵
- 2 Alac **a year ?**
- 3 Zian a year
- 4 <(10) SS talking>
- 5 Alac <doing calculations> and sixteen and sixty thousand- ten thousand six hundred
- 6 ? (.) thousand six hundred plus <SOFT> (xx) </SOFT>
- 7 TON forty hours a week
- 8 Alac (xx) plus (xxxx)
- 9 Zian fourteen thousand four hundred ,
- 10 Alac thousand nine hundred

75. In a joint effort, taking 27 turns after Extract 6.43, the group arrives at a sum total of 8768 working hours per year, resulting from an average of 221 working days of 8 hours each.

- 11 Zian fourteen thousand
 12 TON **a thousand nine hundred hours a year ?**
 13 Alac yeah . (1) forty hours a week times fifty (two)
 14 TON (1) forty hours a week times fifty weeks a year . (1) two thousand .
 15 Kari **fifty two ?**
 16 Alac no . (1) they don't work always .
 17 TON no no . (1) in fact (.) I mean , (.) if it's just an eight hour week (4) if it's just an
 18 eight hour week er we will probably have less than that . (.) it's always good to
 19 (.) erm get these numbers into your head . (1) erm **how many days are there in a**
 20 **year .**
 21 Zian three hundred sixty five
 22 TON this is easy . three six five . **how many holi- how many weekends .**
 23 Zian weekends .
 24 TON hm .
 25 Alac fifty two by- hundred: (.) for(ty) ? eh ,
 26 TON hundred and four= (2)
 27 Alac =hundred
 28 SX-f **(well) is that days or (xx)**
 29 Zian that's how many Saturdays and Sundays you have
 30 TON days , (1) <writing on white board> weekend , (2) it's coming down it's coming
 31 down , (.) two hundred and sixty one . **how many public holidays a year ,**
 32 Lula <1> depends on the country </1>
 33 Zian <1> depends on the country </1>
 34 TON **give me a number**
 35 Zian say seven or eight
 36 Lula eighteen
 37 TON **public holidays ?**
 38 Zian yeah @
 39 Lula Austria @@
 40 Kail ten
 41 SX-f **what about seven**
 42 TON **eleven ?**
 43 Lula **eleven ? including Christmas spring Easter summer ?**
 44 Alac sixteen
 45 TON public holidays
 46 Zian **yeah but how many of them are on weekends .**
 47 TON yes
 48 Lula <@> ach god (I know xx) </@>
 49 Alac sixteen public holidays
 50 TON sixteen of which (1) somehow four or five fall on , (.) we we lost the
 51 <GERMAN> Nationalfeiertag </GERMAN> we lost the national day this year .
 52 it's useless . it was yesterday er
 53 SX-f yes
 54 TON er Sunday yeah so
 55 SS @@

TON's initial question in Extract 6.43, line 1 is prompted by an arithmetic problem, in which working hours per year play a central role. Whether this question is a display question cannot be ascertained, because it does not become clear if TON actually knows the answer at the outset. Irrespective of the status of knowledge linked to the question, however, it clearly appeals to the students, who eagerly react by doing calculations (line 4) and suggesting initial solutions (up to line 11). TON picks up Alac's suggestion in line 12, thus elevating it to the momentarily acceptable one. At this point, Kari questions the calculation in the first student question of this exchange (line 15). Alac immediately responds to it, explaining his line of thought (line 16). This triggers a clarification on behalf of TON, who instigates a re-run of the calculation by suggesting further aspects that need to be considered in a series of questions (lines 19, 21, 30, 36). While the first two are clearly display questions in that TON knows the answer beforehand, the third one, *how many public holidays?*, turns out to be referential in such an international student group. As Lula and Zian quickly point out (lines 31 and 32), this question leads to highly diverse answers depending on the country under consideration. At this point the exchange takes another turn. Suggestions and questions come in rapid succession from TON and various students, who respond to each other as well as the teacher. In line 42, then, Lula questions a preceding suggestion and in line 45 Zian asks a question which clearly aids in developing the matter. Both of these can be argued to be display rather than referential in nature and could just as easily have been raised by the teacher. It is at this point that the interactants momentarily seem to be at an equal level of knowledge, which finds expression in a more balanced distribution of interactional roles; a state soon to be dissolved by TON's explanation about the Austrian national holiday having fallen on a Sunday (lines 49–51, 53), which leads back to the established role-relationship of teacher-initiated whole class interaction. In sum then, this exchange, which focuses on facts only, is remarkable in the interplay of referential and display questions raised by the teacher as well as students in their joint endeavour to find a generally valid solution to an arithmetical problem. At the same time, it illustrates the level of activity students were willing to show in response to a teacher question at T2.

The increase in student activity is also found in student-initiated exchanges, such as in Extract 6.44. In lines 1 and 2, Crek raises a referential question asking for clarification of a specific legal term introduced by the teacher. Her original formulation for explanation is immediately changed, or rectified to one of fact (*national law means Gesetzesvorbehalt*) and rephrased more explicitly (*is this the same?*). During the teacher's explanation, the student remains active in that she continues to give minimal feedback (lines 4, 6, 8, 13, 15) and, at a point where this is obviously important to her, raises a follow-on question (line 11). This

question, which is also acknowledged by more detailed explanations (line 12 following), shows that Crek remains actively involved in getting a satisfactory response to her original question. At the same time, I submit that it offers added information on the student's minimal responses: they seem to fulfil the double function of acknowledging the hearer's interest and attention as well as indicating her subjective evaluation of satisfactory understanding. When the latter is not reached, the hearers can extend their response with the aim of finding out more. A similar use of minimal responses can also be detected from the preceding extracts (esp. 6.40 and 6.42) and points to the generally shared awareness that interactants need to signal their level of understanding in order for the HMP classroom interaction to be experienced as successful by all parties.⁷⁶ With the same intention, Crek finally acknowledges that her question has been answered satisfactorily in lines 21 and 23.

Extract 6.44. Austrian Law (T2)

- 1 Crek **what did you mean (.) national law means <GERMAN> Gesetzesvorbehalt**
 2 **</GERMAN> <statutory reservation> is this the same ?**
 3 XEN if if there is erm a law . yeah ?
 4 Crek mhm ,
 5 XEN punishment law .
 6 Crek mhm
 7 XEN and there is the allowance in your national law , to sentence someone to death .
 8 Crek mhm .
 9 XEN (1) but you accepted the human right catalogue . (.) saying that human life is
 10 untouchable .
 11 Crek **you personally** ,
 12 XEN the land , erm the state , the government ,
 13 Crek mhm
 14 XEN the entity of your erm: federation .
 15 Crek mhm
 16 XEN the:n this goes befo:re the human right catalogue . (2) except (.) if somebody is
 17 sentenced to death . you have the right , (.) that human right li- that human li- right
 18 is untouchable ,
 19 Crek mhm
 20 XEN but IF someone is sentenced to death , (.) your national law goes
 21 Crek yeah okay .
 22 XEN before international law .
 23 Crek thank you.
 24 XEN okay ? (7)

76. The interactional relevance of minimal responses underlines the conceptual impossibility of finding a theoretically satisfying definition of 'turn' (see also 5.2.3).

The two extracts, taken from classroom exchanges at T2, illustrate that a few weeks of familiarizing oneself with the HMP and its participants had brought a qualitative change to the way teachers and students handled instructional questions. On the one hand, students had taken on a more active role in responding to and (re)formulating such questions and were willing to adapt their interactional role dynamically according to the respective lesson phase and topic. On the other hand, the interactive process itself increasingly reflects its being undertaken in a *lingua franca*, which does not give either party linguistic authority, as it were. Despite the interactional imbalance intrinsic to teacher-fronted lessons, both teachers and students needed to signal the degree of interpretability perceived by them, which they did, at least in part, by using minimal responses as well as questions of whichever type seemed most suitable at the moment of speaking.

A year later, the interactional patterns revealed further changes. Based on classroom observations and field notes, students were, at least impressionistically, more actively involved in participating and carrying the lessons, which the quantitative analysis has shown finds its expression in a higher proportion of (unprompted) student referential questions for explanation than in the first semester. A case in point is Extract 6.45. In reference to what the group heard during their excursion to the Austrian radio station, Alac asks a question for fact in line 1. As it is inaudible to MER (as well as the transcribers), he offers an extended supportive move in lines 3 and 4, acknowledged by MER in line 5, which leads to his rephrasal of the original question in line 6. Lura, a fellow student, interrupts and responds in line 7, overlapping with the teacher, who in line 8 affirms Lura's response and adds a more detailed explanation herself. What marks Lura's response in line 7 as different from similar student-to-student responses during the first semester (cf. Extract 6.41) is that it is volunteered although Lura has not played any role in the preceding interaction, and it does not refer to any cultural knowledge in which he, as a non-Austrian, would be an expert. That he takes the floor while lacking the assets which would have been considered relevant during the first semester, indicates that active participation is apparently motivated differently after a year of classroom interaction; having the required knowledge is arguably sufficient now.

Extract 6.45. Public Relations (T3)

- 1 Alac **what does: what does erm the (xxxx).**
- 2 MER **pardon ?**
- 3 Alac cause they said that they need eight to ten millions to operate the er (.) the radio .
- 4 and there're in seventy million .
- 5 MER yeah that's right ,

- 6 Alac **where do the sixty million go to ?**
 7 Lura <3> (xx) the </3> O R F <Austrian broadcasting co-operation>
 8 MER <3> they support </3> yeah , (.) they support other programmes with that money ,

Extract 6.46 is even more extreme in this regard as the knowledge at stake here resides mainly with two students, Kari and Zian, who came late to the Financial Management lesson because of a field trip they had to undertake as part of a feasibility study required in another subject. As their task was a financial one, namely to approach a bank for a loan in their role as future restaurant managers, TON is clearly interested in finding out more about it and broaches the topic in lines 1 and 2. This leads into an extensive exchange of more than six minutes. TON keeps asking questions for facts, obviously all of them referential, to which the two students reply, readily offering information. Owing to the extended length of the exchange, Extract 6.46 contains the first 90 seconds only. Already the first move is remarkable in that it is the most modified question found in the whole data base. Starting with a disarmer (*may I ask you*), TON continues with a supportive reason (*maybe this is relevant*) before he raises a *yes-no* question in the syntax of a statement. Kari's brief affirmation (line 3) allows TON to raise the question which seems to have been on his mind in the first place, again in *yes-no* format (line 4). First Kari and then Zian explain in comparatively long turns the main problems they encountered in the bank; Zian's turn is so long that TON misinterprets a pause in his statement as a transition relevance place (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson 1974: 12) and starts his next question in line 10 before Zian can finish his statement in line 11. TON repeats his question in line 12, interestingly in a blank-filling form, to which the students answer in collaboration (lines 13–16) and Zian offers extra information in line 17. TON's next question in line 18 concerns the availability of financial statements from the restaurant. While phrased as a *yes-no* question, it elicits an extensive answer by Zian (lines 19+20), who interprets 'availability' as referring to the two students. TON's rephrased question shows that he means available in general, which Zian can affirm in line 22.

Extract 6.46. Financial Management (T3)

- 1 TON so (xxx) , **may I ask you , maybe this is relevant . (.) you went to the bank to**
 2 **borrow money ,**
 3 Kari yes .
 4 TON **was it complicated ?**
 5 Kari it wasn't quite easy because we don't have the balances, the balances of er @@
 6 (xxx).

- 7 Zian well you see in order for him to er (.) give us a loan . (.) we have to show that
 8 we're taking over the restaurant, you have to show him the (balances) erm and the
 9 profits stated before (.) to see if the- (.)
 10 TON **you say you needed=**
 11 Zian =bank security .
 12 TON **you needed the financial statements , fo:r(.)**
 13 Zian the previous years
 14 TON for the previous years , (.)
 15 Kari for security yeah .
 16 TON yeah .
 17 Zian (xxxxxx) if you're not Austrian you just can't get a loan . (.) so:
 18 TON **are these financial statements available .**
 19 Zian e:r (.) not really . (2) no- actually (when I think about it sir) they (don't wanna)
 20 give us their actual financial statements .
 21 TON **but in principle (.) they're available ,**
 22 Zian yeah .

From the point of view of teacher questions in formal education, this extract is remarkable in that, in contrast to the brief responses usually associated with closed questions, TON elicits such extended answers. It thus shows that a successful use of questions in teaching cannot easily be linked with the types of question employed (Hatch 1992: 42; see also 6.1), but depends on how appropriately they are used to allow and foster the learning process (Tsui et al. 2004: 113–114). In the present case, the extended answers given to TON's *yes-no* questions asking for facts are most probably best explained by the topic in question and its direct relevance for the students at that moment. Also, the moment in time must not be forgotten. At that point towards the end of the third semester, the students act from the vantage point of experience with regard to the HMP itself as well as the field of expertise they are studying for; a fact clearly acknowledged in TON's tentative formulation of the initial question.

In sum, the qualitative analysis of the instructional questions has added more substance to the quantitatively established developments between T1, T2 and T3. As regards the question typologies, the in-depth investigation of specific extracts has illustrated that they are not only useful as a basis for establishing questioning patterns, but also as indicators of participant roles. Display questions go hand-in-hand with the teachers in their role as primary knowers. When used by students, they are not merely exceptional, but reflect that students take on this role as well, even if only momentarily. As this happens in the present data set only at T2 and T3, it suggests that the students needed to go through the introductory phase before acting as primary knowers. Since the HMP was clearly focused on knowledge exchange and development, teacher questions for facts

and explanations/reasons were fundamental to all lessons. Students, on the other hand, raised such questions differently at the different stages of the course. During the first semester, they used them mainly to resolve issues of vague or non-understanding that arose from the teacher-led ongoing interaction. A year later, however, they were also willing to bring up their own issues and concerns by seeking facts and explanations from the teachers as well as their fellow students, thus co-developing objects of learning more pro-actively (see also 6.4.4.4).

Since questions do not stand alone, but form an integral part of ongoing interactions, the qualitative analysis has also included the types of responses given. Generally, most questions were acknowledged with answers, which is not surprising in formal educational settings. What is more noteworthy is the way responses tended to be actively accompanied by the questioners, irrespective of whether they were teachers or students. Especially after the introductory phase, they verbalized their level of intelligibility and interpretability in the answer given to the original question. While ongoing feedback is a standard feature of all kinds of spoken interaction (e.g. Biber et al. 1999: 1091), the analyses given above point to the high frequency and relevance of such feedback in the present data set (cf. Walenta 2007 for similar findings). It is not only clearly necessary to assure the level of mutual understanding deemed relevant by the interlocutors, but also shared equally by teachers and students, which is another point in support of language expertise being shared by all participants of this ELF interactional setting.

This type of ‘linguistic equality’ starts to show linguistically at T2 and remains visible throughout the remainder of the HMP. And yet, the interactions instigated by instructional questions at T3 appear to have developed even further: students asked questions and responded to others without prompting by relying on their personal, cultural or professional knowledge. In other words, linguistic equality seems to have been joined, or enlarged, by what could be termed ‘professional expertise’ in the Classroom Community of Practice.

6.4.4.4 *Student involvement*

The preceding analyses have shown that various types of teacher questions provide enough floor space for students to become actively involved in the ongoing interactions. This means that clear links between specific question types and the length and intensity of student answers could not be established. There is, however, one exception to this apparently missing relationship, and these are questions for opinion referring to (hypothetical) scenarios; with scenarios being well described as “freie Kombinationen fachlicher Realität und Phantasie” (Jakobson 1992: 241), i.e. free combinations of factual reality and imagination.

This question type leads to extended and varied responses from various students. Extract 6.47 includes the first part of such an exchange.

Extract 6.47. Human Resources (T2)

- 1 OPP just tell me **what could be the reason**, (1) when a manager (.) changes the job
 2 description (.) of (.) the job of (.) his or her employees . (3) (meaning) (.) does a
 3 redesign of the job . (.) **what could be the reason that a manager (.) says** ,
 4 <SOFT> okay (.) I will give him more duties , less duties , I will give him new
 5 tasks , </SOFT>
 6 Cana so they don't (xxxx) want (x some)
 7 OPP okay ? yeah , (4) .
 8 Flor just (past with) the budget problem we just skip one er- job so , (1)
 9 OPP <1> yeah </1> ,
 10 Flor <1> (xx the chance) between us </1>
 11 OPP yeah , you have to share the job .
 12 Clap maybe not qualified in the field ?
 13 OPP yeah , he's overqualified or underqualified , that's right ? yeah ,

After a longish teacher monologue on the relevance of job descriptions in the hotel business, OPP asks the students for their opinions on why managers change job descriptions in lines 1–2 (*what could be the reason*). After a pause of three seconds, the teacher repeats the question and rephrases the supportive move into direct speech (lines 4–5). In the following, five different students suggest different reasons, of whom only the first three are included here (lines 6, 8+10, 12). OPP offers more fitting expressions where applicable (lines 11 and 13), but does not otherwise judge the value of each suggestion. On the contrary, her affirmative feedback indicates that they are all well received and valuable (lines 7, 9+11, 13), even if it is unclear whether she has actually been able fully to understand the student response as could have been the case in line 6. Cana's comment is clearly difficult to grasp and it is also the only one that OPP does not summarise in her feedback. While this does not help Cana at this very point, it keeps the floor open for others ready to share their opinions, even if they might not be sure about their topic-related value.

What OPP clearly achieved by her scenario-based questions for opinions and ensuing non-judgemental feedback was to generate a high degree of student involvement. This is the more remarkable as her lessons included extensive lecturing phases, during which student involvement was not an issue at all. While this stark contrast between phases of none and others of intensive student involvement might appear contradictory, it reflects OPP's individualistic approach. On the one hand, she was the least experienced teacher of all those included in this study, relatively unfamiliar with this specific student group and,

additionally, found teaching in English quite a challenge (Quote 6.8). On the other hand, she viewed her role in the HMP as that of somebody sharing her (work) experience with the student group (Quote 6.9).

Quote 6.8. Interview (2nd sem, 4th mth)

OPP: Englisch is vü vü vü herausfordernder is keine Frage (.) grad in human resources wo man viele (.) ja (.) paar Bonmots bringen will ein paar (.) Gschichtln ausm Alltag ä: is es vü einfacher natürlich das in einer Muttersprache zu erzählen wie ma's auch selbst erlebt hat
 [<teaching in> English is much more challenging no question at all (.) especially in human resources where you want to bring a few good stories from your own experience it's of course much easier to do this in your mother tongue the way you've also experienced them]

Quote 6.9. Interview (2nd sem, 4th mth)

OPP: für mich is wichtig dass [...] ich das Gefühl hab dass die Leute interessiert sind (.) dass die Leute wirklich auch mitmachen im Unterricht [...] und dass das ein Geben und ein Nehmen is
 [to me it's important that [...] I have the feeling that the people are interested (.) that they really take part in the lesson [...] and that it is a give and take]

Apart from specifically phrased questions, student involvement was also achieved by (series of) different types of questions, especially after the introductory phase. A few of the extracts analysed earlier as, for instance, Extract 6.43 taken from the Financial Management lesson at T2, already hint at such an advanced stage of interaction, at which students offer contributions to the ongoing interaction without having been invited to do so by instructional questions. At T3, such exchanges with non-elicited student involvement became more widespread. Extract 6.48 is a case in point. Of the 16 student turns included in it, some of which are partly inaudible, seven are identifiable as unprompted, i.e. they are not triggered by a preceding question. In order to make visible the unprompted student contributions, they are italicized in the text.

Extract 6.48. Financial Management (T3)

- 1 TON once you got two P Cs that really IS enough . **do you need a third one ?** (1) not
 2 really .
 3 Cana *no but they rely on ,*
 4 TON replacement . (3) but it's not the exciting business where (.) the demand is
 5 doubling , (2) every six months or anything . (1) it's not as <1> exciting </1> .
 6 Cana <1> *not yet.* </1>
 7 TON no , we- we've been through there .
 8 Cana *yeah but still . (1) there're (.) are so many new things coming up , (.) that (x) are*
 9 *gonna change .*
 10 TON yes .

- 11 Cana *it's the same thing like <GERMAN> handies </GERMAN>*
 12 TON **like what sorry ?**
 13 Cana like cell phones . (1) same thing ,
 14 TON (3) yes , although it's interesting I think because cell phones , (.) they keep trying
 15 to add new options . (.) **what more can you put into a P C** . (1) you can only ,
 16 you only really need =
 17 Anki =smell.
 18 SS @@@@.
 19 Jins *they have that already . <2> yeah (some) smell </2>*.
 20 Zuyz <2> (oranges x) </2>
 21 Jins (xxxx) <3> (xxx) </3>
 22 Flor <3> **what (.) really ?** </3>
 23 Zuyz (you can smell them .)
 24 Flor he he ,
 25 TON **it's getting more and more difficult to find these . isn't it** . (.) because (1) they
 26 they they've got (lot) of graphics , (.) the computers ('re) very fast , (.) erm
 27 they've got sounds now . (.) they just have to get bigger (.) and in this respect , (1)
 28 there is erm
 29 Jins **do we have a robot ?**
 30 Anle no we haven't got one
 31 Jins just a-
 32 Anle (xxx)
 33 TON no , yeah (.) but for- **that would be rather more than a P C , wouldn't it** .
 34 SX-f yes .

Motivated by considerations on the general growth potential of modern technological markets, TON argues in Extract 6.48, line 1, that the personal computer sector has reached its zenith, claiming that two personal computers a person are sufficient. He asks generally *do you need a third one?*, which he has most likely intended as display or rhetorical question, as, after a second's pause, he negates it himself. Cana, however, contradicts TON in line 3. She and TON argue their different points of view until line 9, where Cana adds a new thought, with which TON agrees. Cana continues her train of thought in line 11, referring to mobile phones. After she has responded to TON's question for clarification (line 13), TON continues the argument by raising a further question, this time a referential one. Anki offers a delayed response in line 17, which Jins comments on immediately, supported by Zuyz. Together they claim that some PCs feature the sense of smell, a point Flor finds so unusual that he utters a comprehension check (line 22), to which Zuyz responds. After this exceptionally long exchange without any teacher intervention, TON takes the floor and, with a tag question he answers himself, muses on the degree of technical advancement observable in modern computers. In line 29, Jins makes use of a short pause and asks *do*

we have a robot, to which Anle responds before TON can evaluate this idea as less fitting at this stage (line 33).

As this line-by-line description has attempted to show, whole-classroom interaction developed much more vividly at T3 than in the first semester. Not only were teachers' questions responded to, but their comments and claims were challenged more directly. Additionally, students asked questions, responded to the teacher and each other, and offered contributions of their own; also those who had been rather quiet and reserved during the first semester. In other words, students were highly involved not because of the teachers' increased attempts, but on their own account. Put differently, the scene – in the Hymesian sense of subjective definition of the setting (cf. Table 2.1 in 2.2.1.2) – had changed and the CCofP had developed further.

This section has traced two different interactional patterns that arguably help students in verbalizing their participation in the development of the lessons. The first one relies solely on the teachers in that they formulate scenario-based questions for opinion, which clearly open up space for active participation and, it would appear, also for learning. The second pattern develops from the ongoing lesson itself and seems to require various dove-tailing factors: the topic needs to be one that students can relate to, and the role of the primary knower should not be concentrated solely on the teacher. The appeal of a topic obviously rests on various aspects such as its relation to other topics and subjects dealt with in the HMP and the students' background knowledge, their present situation as students of the HMP and their future careers. Similarly, the participants' perceptions of their roles and role-relationship depend on three subjectively experienced factors: linguistic equality, professional expertise and group dynamics, all of which have been shown to correlate with the temporal progression and development of the Classroom Community of Practice.

6.4.4.5 *Concluding remarks on questions*

The detailed analyses of the instructional questions employed in the HMP have delivered various insights into crucial factors which influenced the interactive co-construction of objects of learning. It has to be conceded, though, that the following description of these factors is understood as capturing the construction of objects of learning in general and rather abstract terms, since clearly it does not happen uniformly in all lessons at all times. On the contrary, the step-by-step development of a lesson depends intrinsically on the participants involved, the respective topics and other contextual factors, such as time of day or the events in the adjacent lessons. On a more abstract level, however, the instructional questions employed in the nine HMP lessons analysed here have revealed that

the three factors 'question type', 'professional expertise' and 'lingua franca' played a crucial role in the way content was developed interactively. While these factors worked in combination in the ongoing interaction, they will be sketched individually in the following for clarity's sake.

The first factor, question type, is most probably better called a bundle of factors because the results have shown very clearly that the form used for a question cannot be mapped easily on its function in class. What can be claimed as generally true is that all questions stimulate some kind of interaction. However, whether it is a display or a referential question for fact, explanation or opinion does not in itself predetermine what kind of, or how much, response or interaction it will stimulate. Many more factors play a role such as the topic of the lesson phase and how it relates to the question asked, or the floor space given to potential interactants. As these aspects go beyond the scope of this chapter, a more detailed description is not possible here (but see chapter 7). Instead, the present analysis has clearly shown that all types of question are potentially fruitful in integrating the interlocutors (be they students or the teacher) in developing the issue in question further. One type of question, however, has been shown to be a specifically successful means of eliciting extensive and varied student responses, and this is what has been referred to as question for scenario-based opinions. That these questions allow some kind of prediction in terms of student participation might seem to contradict the preceding argument against any form-function mapping, but I submit that this is not the case. On the contrary, a more careful evaluation of what this question type actually entails reveals that its success supports, rather than calls into question, the contentions made above. Questions for opinions refer to formal criteria, but the pre-modifier scenario-based specifies semantic and ultimately functional ones. By sketching scenarios the speakers, usually teachers, attempt to make the issue under consideration weighty, tangible and directly relevant. As long as they allow enough floor space, the chances are very good that they will achieve their endeavours, as all instances encountered in the database illustrate. In other words, this specific question type underlines the fact that form, function and other factors of the oral practice work in co-dependence in creating objects of learning interactively.

The second factor, professional expertise, describes the levels of knowledge (perceived to be) relevant at a certain point in an interaction. As may be deduced from this description, such an expertise is fairly fluid, develops dynamically and combines the factual with the psychological aspect of individual and group expectations. It is potentially interpreted differently by each participant, changes with time and what is taken as relevant at a certain moment depends on the ongoing interaction. As the analysis of the instructional questions and ensuing exchanges has illustrated, the main focus of what was considered relevant

was the knowledge constructed during the HMP itself. This means that at T1, teachers had all the knowledge, while students featured as having little, if any relevant expertise, except for the occasional moment at which their diverse cultural backgrounds or some previous hotel-related work experience was drawn upon. At the beginning, therefore, students played a minor role in offering input that could develop the lesson further. A few weeks later, the situation had changed slightly in that students were more willing to bring their pre-HMP experience into the course and thus enrich the usually teacher-led construction of objects of learning. A year later, however, the situation looked completely different. The question and answer sequences were now much more often initiated or proactively carried by students, who brought in the knowledge they had acquired in the first HMP-year as well as during their internship. While the traditional default roles of teacher and student remained basically intact also in the second year of studies, more and more question-initiated interactions came with locally negotiated changes in their role-relations, with students asking questions, raising objections or also offering new information.

The final factor, *lingua franca*, obviously refers to the function of the classroom language as it was described by the interactants and can be discerned from the ongoing interaction. While all participants proclaimed their awareness of English functioning as *lingua franca* throughout the HMP, the interactional developments from T1 to T2 and T3 revealed that they realized their understanding of the classroom language differently at different times. At T1, the interactions reveal that all participants were aware of the fact that English was an additional language and might cause problems for some. In their attempt to integrate students in developing classroom talk, teachers, for instance, scaffolded their questions so that they were linguistically, and propositionally easy to answer. Some teachers, especially those with experience in using ELF in class, were also willing to ask students for linguistic help, when they needed it. Students rewarded these attempts by reacting constructively, but it was mainly the more proficient and/or extrovert students who participated. Those students who judged their own English inadequate either remained completely silent (e.g. Zuyz), or hinted at their lacking proficiency verbally (e.g. Jins in Extract 6.42). I thus submit that, at the beginning of the HMP, the interactants were not only aware of using a *lingua franca* amongst themselves, but also of their own linguistic deficiencies in relation to monolingual English speakers' (MoES) or native language norms. A few weeks later, the interactions were remarkably different in that more students participated by responding to questions, asking their own or offering contributions. Furthermore, directness in asking instructional questions was firmly established and so was frequent feedback, either minimal or more extended responses to indicate or to enhance understanding. In other

words, all interactants collaborated to make understanding work. A year later, the fact that the classroom language was a lingua franca was clearly internalized by all participants. By now, all students, even the silent ones of the first semester, raised their voices by either asking or responding to questions, or by contributing their own ideas (e.g. Jins and Zuyz in Extract 6.48). Considerations of potential language deficiencies in relation to exonormative language norms no longer seemed relevant for community-internal communication. As long as somebody could make themselves understood, it suited the purpose and was thus acceptable (e.g. the use of *Geisterfahrer* at the radio station). In sum, the ‘lingua franca’ factor describes the development of the Classroom Community of Practice with regard to group-internal language use. The more developed this shared repertoire is, the freer the participants feel to collaborate in question-and-answer sequences in order to establish objects of learning jointly.

6.5 Conclusions

As the analysis of directives in the HMP lessons has led to a multitude of diverse results and insights concerning the directives themselves, the interactions they stimulate, the nature and diversity of the HMP lessons as well as the discourse pragmatics of using ELF as classroom language, I will attempt to go beyond the proverbial trees and shed light on the wood they make up. This will be done by first summarizing the main results and then interpreting them as they pertain to, firstly, the research methodology applied here, secondly, the Classroom Community of Practice as a teaching and learning environment, and, thirdly, ELF as classroom language.

- Directives are regularly employed, but with different frequencies in different lessons. In regulating classroom behaviour it is almost exclusively the teachers who use control acts, but all participants make use of questions, if they are considered relevant in clarifying procedural matters.
- Reflecting the focus of the HMP lessons more generally, the majority of all directives fall into the instructional register and display an overall pattern of preference: three out of four are raised by teachers, and a similar proportion deals with facts, followed by questions for reasons/explanations and opinions.
- Questions for translation are quantitatively less important, but are a clear indication for the collaboration of teachers and students when it comes to linguistic issues. Lacking clearly assigned language experts, all participants help each other in this regard.

- The instructional questions undergo a temporal development. At T1, most of them are display questions and are therefore carried out by teachers; at T2, teachers use decidedly more referential questions, which, at T3, are joined by more students' referential questions.
- This numerical description is, as the qualitative analysis has shown, an indication of changing role-relations between the participants. Teachers start off as carriers of all relevant knowledge and of lesson development. After the first few weeks, some students take over some of these responsibilities at certain points in the interaction, raising mainly referential questions for facts. A year later, however, this imbalance has shifted considerably in that students have begun to take part in the co-construction of topics and content by asking questions for reasons and explanations, as well as facts.
- Generally, directives are formulated directly and with little modification by both teachers and students.
- The imperative is the default option of control acts, with conventionally indirect formulations forming a minority. Some lexical modifiers, such as *please*, feature regularly, but the variety of modifiers is relatively limited.
- The same is true of questions, which tend to be directly phrased as interrogatives or as declaratives with rising intonation and rare modifications.
- As regards regulatory questions, the detailed discussion of individual exchanges has shown that teachers and students also expect such direct formulations because modified questions seem to confuse the respondents.
- The only indirect type of question encountered in the data is negated instructional questions that students use as a way of voicing their objection or disbelief.

When faced with so many (and more) individual results, the question arises whether the research focus of this chapter – directives aiming at verbal and non-verbal responses – might not be too broad; especially as so many of the results pertain either to control acts or to questions. While previous studies add implicit support to separating the two subtypes of directives in that they focus on one of the two only (see 6.2.1), I would argue that the comprehensive approach chosen here is valuable precisely because of the complex picture it has helped to draw. To begin with, the analysis of the HMP lessons has shown that control acts and questions have different functions in teacher-led lessons and are used differently by the speakers according to their dynamically developing institutional roles. At the same time, this clear separation of functions is not necessarily a reflection of directive-internal differences. As the first Austrian Law class has shown, it is also influenced by the teaching style applied. Since XEN followed a less traditional teaching approach and combined motor activity

with cognitive learning, directives for verbal and non-verbal responses meshed and, at least for the duration of such exchanges, cannot be kept apart. In other words, it is quite likely that control acts and questions would not behave so differently in classroom interaction where the teaching approach followed less strictly focused on purely cognitive learning. By keeping both directives in mind, it is thus possible to analyse the relative status each commodity has in relation to the other one. In the lessons analysed, which are typical of all theory-classes observed in the two years of the HMP, the exchange of information clearly played a dominant role.

Besides the relationship between the commodities demanded or required (cf. Figure 6.1), the analysis of the directives has yielded one more result that spans control acts and questions and arguably delivers an analytical insight into how directives were used in the HMP – (in)directness or, as I wish to call it, the relevance of explicitness. As could be expected from an educational setting so clearly focused on developing objects of learning, questions for information were phrased directly with no or very little modification. Taken on its own, this result mirrors established knowledge (e.g. Dalton-Puffer 2007) and is thus not highly revealing. It becomes more interesting, however, when combined with the results on control acts, which tended to be carried out in the imperative, i.e. the most direct and also explicit way of issuing control. In contrast to the explicitness of questions, this is an astonishing finding because it is, to my knowledge, the first time that a study on directives in an institutionalized setting has resulted in the use of imperative outranking (conventionally) indirect strategies such as the use of modals (e.g. Dalton-Puffer 2005; Holmes and Stubbs 2002; House and Kasper 1987; Lemke 1990; Trosborg 1994; Vine 2004). Why could this be? Various possible reasons spring to mind: it could be the result of an analytical mistake, which is unlikely, however, since the various strategies have been defined according to formal and clearly identifiable criteria. It could reflect idiosyncratic language use; an argument which is less easily discarded as the control acts of the database were uttered by the teachers, i.e. by five people only. Given that four of them are Austrian women and German native speakers, the preference for imperatives might even be dependent on gender and/or first language interference. Dalton-Puffer's research on Austrian CLIL classrooms, however, offers counter-evidence as the ten mainly Austrian and female teachers included in her analysis of directives used imperatives only very seldom and preferred conventionally indirect control acts. The former argument of idiosyncrasy, however, is harder to discard. While the data do not yield any hard and fast proof that would clearly identify the directives as representative of all HMP teachers, the controlling behaviour of the one native speaker, TON, is interesting in this context. At the beginning he used mainly conventionally indirect forms,

which were replaced by imperatives as the HMP progressed. In other words, his language use shifted from formally less to more explicit during the first few weeks of the HMP. When taken together with the explicitness that seems to have ruled the way questions were formulated, I submit that TON's control acts provide an argument in favour of explicitness, rather than idiosyncrasy, as underlying motivation for the control acts recorded. This contention finds added support if we bear in mind the participants' insecurity in responding to modified questions (e.g. 6.4.3), on the one hand, and, on the other, the limited use of indirect control acts (see 6.4.2.3). The former has shown that modifications raised special pragmatic expectations, and the latter refers to the strong hints teachers used only in reference to well established classroom procedures, which, as they obviously assumed correctly, were so well known that a hint sufficed. In general, then, the direct strategies chosen for control acts mirror the explicitness of all instructional questions. Taken together, explicitness can thus be taken as an integral feature of both types of directives – questions and control acts – in the HMP.

Concerning the second aspect of interpretation, the HMP as a site of teaching and learning, the preceding analysis has led to diverse results, which when taken together throw light on the type of learning site that emerges in and through classroom interaction. To begin with, procedural questions were used relatively infrequently, but by all participants in similar ways. This indicates, on the one hand, that the participants were highly familiar with classroom procedures and thus did not need lengthy explanations and, on the other hand, that, in case of doubt, they all felt equally entitled to raise questions. Such an understanding points to similar procedural rights amongst students and teachers. At the same time, the control acts were firmly placed in the teachers' hands: a clear indication that classroom behaviour did not fall into the previously established rights. In other words, the students acted as highly experienced and self-assured classroom learners in terms of procedural information, but as particularly passive when it came to activities. These diverse findings might at first sight seem contradictory, but they are rather complementary when interpreted in relation to the specificities of the CCofP. The first two findings show that the students were mature in two ways: they were, firstly, highly advanced learners and very familiar with classroom procedures and, secondly, ready and willing to find out all that was necessary so that they could join in the teaching and learning process. At the same time, and this is where the third finding comes in, students were obviously very willing to acknowledge the leading managerial role the teachers were playing. That this attitude on the part of the students reached even further becomes clear when recalling the analysis of the instructional questions. Especially at the beginning of the HMP, teachers asked the great majority of all questions and students tended to play a more passive role. While this role-relationship changed with time, it

indicates that, at least at the outset, students expected to receive instruction on new knowledge instead of asking for it, and teachers expected to give it.

‘New knowledge’ is the key concept in this regard, as it is clearly open to interpretation what is experienced and judged as new and at the same time relevant. OPP, for instance, lived up to her personal stance on teaching (cf. Quote 6.9) and, by asking scenario-based questions, already invited students to share their own ideas as relevant information at T2. Most other participants in the HMP classroom interaction, however, seemed to interpret ‘new’ as being either that information that they gained during the HMP, or specific culturally-bound knowledge that pertained to a particular question at hand. While the latter was equally relevant throughout the whole HMP, the former clearly increased over time. Interestingly, this increase not only led to students offering more new knowledge in response to more referential questions from the teachers’ side, but also on their own account in the form of contributions or questions. Overall, the instructional questions throw light not only on the dynamically developing role-relationships of the interactants, but also on the role and understanding of what was considered relevant knowledge, which, while also undergoing a development as the HMP progresses, seems to have correlated with the professional and practical orientation of the HMP and its participants’ focus on relevance of the course for future career possibilities. In sum, the interactional analyses of the directives included in the database have revealed that the HMP was a learning site of highly experienced and mature learners who were taught by professionally- and career-oriented teachers, all of whom seem to have agreed on their understanding of relevant information as pertaining to and evolving from the HMP. At the same time, individual teachers took the possibility of directing the interaction differently and thus integrated their personal understanding of the teaching and learning process into the classroom interaction.

The third interpretative aspect concerns the core research focus of this study on the whole – ELF as classroom language. While the ensuing argumentation will delimit and depict the commonality of how the Classroom Community of Practice used directives, it cannot, and should not, be denied that the directives analysed here display individual differences; the more so as, when using English, the participants not only drew on their own idiosyncratic language use, but also on their linguacultural specificities as well as different proficiency levels. Elig, for instance, who participated regularly during lessons, liked to introduce her directives by using the preparatory *‘I have a question’*.⁷⁷ While this is an example of idiolectal language use of a highly proficient user of English, individual

77. Of the four times the phrase appears in the data set, it is used three times by Elig and once by Anki.

specificities can also be found in speakers of lower proficiency levels, such as XEN, who preferred to modify her control acts in imperative form with the downtoner *just*. In a similar line, specific modifications seem to have indicated culturally influenced language use, such as the use of *sir/madam* as alerter, as particularly prevalent with those students who had attended English-medium schools before the HMP (e.g. Zian, Kama).

Besides such clearly individualistic language features, the analysis has also thrown light on general characteristics of how directives were carried out and responded to in the HMP. Question-answer exchanges reveal a high degree of interactivity, instigated by the interactionally prominent role given to the requester's feedback, with which they quasi-monitored the level of understanding they gained from the response provided. Concerning the directives themselves, the most distinctive feature is, as already explicated above, their high level of directness. Various potential explanations of this noteworthy finding come to mind, such as grammatical simplicity or ease of production or language proficiency levels. Individually seen, such psycholinguistic arguments cannot be discarded off-hand, but when we look at the data in their entirety, it becomes clear that the predominance of direct strategies cannot be attributed to particular speakers. It is encountered throughout the whole data set. And this is also why it seems more fruitful to look for explanations beyond the individual language user and concentrate on the multilingual and transcultural community of practice and its members' need to use English as their only common language, as their lingua franca. In view of the specific characteristics of such an intercultural setting, the value of direct strategies are quite clear: by definition, they allow the speakers to express their intentions in the proposition chosen and are thus, as argued by Vine (2004: 67–70), explicit. This is clearly helpful for interactants who are greatly aware of how little common background they share. When carrying out directives, they thus seem to apply explicitness as a welcome guideline to their communicational practices, along the line of 'saying what you mean and meaning what you say'.

This rather simplistic interpretation of what the underlying 'principle of explicitness' might actually amount to can be fine-tuned by integrating two apparently opposing results of the preceding analysis, namely the use of indirect control acts and indirect questions. The former, it has been argued, are limited to strong hints which are only used in reference to the two well established procedural intentions of, on the one hand, disciplining students and, on the other hand, drawing their attention to supportive teaching materials. The latter come in the form of students' negated questions for information, but carry the intention of objecting to or disagreeing with the teacher's preceding statement. In other words, indirectness was used not only very sparingly in directives, but also with

clearly limited and demarcated intentionality. Interestingly, the two types of indirect directives display differences in their HMP-internal status. The control acts, used by all teachers at the three points in time, refer to what post-secondary students of whatever linguacultural background would consider old hats; they thus refer to one of the few aspects the HMP students brought along as shared background from the very first day of the programme. The indirect questions, on the other hand, presupposed the students' willingness actually to voice their objections in teacher-fronted lessons, which was not done at the beginning of the HMP and was clearly at odds with some students' expectations of appropriate behaviour in class, as becomes apparent in Quotes 6.10 and 6.11. Both students, Clap grew up on a Caribbean island and Anns in India, were clearly taken aback by the intensity and directness with which other students talked in class.

Quote 6.10. Interview (1st sem, 3rd mth)

Clap: to respect somebody when you speak like to listen (xx) speaking and not speak together with them . [...] sometimes (1) there's a lecturer speaking and there is a conversation here , there is a conversation there and I'm like my goodness , what's going on ?

Quote 6.11. Interview (1st sem, 3rd mth)

Anns: some of the students of the class are really like not talking properly to the teachers they answer them back ,

At T2 and T3, however, such questions became more widely used; a case in point that such indirectly formulated objections apparently developed during the HMP as a shared practice, marking CCofP language use. These considerations can now easily be integrated in the preceding discussion of the question of explicitness. Clearly, by being indirect, the two types of relevant speech acts are not explicit in themselves, and yet I would argue that they do not contradict explicitness but give it a more refined shape. As not one of these directives led to a reconstructable misunderstanding, they were, interactionally seen, highly successful. This I suggest is due to the fact described above, namely that they were only used for clearly demarcated functions and intentions at a moment in time when they could be considered, by speakers and hearers alike, as shared knowledge. This means that the interactants seem to have used indirect directives only when they could presuppose enough shared background; as this did not happen very often, they generally preferred direct formulations in accordance with the underlying endeavour to make directives clear and communicatively successful. In other words, clarity was the ulterior goal and, reflecting the limited areas of shared background knowledge, explicitness remained the underlying principle of HMP classroom directives.

In conclusion, the methodological approach chosen here has allowed a detailed description of the HMP directives and ensuing exchanges and of their multiple roles in classroom organization and constructing the respective object of learning, which reflect the subtly changing understanding the participants seem to have had of teacher-whole class interaction. As regards the textual level, the analysis has provided evidence that, while directives allow for individualistic language use, there is a general preference for directly phrased control acts and questions with a limited range of sparingly applied modifications. This, it has been argued, reflects a discursive need for explicitness and clarity and thus adds further insights into the nature of ELF as classroom language. Moreover, the longitudinal approach has shown that directness becomes more entrenched with the students playing an increasingly active part in question-answer sequences. In other words, explicitness is strengthened as an underlying interactional principle of the Classroom Community of Practice.

Chapter 7. Interactive explaining as negotiating knowledge

7.1 Introduction

As formal education focuses on imparting, developing or constructing knowledge, it amounts to a common-place that explaining holds centre stage. After all, “making (something) comprehensible” (*Collins Cobuild English Dictionary* 1998, first entry for ‘explain’) is what teaching is generally all about; at the same time, it is also the skill learners are often required to perform in contributing to the lesson or in revealing their acquired knowledge. It seems, therefore, only logical that the ability to explain is generally regarded as a highly relevant asset for successful teaching and learning at all levels of education (e.g. Kiel 1999: 15–17).

A similar preoccupation with explaining has also come to the fore in the interviews and conversations with the students and teachers of the HMP. Despite their different backgrounds and approaches to teaching, all lecturers supported the relevance of explaining in making their respective topics clear to the students (e.g. Quote 7.1), and so did the students. While they were generally quite satisfied with the programme and their teachers, criticism was raised by otherwise positively inclined students like Suka in Quote 7.2, who points out shortcomings she perceives in some teachers when explaining the topics with which they are highly familiar to novice students.

Quote 7.1. Interview (2nd sem, 1st mth)

XEN: sie konnten dem Unterricht immer folgen [...] wenn dann ein Fachvokabel nicht verständlich war haben sie <auf Englisch> nachgefragt und das wurde dann erklärt und diesen Erklärungen konnten sie dann folgen
[they could always follow in the lessons [...] if a specific term was unclear, they asked <in English> which was then explained and then they could follow these explanations]

Quote 7.2. Interview (1st sem, 3rd mth)

Suka: some are like they know it, but they cannot explain us . they are not able to explain us . I mean they just they are also in the middle and we are not even in the middle we are just down .

Interestingly, most comments on strengths and weaknesses in explaining were made in connection with the students’ evaluation of their teachers’ English language proficiency. Anns, for instance, expressed her satisfaction with the general level of English, which it seems was mainly based on the teachers’ willingness

and ability to make their topics of instruction comprehensible (see Quote 7.3). In a more extensive comment (see Quote 7.4), Cana similarly stresses the relevance of explaining for evaluating teachers' communicational abilities. While acknowledging a range of language competencies amongst teachers, she feels that the resulting differences in language proficiency are less important than the ability to explain, which, the student continues, poses different requirements depending on type of subject.

Quote 7.3. Interview (1st sem, 4th mth)

Anns: I think it's <=the teachers' English> very good , I mean all the teachers are nice in speaking their language and explaining us

Quote 7.4. Interview (2nd sem, 1st mth)

Cana: there are some teachers they seem to be more used to speaking in English and they know how to express themselves quickly and like they don't have to think about it but (.) but that's actually they don't have a big difference . it's like everybody has a different subject and everybody tries to get something else- I mean it's more difficult to explain Marketing than to explain like Front Office or something .

Explaining was also a relevant factor in evaluating students' language proficiency in that students themselves used their perceived explanatory abilities as an indicator to self-assess their own English (see Quote 7.5). Teachers, on the other hand, clearly did not expect all students to excel in explanatory or other verbal activities, and in those cases where they found it lacking, tended to attribute it either to personality traits or, as the cooking teacher RER in Quote 7.6, to linguacultural reasons.

Quote 7.5. Interview (2nd sem, 2nd mth)

Elig: I don't think I have a good knowledge of vocabulary , I think I'm lacking sometimes , but I think if I don't know a word , I know how to explain it . that's what I think is important . to know how to explain it .

Quote 7.6. Interview (2nd sem, 3rd mth)

RER: es gibt junge Leute die sich aktiv in den Unterricht einbringen und es gibt welche die eher die Zuhörer sind [...] aber auch der Zuhörer (1) er (.) eignet sich Wissen an [...] hier sind wiederum (.) nicht nur die sprachlichen Kenntnisse sondern [...] hier ist für mich auch der kulturelle Hintergrund wichtig *[there are young people who actively participate in class and there are those who prefer to listen [...] but also the one who listens acquires knowledge [...] important in this context is not only language proficiency but [...] I think also cultural background]*

Judging from an ethnographic point of view, it thus seems that explaining behaviour was regarded as central by all participants, albeit with a clear awareness

of the different social and interactional roles played by teachers and students. In view of this emically established relevance attached to explaining, the present chapter will focus on its interactional processes in the HMP.

While, as already indicated above, educational settings seem predisposed to focus on explaining, Antaki (1994: 1) argues that any kind of explanatory talk is worth analysing because it

offer[s] up to the analyst what is, in other stretches of talk, less graspable and obvious: the social reasoning that people go through to make sense of their worlds.

In other words, explanations function as analytical windows on discursive (re)constructions of our surroundings. While, to my knowledge, this research opportunity has not so far played a major role in studies on ELF or other forms of intercultural communication, it has a longstanding tradition in the philosophically motivated research into logically well-structured explanations (e.g. Govier 1987; Völzing 1979), i.e. “statements [which] are made in an attempt to account for, or show the cause of, a state of affairs” (Govier 1987: 159).

Although reflecting very different research traditions, the social science and philosophical understandings basically agree that explanations aim to make certain objects or facts, referred to as ‘explanandum/a’, more easily comprehensible by connecting them with one or more familiar object(s) or fact(s), i.e. ‘explanans/explanantia’ (cf. also Klein 1987: 25–56). Implicit to this understanding is, firstly, that the interlocutors do not question the explanandum as something that cannot be explained, but instead expect and offer ways of, figuratively speaking, making it plainer and clearer to the respective other.⁷⁸ This leads to the second implication, namely that the recipients of explanantia actually require more information or reasoning on the object in question. In other words, explanations orient towards the interactants (Antaki 1994: 1–4; Dalton-Puffer 2007: 140) and their (perceived) lack of knowledge (de Gaulmyn 1986: 120). The two characteristics of (a) generally accepted explanandum and (b) interactionally required and constructed explanantia are most likely also exactly the reasons why explanations are so very central to formal education. The latter is intrinsic to the institutionally defined need to hand on, acquire and/or (co)construct knowledge, which – and this leads on to the first characteristic – tends to have reached a certain level of social acceptance and is thus generally unquestioned as knowledge worthy of teaching and learning.

As explaining hinges on *something* being explained with the help of *something else*, the terms employed for the ‘somethings’ so far – knowledge, object,

78. These metaphors find their lexicalized equivalents in *explain* and its German counterpart *erklären* (Antaki 1994: 3; Kiel 1999: 15).

fact – require more detailed considerations, especially because ‘knowledge’, as a collective, implies uniformity or homogeneity, and ‘objects’ or ‘facts’ imply that its parts are all static and somehow removed from the social actors involved in the explaining process. Uniform, static and independent from the participants, however, are attributes that do not come to mind in characterizing actual explaining in the HMP, or any other educational setting for that matter. Every single day, teachers and learners participate in explaining sequences in different lessons in rapid succession on explananda that stand in complex relations with each other and, by being explained, are integrated into continuously developing knowledge systems. Additionally, each daily lesson represents a certain content area and experience tells us that learning a subject always means learning its discourse.

This practical observation, coupled with theoretical considerations of learning as discursive process (e.g. Bloome et al. 2005; Cazden 2001; Schleppegrell 2004) has resulted in detailed research on learning content and language in tandem (e.g. Airey 2009; Christie 2002; Lemke 1990; Mohan, Leung and Davison 2001). In their linguistic investigation, most of such studies have focused on science classes and learning scientific concepts through the appropriate semantic patterns (cf. Mohan and Slater 2005: 152–155 for an overview). That notwithstanding, this research approach concerns all subject areas and their respective knowledge structures or patterns of meaning because, informed by the understanding of education as “initiati[ng ...] learners into activities (or modes of thought and conduct) that are worthwhile” (Mohan and Slater 2005: 157), every school subject reflects a certain social practice, i.e. “unit of culture which involves cultural knowledge and cultural action”. Given that formal education is a mainly ‘language[d]’ process (Ehlich and Rehbein 1986: 165), the knowledge structures of the respective social (sub)practices of, in the present case, Hotel Operations, Austrian Law or Public Relations, are integral to the semantic patterns and relations used to construct the classroom discourse (Lemke 1990). From the learner’s point of view this means that acquiring such patterns amounts to becoming “apprenticed” into the respective social (sub)practice (Mohan 2001: 112); an understanding which underlines and explicates the centrality of classroom discourse in the integrated language and content learning process that is taking place in the educational community in question (cf. 2.2.2.2).

Given that explaining is a prime linguistic means to make knowledge structures visible and thus social (sub)practices accessible, it is no wonder that it functions so centrally in educational discourse of all kinds, viz. in textbooks, examinations and classroom interaction, as Kiel’s (1999) extensive study of didactic explaining illustrates. From a pedagogical point of view, Kidd (1996) captures the specific status and role of explaining by describing it as an academic

language metafunction with a myriad of formal manifestations. Especially if one interprets explaining as “dire ce que toi, tu ne sais pas” (‘saying what you don’t know’) (de Gaulmyn 1986: 125), it could be argued that explaining is what teachers generally do in classroom settings. At the same time, such a general interpretation would conflate the distinction between didactically and interactively motivated explanations, i.e. those mainly motivated by the teacher’s lesson plan and step-by-step ‘breaking down’ the respective topic into ‘digestible bits’, and the others mainly motivated by ad-hoc, interaction-inherent requirements for further explication. In view of the preceding characterization of explanations, the present study will concern itself with interactionally-motivated explanations and exclude purely didactically-motivated ones.

As is fully intended by sidelining the latter, this investigation focuses mainly on the discourse-pragmatic ways in which the HMP teachers and students, as a temporary, but developing Classroom Community of Practice, use their lingua franca English in handling interactionally necessary explanatory exchanges (cf. also Smit 2008). Correspondingly, this study of explanation differs from comparable research in educational contexts (e.g. Lemke 1990; Mohan and Slater 2005) in that it does not aim at a comprehensive analysis of a certain social practice, such as room-occupancy calculations or kitchen regulations. Instead, I will cast the net more widely and draw on explanatory exchanges from various content areas and thus a range of social practices.

7.2 Conceptual background

As the preceding sketch of explaining has already indicated, this discourse function has been considered within various research frameworks, whose respective insights allow for a complex and comprehensive view on explaining. From a philosophical point of view, explaining is seen as a logical operation and individual instances are evaluated in respect of their logical conclusiveness (e.g. Govier 1987; Klein 1987: 1–3). The fact that the relationship between explanandum and explanantia requires certain cognitive abilities has been highlighted in developmental studies, which have provided evidence for an age-dependent development in the use of certain types of explanations (e.g. de Gaulmyn 1986). Irrespective of the age of the learners in formal educational settings, however, explaining functions as a central didactic method (e.g. Kiel 1999) as well as an academic speech function (e.g. Kidd 1996) in handing on, (re)constructing and also creating knowledge. These educationally-oriented research agendas are complemented by linguistically-oriented ones. From a pragmatic point of view, explaining has been described as a speech act, which widens the explanandum-

explanantia structure by drawing in the participants as hearers and speakers and describing conditions which have to be met for the speech act to function as an explanation (Kiel 1999: 66–70; Klein 1987: 134–136). On the other hand, since the participants are more than speakers and hearers, either actively or passively involved in action, a conversation analytical approach facilitates a more complex view of them as social players (re)enacting their complex roles in turn-by-turn exchanges. Since, furthermore, these exchanges not only lead to textual products, but result in discursive processes, a discourse analytical approach broadens the perspective to the ways in which turn-taking functions in managing and developing conversational topic(s). As regards the present research, explaining can thus profit from the insights gained into the typical tripartite structure of class talk (e.g. Lemke 1990; Nassaji and Wells 2001; Nikula 2007; Sinclair and Coulthard 1975) and its role in structuring and developing instructional topics. And, finally, educational- and language-use oriented approaches have been pulled together in the social practice approach that we expounded on in more detail in the preceding section, inasmuch as it views the relationship between knowledge and classroom interaction as fundamentally overlapping with the latter constructing the former.

Based on these considerations, this section will first offer a description of explaining in general (7.2.1) and will then present and argue for ‘interactive explaining’ (INTEX) as the research focus of this chapter (7.2.2). This will be followed by detailed discussions of INTEX turn-taking patterns (7.2.3), and of verbalising INTEX (7.2.4).

7.2.1 On explaining ‘explaining’

The diverse research approaches sketched above overlap to a large extent when it comes to the basic ‘ingredients’ of explaining (see Figure 7.1): participants are involved in interaction when a particular topical aspect requires more information and is thereby turned into the explanandum to which explanantia are provided in the ensuing exchange.

At the same time, the theoretical approaches differ as regards the suggested relations between those ingredients and the resulting implications, not merely

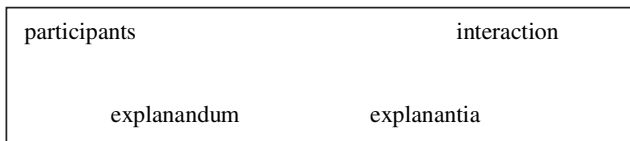


Figure 7.1. Basic ingredients of explaining

reflecting the different points of departure, but, as the following four dimensions suggest, the diversity of explaining encountered in language use.

1. Monologic vs. dialogic turn-taking

Depending on the speech roles of the participants, explanations differ as regards turn-taking. In written treatises, but also in many oral lectures, for instance, the whole explaining process rests on one person identifying a certain topic as requiring explanation and then giving it. In dialogic practices, on the other hand, it is usually split between the interactants as, for instance, in service encounters with a customer requiring an explanation and the clerk offering it.

2. Assumed vs. established explanandum

When the interlocutors require more information, they can verbalize that in the course of the exchange, thus establishing the explanandum. In the absence of such verbalized evidence, on the other hand, the explainer may assume a knowledge deficit and offer an explanation ‘just in case’. As already specified above, a good part of explaining in educational contexts responds to assumed explananda. In an interview situation, on the other hand, explanations tend to follow on questions requiring more information.

3. One-sidedly vs. interactively accomplished explanation

While explanations tend to be visualized by one interlocutor having the knowledge the other(s) require(s) (e.g. Kiel 1999: 67), this does not have to be the case. In project work, for instance, certain topics might be so complex that satisfactory explanations can only be achieved if the co-workers collaborate in offering explanantia (cf. de Gaulmyn 1986: 20).

4. Implicit vs. explicit link between explanandum and explanantia

Finally, the link between what needs to be explained and the explanation offered can be highly implicit, as is apparent in Antaki’s (1994: 1) definition given above (“the social reasoning [...] people go through to make sense of the world”). In institutional contexts, however, explaining sequences often follow turn-taking patterns, such as question-answer sequences.

Overall, these dimensions fulfil two functions in describing explaining: they reveal the different research motivations reflected in the literature and they describe the diversity of what Antaki (1994: 75) calls “explanation slots” or “account-shaped [interactional] space[s]” in interactional situations. In addition, they show that explanations come in diverse forms and shapes and thus support the generally held understanding that the only way to identify them is via their discursive functionality. Here again, the core function seems uncontested: explanations act as ‘saying what you don’t know’ (“dire ce que toi, tu ne sais pas”, de Gaulmyn 1986: 125).

Where the various approaches differ, though, is with regard to drawing the limits, as it were, to instances of informing, on the one hand, and, on the other, arguing. Informing, or ‘saying what I know’ (“dire ce que moi je sais”, de Gaulmyn 1986: 125), is fundamentally different in that it does not presuppose an interactional need for more information. When interpreting explaining as “a reaction to an assumed knowledge deficit” (e.g. Kiel 1999: 68), however, the distinction between explaining and informing becomes blurred as one interactant’s assumptions might not reflect others’ communicative needs. Overlaps are also observable as regards arguing, especially when explaining is interpreted as including “justify[ing] and warrant[ing] a puzzle which has arisen [in the local interaction]” (Antaki 1994: 75). Justifying something means that it is open to debate or questioning, which is exactly what arguments are meant to do, in which “premises are stated in an attempt to prove, or justify, a conclusion.” (Govier 1987: 159) And even if “[t]here are passages that are both argumentative and explanatory” (Govier 1987: 173), the conditions for arguing are different from explaining, with which “an attempt is made to show how or why something came to be as it is” (Govier 1987: 168). This means that the object, phenomenon or knowledge structure in question is generally accepted as it is (cf. also Kiel 1999: 71–72). In other words, this functional interpretation relates to the status of, in explanatory terms, the explanandum and whether it is met by interactional acceptance or questioning. As already specified above (see 7.1), this study is concerned with explaining, and not argumentative, behaviour and will thus focus on accepted explananda.⁷⁹

Since accepted explananda are intrinsic to classroom talk, defining explaining in an operationalizable and at the same time theoretically sound way is a challenging task, as is clearly shown by repeated lapses into circularity, such as ‘an explanation explains . . .’ (e.g. Antaki 1994: 74). In an attempt to avoid such pitfalls, this study suggests a new concept and analytical frame, i.e. ‘interactive explaining’.

7.2.2 INTEX – interactive explaining

Interactive explaining or INTEX, for short, uses the basic ingredients of explaining listed in Figure 7.1, and adds substance to them by integrating discourse topic (management) and the turn-taking sequences typical of classroom talk.

79. A further speech function which is partly treated independently from explaining is reasoning (e.g. Ehlich and Rehbein 1986; Gerstner 1986; Kiel 1999: 71–72; Klein 1987: 27–32; Völzing 1979: 15). As the present data have not yielded exchanges that could be interpreted as reasoning, but only individual reasoning turns, a distinction between explaining and reasoning as discursive functions is not undertaken.

As illustrated in Figure 7.2, the present research focus makes that the participants are teachers and students who engage in classroom discourse, which, in turn, (re)constructs the respective unit of culture or social activity of, for instance, learning the principles of the Austrian legal system or the ground rules for a public relations manager in a hotel. This they do in the classroom-specific constellation of a group of students and one teacher per subject, who acts by default as classroom organizer and manager (visualized in Figure 7.2 by ‘Teacher’ facing ‘Students 1–n’).

Most centrally, Figure 7.2 presents INTEX or interactive explaining as an integral part of classroom discourse and specifies it as focussing on specific topics turned explananda which are developed sequentially in interaction. The individual steps (dotted rectangles in the figure) reflect the generally accepted description of explaining summarized above. As certain explanantia might lead to reformulations of the original explanandum and to further explanations, explaining can take place in loops (represented by the backwards arrow in the figure). At the same time, the labels given to the three basic steps point to ‘in-

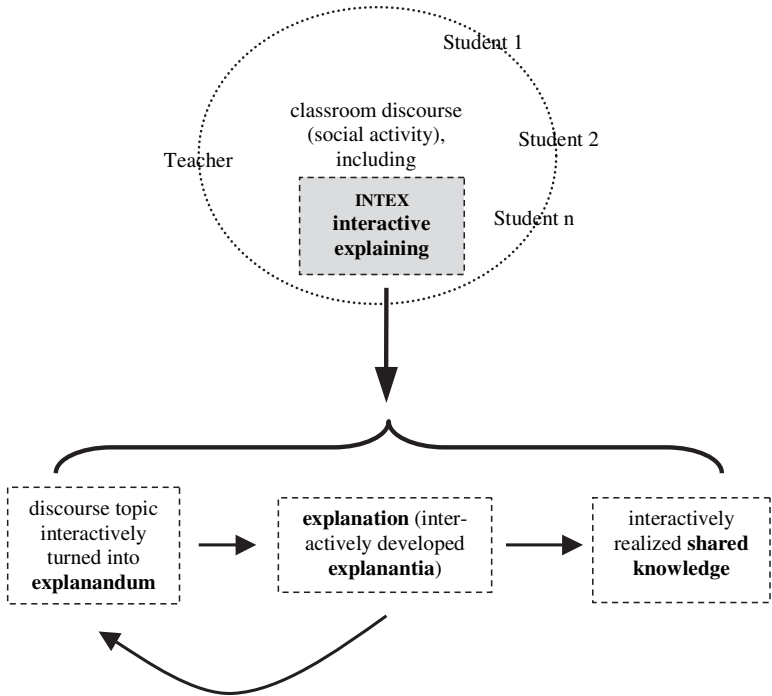


Figure 7.2. INTEX – ‘interactive explaining’

teractive' as specific characteristic of *INTEX* in two ways: firstly, it is taken as a defining feature in that only those explaining exchanges are considered whose explanations follow on explananda that are interactively established. Secondly, this emphasis on interactive realizations as starting point of the analysis acknowledges the potential discrepancy between knowledge deficits that are cognitively experienced vs. those that are explicitly verbalized. Given that the latter is the only level accessible to participants in talk as well as the analyst, it is the one focused on here.

As verbalized explananda and resulting explanations amount to discursively established topics, the construct *INTEX* draws also on the understanding of topic as a "discourse notion" (Ochs and Schieffelin 1976). Topics, or "whatever it is that is being talked about" (Brown and Yule 1983: 62), have been identified as consisting of two parts (Bublitz 1988: 17): topic subject and topical actions. The former relates to 'what it is about' and the latter to 'what we do to the subject', i.e. to the ways in which the topic is managed. Similarly to "the ordinary language users" (Schneider 1987: 248), who identify topics with ease in achieving communicative coherence (e.g. Bublitz and Lenk 1999; Geluykens 1999), classroom-based research has preferred a more holistic, top-down approach (e.g. Fernández Agüero 2003; Heyman 1986), categorizing the relatively structured classroom talk into larger knowledge units or schemata (Todd 1998: 305–307).⁸⁰ The latter, the topical actions, describe how topic subjects are developed and are thus particularly relevant in identifying boundaries of, and transitions within, instances of *INTEX*. Research across various oral practices (Bublitz 1988; Fernández Agüero 2003; Lenz 1989; Lesznyák 2004) has identified introducing, changing, digressing from, shifting (in various ways), closing and interrupting as main topical actions. Furthermore, these have been shown to be employed and linguistically realized in different ways depending on oral practice and the discursive skills of the participants (cf. also Cutting 2000: 25–30; Todd 1998: 309). As regards the former, topic progression in classroom-oriented research tends to be highly segmented with a strong tendency for explicitly announced topic changes as well as topic subjects (e.g. Heyman 1986). Applied to *INTEX* this arguably means that developing instances of interactive explaining clearly and explicitly is "vital to the success of the teaching/learning process" (Todd 1998: 309). The latter point, the participants' discursive skills in managing topics, com-

80. Top-down approaches are complemented by bottom-up analyses which focus on the word-by-word level, establishing semantic patterns leading to the topics from below. Such analyses have recently been undertaken on a large scale by drawing on corpus linguistic resources, establishing significant keywords and their interconnectedness (e.g. Csomay 2005; Todd 1998: 305–306).

bines the relevance of language skills with communicational strategies, which has also been focused on in ELF research. In this regard, Lesznyák's (2002, 2004) detailed study on topic management in ELF talk points out, firstly, that linguistic realizations of topic actions tend to be less varied than in MoES (monolingual English speaker) talk and, secondly, that inexperienced ELF users might allow for too much vagueness in topic management leading in part to a lack of coherence. While the former finding might also be applicable to the present study, the latter is less likely to play a role: the HMP teachers and students are experienced in their respective social roles and resulting interactional practices, and can thus be expected to be well equipped with the necessary communicational strategies.

When applying these insights into the focus of research here, interactive explaining, the relevance of topic management is threefold: it identifies instances of *INTEX*, links them to the preceding (and ensuing) interaction and, at the same time, provides the internal structures of the instances in terms of topic development and coherence. Based on the preceding considerations, it can thus be concluded that successful *INTEX* will relate to one clearly identified topic subject, start and close with identifiable openings and closings respectively, and be developed with the help of coherent topical shifts.

In conclusion, interactive explaining or *INTEX* describes any sequence in classroom talk in which one or more of the participants (teacher and/or students) first topicalize an aspect of the preceding interaction with the aim of integrating it more satisfactorily into their understanding or knowledge of the social (sub)practice in question. This topic is then developed in the ongoing interaction as long as the teacher and/or students keep indicating their interest in more information on it. Once such indications cease and/or shared understanding is linguistically realized, the instance of *INTEX* can be considered closed.

7.2.3 Turn-taking patterns and *INTEX*

As expounded on in detail above, *INTEX* is conceived of as an interactional phenomenon, directly embedded in the ongoing classroom talk and developed by the teacher and one or more students collaborating in their respective turns. In analysing *INTEX* it is thus important to pay attention to the turn-by-turn sequencing and the speaker roles taken on by the participants. In order to analyse *INTEX* in the making as it were, it is thus helpful to draw on the detailed knowledge of interactional patterns in classroom discourse. In view of the traditional nature of the HMP lessons, the concern here is the sequential development of teacher-whole-class interaction, which, as established elsewhere (see 2.2.1.3), is often based on a tripartite structure – the I:R:F or, following Lemke (1990), triadic

dialogue or TD.⁸¹ As *often* implies not always, this section will offer a brief discussion of TD and other structures and their potential relevance for engaging in and analysing interactive explaining.

Let me start with an example of INTEX that illustrates the TD or I:R:F structure (see Extract 7.1). In line 2, the teacher initiates (I) the explanandum, thus opening up the TD. A student responds (R) in line 3 by suggesting an explanans, which the teacher acknowledges as fitting in his feedback move (F) in line 4, thus closing the INTEX exchange.

Extract 7.1. Marketing (T1); ‘clarifying stewarding’⁸²

I 1 NER [...] (2) even the stewarding (.) department
 2 you know what the stewarding department is , (1) in a hotel
 R 3 Kosk for dish-washing (.)
 F 4 NER washing dishes . (2)
 5 they call it <SLOW> s:tewarding </SLOW>
 6 SX-m @@@

While simple in structure, Extract 7.1 can be considered a successful instance of explaining. Moreover, it exemplifies that a successful use of TD presupposes that teachers, as the ones “orchestrating” classroom talk (Walsh 2006: 5), allow and give the learners sufficient interactional space, including length of speaking turns, waiting and planning time (Walsh 2006: 131), to co-construct interactive explaining. What sufficient interactional space translates into in actual classroom discourse is another complex issue, related to appropriateness in certain lesson phases rather than absolute rights or wrongs. As regards INTEX, the realization of each of the three TD slots is important in topic development and establishing speaker roles (cf. Candela 1999; Nassaji and Wells 2000). The I-slot not only opens up a new topic, i.e. explanandum, but also influences the ensuing R-slot by requesting explanantia that might be assumed to be known by all, only available to the respondent, or open to negotiation (Nassaji and Wells 2000: 384–385). Although the I-slot indicates and maybe limits the range of possible responses, the respondents are still in charge of how they (refuse to) fill the R-slot; in other words, even learners can dodge teachers’ control if they so desire, indicating that “the power differential between the teacher and his/her students is not as tightly established as [often] suggested.” (Nikula 2007: 182) The F-slot, finally, can

81. As argued by Dalton-Puffer (2007: 74), the term ‘triadic dialogue’ is to be preferred over ‘I:R:F’ because it “dissociate[s] the three-part structure from the functions which its individual parts may assume at concrete points in an interaction.”

82. For all extracts of INTEX, the topic subject is given in single inverted commas.

be filled in various and often highly situated ways (Lee 2007) by, for instance, an acceptance or rejection, by an evaluation or by a comment.⁸³ Of these the evaluation follow-up has led to most criticism in that, if applied overwhelmingly, it tends to reduce the learners' interactional space to a minimum (e.g. Wegerif and Mercer 1999: 146). The accept/reject option is intrinsically linked to the status of primary knower, so much so that the respondents even expect it if the TD-initiator has this role (Nassaji and Wells 2000: 378–379). The third option, providing comments of various kinds, is clearly the most open and flexible one. It can lead to extended exchanges, during which not only the I:R:F structure “fades into the background” (Nassaji and Wells 2000: 401), but the respective explanation is further developed co-constructively.

This last comment directs our attention to those cases of INTEX that depict other exchange patterns than teacher-initiated TD. While, to my knowledge, no directly comparable research is available, Sunderland's (2001) study reports on successful student-initiated TDs on predominantly procedural, but also on instructional topics. Interestingly, student-initiations seem to come in continuation in the sense that once one student interrupts the default of teacher-initiated TD it is apparently easier for others to raise their own concerns. Other investigations have identified more complex turn-taking patterns. Boulima (1999), for instance, describes negotiated interaction as a standard feature of the EFL classes analysed. With this term she refers to extensions of the I:R:F structure insofar as the original Initiation requires a sequence of various R- and F-moves before the topic is successfully closed. In CLIL classes, research has painted a similarly complex picture with extended or partly suspended TD exchanges, during which the F-move plays the added role of “narrowing down the number of possible contexts in which lexical items arising during the talk can be placed” (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 91). The relevance of the F-move finds support in Nikula (2007), who identifies I:R:FFF as a typical exchange structure in Finnish CLIL classes in contrast to I:R:F(RF) in Finnish EFL classes. The recurrent follow-up moves reflect that students have more interactional space in the CLIL classes, insofar as they take the floor more often, keep it longer and also initiate more exchanges themselves. This Nikula (2007: 201) interprets as indicating a “greater interactional symmetry between the teacher and students” in the sense that learners are given “more room to manoeuvre”. In other words, the typical three-partite TD

83. In contrast to Sinclair and Coulthard's (1975: 49) original contention that every follow-up must include an evaluation, later research have shown that this is not necessarily the case (e.g. Walsh 2006). Similarly, the present study will show that non-evaluative follow-ups are possible and not even infrequently so (see 7.4.4.2).

has been found to become more complex, looser, and partly to disintegrate with learners requiring and/or being given more interactional space and symmetry.

In sum, the triadic dialogue has been identified as central in traditional classrooms. Seeing that the HMP lessons observed fit this description (see 5.3.4 and 6.3.4), it can be expected that TD functioned centrally in them as well, and that it did so in the functional breadth of I:R:F sequences ascertained above. In particular, the I-move, establishing a discourse topic as in need of explanation, can come from the teacher, with the intention of either requesting from students an explanation that is assumed to be shared knowledge, or of asking for an explanation that only the students can know. Quite obviously, INTEX exchanges can also be initiated by students who require more information in order to be able to integrate a topic or concept into their cognitive knowledge structures. In the R-move the respective respondents can then (refuse to) offer explanantia they regard as appropriate; whether they are satisfactory and sufficient will become apparent in the ensuing F-move, or – and here is where the exchange structure becomes more complex – various F- and R-moves, maybe also constituting new I-moves. Clearly, in such cases of joint co-construction, the explanation will turn into a kind of negotiated interaction, resembling the tripartite TD to a limited degree only. As the preceding discussion has shown, one prerequisite for more symmetrical explaining sequences to take place is the amount of interactional space the learners are given, but also ready to take. It is a matter of empirical analysis to find out to what extent the factors ‘exchange sequence’, ‘functional breadth’ and ‘interactional space’ played a role in INTEX patterns in the HMP.

7.2.4 Verbalizing INTEX

Another factor that clearly plays a role is the patterns of realization chosen for interactive explaining. Given the definition of the concept, one relevant aspect of verbalizing INTEX concerns the topic subject and topical actions. The subject, i.e. explaining X, can be expressed on a cline of (in)directness (cf. 6.2), from fairly indirectly stating the X in a declarative format, to doing the same more directly in an interrogative and, most directly, formulating it explicitly by, for instance, using *explain* or *explanation*. Dalton-Puffer (2007: 155–157) attests the relatively frequent use of these glosses and points out two different uses, one denoting explanations in general, while the other, collocating often with *why*, refers more specifically to giving reasons. Similar to Heyman’s (1986) claim that explicitly formulated topics make them more apparent to students, Dalton-Puffer points out that topicalized explananda tend to lead to longer and more complete student explanations than simple *wh*-questions.

Besides the topic subject, topical actions are also realized: openings and closing mark the boundaries of explanations, and, in extended instances of INTEx, topical shifts move from one explanandum to the next. Lesznyák's (2004: 132–197) detailed study of topic management in institutionalized ELF discourse seems to indicate that, at least amongst relatively inexperienced participants, unclear topical boundaries and unexpected topical actions are an integral feature of topic management. With time and communicational pressure increasing, however, such loose ends in topic development are tied up more consistently and thoroughly.

The second, equally relevant aspect of verbalization refers to the process of explaining itself, i.e. offering or (co-)constructing instances of explaining by linking what is being explained to the other objects or ideas that are meant to explain it. The focus here is thus on the process of creating meaning by “making explicit the relationships between concepts or terms” (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 144). Based on presently available research mainly undertaken in science classes, the purpose of explaining has been identified as “constructing new taxonomies of concepts [. . . and] logical sequences of reasoning” (Mohan and Slater 2005: 153). Even if other academic disciplines display less rigid taxonomies of their concepts and more contradictory reasoning patterns, giving explanations of both – new concepts as well as logical reasoning – rests on “how the meanings of two words or phrases are related when they are used together in talking about a particular topic” (Lemke 1990: 221), i.e. the semantic relations established in the ongoing interaction.

Based on his seminal study into *Talking Science*, Lemke (1990: 221–224) offers – as he concedes himself – a rather mixed bag of semantic-relation types, revealing different grammatical, semantic as well as logical relationships. While open to critique for its theoretical inconclusiveness (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 145), this collection is especially valuable for empirical studies because of the flexibility with which parts of it can be employed. For instance, Mohan and Slater's (2005) study of causal explanations in an ESL science class in Canada focuses on transitivity relations. By analysing “processes of being [and] of doing” (Mohan and Slater 2005: 158), they illustrate that the former help to construct taxonomies, while the latter are integral to “build[ing] up logical sequences of reasoning and particularly cause-effect relations” (Mohan and Slater 2005: 168). Dalton-Puffer's (2007) study approaches explanations from the point of view of logical relations and in a different setting: CLIL in Austrian classes, including such diverse subject matters as physics, marketing, history or music. Irrespective of the topics dealt with, however, the results show that the logical relations of elaboration (e.g. exemplification) and of variation (e.g. giving alternatives) were particularly central. It is argued, furthermore, that most explanatory exchanges

were achieved by collaboration between teacher and students, with the latter partly raising an explanandum and/or offering single words or phrases which the teacher would then integrate into a coherent explanation. In other words, it was mainly the teachers who “put [the elements suggested by students] ‘in [meaningful] relation’” (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 133).

A third category of semantic relations which seems particularly relevant in this context is that of taxonomic relations because they realize kinds and degree of membership in classes or categories and thus integrate new terms into already established systems or taxonomies. The token relation, for instance, is fundamental to all definitions (e.g. Dalton-Puffer 2007: 131–132). Quite clearly, any teaching and learning process entails a good deal of new words, many of which will be technical, i.e. “[lexical] items highly specific to the discipline and/or not transparent for an outsider” (Hüttner 2007: 155).

In the case of additional language speakers of the classroom language, general language proficiency features in addition to subject-specific language knowledge. When applied to giving and understanding explanations, this means that potential explainers need to have a certain level of productive and receptive language skills in order to realize and/or understand the semantic relations inherent in explaining new concepts or terms. In classic ESL settings, teachers have been shown to anticipate proficiency gaps by simplifying their language use syntactically and lexically, trying (but not necessarily successfully) to make their explanations cognitively easier to follow (e.g. Chaudron 1983). Such instances of ‘foreigner talk’ differ from the cases where teachers as well as students are second language speakers and need to realize their explanations with whatever language proficiency levels available. Here, it can be expected that, depending on proficiency level, more or less complex grammatical and/or lexical formulations will be chosen for the respective semantic realization; the degree of complexity most likely depending on the speaker’s but also the hearers’ (perceived) language proficiencies. At the same time, it must be kept in mind that explaining as such is not directly linked to language proficiency, as semantic relations can be realized at various levels of syntactic and/or lexical complexity and that the more basic ones – such as the token relation – is well within the English proficiency of all Austrian secondary pupils enrolled in CLIL classes (Dalton-Puffer 2007). So, while the degree of linguistic complexity might well be affected by language proficiency, the verbalizations of explanations as such rather depends on “the special discourse conditions of the classroom[s observed]” (Dalton-Puffer 2007: 159). As the teachers mainly request ‘assumed known explanations’ (cf. the discussion on status of shared knowledge in 7.2.3), students can offer single words or phrases, which the teachers in their roles as primary knowers integrated into coherent explanations.

As regards INTEX in ELF as classroom language, the preceding considerations offer important insights in more than one way. Firstly, they offer a descriptive framework of the semantic relations fundamental to explanations. Secondly and most probably least surprisingly, they point to the implication language proficiency levels are prone to have for the grammatical/lexical complexity encountered in explaining exchanges. Thirdly, they indicate that the social roles taken on by teachers and students find their reflection in who collaborates in what way in explaining, which is, fourthly, clearly linked to the respective status of primary and secondary knowers as well as the kind of knowledge aimed at through the respective explanation: if the primary knower does not know the explanation in full beforehand, the respondents will offer more extensive contributions themselves.

It seems to me that the ELF context of the present study might complicate this final insight even further in that it would not be surprising if the roles of primary and secondary knowers – or of expert and novice – were split in a more complex way. In most of the educational contexts investigated so far, teachers are the subject specialists who introduce their students to their fields of expertise as well as to the discourse and the ESTABLISHED PRACTICES (cf. 2.3.1.6) of the respective field. This is even the case with L2-speaking teachers who have been socialized into their field of expertise through the medium of instruction. In such cases, the teacher is the expert in subject-related as well as linguistic matters. In ELF settings, however, the situation is more complex. While some teachers might rely on English as their main medium for professional purposes, others do not. Their socialization into their areas of specialization has happened in other languages, which might still be their default options for professional communication. English is then only second in line and might not be the language in which they feel most comfortable when explaining the semantic patterns and relations crucial to the subject matter in question. Given this complex relationship between subject and language use, it seems likely that such teachers might regard and express their expertise in diverse ways, also in relation to the respective ESTABLISHED PRACTICES. The analysis in section 7.4.4.2 will throw more light on this issue.

7.3 Framework of analysis

7.3.1 Identifying instances of INTEX

In view of the empirical focus, INTEX has been framed, delineated and described with its operationalization in mind: firstly, it relates to interactively realized exchanges, i.e. instances are localizable in the ongoing interaction. Secondly, the main defining feature is the respective discourse topic of the kind ‘explain-

ing X'. While explaining has been established as resulting in textual stretches of varied length, variable degree of exchange complexity and a broad range of realizations, the X or explanandum can be delineated more easily. It is the topic subject bounded and developed by topical actions, both of which participants, and by extension also an observer-analyst, can identify in the combined top-down and bottom-up processes of establishing coherence; especially so as classroom discourse tends to be relatively clearly structured with topical boundaries often realized explicitly. Every occurrence of INTEX, therefore, relates to one topic subject, interactively turned into an explanandum and attended to in the ensuing explanatory exchange as marked by topic opening and closing. With the help of topical shifts, cases of INTEX can be extended by reformulations of the original explanandum and/or the introduction of related explananda, which in turn require more explanation, consisting of one or more explanantia. As a consequence, all occurrences of INTEX consist of explananda and explanations that are developed topically, but make use of them in different ways. Extracts 7.1, 7.2 and 7.3 – with explanandum (exm) and explanation (exp) marked on the left – serve as illustrations of this variety.

*Extract 7.2. Hotel Management (T2); 'clarifying competitors'*⁸⁴

- | | | | |
|-------|---|------|---|
| | 1 | LER | (2) and sometimes from your competitors and colleagues. |
| exm | 2 | Kosk | (1) competitors ? <SOFT> what's a competitor </SOFT> |
| | 3 | LER | yeah , if you have a good relation with your competitor , and the er the |
| exp | 4 | | general manager of the other hotel , (.) is a good friend of you , then you |
| | 5 | | can ask him I need some new china , where do you buy it . |
| | 6 | Kosk | yeah . |

In contrast to Extract 7.1 (see above), in which the teacher opens and closes the instance of INTEX, Extract 7.2 displays this interactive action taken by a student. In line 2, Kosk's question turns *competitor*, just used by LER, into an explanandum and, at the same time, opens the INTEX exchange. The teacher provides an explanation (lines 3–5), which Kosk acknowledges as sufficient (line 6), thus closing this exchange.

Extract 7.3 includes an exchange that aims at 'explaining the purposes of an extra class'. The purposes are turned into the explanandum, with the explanation clarifying what they are, and it is the teacher who opens and closes the exchange (lines 1 and 9). While the discourse topic and the structural elements thus help to identify this exchange as INTEX, its turn-by-turn development points

84. Due to limitations of space, explananda and explanations will be referred to in all extracts by the abbreviations 'exm' and 'exp' respectively.

to collaboratively executed interactive explaining with blurred ‘borders’ between explanandum and explanantia (as visualized in the extract by the absence of a dividing line): the teacher starts by reminding the students of an extra class that is to take place outside the normal schedule and gives its purpose (line 2), which some students recognize as shared knowledge, while Hanb does not (line 4), thus transforming the exchange to INTEX. Other students pick up on *colloquium* being shared knowledge (lines 5 and most probably also 6), which the teacher and Kari interpret as a cue to continue by mentioning the second purpose of that special meeting (lines 7–9), i.e. the extra class to make up for one session the teacher had to drop because of another engagement (*make up* in lines 8+9). The one-second pause at the end of line 9 and the absence of any further student comments or questions indicate that the special meeting and its purposes have now really been established as shared knowledge by all participants and can thus be closed.

Extract 7.3. Hotel Management (T3); ‘on the purposes of an extra class’

.....	1	LER	and I have to next Monday at twelve o'clock ,
	2		we have the colloquium here .
exm	3	SX-m	yeah .
	4	Hanb	colloquium ?
	5	Sy-m	the colloquium
exp	6	SS	<1> (xxx) </1>
	7	LER	<1> yeah , and for those who=
	8	Kari	=twelve fifty for the make up ,
	9	LER	and twelve fifty for the make up , (1)

As illustrated in the three extracts 7.1 to 7.3, instances of INTEX relate to a single discourse topic, interactively developed as an explanatory exchange. The topical actions, especially openings, shifts and closings, are central to the line-by-line description of beginning and end of an INTEX exchange, as well as its internal structuring in one or more explananda and explanations.

7.3.2 Patterns of participation

The extracts presented so far (7.1–7.3) not only exemplify the basic structure of interactive explaining and its diverse realizations, but also illustrate different turn-taking patterns. As discussed in detail above, traditional lessons can be characterized by triadic dialogue as the main exchange pattern. It is therefore not surprising that TD also plays an important role in INTEX in that a good many of its occurrences reflect the tripartite structure of I:R:F. Extract 7.1 (see above) exemplifies the default pattern of teacher-initiation, student-response and

teacher-follow-up, but TD is also found in the complementary distribution of speaker roles. In Extract 7.2, for instance, a student initiates INTEX, the teacher responds and the student gives feedback in acknowledging comprehension.

A few cases of INTEX reveal an unexpected one-sidedness in that one interactant, usually the teacher, gives both the explanandum and the explanation. Besides the few instances of lecturing, this also occurs when the intended respondents do not provide an answer that meets the expectations, as in Extract 7.4, where the teacher identifies the German term *Kollektivvertrag* ('collective agreement on wages and salaries') as an explanandum in raising a question for clarification in line 2. As none of the students volunteers a response, MER offers the explanation herself (lines 3–6).

Extract 7.4. Public Relations (T3), 'clarifying Kollektivvertrag'

- | | | |
|-------|-----|--|
| 1 | MER | erm (.) you know this situation in Austria , (.) <GERMAN> Kollektivvertrag , |
| exm 2 | | </GERMAN> what is it in English ? (xxxxx) ? (1) |
| exp 3 | | the basic er the basic salary you get when working in a specific profession . yeah |
| 4 | | ? when you work as a waiter there is a <GERMAN> Kollektivvertrag |
| 5 | | </GERMAN> erm (1) a certain law actually , (.) the basic amount you get when |
| 6 | | being a waiter . |

Contrasting with this rather one-sided way of handling INTEX, most instances involve teacher and students more evenly. Extract 7.3 is done collaboratively, as already indicated in the fairly long description given above. While the teacher is the one who opens and closes it, the instance of INTEX itself is carried by her and some students. Quite clearly, the teacher still has the role of interactional manager, but she does not lead the class through this exchange in an I:R:F manner. Rather, the students volunteer contributions themselves (esp. lines 5 and 8), thus constructing this INTEX in a rather dyadic way.

In a handful of cases when various speakers offer contributions refering back to one preceding proposition, the specific topic is developed polyadically, as in Extract 7.5, taken from the cooking class at T2. Prior to this exchange, Hanb has started describing how lobsters could be prepared when another student, Kosk, wants to know whether lobsters can be boiled alive, thus establishing an explanandum (lines 1–3). As the reactions by Hanb and the teacher RER show, both of them feel addressed and volunteer (different) explanantia, which leads to an exchange between more than two participants: Kosk as initiator of the explanandum, Hanb and RER as explainers and Crek as supporting fourth interlocutor, willing to participate in the explanation (lines 9 and 12).

Extract 7.5. Cooking (T2); ‘boiling lobster alive’

 1 Kosk may <1> I </1> ask something
 2 RER <1> yeah ? </1>
..... 3 Kosk er (1) is it possible to cook (in/a) e::r (.) (a) live lobster <2> (.) (xx) </2>
 4 Hanb <2> yeah you put something wet on it </2>
 5 RER but not <3> in Aus- </3>
 6 Hanb <3> so he </3> gets asleep to sleep
 7 RER but not in <4> Austria </4>
 8 Hanb <4> after </4> you need </4> really boiled water (.) then you put it inside
exp 9 Crek yeah
 10 Hanb about three minutes pe:r five hundred gram <5> (isn't it ?) </5>
 11 RER <5> yeah </5>
 12 Crek yeah (.)
 13 RER very good
 14 Crek and (.) <6> (generally) (you are) (xxx) </6>
 15 Hanb <6> yeah . </6> (.) then finished

While each instance of INTEX analysed in the HMP data set is structured slightly differently from the others, the present analysis has shown that cases of INTEX gravitate towards one, or a combination of, the patterns illustrated above and summarized in Table 7.1.

Table 7.1. Exchange patterns in INTEX

Type	Brief explanation	Example extracts
lecturing (L)	one speaker ‘does it all’	7.4
triadic dialogue (TD)	I:R:F sequencing	7.1, 7.2
dyadic dialogue (DD)	(extended) two-part patterns of the type question:answer or contribution:contribution	7.3
polyadic dialogue (PD)	(extended) multi-party patterns	7.5
mixed dialogue (MD)	combination of the above	7.6

Quite clearly, exchange patterns cannot be looked at by themselves, but are always intertwined with the interlocutors structuring them. Therefore and just like the preceding investigations into repair and directives, this analysis will pay attention to who takes on what participant roles. In order to allow for overall insights, the main distinction will be between teacher and students. To begin with, the few cases of lectured INTEX were realized by teachers. When students were ‘lecturing’, i.e. presenting, however, they preferred to explain interactively established explananda in dialogic exchanges. Extract 7.6 is a case in point. After presenting on the gender issue in hotel management, Anki and later Kama ask for

the teacher's evaluation (lines 3, 7–8, 10), which LER gives based on her own experience in that matter (lines 11–15), specified further in collaboration with the two presenters (lines 16–18). Therefore, the two presenters clearly act as organizers of this INTEX exchange, and the teacher as the one offering the explanation.

Extract 7.6. Hotel Management (T2), 'gender issue in management styles'

- 1 Anki (.) so women are supposed to be supporting (than/then) cooperative and
 2 whenever they er attack or aggressive they may erm meet more resistance than
 3 men ? (3) was it the case , really ?
 4* LER I am sorry I didn't
 5* SS @@@
 6* LER because I was thinking about the- what we have to say next , what comes next .
 7 Anki yeah I was talking about the gender differences , that women and men don't
 8 have the same leadership styles ?
 9 LER yes=
 10 Kama =but you meet more resistance <1> (than of course as xxxx) </1>
 11 LER <1> yes it depends </1> it's again depending on the situation . erm of cours- .
 12 first of all it is much more difficult for a woman to be accepted as a leader , (.)
 13 as for a man . this is a fact . I am sorry to tell you , but this is really as it is .
 14 (.) it's er i- if it's a small enterprise , then it is not so difficult , but if it's a big
 15 organization , er (1) people are used to have men as as leaders .
 16 Kama especially the men .
 17 LER especially men , yeah , especially the men .
 18 Kama yeah

* These lines do not pertain to the occurrence of INTEX proper, as they refer to another topic – LER's apology for not having listened to the students' question – inserted in the main one, which Anki and Kama repeat in lines 8 and 10.

Although Extract 7.6 is rather atypical as regards the students' role as organizers of the exchange, it illustrates very well that actual INTEX exchanges often combine the three patterns described above. Here, the overall structure is a triadic one in that the students initiate INTEX, the teacher offers the required response and the students follow-up by expressing their understanding, maybe even agreement. On a turn-by-turn basis, however, the exchange is more complex: the explanandum is carried by the teacher and students, resulting in a polyadic dialogue (PD) establishing it (lines 7–11). A similar form of collaboration carries the explanation, as especially the final specification offered comes in a dyadic dialogue (DD, lines 15–17).

This extract shows that the overall pattern of an instance of INTEX does not necessarily have to correlate with its turn-by-turn construction and that the teacher and students are involved in constructing explananda and explanations

in different constellations. Therefore, instances of INTEX are categorized on the basis of the turn-by-turn rather than the overall organization (i.e. MD for Extract 7.6). Furthermore, the speaker roles of interest here are teacher and/or student(s) initiating and/or contributing to INTEX, either alone (S or T, e.g. Extract 7.4) or in collaboration (T+S, e.g. Extract 7.3). Finally, it will be of interest to describe student contributions as stimulated by a teacher directive (e.g. Extract 7.1), or as offered independently (e.g. Extract 7.5).

To summarize, the speaker roles considered here concern the teachers' and students' involvement in INTEX. As the speaker roles do not entail static participatory structures in interaction, INTEX displays the exchange patterns lecturing (L), triadic dialogue (TD), dyadic dialogue (DD), polyadic dialogue (PD) and mixed dialogue (MD), the distribution and interactive functions of which will be discussed in the analysis below (see 7.4).

7.3.3 Topics

Apart from the exchange patterns and speaker roles, an analysis of INTEX must clearly pay attention to the topics chosen for interactive explaining. This is relevant because of the definition of INTEX (see Figure 7.2), but also because the topics will allow a description of what teachers and students deem relevant enough for interactive explanations. Reflecting the preceding analyses into repair and directives, the first distinction of topics correlates with the two main classroom registers of regulative vs. instructional. Extract 7.3 is an instance of regulative INTEX, while all the other extracts included so far are instructional. As the preceding analyses have already shown, regulative discourse took up only a small part of HMP classroom talk, which the quantitative analysis of INTEX will confirm (see 7.4.1). The more diverse set are the topics of instructional INTEX.

In this context, Kiel's (1999: 308–313) study of didactic explaining offers a promising system. Based on the Aristotelian understanding of categorizing, it contains the four categories 'entities', 'properties', 'activities' and 'time and space'. For the present analysis, however, three adaptations have become necessary. Firstly, entities and properties were conflated because a distinction between the two became impossible to maintain as most cases of INTEX concerned entities by specifying some of their properties. Secondly, of all possible 'activities', it was only regulations and rules that could be identified as interactively explained ('rules'). Thirdly, 'lexical items' was singled out as a further category based on the frequency with which language issues are dealt with in the HMP data. Finally, another category offered itself as relevant during the initial sorting and reading through the lesson transcripts, viz. taking recourse to personal experience, either in initiating INTEX or responding to explananda. In Extract 7.6,

for instance, the (female) students appeal to the teacher's personal experience, which is also what LER draws on in explaining her evaluation of the problems women might face as hotel managers. A summary of the categorization of INTEX topics used in the following is presented in Table 7.2.

Table 7.2. Categorization of topics in INTEX

Dimension	Categories	Brief description	Example extracts
I) register	regulative	classroom management	7.3
	instructional	subject matter	7.1, 7.2, 7.5, 7.6
II) reference	time and space	past – present – future spatially close vs. far	7.5, 7.6 – 7.2 – 7.3 7.3 – 7.2
	rules	regulations, conventional- ized processes	'boiling lobster alive' (7.4)
	entities + dispositions	people, objects, institutions and their characteristics	'gender issue in manage- ment styles' (7.6)
	lexical items	terms and expressions	'clarifying competitors' (7.2)
	personal experience	events personally experi- enced and insights gained from them	'gender issue in manage- ment styles' (7.6)

As the examples listed in Table 7.2 illustrate, each case of INTEX can be described according to both dimensions (register and reference), and even within each dimension, the various categories are not perceived to be mutually exclusive. As regards the first dimension, INTEX that is both regulative and instructional is conceivable (cf. similar results with regard to directives in 6.3.3), but not attested in the present data set. Concerning the second dimension, overlaps among the referential categories are very widespread. 'Time and space' concerns each instance and thus always co-occurs with other categories (e.g. Extract 7.5 in Table 7.2), and the others tend to overlap regularly. Extract 7.1, for instance, deals with *stewarding* as a term (i.e. linguistic entity) as well as a concept in hotels (i.e. entities + dispositions). Extract 7.5, on boiling lobsters alive, concerns cooking procedures (rules) and characteristics of lobsters that have to be kept in mind (entities + dispositions).

Overlaps such as these are not really surprising; on the contrary, they are pre-programmed when one understands explaining as aiding in knowledge construction precisely by establishing semantic relations (see 7.2.5). The close link between terms/expressions and the concepts they refer to and construct thus implies that the third and fourth referential categories in Table 7.2 overlap to a

certain extent. And yet, the distinction between the two arguably makes sense for the present study: from an empirical point of view, the present data set includes many instances of explanations that are explicitly linguistic in nature. On a theoretical note, the special lexis of educational discourse on the one hand and ELF interaction on the other require that the multilingual interlocutors, with their varied English language proficiencies, explain terms and expressions in order to reach a satisfactory level of shared understanding (Mazeland and Zaman-Zadeh 2004; cf. also 5.3.2, 7.2.4). In sum then, INTEX on specific terms or expressions has been found as central to education as well as ELF interactions; the present study of ELF in education would therefore be badly advised not to pay special attention to explanatory exchanges focusing on lexical items.

7.3.4 Linguistic realizations

The final aspect of relevance in analysing INTEX is, as expounded on in 7.2.4, the linguistic realizations of the topical actions, subjects and semantic relations (see Table 7.3).

Table 7.3. Main linguistic realizations of INTEX

Realization of	By (e.g.)	Example extracts
topical actions: opening	question	7.2
shift	discourse particle or marker	7.6
closing	pause; opening of new topic	7.6
topic subject	key terms	7.3
	explain, explanation	7.6
semantic relations, mainly:		
elaboration	exposition, 'i.e.'	7.4
	exemplification, 'e.g.'	7.4
	clarification, 'viz.'	7.9
taxonomic type/token	glossing, 'glos'	7.9
	translating, 'tran'	7.9

In relation to the structure of INTEX, the opening relates to the explanandum and the closing to finishing the explanation. As can be expected from institutionalized discourse (e.g. Lesznyák 2004: 120), explananda are only rarely given implicitly (for a discussion see 7.4.3). Instead, they are generally introduced by questions (e.g. *What is competitors?* in Extract 7.2), repetition, or use of key terms referencing the topic (e.g. *colloquium?* in Extract 7.3). One set of key terms are *explain* and *explanation*, which, however, are used in only a handful of cases, of which Extract 7.7 is one. In addition to the rather exceptional *ex-*

plain in line 1, this extract also contains typical examples of how other topical actions are realized. Firstly, a subtopical shift between explanantia is marked by the particle *so* and discourse marker *actually* in line 6. The topical closure is indicated, at the end of line 7, by two short pauses and a hesitation marker and the introduction of a new topic in line 8.

Extract 7.7. Public Relations (T3); ‘clarifying editorial deadline’

- exm 1 MER what does editorial deadline mean , (1) how would you explain that . (2)
 2 Evak the- (.) articles have to be: ready <1> (.) some time </1> before (.)
 exp 3 Lura <1> some time </1>
 4 MER mhm ,
 5 Evak the magazine is published .
 6 MER yeah , so it’s actually the deadline , (.) till when a journalist needs your
 7 material ? (.) to be able to still write about it . to publish it . (.) if it (1) erm
 8 (.) arrives in his office too early , (.) no problem ,

As regards the linguistic realization of the interactive explanations given, Lemke’s (1990) list of semantic relations is particularly helpful (see earlier in 7.2.5; cf. also Dalton-Puffer 2007: 145). In view of the present research aim of rendering a structural, but also functional descriptive frame of the explanantia employed, the analytical focus is primarily on the logical relations. Since elaboration is by far the most frequently occurring type, its three sub-patterns – exposition, exemplification and clarification (see Table 7.3 and Extracts 7.8, 7.9) – will be in the foreground. Since, furthermore, expositions quite often draw on taxonomic relations, these are also considered in the analysis; especially as a large proportion of expositions in the data set include instances of glossing, either within the English language or by turning to German, as illustrated in Extract 7.9, lines 5 and 6. Since both glossing and translating fit well to the previously established relevance of clarifying (technical) terms and expressions, they are included in the semantic relations investigated here (see Table 7.3).

Extract 7.8. Marketing (T1); ‘clarifying non-durable goods’

- 1 NER (.) what are non-durable goods (1)
 2 SX-f erm: <8> (xx) </8>
 i.e. 3 Zian <8> goods that don’t last ? </8>
 e.g. 4 NER yes (.) veggies (1) right ? (.) fruit (1) etcetera etcetera . (.)

Extract 7.9. Cooking (T2); 'use of sauté pan'

- 1 RER (4) sauté pan ? (2)
 2 Anle which one is the (sauté pan) <1> (xxxxxxxxxxx) </1>
 3 RER <1> d- (1) f:or which (.)</1> er speciality you use the sauté pan (.) just
 4 think about the Viennese deserts we did in the first <practical> lesson
 glos 5 Suka oh (the) pancakes
 tran 6 RER the <GERMAN> Palatschinken . </GERMAN> (.) exactly . (.) the small
 7 crêpes (.) the small
 8 SX-f <GERMAN> (Palatschinken) </GERMAN>
 viz. 9 RER er: (2) specialities (.) filled with (.) apricot jam we did in: (.)
 10 SX-f <2> yeah </2>
 11 RER <2> the </2> first (.) <2> lesson (.) the crêpes pan <2>

In conclusion, it needs to be stressed that the analysis of interactive explaining in the HMP will be done comprehensively by combining participatory patterns in jointly developing explanations (Table 7.1), diverse topics turned explananda (Table 7.2) and linguistic realizations of topical actions, subjects and semantic relations (Table 7.3). In view of the multi-layered and varied ways of verbalizing INTEX, the linguistic realization patterns will not be forced into quantification, but will be drawn on in the detailed description of individual instances of interactive explaining.

7.3.5 Data set, method of analysis and research questions

As may be deduced from Table 7.4, the data-base chosen for INTEX is larger than the previous ones: instead of the nine lessons chosen for analysing repair and directives, the analysis of interactive explaining draws on twelve lessons not used in the preceding analyses. The main reason for the larger word pool (approx. 88.300 vs. 57.000 and 59.900 words) is a methodological one. Since interactive explaining tends to come in longer stretches than repair sequences and directives, it is less frequent per lesson. As quantification, which I regard a necessary initial step in describing prevailing patterns, only makes sense with certain levels of frequency, the database was enlarged by a third to 12 lessons. Again – and for the same reasons as specified in 5.3.4 and 6.3.4 – the lessons were spread equally over the three crucial phases, T1 (introductory 2 weeks of the HMP), T2 (second half of the first semester) and T3 (third semester).

The larger number of lessons has made it possible to include more subjects and teachers, thus aiming at an even better representation of the diversity as regards subject matter, teaching style and teachers' language proficiency, while at the same time, also allowing for comparability over time. In this light, Hotel Management (hom) is represented in all phases. A direct comparison between

Table 7.4. Lessons analysed for ‘interactive explaining’

	Lesson	Teacher (T)	Mins	Turns	T turns in %	Words	T words in %
T1	1law1	XEN	43	202	47.52	5855	94.72
	1hom1	LER	50	153	42.48	7017	93.17
	1hop1	OUL	49	424	47.17	4933	81.90
	1mar2	NER	47	576	41.49	10306	88.08
T2	2cook2	RER	42	726	47.66	7423	78.50
	2hom1	LER	46	288	37.50	8160	67.81
	2hr2	OPP	41	381	44.09	7728	57.47
	2law2	XEN	49	258	47.29	6963	87.58
T3	3fin2	TON	39	246	43.50	6015	75.83
	3hom2	LER	45	93	38.71	6823	86.25
	3mar1	NER	37	141	46.81	8108	96.07
	3pr2	MER	45	240	44.58	8928	89.11
<i>Total</i>			<i>533</i>	<i>3728</i>	<i>44.53</i>	<i>88259</i>	<i>83.04</i>

the first and third semester is also possible for Marketing (1mar2, 3mar1). At the same time, these two subjects can be compared because over the years both teachers – the former female, the latter male – accumulated detailed experience in working as well as lecturing in their respective fields of specialization.

A further point of potential comparison between T1 and T3 are the number-oriented subjects, i.e. Hotel Operations (hop) and Financial Management (fin), because both – male – teachers generally asked the students to solve, or talk about, numerical problems. Where the two subjects differed was with regard to the respective teachers: OUL was highly involved in the hotel business himself, while TON’s background was a financial one not linked to the hospitality industry as such. The other lecturer who had not worked in the hospitality industry herself was XEN, which is also reflected in her subject, Austrian Law (law). While clearly relevant to future hotel managers, law belongs to a different social practice. The remaining lessons included here – Cooking, Human Resources Management, Public Relations – were again taught by people with abundant hospitality experience in their specific fields.

The research methodology applied to ‘interactive explaining’ obviously mirrors the methodology used in the two preceding discourse-pragmatic analyses. Based on the definition of *INTEX*, all occurrences of interactive explaining were identified in the detailed transcripts of the 12 lessons and described according to the criteria ‘exchange patterns’, ‘topics’ and ‘linguistic realizations’, as specified above. In an attempt to capture all instances and arrive at a credible, dependable and trustworthy description of the breadth and complexity of *INTEX*,

this process was undertaken four times. The resulting descriptions could then be used for the preliminary quantitative analysis of the INTEX instances, which provides a basic overview of the relevant exchange patterns and topics chosen, but also for the more detailed qualitative description of (a)typical examples. This means that quantification and qualification stand in the same relationship as in the preceding two analyses (cf. sections 5.3.4, 6.3.4), except when it comes to aspects of linguistic realizations. As explained above, these could not be analysed quantitatively, but are reserved for the qualitative analyses.

Taken together, the quantitative and qualitative analyses will deal with the following six research questions, which will be treated in the same order in the following sections:

- 1) In which ways is INTEX used by whom and when?
- 2) How and to which end(s) is regulative INTEX used?
- 3) What do typical explananda and explanations in the HMP look like, and why?
- 4) Why and in which ways does INTEX (not) change with time?
- 5) When do students take on which participant roles in INTEX, and why?
- 6) Which function(s) does INTEX on terms and expressions fulfil in the HMP classroom talk?

7.4 Classroom practices

7.4.1 A quantitative overview of INTEX

Based on the operationalized definition of interactive explaining given above, 125 instances of INTEX could be identified in the 12 lessons included in the data set. Arithmetically, this would give about ten instances per lesson or one every four to five minutes. Quite clearly, actual lessons do not adhere to statistical precision and interactive explaining has been used much more variedly, ranging, as listed in Table 7.5, between one (1hom1) and 18 (2cook2) instances per lesson. Interestingly, the largest numbers are in 2cook2 and 2law2, i.e. a few months into the HMP and in lessons of teachers with lower proficiency of English. While

Table 7.5. Instances of INTEX overall (by regulative and instructional registers)

	1hop1	1hom1	1mar2	1law1	2cook2	2law2	2hom1	2hr2	3hom2	3mar1	3pr2	3fin2
reg	0	0	1	1	0	0	0	4	1	0	0	1
ins	12	1	10	5	18	17	9	9	6	6	13	11
Total	12	1	11	6	18	17	9	13	7	6	13	12

the numbers alone cannot be taken as indicators of a correlation between INTEX and teacher's language proficiency, it is clearly a link worth following up.

Looked at from a chronological point of view (see Table 7.6), the numbers distinguishing between regulative and instructional INTEX reveal two specificities: firstly, the former is a scarce phenomenon – with 8 out of 125 instances only – and, secondly, the absolute numbers of the latter taken per point in time show that T2 clearly witnessed more instructional INTEX than T1 and T3; therefore, a straight-forward increase or decrease correlating with chronology cannot be ascertained.

Table 7.6. Instances of INTEX per point in time

	T1	T2	T3	Total
reg	2	4	2	8
ins	28	53	36	117
Total	30	57	38	125

In an attempt to uncover potential patterns of differentiated INTEX use, the data have been examined according to the exchange patterns identified above (see 7.3.2), i.e. L (lecturing), TD (triadic dialogue) – both of which can be done and/or initiated by either teacher (T) or student (S) –, DD (dyadic dialogue), PD (polyadic dialogue) and their combination MD (mixed dialogue). The occurrences in Table 7.7 are given in absolute frequencies.

Table 7.7. Instances of INTEX (according to exchange patterns)

	1hop1	1hom1	1mar2	1law1	2cook2	2law2	2hom1	2hr2	3hom2	3mar1	3pr2	3fin2	Total
L (T)	1	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	1	–	4
TD (T)	9	1	11	3	11	4	1	–	2	3	6	5	56
TD (S)	–	–	–	1	1	1	2	–	1	–	–	–	6
DL	1	–	–	1	3	5	–	9	1	–	1	5	26
PL	–	–	–	–	1	2	1	4	1	–	–	1	10
M	1	–	–	1	1	5	4	–	2	3	5	1	23

The totals (right-hand column) show that the six different patterns appear with different degrees of frequency. As might be expected, teacher-led TD is the most numerous. What is more interesting is that TD amounts to less than half of all instances of INTEX. At the same time, many cells in Table 7.7 are empty, indicating

that certain patterns were not used at all in some lessons. As a concentration of zero entries springs to the eye in the left-hand lower part of the table, a chronological perspective seems called for. At the same time, a matrix with 18 cells (6 patterns x 3 points in time) and a total of 125 instances would, with a mean below seven, lead to such low numbers for the individual cell that quantitative developments could no longer be traced by statistical tests. Fortunately, the patterns can be bundled into two large sub-groups of exchange style: those clearly dominated by the teacher (L+TD) vs. the other, more open dialogic ones (see Table 7.8). Since, in terms of participant roles, the 6 student-led cases of TD fit better to dialogic exchanges than to teacher-led TD, they are included in ‘non-TD’.

Table 7.8. Instances of INTEX (according to exchange patterns and points in time)

	T1	T2	T3	Total
L + TD	25	18	17	60
non-TD	5	39	21	65

chi-square: 21.33; df: 2; $p < .0001$

The absolute frequencies given in Table 7.8 already point towards a change in the use of non-TD patterns in relation to L+TD. As this increase is also statistically highly significant, it indicates a potential development in INTEX exchange patterns, especially between T1 and T2. More in-depth qualitative analysis will throw light on this finding.

As regards the participant roles, Table 7.9 presents a split in the data according to who formulates explananda and explanantia, and in how many cases both are done by either teacher or student(s). While the numbers involved in this overview do not reveal clear chronological patterns, they hint at tendencies and preferences which are indicative of the participant roles in INTEX. Generally, the figures reveal that explananda were more often posed by students (partly in collaboration with teachers), while explanations were either given by both together (reflecting the definition of INTEX) or by teachers alone. An interesting figure in this context is the remarkably high numbers of student-initiated explananda at T2 and, maybe correspondingly, of teacher- (and student-) explanations at T2 (in bold in Table 7.9). The qualitative analysis will pick up on these figures and provide potential explanations of this numerical increase at T2 (see 7.4.4.2).

The second comment worth making concerns the last two columns, labelled ‘both’. As explained earlier (in 7.3.2), these figures include all instances of INTEX in which both explanandum and explanantia are formulated in the most part by either the teacher or a student. While the numbers involved are so small that interpretations have to be made very carefully, the lowering in numbers

Table 7.9. Participant roles in initiating explananda and offering explanantia

	Total	Explanandum			Explanantia			Both	
		T	S	T+S	T	S	T+S	T	S
T1	30	12	10	8	11	2	17	13	–
T2	57	14	31	12	22	6	29	10	5
T3	38	18	15	5	14	4	20	1	–

(13 - 10 - 1) in the T-column might be more than simply accidental. Arguably this hints at a difference in INTEX behaviour between the first and the third semester; a contention for which the qualitative analysis will provide more support (see 7.4.4.1). Instances with students handling both explanandum and explanation at the same time are even more exceptional and restricted to T2; more precisely, to one lesson only, which, as will be shown, reflects the teaching style used by the respective teacher (see 7.4.4.2).

The final quantitative analysis approaches the INTEX data via the types of topic chosen. As can be gleaned from Table 7.10, the numerically strongest referential type is ‘entities + dispositions’, followed by ‘lexical items’, ‘rules’ and ‘personal experience’ as the numerically weakest type. At the same time, it must be stressed that the totals of the individual types add up to a higher number than the sum total of INTEX, indicating that many topics are linked to more than one of the types given here. Especially personal experience often appears in combination with another type, just as lexical items are not always distinguishable from entities + dispositiond. Despite such overlaps, the numerical distribution of the types show that most cases of INTEX focus on people, objects or institutions, with a smaller part being (conventionalized) regulations; a distribution which supports the general focus on facts established as having been at the core of the HMP classroom talk in the preceding chapters. While Table 7.10 does not depict clearly discernable developmental processes, a potential decrease in frequency might be there for lexical items: at T3, the number of cases (in bold in Table 7.10) is conspicuously smaller than for the two points in time in the first semester (see 7.4.5 for a more detailed analysis).

Table 7.10. Referential types of topics in INTEX

	Total of INTEX	Rules	Entities + dispositions	Lexical items	Personal experience
T1	30	8	11	18	3
T2	57	20	31	19	9
T3	38	11	20	8	1
Total	125	39	62	45	13

To summarize, the quantitative analysis has led to the following findings:

- INTEX is used in varied frequencies, the distribution of which seems to be linked to various factors, such as teaching style, subject matter, but probably also teacher's language proficiency.
- In view of the traditional classroom setting of the HMP, INTEX comes with a relatively low percentage of teacher-instigated triadic dialogue (TD), which decreases even more after the first introductory weeks.
- INTEX is seldom used for regulative matters (8 of 125 instances), and then usually in non-TD patterns.
- Overall, topics are identified as explananda by teachers and students. At T2, this is clearly done more often by students. Taken together with the high number of INTEX in the Cooking and Austrian Law classes, there might be another indication of a link between INTEX and these two classes.
- Explanations tend to be given by teachers either alone or with student support and/or collaboration.
- Explaining is done single-handedly by teachers mainly at the beginning of the HMP and by students in very specific situations only.
- INTEX focuses on lexical items throughout the HMP – partly overlapping with entities + dispositions – but, it would appear, particularly during the first semester. Personal experience features relatively seldom and then in support of other explananda.

As this overview of findings already shows, the quantitative approach to the data set provides a mainly tentative picture of INTEX. What the figures and percentages might stand for will be uncovered in the following sections that approach INTEX from a qualitative perspective.

7.4.2 Explaining procedural issues interactively

As argued elsewhere in this study, the HMP classroom interaction focused on procedural or regulative matters relatively rarely, most probably because the students shared a great deal of knowledge as regards classroom management and organization. When, on the other hand, a procedural issue was met with unshared knowledge, the analysis into directives has shown that it was topicalized, precisely because the students felt the need fully to understand rules and regulations. This discursive behaviour is supported by the way INTEX was employed for classroom management. As the quantitative overview has made clear, procedural matters appear in only eight instances, taking place in five lessons (1mar2, 1law1, 2hr2, 3hom2, 3fin2). Although so few in number, each of these instances seems to have been conceived of as highly relevant by the teacher and

students. A case in point has been described above – Extract 7.3 (reproduced here for ease of reference).

Extract 7.3. Hotel Management (T3); ‘on the purposes of an extra class’

- | | | | |
|-----|---|------|---|
| | 1 | LER | and I have to next Monday at twelve o’clock , |
| exm | 2 | | we have the colloquium here . |
| | 3 | SX-m | yeah . |
| | 4 | Hanb | colloquium ? |
| | 5 | Sy-m | the colloquium |
| | 6 | SS | <1> (xxx) </1> |
| exp | 7 | LER | <1> yeah , and for those who= |
| | 8 | Kari | =twelve fifty for the make up , |
| | 9 | LER | and twelve fifty for the make-up , (1) |

This very short exchange aims at reconfirming or establishing an extra session as shared knowledge. This is initiated by the teacher but finalized jointly with some students in the course of less than a minute. What is typical about this example is that procedural INTEX is constructed by all participants who require the information at stake, which necessitates a relatively loose exchange structure (i.e. non-TD) and collaborative topic development (lines 2–6, 7–9). These exchange features were integral to other instances of procedural INTEX as well, as the second example shows.

Extract 7.10, which comes from the introductory phase (T1), took place in Marketing and concerns a much more essential topic: NER’s system of written testing, which, unlike all other subjects, differentiated between *quiz* and *test*. The former referred to reading assignments on topics not yet dealt with in class, and the latter was a form of achievement testing based on topics previously covered in class. NER seems to be aware of his idiosyncratic use of *quiz* (*just to clear a misunderstanding*, lines 1–2) and formulates the topic as something in need of clarification (lines 1–4). In lecturing format, he then offers the explanation (lines 6–7). The fact that this understanding of *quiz* was also new to some if not all students is reflected in their contributions, extending the exchange by a further 37 lines (or 3.5 minutes). Suka, in collaboration with NER, reformulates the teacher’s use of this form of assessment (lines 9–16), which Cana specifies further by applying the new information to the quiz just written (lines 17–18). This insight makes Lura and Cana raise related questions, both immediately answered by NER, regarding the frequency of such quizzes and their weighting for the final grade (lines 19–23). Evak’s following contribution, however, makes it clear that not all students have grasped this new concept yet. Introduced by *excuse me* as a starter (Edmondson and House 1981: 79–81), Evak requires further explanation on what the next quiz will be (lines 26–27), which is given by NER

in collaboration with Suka (lines 28–32). NER then introduces *test* as the other form of assessment (line 34) and explains the differences between *test* and *quiz* once more (lines 34–39). Bringing in a new term might have confused Mark as she returns to the original topic (lines 40–41), looking for a reconfirmation of the specificities of *quiz*. NER offers another explanation (lines 42–43) and, checking for comprehension, closes this exchange (line 44).

Extract 7.10. Marketing (T1); ‘on specificities of quizzes’

- 1 NER (2) ladies and gentlemen (.) er: (.) just to clear (.) er a: (1) maybe a
 exm 2 misunderstanding . (1) when: (.) the reading assignment (1) er: (.) in the (1)
 3 programme that I’ve handed out to you (1) says (1) meeting number three:
 4 it means that you need to prepare in advance
 exp 5 SX-m okay
 6 NER that means you need to pre-read (.) er (1) the quiz (.) will always be (1) on the
 7 reading assignment that you have to predu- (1) that you have to prepare for
 8 SX mhm
 9 Suka and <1> not on </1>-
 10 NER <1> it appears-</1>
 exm’ 11 Suka and not on the previous one which we have done <2> in (the)- </2>
 12 NER <2> no . </2> (.) it appears to be logic that this time (.) we did it on the (2)
 13 Suka but on <3> the </3>
 14 NER <3> previous </3> one because it was our second (1) meeting . (.) right ?
 exp’ 15 Suka mhm
 16 NER but in advance and the rule is that you have to read ahead . (1) okay ?
 17 Cana so actually we have to read until (.) er: (.) page sixteen
 18 NER yes . (.) yes .
 19 Lura (are we having) (.) er:m: (.) each lesson (is) one quiz ? (1) every (time) (.) (er
 20 week)
 21 NER no (.) er: in those four lessons there’ll be two unannounced quiz right ? so
 22 Cana and <4> each quiz- </4>
 23 NER <4> I don’t know </4> when it will hit you .
 24 Cana each (xx) each one is ten points . (.)
 25 NER each one is ten points . yes .
 exm’’ 26 Evak excuse me I don’t understand if we’re (.) going to have a quiz next time (.) is
 27 it gonna be on lesson number two or or on lesson number three .
 28 NER on lesson number three . (2) if we have a quiz next time (.) it’s going <5> to
 29 be on: </5>
 exp’’ 30 Suka <5> it will be on </5> the next lesson <6> which will be (number three) </6>
 31 NER <6> on lesson number three . (.) </6> because I want you to prepare (1) <7>
 32 for (.) the lesson . </7>
 33 Evak <7> (xxx) (1) </7> okay,
 34 NER and the test (2) is going to be (2) retrospective . that is (1) it’s gonna only
 35 deal with the things that we did
 36 SX-f (we did)
 37 NER right (.) and not (1) with the things that we’ll be doing . (.) so that’s the
 38 different- between a quiz and a test (.) okay ? (.) the quiz (plans) (1) the quiz

- 39 checks your degree of preparation . (2)
- exm 40 Mark er: with the in the quiz (.) only: (1) from the next lesson (or) from the
41 previous (one) (2) <8> only only </8>
42 NER from the next lesson . (1) <8> always from the </8> next lesson . (1) always
exp 43 from the next lesson . yes . (3) always from the next lesson .
44 (.) okay ? (.) does that make sense ? is that clear ? (1)

As such, this exchange might not seem particularly exceptional: introduced by the teacher as an explanandum, the local meaning of *quiz* was explained first by the teacher and then, in response to various student requests, by teacher and students together. As can be judged from the exchange itself as well as student behaviour in quiz situations in ensuing lessons, this case of INTEX was also a successful one, allowing the students to integrate this new concept into their understanding.

What is remarkable about it, however, is the exchange structure and, particularly, the highly active speaker role taken on by students. Without any explicit invitation to do so, Suka changes the teacher's explanation into an interactive one (lines 9+10), and the other three students make unprompted contributions to the exchange, thus not only making it into an exceptionally long exchange, but also into one with a mixed exchange structure, with the teacher-led triadic dialogue being broken up by student contributions (e.g. lines 9+11, 30). This means that this exchange is unusual as regards the openness with which students collaborate, especially as it occurred so early in the HMP. Additionally, it involved particularly quiet students, such as Suka and Mark who would normally only speak up when explicitly invited or required to do so. Furthermore, this case of INTEX is remarkable because it took place in Marketing: classes which were otherwise characterized by intensive lecturing and tightly managed interactive phases in which students were given clear cues as to when to submit single word contributions (e.g. Extracts 7.1 or 7.8). Of all the marketing classes observed during all four semesters, Extract 7.10 must have been one of the longest interactive exchanges overall. This, I would argue, is not a mere coincidence, but is tightly linked to the procedural topic in question. Quite obviously, assessment is one of the most central concerns for students; and, as *quiz* was used slightly differently by different HMP teachers, it was considered of paramount importance to understand fully what quizzes would entail in Marketing. Clarification was thus sought for until students could make this new concept their own.

These two examples show that regulative INTEX was used rarely in the HMP, but when it was done, it related to topics that all considered highly relevant. Teachers felt the responsibility to explain new or unusual classroom procedures, and students required such explanations. Linked to this interpretation is the high

level of collaboration as regards the way the explanation in question is developed, which is also mirrored in the dialogic or polylogic exchange patterns.

7.4.3 Typical explananda and explanations: what and why

As indicated repeatedly above, INTEX can occur in a multiplicity of textual realizations: explananda range from being labelled (e.g. *please explain X*), via linguistically marked directives for information (e.g. *what does X mean?*, and/or direct reference to the X) to declaratives with the pragmatic value of questions. Explanations vary in length and details and consist of a wide range of semantic relations. At the same time, the cases of INTEX identified in the HMP data set revealed preferred structures and verbalizations. The quantitative overview has already indicated what these contain (see the summary at the end of 7.4.1); this section will consider (a) typical examples in detail.

INTEX, so the definition says, is used for bridging a ‘knowledge gap’ perceived as such by the participants. Successful INTEX thus presupposes that such a gap is interpreted the way it is intended to and that the explanation matches the intended explanandum. Along the direct-indirect scale of formulations summarized earlier, explananda in the HMP were usually formulated directly (e.g. by questioning format or by using key-terms), which the data show was a communicative success story: out of all 125 instances, only the one given in Extract 7.11 can be identified as including local miscommunication (see also chapter 5.2.1).

Extract 7.11. Public Relations (T3), ‘how to handle demanding journalists’

- | | | | |
|------|----|------|--|
| exm | 1 | Evak | what do you talk with these journalists . <2> I mean what do you ask </2> |
| | 2 | Mark | I think <2> I'd ask them </2> (xxx). |
| exp | 3 | MER | erm (1) I usually (.) er provided him erm (.) material of the hotel . (.) which |
| | 4 | | means er (.) basic articles about the hotel , (.) the press kit in general , (.) |
| | 5 | | some specific figures perhaps statistical figures and so on . (.) and forwarded |
| | 6 | | that to him (.) erm as soon as possible= |
| exm' | 7 | Hanb | =no , but what do you tell the guys asking for er (.) |
| | 8 | Evak | something ready= |
| | 9 | Hanb | =please write an article about your hotel and forward it to me . |
| exp' | 10 | MER | erm , very politely no . |
| | 11 | Hanb | you do say that= ? |
| exm' | 12 | Evak | =why ? |
| | 13 | MER | yeah , but I don't say no . yeah |
| | 14 | Hanb | <3> (but you xxxx) </3> |
| exp' | 15 | MER | no <3> is a word that is very strong .</3> yeah ? but of course I'm |
| | 16 | | prepared to help you , (.) er I have excellent material for you , I will |
| | 17 | | forward it to you within seconds and so on . yeah ? (.) and he- he can't say |
| | 18 | | anything else anymore . yeah ? |

Following on MER's description of (a) the duties a hotel public relations manager has towards journalists and (b) that they do not include writing their reports, Evak asks for more information in line 1 (Extract 7.11), which MER interprets as relating to (a). The students' interest, however, concerns (b) as becomes evident in Hanb's and Evak's joint clarification of the original question (lines 7–9) as well as Evak's follow-up specification of it being an explanandum (line 12). In all other cases of explicitly and/or directly formulated explananda, however, the explanations can be reconstructed as overlapping sufficiently with the explainees' intentions.

The same cannot be said of the few instances of rather indirectly phrased explananda, i.e. contributions that are neither referentially marked nor directly phrased as enquiries for explanations; more often than not are they followed by explanations which appear partly unconnected to the explanandum. Extract 7.12a, taken from Austrian Law at T2, is a case in point. Preceding this exchange, XEN assigned every student to one of the players at court and required them to sit as they would during actual court cases. At the same time, the teacher introduced the class to the basic differences between civil and criminal law. Jenz's comment opening Extract 7.12a takes place while sitting down at the pretend court and seems to be a request for clarification as to which of the two types of court this setup relates to. The teacher, however, interprets it apparently as asking whether this arrangement was standardized or not (lines 3–4, 6–11). So, while the teacher's explanation specifies this seating arrangement as standard in civil courts (identifiable by the terms *plaintiff* and *defendant*), she does not make explicit whether this would also apply to criminal cases.

Extract 7.12a. Austrian Law (T2); 'on seating arrangement at court'

- | | | | |
|-----|----|------|--|
| exm | 1 | Jenz | so just now the set up is for both courts . for the civil and the (.) criminal= |
| | 2 | XEN | =so if you go to a court ? (.) |
| | 3 | | in front of you there is a judge , (2) on the right side of the judge , there is |
| | 4 | | the (.) plaintiff , (.) and on the left side of the judge there is the |
| | 5 | Jenz | (2) is the defendant . |
| dix | 6 | XEN | the defendant . (1) okay ? (.) so whenever you go to a court and you are |
| | 7 | | the defendant , you will take your place on the (1) left side of the judge , |
| | 8 | | (.) if you are the plaintiff you take your seat (.) on the right side of the |
| | 9 | | judge . (.) so whenever you go a (.) erm (.) to erm to court , (.) and you |
| | 10 | | enter the room and you are very (.) easy (.) to know who is plaintiff , who |
| | 11 | | is defendant . (1) okay ? |

Seeing that Jenz does not resume or reformulate her original explanandum, we cannot know in how far she considers XEN's explanation sufficient. Interestingly, though, Crek raises a series of questions immediately following XEN's *okay* in

line 11 (see Extract 7.12b), picking up on the distinction between the two types of court and their respective players (lines 12–13, 15). While she shifts the topic towards the presence of the victim, the explanation, established by XEN and Crek together (lines 16–21), does imply that criminal and civil courts make use of the same seating arrangement (lines 20–21), thus providing an implicit answer to Jenz's original explanandum just before the end of class (lines 23–24).

Extract 7.12b. Austrian Law (T2)

- exm 12 Crek (if) we have to speak the , it's only in criminal case (.) that the (.) victim (.)
 13 comes ?
 14 XEN as a testimony
 15 Crek as a testimony . and in civil cases not ?
 16 XEN in civil cases you , this is the (.) plaintiff there . the victim is the plaintiff
 17 there .
 18 Crek I thought it's a lawyer . but it's both on the same side .
 19 XEN yeah but the lawyer is paid by the plaintiff.
 20 Crek but is there (.) the person himself as well <1> next to , sitting </1> ?
 21 XEN <1> sitting </1> sitting next to next to the lawyer
 22 Crek okay .
 23 <bell rings>
 24 XEN okay thank you bye bye

Apart from the differing levels of explanatory appropriateness that Jenz's and Crek's explananda stimulate, 7.12a and 7.12b are also interesting to compare as regards the degree of directness with which the two students pursue their quest for more information. To begin with, both students realize their explananda rather vaguely in that their contributions contain a considerable amount of ellipsis, which requires guess work on behalf of the teacher, as XEN's brief comments checking for confirmation (7.12a, line 2 and 7.12b, line 14) indicate. In the remainder of their exchanges, however, the two students interact very differently. Jenz remains passive, thus leaving XEN practically alone in formulating an explanation. Crek, on the other hand, takes on an active role, expanding on her original contribution, and co-constructs the explanation together with the teacher. So, in 7.12a XEN offers the explanation on her own, while in 7.12b she receives interactive help from the explainee. This help is twofold: it clarifies the actual topic subject and, at the same time, the degree of explanatory success experienced by the one looking for an explanation. In other words, these two examples unveil the interactional difficulty encountered when an explanandum was firstly verbalized in an indirect way, and then not further developed in the course of INTEX. While the explainers (usually the teachers) were very willing to suggest explanations, they clearly needed interactive guidance

in clarifying the explanandum as well as the appropriateness of the unfolding explanation.

Concerning the explanations given, a brief glance through all cases of *INTEX* makes clear that most explanations include various logical relations, combining clarification ('viz'), exemplification ('eg') and exposition ('ie') in various ways to reach their goal of rendering a new idea or concept clearer. These combinations are influenced neither by who contributed to the explanation nor by the degree of elaboration with which the explanation was originally given. Extracts 7.15 and 7.16 include rather diverse examples of clarifying terms that are relevant to the specific subject areas, Marketing and Cooking. In Extract 7.13, NER mentions *bench-marking* as an important way of self-assessment, realizing that it might be a strange concept for some students (line 2). As Kari confirms his assumption (line 8), NER launches into an extensive explanation. First hinting at an exposition in line 9, he delves into his first example of using American Express as a bench-mark in terms of one's billing services, which is so long (almost two minutes or 25 lines) that it allows for embedded clarifications. In line 37, NER moves on to a second example of bench-marking a restaurant's service, and finishes off by offering a summative clarification that comes close to a definition, including sub-specifications: "so bench-marking always means comparing with either the best [...] or normally [...] our fellows" (lines 39–42).

Extract 7.13. Marketing (T1); 'clarifying bench-marking'

explanandum	1	NER	and because they have a similar job (.) we can (.) what we call (.) bench-
	2		mark . (2) each other (.) did anybody hear the term (.) bench-marking ? (.)
	3	SX	mm
	4	NER	(1) already ?
	5	SX	mm (yes)
	6	SY-f	<1> (xxx) </1>
	7	NER	<1> that is </1> (.) sorry
	8	Kari	(1) <@> I didn't know (the words) </@>
	9	NER	okay (.) that is (.) e:rm (.) I compare (1) my billing (2) the way I bill (.)
	10		that is (1) if I write a bill (.) to I B M because Mr NER has (stayed) with it
	11		that bidding process is a service . (1) right ? (1) because normally Mr
	12		NER would have had to (1) pay cash at my cashier's desk . but I'm
	13		offering the service that I charge it to the company . so I've sent an
	14		invoice (.) a bill (1) from the hotel to the company . that is a service . (1)
	15		and that service can be executed badly ? (.) or it could be executed ? (1)
	16		perfectly . (1) you know who is the best invoice sender in the world (2)

(8 turns/13 lines for identifying and describing American Express as best invoice sender world-wide)

explanation	viz	30	NER	(.) American Express is so effective in invoicing (.) that I compare my
		31		hotel ? with the standards of ? (2) American Express (.) because I wanna
		32		be the best (1)
		33	Alac	invoice
eg 2 ie	viz	34	NER	(.) in the world . (1) right ? (.) and this is what we call (2) bench (.)
		35		marking . (.) right ? we bench-mark (.) our performance against (2)
		36		American Express's performance . (1) right ? (.) e:r (.) (u-) and and who
		37		does the better invoicing . (.) we can bench-mark (.) amongst restaurants .
		38		(1) who doe- who has the better service . (.) right ? (.) who has the better
		39		menu . so bench-marking always means comparing (1) with either (.) the
		40		best ? (1) then we call it ? (1) best (.) practice (.) bench-marking . (2) or ?
		41		(.) just normally bench-marking ? then we compare ourselves with our ?
		42		(2) fellows ? (1)
		43	SZ	<SOFT> (restaurants) </SOFT>
		44	NER	re- other restaurants or other hotels (.) or whatsoever . <1> (.) right ? </1>

Extract 7.14. Cooking (T2); 'clarifying blanching'

expm		1	RER	<1> (.) how we can explain blanching (1) </1>
		2		<1> (10) < loud chatting , RER not heard, chatting dies down > </1>
		3	RER	I asked for blanching (2)
explanation	eg1	4	Cana	French fries for example in fat
		5	RER	the f- blanching in fat f-for example the French fries ?
	viz	6	Cana	or in water
	eg2	7	RER	or b:lanching in water (1) er for example the tomato before you t:ake
		8		off the skin (1) very good

Extract 7.14, taken from the theory class on Cooking, begins with RER's question for clarification of *blanching*. As the students had already gained hands-on experience in the school's kitchen, this phase of the lesson amounted to a kind of theoretical review of practically acquired knowledge. In other words, RER could presuppose shared knowledge, which is reflected in his initial question (line 1) and his meta-level repetition (line 3). It is also shown by the fact that no attempt is made at defining the cooking method. After a silence of two seconds, Cana offers a first example (line 4), but then, stimulated by RER's follow-up (line 5), which Cana interprets as disagreement, corrects it by clarifying the liquid in which the cooking process takes place (line 6). RER acknowledges the second explanans by firstly repeating it and then offering an example himself (lines 7–8).

When comparing the two extracts, one cannot help but see major differences as regards the textual side of the explanations given. Apart from its extensive length, 7.13 contains more explanantia that are formulated explicitly (by drawing on the lexical-grammatical resources of the language) and realized in logical sequencing (by discourse particles and markers). 7.14, on the other hand, contains a collaboratively constructed explanation whose logical relations are

marked lexically (*for example*) or sequentially in the turn-taking process. In other words, the former explanation can be characterized as making use of the full spectrum of linguistic resources, while the latter seems to rely more heavily on semantics and general interactional conventions. Whatever the reasons might be – degree of shared knowledge, subject matter or English language proficiency levels of the teachers – the interesting point is that both explanations, containing the same logical relations, work in the sense that the terms at stake could be related to familiar concepts. This means that, firstly, the logical relations identified as central to explaining are flexible as to how they can be realized and, secondly, the degree of success of an explanation is not dependent on the linguistic realizations chosen. This discourse-pragmatic finding is reflected in the perceptions voiced by community members, such as in Quote 7.9 (in 7.4.4.2).

So far these examples have illustrated that INTEX relies on logical relations which can be realized in different linguistic ways. It can thus be used flexibly as regards the lexical-grammatical resources of the English language. This flexibility becomes strikingly evident in the case of exposition. Regarding its prototypical type – the definition – the HMP data are particularly scarce since, as with other school settings (e.g. Dalton-Puffer 2007: 132), fully-blown definitions along the line of “X is a T having characteristics c1, c2, c3” are practically absent from the data on the whole. A few instances of defining generally concrete objects feature more conversational-type of definitions, as for instance RER’s summary of what *tomato concassé* amounts to in Extract 7.15, lines 9–10.

Extract 7.15. Cooking (T2); last part of INTEX on ‘preparation methods of vegetables’

- | | | | |
|-----|-----|------|--|
| | 1 | RER | what’s the next one |
| | 2 | Suka | the next one |
| exm | viz | 3 | RER peeled tomato (1) seeds cut(ted/it) in pieces ? (.) how you (.) how do |
| | 4 | | we call this |
| | 5 | SS | <call out various words, inaudible> |
| | 6 | Suka | tomato <5> concassé ? </5> |
| | 7 | SX-f | <5> (luncheon) </5>? |
| exp | ie | 8 | RER tomato concassé (.) very good . (8) <FRENCH> tomates concassées |
| | 9 | | </FRENCH> (1) peeled (2) tomatoes (.) without any seeds (.) and |
| | 10 | | after that (.) cutted in small cubes ? (.) |

As illustrated in this extract, exposition can come in syntactically looser and/or more elliptical structures, and, furthermore, tends to be referentially associative rather than denotational. Such forms of exposition include glossing, either in English (‘glos’) or by having recourse to German (‘tran’), and what I wish to call dramatized expositions. Extract 7.16 provides an illustration of the latter (lines 3–4, 11–13) as well as of ‘tran’ (line 4). In all three cases of exposition, the

focus is on how Austria's political integration into the Third Reich in 1938 has been interpreted by politicians and historians since World War II, by drawing on the two terms *annexation* and *occupation* and their respective conceptual differences.

Extract 7.16. Austrian Law (T1); 'annexation or occupation?'

- | | | | |
|--------|----|------|---|
| exm | 1 | XEN | [...] so we had lots of theories legal theories about was it an |
| | 2 | | annexation or was it an occupation |
| exp | 3 | | annexation means <QUOTATIVE> hello friends come on let's |
| | 4 | | join us </QUOTATIVE> |
| exm | 4 | Anki | we talk about <GERMAN> Anschluss </GERMAN> not about an |
| | 5 | | occupation |
| (glos) | 6 | XEN | yeah er this is er this is erm annexation what you have in mind ? |
| exp | 7 | | (.) but the legal (.) way Austria could manage the allies to see it ? |
| | 8 | | was that Austria got occupied . it's a very big difference , yeah ? |
| | 9 | | because if you get it occupied you are free afterwards by the allies |
| | 10 | Anki | mhm |
| ie | 11 | XEN | if you if you would have been annexed <QUOTATIVE> hey |
| | 12 | | hello welcome </QUOTATIVE> yeah ? so you are part of the |
| | 13 | | enemy , |
| | 14 | Anki | mhm |

Instead of offering detailed definitions of the terms in question, the teacher prefers to throw light on the practical side of an annexation. Anki's contribution shows her interest in connecting this new information to familiar concepts, which, as an Austrian, she knows in German. XEN responds to this language-based knowledge gap, offers *annexation* and *Anschluss* as glosses of each other and goes back to her original explanation, stressing again the practical implications for *occupation* (line 9) vs. *annexation* (lines 11–12). Quite obviously, XEN avoids legalistic language in this, but also in all other instances of *INTEX*. Two potential reasons come to mind here, both of which the teacher herself topicalized as problematic during the interview: (a) XEN's limited experience in teaching in English (see Quote 4.25) and (b) the limited appropriateness of teaching Austrian law in the HMP (see Quote 7.7).

Quote 7.7. Interview (2nd sem, 1st mth)

XEN: ja also ich habe [...] sehr dezidiert auch gesagt schon von Anfang an dass ich es (.) zwar mache diesen Lehrplan aber wir arbeiten jetzt auch über einen neuen weil es ist ein völliger (1) charmant ausgedrückt Unfug Chinesen ein österreichisches Rechtssystem nahezubringen (.) in englischer Sprache (.) weil es teilweise nicht einmal Synonyme gibt die ich (.) als nicht des (.) deutschen oder des österreichischen Systems Rechtskundiger (.) nicht einmal vergleichen kann

[I said very clearly from the beginning that even if I follow this curriculum at present that we're already working on a new one because it is, to put it nicely, complete nonsense to try and teach Chinese students about the Austrian legal system in English (.) because partly there aren't even any synonyms (.) which I could compare as someone who doesn't know the German or Austrian legal systems]

On a speculative note, XEN's acknowledged and also observed limited proficiency might have helped her at least partly in minimizing the degree of nonsensicalness she perceived in the curriculum she had to teach at the time. By forcing her to use simple terminology in explaining the partly highly complex topics, XEN might have been able to break them down into understandable bits; even to international students who had no use for local terminology. Especially as the limited time given to this only legal subject would never have sufficed to introduce newcomers to Austrian Law as a legal discipline, the legally maybe simplistic explanations offered might have represented certain topics much more successfully than more complex explanations could have done.

As regards exposition as logical relation used more generally in INTEX, Extract 7.15 is typical also because it illustrates that the interactional aim was not to define the new concept comprehensively within its social practice, so to speak, but rather to make it accessible to the specific group of learners. In other words, the intention pursued was clearly addressee-oriented, COMMUNICATING in the here and now (cf. Figure 2.1 in 2.3.1.5) by using whatever linguistic means necessary in order to make new concepts more accessible. Referentially-oriented definitions of the classical kind are thus less important and also practically absent from the HMP data set.

Summing up, it can be said that, despite the broad range of realizations and formulations chosen in INTEX in the HMP, explananda were typically formulated explicitly and/or co-constructed in teacher-student exchanges. Explanations drew on the logical relations exposition, exemplification and clarification in varied combinations with the clear intention of constructing the conceptual bridges that were locally necessary to promote shared understanding, and this also required and received active participation from the explainees, be they teachers or students. The lexical-syntactic realizations chosen in formulating INTEX were thus never at the forefront of interest or concern, nor was the production of specific formulations required from students. Instead, INTEX worked in the HMP precisely because the logical relations so fundamental to explaining could be realized in diverse ways, reflecting different degrees of lexical or syntactic complexity.

7.4.4 Students' involvement in explaining

As can be expected when analysing an interactively defined object of enquiry like INTEX, the interactants and the roles they play are of central importance. In a traditional setting like the present one, there is a strong temptation to place the investigative focus on the teacher. This section will counterbalance this tendency and focus on the students and their roles in INTEX, while at the same time keeping the teacher as important other clearly in mind. More precisely, the way students are involved in INTEX will be analysed from the points of view of temporal progression (T1–T2–T3) and interactional space.

7.4.4.1 *Changes with time*

As the quantitative analysis has indicated, teacher-initiated triadic dialogue (TD) decreased in frequency within the first semester of the HMP, pointing to a shift from more to less TD within a few weeks of classes and at an increase in student contributions with time progressing. A similar tendency became apparent in independent student contributions, i.e. in students offering either explananda and/or explanations without having been invited or required to do so by the teacher. At T1, students contributed to INTEX independently in less than a third of all cases; later-on they did so in more than half of all instances. Besides this quantitative increase, independent student contributions also developed in that they were used in establishing and/or structuring INTEX. At T1, students' independent contributions related to topics either introduced by the teachers or included in the materials they distributed. Additionally, students introduced their requests for explanation by a softening or disarming pre-exchange (Edmondson and House 1981: 116, 153–157) such as *excuse me* or *I have a question*, most likely reflecting the students' interpretation of their taking the floor as bending turn-taking rules. In Extract 7.17, for instance, Evak picks up on a term given in the text book, *competitive positioning*, and turns it into an explanandum. Her *excuse me* as disarmer (line 1) allows the inference that she considers her question an intrusion on the default 'teacher as turn allotter'. This feeling of unease might also be reflected in her identifying the source of the term as having come from the teacher and outside her own doing and responsibility (*it says* in line 3). As in all cases of INTEX found in the data, the teacher is very willing to explain the term, and does so single-handedly by way of exemplification and clarification (lines 4–12) and a concluding confirmation check (lines 14+16).

Extract 7.17. Marketing (T1); ‘clarifying competitive positioning’

expm	1	Evak	excuse me e:rm (.) considering competitive positioning (1) what is that .
	2	NER	beg your pardon ?
explanation	3	Evak	it says considering <2> competitive </2> position(ing) .
	4	NER	<2> (.) yes (.) e:r (.) </2> (1) it is meant that (.) when you (1) er are in
	5	eg	the fast-food (2) let's stay with McDonald's . (.) in the fast-food industry
	6		(.) right ? (.) an:de:r (.) you c- c- you think that a monkey can do the
	7		job (.) at McDonald's (.) right (.) er (.) (b-) erer (.) because it's so
	8		standardized (1) er you can differentiate with your (.) hamburger
	9		restaurant (.) by adding (.) more competence to the staff . (1) right ? (.)
	10		and you can differentiate (1) yourself from the (1) X Y Z McDonald's
	11	viz	restaurant ? (.) competitive differentiation ? (.) and positioning ? (.) by
	12		saying ? I am the restaurant that offers the better ? (1)
	13	Alac	<5> service </5>
	14	NER	<5> service . </5> (.) is that (.)
	15	Evak	(yes)
	16	NER	(.) understood ?

With the progression of the HMP, student contributions to INTEX became not only more frequent, but also more matter-of-fact in that more students seem to have made the right to contribute to classroom interaction their own, even without any instigation from the teacher. Extract 7.8, for instance, features an explanandum re-introduced by a student and then jointly explained by the student and the teacher.

Extract 7.18. Hotel Management (T2); ‘employees as informants on competitors’

exm	1	Kosk	may I say something about the (reason we forgot) concerning the
	2		information about er our competitors . we can gather information
	3		from my employees .
viz	4		because normally employees , (1) well they have relationships with
	5		employees from other companies .
exp	6	LER	yeah .
	7	Kosk	and they discuss everything ,
	8	LER	yeah
	9	Kosk	on the employee's level .
glos	10	LER	exactly.
	11	Kosk	and then if you ask your employees you might get=
	12	LER	=you get a lot of information from your employees . (.) as far as they
	13		are interested to perform (.) @ in a good , (.) in a good way .
	14	Kosk	you have to innovate them .
	15	LER	yeah , you have to motivate them .
	16	Kosk	<1> @@ </1>
	17	SS	<1> @@ </1>
	18	LER	okay ,

After the lesson phase describing ways of gaining information on competitors has come to its end, Kosk returns to this topic (Extract 7.18, line 1) because he wants to add another reason why employees are useful sources of such information. He introduces his completely unprimed contribution with a notional pre-request (*may I say something*) but, as he continues with his contribution without any pause, seems from the outset to assume the right to the floor. The teacher's reaction supports his assumption as she is very willing to accept (lines 5, 7, 9) and integrate (lines 11–12, 14) Kosk's contribution into the ongoing interaction before moving on to the next topic (line 18).

At T3 student contributions to INTEX were again different in that they arose even more spontaneously in terms of topic chosen, but also self selection at turn taking. While in the first semester students announced unprimed contributions and requested the right to speak, they no longer did this a year later, as the following two examples show. By way of comparison with the two preceding examples from T1 and T2, Extract 7.19 is taken from the third semester Hotel Management class and features the same students, Kosk and Evak.

Extract 7.19. Hotel Management (T3); 'clarifying ISO'

exm		1	LER	what does I S O mean ?
expl	viz	2	Kosk	it's quality measure- measuring system .
	glos	3	LER	I S O means international , (.) standardization , (.) organization .
exm'		4	Kosk	that's from the European union isn't it .
		5	LER	erm (1) I even don't know if it's , it's=
		6	Kosk	=I think=
	viz	7	LER	=er (.) it was, usually it WAS annulated by the European and U K
expl'		8		standards , but now it's used erm all the world around .
		9	Kosk	but I think that=
		10	LER	=not only in the European Union . (.) but it came out of the European
		11		Union .
exm		12	Evak	what does it mean again ? (.) international ?
expl	glos	13	LER	international standardization organization . (2)

The extract starts by Kosk responding to LER's question and offering a clarification of ISO, which LER follows up by giving the full term behind the acronym. Kosk then further develops the topic by voicing his assumptions regarding the origin of ISO (line 4), appealing to LER for confirmation (*isn't it?*). As she cannot immediately confirm his assumption, both develop the topic jointly, until LER rounds it off in lines 10–11, combining Kosk's and her own assumptions. With this embedded explanation finished, Evak repeats LER's original question (line 12) and receives the same answer the teacher has given ten lines earlier. As already hinted at above, both Kosk and Evak no longer felt the need to introduce their contributions explicitly, nor did LER seem to expect any such

pre-requesting. This means that INTEX reveals an orientation towards symmetry in turn-taking and topic development between teacher and students unknown during the first semester.⁸⁵

This new understanding of more symmetry in turn-taking and developing INTEX is apparent in all classes at T3, even in Marketing, which is on the whole the subject with the fewest unprimed student contributions. In Extract 7.20, for instance, the teacher, who was generally respected for his skilled and vivid narrations, is talking about a special restaurant which requires its guests to remain blind-folded while having their meals. As can be seen from his repeated requests for repetition (lines 3 and 8), NER does not expect any student contributions; and yet, Lura and Mark raise them – again without softeners or disclaimers – as they require more explanations (lines 2+4, 7+9), which they receive in due course (lines 5–6, 10).

Extract 7.20. Marketing (T3); ‘on the practicalities of eating while blind-folded’

	1	NER	order it . and then you eat , (.) <4> and then you , (.) </4>
exm1	2	Lura	<4> how do you eat ?</4>
	3	NER	pay: (.) sorry ?
exm1	4	Lura	how do you eat ?
expl1 viz	5	NER	oh: , you either eat like that (.) right ? @ no . (.) you er er you need a
	6		spoon , (.) right ?<1> and need to , </1> (.)
exm2	7	Mark	<1> how do you pay ?</1>
	8	NER	beg your pardon ?
exm2	9	Mark	how do you pay ,
expl2 viz	10	NER	ah: well , (.) with your credit card . ,
	11	SS	@@@

In general, the examples given here illustrate a development in students raising explananda and/or contributing to explanations during the three crucial phases in that, at T1, students restricted such activity to topics introduced by the teacher and used apologies as strategic disarmers, thus marking their contributions as bending turn-taking and turn-allotment rules. At T2, students started to put forward their own topics as explananda or parts of explanations and, furthermore, decreased their pre-requesting moves. At T3, finally, INTEX exchanges display a clear understanding of symmetry between students and teachers in that the former could raise explananda and develop explanations whenever they deemed it necessary and important to them.

85. As indicated in 7.2.4, “an orientation to symmetry does not necessarily involve the assumption of equality” (van Lier 2001: 98), especially as main classroom talk is based on an unequal distribution of speaker roles, and is also expected to be so.

This development also leaves its traces on the INTEX exchange patterns and how they were used at the three points in time. As already established quantitatively, triadic dialogue was the dominant exchange pattern during the introductory weeks, but ceased to be once the HMP was running smoothly. While the frequencies do not hint at different constellations between TD and non-TD patterns between T2 and T3, the qualitative analysis provides support for a new exchange behaviour in the third semester in two respects. Exchanges started as TD by the teacher were either turned into dyadic dialogues through the student contributions (e.g. Extract 7.19), or they remained TD in structure, but the students used the R-slot for extensive responses with which they could co-develop the respective topic, as is the case in Extract 7.21. This case of INTEX is a typical example of extended TD in that the teacher raises a question for explanation, which four students then develop, supported by the teacher's appreciative minimal feedback. So, while the teacher functions as exchange organizer, it is the students who offer and construct the explanation, drawing on various and many more logical relations than TD-structured INTEX at T1 (e.g. Extracts 7.1, 7.8, 7.13, 7.16) or at T2 (e.g. Extracts 7.14, 7.15).

Extract 7.21. Public Relations (T3); 'relevance of readership profile for publication'

exm	1	MER	(2) of course the readership profile is also very important , (2)
	2		why is it important . (5)
	3	Evak	to see if (.) if they are you er target (.)
	4	MER	mhm
	5	Evak	customers=
glos	6	Alac	=the target group .
	7	MER	yeah , the target group . Crek ?
	8	Crek	you have to write according to their expectations or needs ,
viz	9	MER	mhm
	10	Crek	whatever is interesting is interesting for them and HOW they would
	11		like to perceive the message
	12	MER	mhm absolutely yeah
eg	13	Crek	I mean if you write for instance an article which (.) is concerning (.) children ,
	14		(.)
	15	MER	mhm
exp	16	Crek	then it might be the language (.) which fits to them .
	17	MER	yeah absolutely right thank you . Elig you wanted to say something ?
	18	Elig	well if you put something in any magazine and you don't know who
	19		is actually reading this magazine , you might not reach any of the
	20		people that you want to .
viz	21	MER	mhm , absolutely .

7.4.4.2 Interactional space

Apart from the time-dependent move towards more student activity, students interact more actively if the lesson and/or the teacher's organizational style allow it. Quite obviously, if a lesson is mainly run in a lecturing style, students will participate less in classroom interaction than in lessons aimed at, or structured by dialogue. Thus, next to the time factor, teaching style and lesson aims were crucial in determining how much students would contribute to INTEX on the whole. The quantitative overview (see Tables 7.6 and 7.8) already stresses that three lessons at T2 were noteworthy in this regard. Cooking and Austrian Law boast the largest numbers of INTEX, and Human Resources Management is the only lesson in which all INTEX was carried out dy- or polyadically, i.e. in non-TD patterns. As will be argued below, these numerical indicators reflect the increased amount of interactional space students had in these lessons. I will first turn to the Cooking and Austrian Law classes because I submit that the respective teachers' observable and acknowledged limitation in their English language proficiency was the deciding factor in the extra interactional space taken up by the students. The third unusual lesson, Human Resources Management, was different in that the high degree of unprimed student contributions rather resulted from the teacher's unique teaching approach.

Extract 7.22 is taken from the first minutes of the Cooking lesson and already reveals the impressive degree of interactivity typical of the Cooking, but also the Law classes (cf. 7.4.3, Extract 7.12b). In response to RER's question asking where fish should be defrosted, Evak ventures a single-word suggestion (line 3), which RER picks up in giving two possible ways of doing it (lines 5–7). Lura interprets the teacher's explanation as including an evaluative ranking, which he follows up (lines 8, 11), seeking, and receiving (lines 10, 12), confirmation of his understanding. RER then enlarges on his original answer, explaining why the second best choice is sometimes also necessary (lines 14–15, 17–18); an explanation which Lura acknowledges three times with the uptaker *okay* (lines 13, 16, 19).⁸⁶ Kosk, and later Crek, contribute on the subject suggesting two further ways of defrosting: using the microwave oven (line 20) or defrosting the fish by frying it (lines 28–29). RER dismisses each of these possibilities, explaining why they would not work in a professional kitchen (lines 22–24, 30–35).

86. As regards the particle *okay*, this study reconfirms what other studies on ELF language use have already observed (e.g. Gramkow Andersen 1993; Lesznyák 2004: 153, 238): it is used very frequently in a variety of discursive functions, such as indicating understanding or topic boundaries.

*Extract 7.22. Cooking (T2); 'how to defrost fish'*⁸⁷

exm	1	RER	<on preparing fish> (1) defrost . (1) you have to defrost (.) where .
	2		(1) on the fruit-board e:r (.) in kitchen: er: (.) er
	3	Evak	preparation ?
exp	4	SS	(xxxx)
	5	RER	prep area (.) in the preparation area , (.) e:r (2) maybe (.) in the fridge
	6		. (1) it means (.) not in: roomp- (.) not at room temperature (.) you
viz	7		have to defrost (.) IN fridge:
	8	Lura	(1) so the <1> best way </1> possible
	9	SX-m	<1> slow process </1>
expl'	10	RER	in fridge . (1)
	11	Lura	so that's the way to defrost . (.) in a: (.) fridge
	12	RER	in the fridge .
caus	13	Lura	okay . (.) <2> (xxx) </2>
	14	RER	<2> but some </2> times . (.) or very often (.) you you are in a hurry
	15		? (1) yeah (.) and so you defrost (.) er in the (.) in the fish prep area .
expl	16	Lura	okay=
	17	RER	=that's okay . (.) because (.) er if you defrost IN fridge it needs (1)
	18		minimum (.) two hours (.) e:r not two hours (.) two DAYS
exm2	19	Lura	okay
	20	Kosk	some people (de)(.)frost (.) the (.) (things) in the microwave . (1)
	21		<3> (xxxxx) </3>
exp2	22	RER	<3> e:r (1) </3> ah: you('ll) lose quality (1) you('ll) lose quality if
	23		you defrost in microwave (.) that's the (.) we call it (.) the housewife
	24		(.) idea to defrost (.) but the quality goes down
exm	25	Crek	(1) but but some of the fish which you buy: (.) with (eighteen/eighty)
	26		minus (eighteen/eighty) degrees
	27	SX-m	(jaja)
viz	28	Crek	it's: written that you have to do it (.) frozen in the (pan/pen) . (.) or in
	29		(the) hot oil
	30	RER	e:r yes (.) but i:f you (.) if you plac:e (.) the fish frozen in the pan (3)
expl 3	31		e:r it's very very difficult ? (1) to p- to pan-fry ? (.) on one hand ? (.)
	32		and on the other hand , (.) e:r it needs (2) really (1) a long time to: (.)
	33		be well cooked in the middle if it's frozen . (1) so (.) er in the
	34		professional kitchens (.) we defrost . (.) first . (2) defrost in fridge ?
	35		okay ? (.)

Students' contributions are not only frequent in this case of INTEX but they are also offered without any introductory moves, which is clearly acceptable to the

87. The semantic relations given here include contrastivity ('con') and causality ('caus'). As they appeared in very few instances of INTEX only, they have not been used for the description of typical semantic relations of INTEX and are thus not explicitly mentioned in Figure 7.4 (see 7.3.4).

teacher. Apart from the fact that this stands in contrast to students' contributions to INTEx in other lessons (see the preceding section), it also indicates that students actively pursuing explananda and explanations were accepted and maybe even expected in this class. In lines 8 and 11 Lura 'intervenes' in RER's attempt at explaining why defrosting fish in the fridge is better than outside by offering a summative statement to that effect. Furthermore, he repeatedly acknowledges RER's extended explanation, thus evaluating its comprehensibility. From the teacher's replies one can see that such independent and supportive behaviour was very welcome, most probably because RER was aware of his shortcomings in expressing himself in English and very ready to accept linguistic help (see Quote 7.8). Seeing that defrosting fish is something all of us have done at some stage, Kosk's and Crek's contributions add suggestions that are readily available; what is remarkable about them, however, is that they are realized as statements, again without any gambits that would mark their turns as different in status from the teacher's. In other words, this exchange reflects symmetry in turn-taking and topic development at a point in time when this did not happen in other lessons.

Quote 7.8. Interview (2nd sem, 3rd mth)

RER: wenn tatsächlich eine eine Zwangslage is ja wo es für mich nicht leicht erklärbar is und da gibt's genug Typen wo auch ein Englischsprechender so seine Probleme hat (1) dann nehm ich ma (.) meine Vertrauenspersonen ausm Studentenkreis die mir eben dann helfen das allen verständlich zu machen (.) das funktioniert eigentlich recht gut
[if I should really get into a tight spot where it isn't easy for me to explain and there are enough things where an English native speaker would have his problems (1) then I choose a person I trust amongst the group of students who will help me then to make everything comprehensible (.) actually that works quite well]

At the same time it needs to be stressed that the teacher and students differentiated clearly between the support students offered as regards language-related vs. subject-matter related points. While the former was easily accepted and adopted (e.g. lines 8–13), this does not imply that the latter was as well. As illustrated in Extract 7.22, RER's role as cooking expert is reconfirmed time and again (e.g. lines 22–24, 30–35) and also clearly appreciated by the students (see Quote 7.9)

Quote 7.9. Interview (1st sem, 3rd mth)

Crik: but I think RER although he can't speak English <GERMAN> toll </GERMAN>
 <great> well he's got his points to (get a)cross..

A similar situation can be found in the Austrian Law class at T2. Extract 7.12 (a+b, discussed in 7.4.3) includes a number of supportive student contributions, revealing the same symmetry in student and teacher contributions, while

the expertise in subject knowledge clearly remains with the teacher. Instead of analysing that example again, however, I will use another exchange from the same Austrian Law class (Extract 7.23).

Extract 7.23. Austrian Law (T2); 'civil or criminal court'

- | | | | |
|-----|---|------|--|
| | 1 | XEN | there are only three steps that make it (1) possible to fight against a (.) |
| | 2 | | judgement . |
| exm | 3 | Jenz | so the judge which calls you go is truly , is from value . |
| | 4 | XEN | is is in civil , (.) civil er court is the value , (1) and in punishment law ? |
| | 5 | Jenz | yeah |
| exp | 6 | XEN | (.) criminal court , (.) it's er it depends on how much the punishment |
| | 7 | | will be , (.) so (.) the punishment up to one year prison ? |
| | 8 | Jenz | yeah |
| | 9 | XEN | is one judge , (.) |

Extract 7.23 reflects the interactional symmetry identified above in that Jenz offers an unprimed contribution (line 3) to XEN's elaborations on the various courts which a case can go through (lines 1–2). From the way it is phrased, Jenz's contribution appears to be parallel to Lura's in Extract 7.22, line 8 in that it starts with *so*, which, if intended as logical link, seems to introduce a consequence or clarification of XEN's explication. The problem, however, is that the statement seems rather vague and its meaning comes across as undecided, at least to the observer. From the preceding co-text it can be assumed that *the judge which calls you go* concerns the three courts and which of the judges residing over the case would pronounce the final verdict. The second part of the utterance (*is truly, is from value*) is more difficult to interpret as the type-token relation inherent in the copula *is* between *judge* and *value* evokes preceding explanations of civil vs. criminal courts, but does not seem directly linkable to the hierarchically ordered courts mentioned by XEN in lines 1–2. This discrepancy in meaning is also manifest in XEN's response (line 4). As can be expected from exchanges in real time, the teacher picks up on the last part of the preceding utterance, *value*, relates it to the civil court (which deals with cases according to their financial size), and uses the student's contribution to repeat the categorical difference between civil and criminal courts and law, before returning to the hierarchy of criminal courts and the cases dealt with at the lowest level (lines 6–7), where she goes full circle, as it were, to Jenz's suggestion of a single judge (line 9). So XEN feels that she has incorporated the student's contribution. Whether she has done so in terms of the student's original intention cannot be ascertained, especially since the student refrains from any response after line 9, thus allowing this exchange to be closed.

Extract 7.23 is, therefore, informative on two levels. Firstly, it supports the claim that the Cooking and Law lessons at T2 allowed student contributions of a symmetry only encountered in the other lessons at T3. Secondly, it illustrates how teachers and students with limited English language proficiency tried to make communication work by applying the two principles identified previously in ELF discourse (e.g. Firth 1996): ‘let it pass’ and ‘make it normal’. The former is apparent in neither XEN nor Jenz revealing their (lack of understanding) explicitly and the latter in XEN’s repetition of the syntactic construction as well as the main lexical item *value* in line 4.

At the same time, I contend that the participants apply a third and arguably more fundamental principle: that of ‘joint forces’. As both are aware of their limited language abilities and skills, they know that successful communication can only take place if all collaborate, linguistically speaking. So while the subject-matter expertise rests by default with the teacher, the linguistic dimension is experienced as shared. And because it is understood as shared, all participants are given enough interactional space to enliven it. The fundamental principle of joint forces therefore finds its reflection in the extra interactional space granted to, and taken by, the students in the classes with those teachers who regarded their own language proficiency as lacking in large parts and themselves as not ‘in the know’ when it comes to the English language. So, while they might, and often did, act as primary knowers in their fields of expertise, they introduced and enacted a distinction between professional and linguistic expertise throughout their way of teaching and reacting to students’ contributions. This distinguishes their lessons from those of the other teachers who, even if quite aware of occasional language-based problems, taught with more linguistic self-assuredness, thus leaving less interactional space to the students in their classes.

Quote 7.10. Interview (2nd sem, 1st mth)

OPP: ich hab sicher kein Problem zu unterrichten aber es is sicher nicht so dass ich genauso Englisch sprechen kann wie wie ich Deutsch sprech
[I definitely do not have any problems teaching <in English>, but it's not that I speak English as well as German]

As there are no rules without exception, the lesson to be mentioned in this context is Human Resources Management. Its teacher, OPP, judged her own English as sufficient (see Quote 7.10) and, as observed in class, also managed easily to expound in English on her own topics or those raised by the students; and yet, INTEX is used differently in her class than in the other eleven of the database. Firstly, and as already mentioned above, all 13 instances of INTEX in Human Resources Management at T2 display dyadic or polyadic exchange structures on a turn-by-turn level (see Table 7.7). Secondly – and this echoes the findings

on opinion questions raised by OPP (see 6.4.4.4) – OPP’s teaching style was unique amongst all HMP teachers observed in that she combined stretches of outright lecturing with truly interactive lesson phases, during which she invited students to share their ideas and opinions and also gave them the necessary time and interactional space to voice and develop them.

Extract 7.24, for instance, is set in a longer exchange on the topic of how to achieve and maintain satisfactory hotel occupancy levels in highly competitive areas. After stressing the need for a good market mixture, the teacher invites Crik, who worked in a Viennese hotel prior to the HMP, to share his experience on that topic (lines 1–2). Supported by OPP’s minimal responses and clarifying comments (lines 7, 15, 17), Crik explains the hotel’s successful market mixture, made possible by the good location close to the United Nations (lines 4, 6, 8) and other big companies (lines 10, 12) resulting in business customers during the week (line 14) and leisure travellers over the weekends (lines 16, 18).

Extract 7.24. Human Resources Management (T2); ‘market mixture of hotel XYZ’

- | | | | |
|------|----|------|--|
| extn | 1 | OPP | (1) what kind of experience have you er made er make er Crik , (.) in [hotel |
| | 2 | | XYZ] < where Crik works> . is it difficult with twenty second district ? |
| | 3 | Crik | actually not , |
| viz | 4 | | because the location is very good . it’s opposite the United Nations ? |
| | 5 | OPP | yeah , |
| | 6 | Crik | so they’re big (x) customer and= |
| | 7 | OPP | =you had clients from the U N O . |
| | 8 | Crik | I think fifty percent (x) during the week |
| | 9 | OPP | yeah , yeah , |
| viz2 | 10 | Crik | plus high rise office buildings around this area ? |
| exp | 11 | OPP | yeah |
| eg | 12 | Crik | I think Telekom Austria is there Bank Austria , (.) I B M is quite nearby , |
| | 13 | OPP | okay , |
| | 14 | Crik | so during the week we have nearly only business travellers ? and over the= |
| | 15 | OPP | =hundred percent business , |
| | 16 | Crik | and over the weekend we have the the leisure (.) sector . |
| | 17 | OPP | over the weekend , |
| | 18 | Crik | exactly yeah , |
| | 19 | OPP | okay , okay , |

This exchange leads to another instance of *INTEX*, this time instigated by a student (see Extract 7.25). Cana, who also gained personal experience in the hotel business before the HMP, picks up on the leisure travellers, suggesting ready-made packages as a successful marketing move. With OPP supporting her in the same way as Crik before (lines 2, 6, 8, 12), Cana offers exemplifications and clarification by contrast in her endeavour to explain how relevant such special arrangements are in attracting enough guests.

Extract 7.25. Human Resources Management (T2); 'relevance of packages for hotel turnover'

- | | | | |
|-----|----|------|--|
| | 1 | Cana | that's why packages get so important nowadays . |
| exm | 2 | OPP | yeah , yeah , |
| | 3 | Cana | because you can just like , (.) I don't know somebody who wants to see for |
| | 4 | | example , like in comparison with: a museum or a theatre or something special |
| | 5 | | that's happening for like a month in Vienna . |
| exp | 6 | OPP | mhm mhm |
| | 7 | Cana | like Holiday on Ice , (1) whi- which was here in January , I don't know when . |
| | 8 | OPP | mhm mhm , |
| | 9 | Cana | it's a opportunity for every hotel , because you tell 'em I don't know two |
| con | 10 | | hundred Euros for two nights and one ticket to (.) Holiday on Ice . but if you |
| | 11 | | don't have these events you can't - (.) |
| | 12 | OPP | of course . it's dead season . |

The two extracts taken together illustrate the amount of interactional space students had in this class. They were given the time they needed to express themselves, irrespective of whether their contribution was invited by the teacher (as in Extract 7.24) or not (Extract 7.25). At the same time, OPP sent verbal signals that supported her genuine interest in the students' opinions and ideas.⁸⁸ In addition, she was the only HMP teacher who was willing to devote a considerable amount of class time to hearing and talking about students' personal opinions and experience. In other words, OPP's interactional behaviour fostered and allowed symmetry much earlier than other teachers did, which is also reflected in the extended contributions offered by otherwise less forthright students, such as Crik in Extract 7.24 and the many unprimed contributions, such as Cana's in Extract 7.8.

To sum up this section, it can be said that three of the four classes at T2 reveal exceptional INTEX behaviour in that students could use considerably more interactional space than during the other classes. In two of these classes, the main reason for students' active participation has been traced to the teachers' (self-assessed) language proficiency and the resulting relevance of the principle of joint forces in classroom interaction, which arguably grants more interactional space to all who can help the exchange on its way. As regards the third class, I have argued for the teaching approach as having been the main motivator for extended and voluntary student contributions, sharing their experience, ideas and opinions with the whole group.

88. While this study does not focus on non-verbal behaviour, the observations in class showed that OPP's non-verbal behaviour supported her verbal one. As noted repeatedly in the field notes, OPP always turned to the student speaking, reinforcing her concentrated listening not only by minimal responses, but also appropriate facial expressions and nodding.

In conclusion, students' involvement in INTEX has underlined the interplay of, on the one hand, the discursive needs of individuals and/or the group to seek and provide explanations of knowledge gaps and, on the other hand, the interactional space they were willing to use or take in pursuing their needs. The analyses have shown, furthermore, that the factors 'time', 'English language expertise' and 'status of students' opinions' played a crucial role in the degree and kind of student contributions to INTEX.

7.4.5 Explaining terms and expressions

More than half of the 28 extracts so far considered in this chapter give explanations on 'lexical items'. This focus on linguistic explananda reflects that learning new concepts hinges precisely on fitting new terms, representing new concepts, into familiar knowledge structures (see also 7.1). At the same time, these 15 examples are varied enough to illustrate that INTEX on terms and expressions featured centrally in the HMP. Terms or expressions received interactive explaining in all but one of the lessons, for instructional (e.g. 7.9, 7.14) and regulative matters (7.10), initiated by teachers and/or students (e.g. 7.13, 7.17), dealt with single-handedly by the teacher (7.4), in triadic dialogue (e.g. 7.7, 7.15) and mixed exchange patterns (e.g. 7.16, 7.19) and, finally, at all three points in time (e.g. 7.1, 7.2, 7.4), albeit with decreasing frequency (see Table 7.10). In other words, INTEX on terms and expressions was co-constructed in all variations possible and took place frequently, but more so during the first than the third semester. As already indicated in 7.4.1, the numerical decrease might hint at a developmental process. As the HMP progressed and the students became more familiar with the various subject matters, it seems likely that terms or expressions were experienced as unfamiliar with decreasing regularity.

In order to throw more light on the specificities of explaining new concepts, I will deal with cases of INTEX on subject-specific terms and explanations in more detail below (see 7.4.5.1). This will be contrasted by turning to subject-non-specific or general terms and how they were explained interactively (see 7.4.5.2), which will lead on to the role played by German in translating or glossing terms in need of clarification (see 7.4.5.3).

7.4.5.1 *Subject-specific terms*

Despite their differences in terms of exchange patterns, point in time or subject concerned, almost all of the preceding cases of INTEX on lexical items concerned terms or expressions that were ear-marked by the teacher as objects of learning. This means that these terms were identified as representing or opening an approach to concepts with which the students were required to familiarize

themselves; to make them their own. In these cases then, the students' role was clearly that of secondary knowers, while the teacher was the primary knower, the expert. These self- and other-images of teacher and student become visible even in the cases where some students were already familiar with the term – be it because of the term having been introduced in a different class or because of HMP-independent knowledge – and ready to display their knowledge (e.g. Extract 7.1). In such cases a student might offer an explanation, but the teacher would usually evaluate the response as (not) fitting and then add further specifications or clarifications. In Extract 7.14, for instance, RER discards Cana's first suggestion of what *blanching* refers to and accepts her second attempt. In Extract 7.19, Kosk responds to LER's question by offering a description of *ISO*, which LER specifies further by giving the full term. The fact that the teacher's expertise not only concerns explanations of subject-specific terms, but also the terms themselves, is illustrated in Extract 7.16. Here Anki, possibly disagreeing with XEN's representation of a historical event, offers the German technical term (*Anschluss*), which XEN integrates into her argument by giving the English gloss (*annexation*).

So, irrespective of whether it was the teacher or a student who turned a subject-specific term into an explanandum, it was the teacher's task either to provide or, at least, to acknowledge the term and its explanation as correct. This means that the teacher's expertise seems to have been recognized as concerning the subject matter as well as the respective terminology. An example that illustrates this contention is given in Extract 7.26a, during which *testimony* is established as the technical term for 'witness'. Extract 7.26b provides evidence that the students accepted and thus used *testimony* in this denotation (see also Extract 7.12b).

While describing the participant roles in court, XEN turns to the witnesses (Extract 7.26a, line 1), asking for a student willing to play this role for the staging she has in mind. Unfamiliar with the term, Jenz turns it into an explanandum, which XEN rephrases (line 3). Typical of the principle of joint forces frequently acted on in the Austrian Law classes, Crek provides a partial definition (line 4). This Jenz reacts to by offering an unfortunately inaudible gloss with which XEN is not happy. Instead, the teacher offers an exemplification (lines 7–11) that Jenz uses again to provide a gloss, this time audibly (line 12). XEN acknowledges the term *witness*, but only as a verb, which has the implicature of it not being a noun (see Jenz's comment in line 14). XEN implicitly agrees with Jenz's comment by describing the role of a witness at court (lines 15–19). Interestingly, she introduces this instance of clarification by using *testimony*, in systemic functional terminology (Lemke 1990: 222), as target and then sways from this use of the term, which would be correct with regard to first language norms, and uses it for the agent (lines 23).

Extract 7.26a. Austrian Law (T2); ‘clarifying a witness’s role, using *testimony*’

- | | | | |
|-------|-----|------|--|
| | 1 | XEN | (4) we need a testimony , who is a testimony ? who is testimony ? (3) |
| | 2 | Jenz | what ? testimony ? |
| exm | 3 | XEN | that’s what does a testimony do ? |
| exp | ie | 4 | Crek attended the (.) happening and has to say the truth in front of the court . |
| | 5 | | (.) <1> testimony </1> |
| exm’ | 6 | Jenz | is this <1> a (xxxx) </1> ? |
| | 7 | XEN | no. (.) testimony . testimony , you for example , you have been out there |
| | 8 | | (.) while the other guy crashed his car into the other car . (1) and you |
| | 9 | | where there just waiting for the bus and you say , <QUOTATIVE> oh |
| exp | 10 | | terrible , terrible , </QUOTATIVE> (1) and you saw the whole thing , |
| | 11 | | with police came |
| | 12 | Jenz | witness |
| | 13 | XEN | =to witness it . |
| exm’’ | 14 | Jenz | is called testimony , |
| | 15 | XEN | you come and give your testimony . (.) so you are (.) erm asked to |
| exp | viz | 16 | <QUOTATIVE> tell the truth , nothing but the truth </QUOTATIVE> |
| | 17 | | (.) in front of your (god) , (what) you’ve witnessed , (.) and not (.) tell a |
| | 18 | | little better in another way to make it better for one of them . |
| | 19 | | (1) so you’re , |
| | 20 | Jenz | I do |
| | 21 | XEN | you d- you do it , |
| | 22 | Jenz | mhm testimony |
| | 23 | XEN | yeah testimony |

The fact that this use of *testimony* is not only an ad-hoc event, but has led to the establishment of a technical term, becomes clear when, about six minutes later in the same lesson, the interaction returns to the topic of acting as witness at court. As highly evident in Extract 7.26b (bold print), the term *testimony* is already firmly established as denoting the agent: it is used as such by the two students involved in the first exchange, Jenz (line 2) and Crek (line 9), the teacher (line 13), but also a further student, Anki (lines 1, 14).⁸⁹ *Testimony* referring to the agent providing a report on happenings important to the court case in question is thus established as the appropriate technical term in the subgroup of the Classroom Community of Practice attending Austrian Law.

Extract 7.26b. Austrian Law (T2); ‘using *testimony*’

- | | | | |
|------|---|------|---|
| | 1 | XEN | who are you , (.) Jenz? |
| | 2 | Jenz | I am the testimony or the police and the (x) . |
| glos | 3 | XEN | yeah, you are the one who witnessed anything , yeah . |

89. Towards the end of the lesson, *testimony* is used once more in this sense, when Crek asks whether the victim can function as witness as well (see Extract 7.12b).

- 4 Jenz hm
- viz 5 XEN okay ? erm and sometimes if it's a criminal thing , you are the victim . (1)
- 6 yeah ? because the victim is only asked erm what happened , tell us , just
- 7 like the policeman saw it , (1) yeah is it <QUOTATIVE> oh I saw it , I
- 8 felt it , yeah ? (2) I witnessed it (.) on my own body , </QUOTATIVE>
- viz 9 Crek there could be an additional (.) **testimony** as well ,
- 10 XEN yeah sure , yeah , (2) there can be TEN of them , yeah ? a doctor from the
- 11 ambulance and (.) yeah . and you are the one , the cruel one . yeah ?
- viz 12 Anki and is it possible to have a **testimony** too ? as a criminal or not .
- 13 XEN you being the **testimony** ?
- 14 Anki no , (1) if if I am the criminal to have a **testimony** ,
- 15 XEN yeah
- 16 Anki yeah ?
- 17 XEN yeah for sure , (.)

In sum, the many cases of INTEX on subject-specific terms and expressions have underlined, firstly, the status of the teachers as primary knowers in their fields of expertise and, secondly, that such expertise included the subject-specific terminology. Thus, the teacher's suggestions of technical terms and their explanations were integrated into the verbal practices of a certain subject; even when that meant adapting one's previously established understanding of the terms (see Jenz's use of *witness* and *testimony* in Extracts 7.29a and 7.29b). In other words, the subject-specific linguistic norm was provided by the teachers, which, as the following section will show, stands in contrast to the general terms.

7.4.5.2 General terms

Besides subject-specific terms, INTEX was also used for English words or expressions that do not denote a subject-specific concept, and thus fall into what is generally referred to as general English (e.g. Basturkmen 2006: 15–17; Dudley-Evans and St. John 1998: 3–9). Of the examples discussed so far, Extract 7.3 (reprinted here in part) concerns such a term (*competitor*), which is used by the teacher and then immediately identified as unknown by a student who requests an explanation (line 2). Interestingly, the teacher provides it rather indirectly in that, while elaborating on her previous statement, she offers *the general manager of the other hotel* as pragmatically relevant paraphrase. This way the student can grasp the local, pragmatic meaning of competitors, but is not given a co-text independent semantic clarification (e.g. Widdowson 1996: 61–62). Put in relation with the descriptive frame of ELF suggested in Figure 2.1 (in 2.3.1.5), what is constructed is the fully situated meaning relevant to COMMUNICATING.

Extract 7.3. Hotel Management (T2); ‘clarifying competitors’ (reprinted in part)

exm 2 Kosk (1) competitors ? <SOFT> what’s a competitor </SOFT>
 exp eg 3 LER yeah , if you have a good relation with your competitor , and the er the
 4 general manager of the other hotel , (.) is a good friend of you , then
 5 you can ask him I need some new china , where do you buy it .

Extract 7.27 features a similar case of INTEX in that the teacher uses a general English term, *authentic*, which a student identifies as new to her (line 5), especially as regards its co-textual meaning (line 8). By way of explanation, LER offers the German equivalent (line 9), acknowledged by the student (lines 10), and then asks the group for a synonym (line 11). A student suggests something, unfortunately unintelligibly, at least to the transcribers and the teacher who then turns to the observer for help, thus underlining her perceived role as language expert (cf. 4.2.4). US’s suggestion, *yourself*, is then accepted and integrated in the teacher’s elaborations (lines 15 and 17).

Extract 7.27. Hotel Management (T2); ‘clarifying authentic’

1 LER <on leadership skills> you have to stay authentic . and if you are not
 2 able to stay authentic , then please don’t use this leadership style . even
 3 if it is necessary because it won’t work . (3) stay authentic is something
 4 which I really can (.) can (.) give you from my experience . (1)
 exm 5 SX-f <SOFT> (what’s) authentic ? </SOFT>
 6 SY-f <1> <SOFT> (xxxxxx) </SOFT></1>
 7 LER that you <1> have to have high skills if you use leadership style (2) </1>
 exm 8 SX-f <SOFT> (what is this leadership style) </SOFT>
 tra 9 LER (1) <GERMAN> authentisch </GERMAN>.
 10 SX-f okay
 11 LER (.) is there another word ?
 12 SZ-f (xxxxxxxxxx)
 exp 13 LER no ? <turns to US for help>
 glos 14 US yourself , yourself .
 15 LER yourself .
 16 US that’s right yeah
 viz 17 LER stay(ing) yourself . (.) authenticity is something which really is
 18 important whenever you do something . (1)

So, in contrast to the extracts discussed in the preceding section, the teacher is very willing to indicate that she needs help in producing an explanation. In this case, it is the observer who did it, but on other occasions the same could be done by a student. Extract 7.28, for instance, is taken from one of NER’s extended and lively narrations of personal experiences, during which he needs the English equivalent for *Umleitung* (lines 2–3). Instead of attempting a paraphrase, he simply asks the listeners to help out, which Crek does extremely

promptly (see the overlap in lines 4 and 5) by suggesting ‘diversion’. NER briefly acknowledges the term and continues with his story.

Extract 7.28. Marketing (T3); ‘translating Umleitung’

exm	1	NER	<relates a recently made experience> and I have my map , (.) er (.) but
	2		at some stage I have an <GERMAN> Umleitung </GERMAN> . er (.)
	3		what do we call an <GERMAN> Umleitung </GERMAN>
	4		<1> in English ? </1>
exp tra	5	Crek	<1> a diversion .</1>
	6	NER	a diversion . right , (.)

When keeping in mind the very obvious understanding of the teacher being the expert in subject-related matters, the instances of INTEX that explain or unravel general language issues stand out as remarkably different. When asked for clarifications of unfamiliar terms, the teachers aimed at an explanation that made the local usage clearer. If they could not provide it themselves at that very moment, teachers tended to be very willing to invite and take on suggestions raised by other participants.

Interestingly, the two subtypes of INTEX on terms and expressions seem also to reflect a time-dependent change: the subject-specific ones can be found at all three points in time, but the non-specific ones appear only at T2 and T3. This means that, during the first two weeks, general English terms were not explained interactively. While there are too few examples to draw any hard-and-fast conclusions, the reason for this time-dependent development might lie in the relevance given to the terms in need of explanation. While the subject-specific ones were obviously relevant – and thus also often topicalized by the teachers themselves –, the non-specific ones were harder to detect and identify as crucial. It is quite likely that the students needed to have lived through the introductory phase of the HMP and started their Classroom Community of Practice (CCoP) before they could pick up on, and react to unfamiliar terms in the split-seconds available in real interaction.

7.4.5.3 On using German

A further reason why INTEX on non-specific terms might have been possible at a later stage only may be due to the role played by German. As the last two examples have indicated, such cases of INTEX tended to fall back on German words. Previous analysis has shown, however, that German began to be established as a fall-back option in HMP classroom talk only after the first weeks and continued to increase until the third semester (cf. 6.4.4.2). A similar pattern can be found in the present data set in that German starts featuring in INTEX

at T2 and T3 only. At T2, it was mainly the Cooking and Austrian Law teachers, RER and XEN, who drew on German in explaining terminology, while it was all the teachers at T3. This rough description of when German was used indicates the two functions it seems to have fulfilled: as an auxiliary language German helped to bridge English-based communicational problems and, as the HMP progressed, it became integrated into the language code of the Classroom Community of Practice.

In its supportive function, German can be used in interactively explaining general terms (see Extract 7.27 above), but also for subject-specific ones as in Extract 7.29. Before this, XEN mentions the Austrian terms of address used for judges and then gives the meaning of the German word by translating it (line 2), immediately pointing out that the gloss could not be used as a term of address in English (line 3). As can be expected a student asks for the correct English expression (line 4), which the teacher cannot provide at that moment. Instead, she gives the German translation usually offered in dubbed American movies (line 5). Long pauses, unfinished utterances and short laughter (lines 6–7) hint at XEN's unsuccessful attempt to come up with the English expression. In line 8, Crek summarises the teacher's explanatory attempt, explicitly requesting the English expression, which Zuyz, an otherwise particularly quiet student, offers and, as it is not immediately taken up by XEN, repeats once more (lines 9, 11). Crek's and XEN's overlapping repetition of *your honour* shows their approval, maybe also recognition of the term. This means that the subject-specific term sought for in this exchange is given by a student after the teacher's contribution has made it clear that she needs help in providing it. In other words, the use of German in this function is another indicator of the principle of joint forces identified above.

Extract 7.29. Austrian Law (T2); 'on terms of expression for judges'

- | | | | |
|-----|----|------|--|
| | 1 | XEN | <on Austrian terms of address for judges being 'Herr/Frau Rat'> |
| | 2 | | <GERMAN> Rat </GERMAN> means advice . (3) but the translative |
| | 3 | | Mr and Mrs advice is not (1) a very good thing, yeah? |
| exm | 4 | Crek | but in the English language they say judge ? |
| | 5 | XEN | you say judge . (2) <GERMAN> Euer Ehren </GERMAN> (2) in |
| | 6 | | American films . (4) you can even say it in German , but (.) that's very , |
| | 7 | | well, (1) erm , (3) yeah well some (movie) @ |
| | 8 | Crek | is it in English language <GERMAN> Euer Ehren </GERMAN> |
| ds | 9 | Zuyz | (1) your honour . |
| | 10 | XEN | hm ? in German= |
| | 11 | Zuyz | you- your honour |
| | 12 | Crek | <1> your honour </1> okay |
| | 13 | XEN | <1> your honour </1> your honour (5) |

While this extract illustrates how students were increasingly ready in the third semester to provide English equivalents, the immediacy with which this help was offered is also, I wish to argue, a sign of a growing HMP-bilingualism; or, put differently, the fact that German as the language of the environment had made its way into HMP classroom interaction on a more permanent basis. English remained the main language, overwhelmingly used in class, but individual words, expressions or phrases could just as well be realized in German; a translation was usually immediately produced or, occasionally, not even necessary anymore. In Extract 7.4, for instance, the teacher's appeal for a translation of *Kollektivvertrag*, i.e. an agreement between representatives of employers and employees concerning minimum wages and salaries, does not receive any response (line 2).

Extract 7.4. Public Relations (T3), 'clarifying Kollektivvertrag' (reprinted)

- | | | |
|-------|-----|---|
| 1 | MER | erm (.) you know this situation in Austria , (.) <GERMAN> Kollektivvertrag |
| exm 2 | | </GERMAN>, what is it in English? (xxxxx) ? (1) |
| exp 3 | | the basic er the basic salary you get when working in a specific profession . |
| 4 | | yeah ? when you work as a waiter there is a <GERMAN> Kollektivvertrag |
| 5 | | </GERMAN> erm (1) a certain law actually , (.) the basic amount you get |
| 6 | | when being a waiter . |

In view of the otherwise abundantly realized willingness to help out, the silence (pause at the end of line 2) can only be interpreted as indicating that the students considered such a translation or explanation as not, or no longer, necessary. After having spent at least one year in Austria, all students were highly familiar with the concept, so much part and parcel of Austrian labour laws and culture that the term had reached HMP insider status.⁹⁰

Overall, the analyses of INTEX on terms and expressions have revealed the centrality of new terms in interactive explaining on the whole, thus underlining the close link between learning about new concepts and acquiring the relevant linguistic realizations. The first two analyses have thrown light on the different ways in which terms and expressions are explained interactively regarding their status as subject-specific or non-specific. The former, it has been claimed, reflects the expertise of the teacher who either undertakes the respective explanations or, if they are offered by students, (dis)approves of them. The latter, on the other hand, is undertaken by whoever volunteers suggestions, thus discursively constructing the relevant expertise as a joint commodity. The final analysis has then turned to the prominent role played by German and shown that German expressions are used repeatedly in cases of interactive explaining, either as

90. For a similar finding cf. the account of *Geisterfahrer* in 6.4.4.2.

bridging language in cases of English lexical gaps and/or as slowly developing part of the shared repertoire of the Classroom Community of Practice.

7.5 Conclusions

As the preceding analyses of interactive explaining (INTEX) have led to an array of results, they will be summarized first before turning to an interpretation of their wider meaning and implications. In brief, the main findings are:

- INTEX appears regularly in the twelve lessons included in the analysis, but with differing frequencies and exchange patterns.
- As regards the increased use of INTEX at T2, the qualitative analysis has underlined the relevance of interactional space students (can) use for more interactive explaining, and has singled out two beneficial factors in this regard: a teaching style inviting students' opinions (as followed by OPP) and a teacher whose self-perceived, and observed, language level is relatively low (XEN, RER).
- Concerning the exchange structures of INTEX, three different patterns could be identified: triadic dialogue or TD, dyadic dialogue or DD and occasionally polyadic dialogue or PD, as well as mixtures of the three (mixed dialogue or MD). While TD is the strongest category on the whole, the data reveal a clear decrease over time and a corresponding increase in other forms of exchange.
- This chronological development finds further support in the concentration of INTEX exclusively done by teachers at T1. After the introductory two weeks, students raise explananda and offer contributions more freely. A year later, student contributions given without teacher prompt or invite have become widespread and normal in the sense that students have also stopped using disarmers or apologies in introducing their turns as potential intrusions in the teacher's turn.
- Explananda are seldom formulated explicitly (as e.g. *explain X*), but tend to be phrased directly, i.e. the topic subject is stated and/or the request for an explanation reflected in an interrogative syntactically or prosodically. Indirect explananda are rare and if they appear they seem to lead to local misunderstanding or vague relations to the explanation offered.
- Whether co-constructed or given by one participant, explanations usually rely on combinations of the three types of elaboration (exposition, exemplification and clarification), glossing and translating. Their range of lexico-syntactic complexity is linked to various factors, one of them being lan-

guage proficiency. Speakers of lower levels of English proficiency fill the semantic relations with simpler grammar and vocabulary, a tendency towards more German translation and a more elliptical syntax, which in turn leads to more (student-initiated) INTEX, as indicated in the second summative point.

- As regards the topics selected as explananda, INTEX is used mainly for instructional issues. The few regulative cases (8 out of 125 instances) are interesting, however, because they exhibit non-TD patterns right from T1 onwards, reflecting a type of symmetry in speaker roles in regulative cases of INTEX earlier than in instructional ones.
- Topics of the category ‘lexical items’ have proved to be central as regards frequency and ways of co-construction. While slightly less numerous in the third semester, terms and expressions remain highly relevant in relating unfamiliar concepts to familiar ones.
- A different explanatory treatment can be observed as regards subject-specific vs. non-specific terms and expressions. While the teachers always function as experts for the specific ones, the expertise for explaining the general terms is a collaborative undertaking between teacher, students and occasionally the observer-analyst.
- In glossing and translating, German is used regularly, but only after the introductory phase. In the course of the HMP it clearly develops into the linguistic fall-back option in cases of momentary lapses in expressing oneself in English. To a certain extent, German lexical items also become part of the HMP’s language code.

In general, the analysis has shown that the concept of interactive explaining as defined via discourse topic and consisting of interactively established explanandum and explanation is viable in the full sense of the word: it is practicable as well as methodologically and analytically revealing. Firstly, it can be operationalized successfully in that, based on the definition, potential instances can be included or excluded and those labelled as INTEX can, furthermore, be demarcated with the help of the topical actions of opening and closing. Secondly, and most importantly, by combining interactively established classroom talk with explaining, i.e. relating new or unfamiliar concepts with already familiar ones, the analytical focus is placed directly on how concepts and ideas are interactively identified as new and/or unknown and then discursively integrated into already shared knowledge structures. In other words, analysing INTEX concerns itself with the interactive negotiation of knowledge, which is a crucial and so far under-researched aspect of tertiary classroom talk (cf. 7.2). This is especially relevant when considering that acquiring and constructing new knowledge is un-

doubtedly a central concern of all formal education (cf. 2.2.1.1); especially so at tertiary level as the ethnographic account has shown (cf. Table 4.4 in 4.2.3.3).

The novelty inherent in analysing INTEX suffers from the downside of all firsts – comparisons with largely similar studies are not possible. So, in contrast to the preceding two analytical chapters, this one on INTEX cannot draw on similar research conducted in other classrooms. This not only means that the interpretation has to remain less specified: it also implies that it will be more difficult to argue for findings being typically ELF. Even if the circumstances support the attribution of certain features to ELF as classroom language, such interpretations cannot be substantiated by comparable or contrastive findings in other classroom settings.⁹¹ Therefore the following interpretations of the findings as regards (a) the discursive role and function of INTEX, (b) expertise in classroom talk, and (c) ELF as classroom language, will be undertaken with the caveat of an absence of comparative research.

As regards the first aspect, the findings clearly show that cases of INTEX are relatively homogeneous structurally in that the explanandum is directly marked as a request for information and, furthermore, precedes its explanation. This does not seem to be merely accidental, but, as the analysis of exceptional instances has shown (cf. 7.4.3), assists in reaching a satisfactory level of understanding. So, as in Lesznyák's (2004: 197) findings, the institutional setting requires verbalized topic development, which the HMP teachers overwhelmingly orchestrated in their interactional managerial role in class.

Despite the generally upheld role distinction and the traditional lessons so typical of all four semesters of the HMP, the exchange patterns of INTEX are varied. While there are some typical examples of I:R:F sequences, interactive explaining often draws on a triadic frame, as it were, with the original initiator (usually the teacher) also being the final one to follow-up. Arguably, this re-confirms the teacher in his/her special position in classroom talk. In-between the original I and final F, however, the exchange patterns are more varied and, as has been concluded repeatedly, represent dyadic, rather than triadic dynamics. In view of the abundant research literature on the TD (cf. 7.2.3, 7.3.2), it can be stated with some certainty that the slowly progressing use of dyadic- or mixed-dialogue structures reflects the growing interactional space granted, and taken by, the students as well as the increasing relevance given to additional contributions during the co-construction of an explanation.

91. In her description of explanations as academic speech function in Austrian CLIL classrooms, Dalton-Puffer (2007) for instance focuses on monologic rather than interactive instances, which the present analysis largely sidelines.

This collaborative outlook finds support in the realizations chosen in the explanations themselves. Without raising any claims on an exhaustive treatment of semantic relations used for *INTEX*, the analysis of the logical relations of elaboration confirms their centrality in explaining. Almost all cases of *INTEX* rely on exposition, clarification and exemplification either alone or in combination, but realize these logical relations in lexically and grammatically diverse ways. In connection with the range in verbalizations, the analysis of elaborative relations sheds light on a link between *INTEX* and speakers' language proficiency. By comparing the classes of the two teachers less proficient in English with the others, an observable difference emerges as regards the frequency and kind of *INTEX*. Put simply, the less proficient English-speakers relied on shorter, lexicogrammatically simpler and referentially more elliptical explanations. As a consequence, they invited and required more interactivity in explaining exchanges, which, as the sample extracts have shown, allowed the other participants to indicate on a line-by-line basis how much more contextualization and making explicit was needed in order to integrate the unknown concept in question into familiar knowledge structures.

These insights into *INTEX* and how it was structured and used in the HMP leads to the second interpretative aspect, namely expertise in classroom talk. Apart from a few exceptional cases in which students were in charge of topic development, subject-matter expertise in *INTEX* was clearly vested in the teachers in that it was they who either offered explanations or elicited them from the students. At the same time, and as the HMP progressed, students displayed their rising expertise and collaborated with the teachers or even suggested explanations on their own. Thus, subject-matter expertise in *INTEX* is what teachers seem to have by default and students in the course of gaining more knowledge. Put in such simple terms, this finding is not really surprising. After all, it reflects what tertiary education is all about, namely to introduce novices to a profession with the help of expert specialists. When turning to linguistic expertise, however, the *INTEX* findings unfold in more interesting and revealing ways. Overall, issues of language correctness in relation to non-situated language norms are absent from interactive explaining, thus – just like the analyses of repair and directives beforehand – emphasising again that *INTEX* aims solely at making in-group communication work. After the first few weeks of the HMP, this focus becomes even more visible in that all members offered contributions if and when the present speaker revealed difficulties in making him/herself understood. The more a speaker indicated a need for such interactive help (by, e.g. an extended use of ellipsis or pausing), the more s/he was sure to get and the more interactional space would thereby be given to the other participants, irrespective of their roles as teachers or students. At the latest at T3, the implicit

understanding of 'if interactive help is sought, whoever can help should' seems to have reached general acceptance. Overall, linguistic expertise thus emerged as a much more fluid concept: basically uncoupled from specific speaker roles or even individuals, it was established locally, drawing on the respectively relevant language proficiencies of all participants. The situation presented itself somehow differently when subject-specific terms, phrases or formulations were at stake. While all participants were still at liberty to offer their suggestions, it was the teachers who exerted their expert status in deciding on appropriateness, which the students were ready to accept. This means that subject-specific terms and expressions seem to have fallen under teacher expertise and were thus handled differently from general or non-specific language use. In other words, the analysis of INTEX suggests that linguistic expertise was treated differently from subject-matter expertise, but that they overlapped substantially with reference to subject-specific terms and expressions.

While noteworthy in itself, this finding arguably carries interesting implications for the teaching and learning process in the HMP and, most probably, comparable educational settings. As stated repeatedly in this chapter, the teaching and learning process can best be described as a discursive one in that new concepts are taught and learnt by integrating them into familiar ones, and, especially in classroom settings, this integration is achieved with discursive means. Teachers are thus seen as experts regarding the concepts or ideas in question, but also with regard to the linguistic means with which they are introduced and explained. The analysis above has shown that this is not necessarily the case when the classroom language is an additional language to all social actors insofar as some language issues are decided on by the primary knower, while others are not. From the analyst's point of view, the distinction suggested here is that of specific vs. general English, but, as the literature on languages for specific purposes tells us, the distinction between the two is difficult to substantiate theoretically (e.g. Widdowson 1983, 2003a) and also hard to decide on in individual cases (e.g. Basturkmen 2006; Dudley-Evans and St. John 1998). Therefore, instead of proposing two types of linguistic expertise, it seems more fruitful to view this aspect of expertise as relatively fluid and often jointly developed in instances of INTEX with the primary and main aim of facilitating local comprehension in negotiating knowledge. As long as the teachers or primary knowers (who can also be students) feel expert enough, linguistically speaking, they will act out this expertise in the interaction. In the remaining cases, the expertise will be a joint undertaking, which, however, does not diminish the primary knower's expertise in the subject matter. Thus, and in contrast to L1 and L2 teaching and learning setups envisaged in the relevant literature (e.g. Lemke 1990; Mohan and Slater 2005), the situation in question here is characterized by the primary knower

not necessarily being the one who is able to verbalize the semantic relations: this discursive process, rather, is a group-based one, undertaken by and for the community of practice. Finally, and on a rather speculative note, this means by contrast that explanations of new concepts reached in an ELF discourse setting might be linguistically localized to such an extent that the semantic relations chosen in the specific ELF setting might not be fully appropriate in others.

The possibility of limited applicability outside the respective community of practice goes hand-in-hand with the clear and constructive internal orientation towards the community itself and thus the third interpretative aspect of these conclusions, i.e. ELF as classroom language. More precisely, the INTEX data allow conclusions to be drawn as regards the HMP as a developing community of practice as well as its classroom talk. Both quantitative and qualitative analyses have pointed out a chronological development in INTEX behaviour, which can best be described as non-linear. The basic direction that emerges is one from teacher-initiated or -triggered interactive explaining in triadic dialogue to less predictable and spontaneous INTEX in terms of initiation, exchange structure, speaker roles and also topic development. At the same time, the relatively large number of exceptional or atypical cases of INTEX show clearly that the time factor is only one of various influences. This complexity notwithstanding, the time factor captures changes in interactive explaining in the HMP classroom talk, which, I would argue, reveal the developing shared repertoire of the Classroom Community of Practice. At the beginning of the programme, the participants were not only strangers to one another, but – the HMP being a pre-service tertiary setting – were seen and regarded themselves as novices.⁹² As in the preceding analyses, the longitudinal developments in the interactive explanatory exchanges underline that the students interacted more independently and confidently, increasingly bringing in their own topics as explananda or explanantia. Their interactive behaviour thus reflects their gaining the relevant and mutually influential practices of, on the one hand, actively participating in the process of knowledge development in class and, on the other hand, enlarging a shared knowledge base relevant to their educational community.

92. This became very clear in the first weeks of the HMP when basically all teachers started their first lessons by asking the students for their subject-relevant backgrounds. Although some students brought relevant pre-knowledge and/or work experience to class, most of them downplayed it as marginally relevant. Most striking was Suka in this context: while she had completed a post-secondary programme in hotel management in her home country, she repeatedly stressed her novice status, in her comments in class as well as during informal exchanges outside of class.

A case in point in this interpretation is regulative INTEX. When teachers and students engaged in explanatory exchanges on procedural matters, students applied remarkably more symmetrical interactive patterns from the very first day of the programme. The instances discussed in 7.4.2 display independent student contributions that aimed to attain a shared understanding of, for instance, means of assessment which differed from the schemata or frames of assessment the students had experienced in their previous educational settings. This means that students could draw on their rich experience and knowledge in classroom organizational matters in the process of adapting them to the new circumstances. Put differently, it seems reasonable to argue that students could participate in procedural INTEX at T1 in ways unimaginable for instructional issues mainly because they could draw on previously acquired practices, various versions of which all of them could call their own. As regards instructional topics and explananda, however, the student group began with very different backgrounds: a heterogeneity which might have exacerbated the initial feelings of knowing nothing relevant, of being utter novices and, therefore, reacting to teacher-initiated INTEX, but not starting their own. As the HMP advanced, however, the students' interactive explanatory behaviour pointed to a rapid (re)discovery of relevant knowledge which they relied on when requesting more information in cases of unfamiliar concepts. But, marked by turn-initial apologies and disarmers, students' unprompted explananda were still constructed as unusual and extraordinary. It took a few months for such openers to disappear almost completely. This arguably marks a further step in the interactional practices of HMP classroom talk towards a generally more symmetrical exchange structure for instructional as well as regulative INTEX. What has to be kept in mind in this context is the freedom students generally had in participating in classroom talk. With very few exceptions, HMP teachers did not nominate individual students – except for those bidding for the floor – but kept their invitation for participation open to all students. As teachers indicated in interviews, this open-invitation policy was experienced as a way of showing respect to the students' personal preferences and linguacultural predispositions (see Quote 7.11) and was reflected in the spread of student participation witnessed in the lessons analysed here, with some never participating in INTEX and others with varying frequency.⁹³ In other words, students were not forced to participate, but did so of their own free will: a fact which supports the claim made above that the changes in INTEX behaviour

93. At the same time, it must not be forgotten that the 28 HMP students were present in the twelve classes in different constellations, which is one of the reasons why the present data set does not allow any well-founded conclusions on the INTEX behaviour of individual students.

can be interpreted as indicating the discursive process inherent in the developing community of practice.

Quote 7.11. Interview (3rd sem, 2nd mth)

AKL: ich hab halt das Problem dass [manche Studenten] also auch von der Kultur her nicht gern so outgoing sind und mitarbeiten und ich versuch sie halt da trotzdem zu involvieren.

[I have the problem that [some students] also culturally influenced do not want to appear outgoing and to participate actively but I try to involve them nonetheless.]

The slowly developing discursive process just described is, furthermore, reflected in findings of INTEX of terms and expressions. Generally, when the participants negotiated the appropriateness of lexical items, they displayed a clear focus on the needs and requirements of their own small community. Internal norms of language use seem to have been the baseline regarding English expressions and their locally established referential meaning (see the use of *testimony* in Austrian Law at T2), but also in respect of the use of German and its slow integration into the HMP's 'language code'. While German was repeatedly drawn on in explanatory endeavours throughout the HMP, it is, as expounded on in 7.4.5.3, only during the third semester that individual German terms were integrated into classroom talk without translation. This I submit is an indication of a developing situated code integrating the language-scape of the surrounding (cf. 2.3.1.3) and showing signs of the habitat factor (Pölzl and Seidlhofer 2006) of German-speaking Austria influencing the communicational practice of the HMP.

Apart from describing the developing patterns and conventions of the community's shared repertoire, the analysis of interactive explaining has brought to light another and, I would argue, very central pattern, i.e. the principle of joint forces. All 125 instances of INTEX analysed here show that once an explanandum was realized, the endeavour to supply an appropriate and satisfactory explanation forced teachers and students to collaborate, bringing into the exchange whatever was interactionally necessary. If one explainer could not produce the expected information, another participant would help out, irrespective of otherwise clearly observed teacher or student roles. As discussed in detail in 7.4.4, students were given, or took, the interactional space they needed to help each other or the teachers in bringing a case of INTEX to fruition. Furthermore, the data indicate that the joint-forces principle functions complementarily to the let-it-pass principle previously established for ELF interaction in that the latter is applied when explananda are phrased indirectly and/or the joint-forces principle is not acted upon (7.4.3).

With the principle of joint forces thus established, it is important to keep in mind that its description rests on a very specific data set, for which, as far as can be ascertained, comparable data collections or longitudinal studies are not yet available. Without the possibilities of undertaking comparative research, the wider implications for this finding can only be speculated upon at this stage. On the one hand, there is the question whether this principle is inherent in all (classroom) interaction or, as presupposed here, typical of ELF classrooms. Similarly to the other principles established for ELF interactions, i.e. 'let it pass' and 'make it normal', the answer is most likely not a binary, but rather a gradual one. After all, when considered at a more abstract level, communication in general relies on all three principles. 'Joint forces' can be taken to describe that people are willing to collaborate when communicating, which is what Paul Grice (1975) formulated as the cooperative principle thirty-five years ago. 'Let it pass' can be interpreted as describing the general tendency that interlocutors give each other time in clarifying their contributions without immediate interference whenever something seems unclear and, finally, 'make it normal' is close to the widespread characteristic of communication that interlocutors, as Howard Giles (e.g. Giles and Coupland 1991) put it in his Speech Accommodation Theory, converge in their language use. Therefore, on an abstract level, the three principles seem to apply to communication in general. On the concrete level of unfolding interaction, however, they have been singled out in ELF interactions, because I submit it is precisely in these interactional settings that they are observable in the turn-by-turn construction of talk. While the let-it-pass and make-it-normal principles have been reconfirmed in various studies of ELF in different settings, the joint-forces principle has been identified as such for the first time. Thus, further studies are needed to reconfirm it as central to ELF explanatory interactions in class, or perhaps even more widely to ELF classroom talk.

In conclusion, this chapter has demonstrated the viability of the construct of interactive explaining for the analysis of classroom discourse. Furthermore, the analysis has pointed out that INTEX was centrally relevant to the HMP and that by extension it might also be relevant to other ELF educational settings because it offers students and teachers the chance to bridge differences in the understanding of central concepts and ideas and to negotiate class-relevant knowledge (structures) in a collaborative and highly flexible way, which is particularly important in view of the linguistic heterogeneity found in communities of ELF practice.

Chapter 8. Synthesis

This applied linguistic study has investigated classroom interaction in English as a lingua franca (ELF), i.e. English as the only language shared by multilingual students and teachers. In line with the central research agenda of applied linguistics, the object of study is a “real world problem[] in which language is a central issue” (Brumfit 1997: 93) insofar as higher educational programmes in mainland Europe are changing over to English as medium of instruction, thus increasingly creating teaching and learning situations through an additional language. While the socio-political and pedagogical implications of this development have attracted some investigative attention (e.g. Airey 2009: 18–22; Dafouz Milne and Núñez Perucha 2009: 101–103; Fortanet Gómez and Räisänen 2008b; Wilkinson and Zegers 2007a), the ‘real problem’ of teachers and students engaging in classroom discourse in ELF has aroused comparatively little research interest (but cf. e.g. Björkman 2009; Mauranen 2006b; Motz 2005a). The situation looks even more dire if we bear in mind that a real classroom setting always entails long-term social practices and interactional processes, which, I submit, call for a corresponding research methodology. In view of the scarcity of such studies on ELF or international higher education, I have undertaken what is, to the best of my knowledge, the first ethnographically inspired longitudinal investigation of ELF as classroom language. As study site I chose the HMP, a group of 28 international students (and their teachers) enrolled in an English-medium Hotel Management Programme in Vienna, Austria.

While this chapter will offer a detailed discussion of the study and its multilayered discourse-pragmatic and ethnographic findings, it seems fitting at this point to preface such a synthesis by sketching the main findings, pertaining to the three levels of methodology, conceptualization and central findings.

Firstly, the research methodology (cf. 1.2, 1.3 and 3.2), innovative in applying ethnography and discourse pragmatics to investigate the HMP’s Classroom Community of Practice (CCoP), has been successful in capturing the changing and developing ELF practices in their social embeddedness and interactional dynamics. By giving full recognition to the intimacy of the classroom and the continuity of classroom talk within a specific community, such a methodology offers insights into the dynamics of classroom communication, which largely remain hidden from the more wide-spread cross-sectional studies of classroom as well as ELF discourse.

Secondly, this community-based, longitudinal methodology of a discourse-pragmatic ethnography has given rise to a detailed investigative frame (Figure 2.2 in chapter 2.4), including a new conceptualization of ELF as a social language

underlining the intricate interplay of the three dimensions COMMUNICATING, INDIVIDUAL REPERTOIRE and ESTABLISHED PRACTICE (Figure 2.1 in 2.3.1.5).

Thirdly, the study has resulted in novel and revealing findings. By virtue of the longitudinal and emic methodology, it has been possible for the first time to describe long-term interactional processes and patterns. Most centrally, problems of intelligibility could be identified as temporary and relative in discursive prominence to the status of familiarity between the ELF interactants. Furthermore, the analyses have provided ample evidence of two interactional principles characteristic of the CCofP – the principle of explicitness and the principle of joint forces – and how these principles guide ELF classroom discourse over time. In brief, the principle of explicitness captures the developing communicative convention in the Classroom Community of Practice to ‘say what you mean and mean what you say’ and the principle of joint forces refers to the increasingly enacted upon readiness of all participants to contribute to the exchange whatever is perceived as interactionally and transactionally necessary to make classroom talk work. In connection with these principles, the study suggests a layered conceptualization of expertise contingent on ELF as classroom language: expertise in the relevant discipline and subject matters – content expertise – has been shown to be only loosely linked to expertise in talking about the content – language expertise. In a nutshell, content expertise is taken up by individuals and shapes their social roles, while language expertise is largely experienced as a joint enterprise of all community members.

With the most important insights sketched, we shall now turn to an integrative discussion of the study and its findings in relation to the original research motivation, orientation and interests as well as the relevant theoretical and methodological considerations. This will be done in four steps, the first of which summarizes the study approach and perspective in general (8.1). Next in line are the classroom interactional findings as they pertain to the community of practice under investigation here – the HMP’s Classroom Community of Practice or CCofP (8.2). On the basis of this summative representation, the results, findings and insights will be explored in some detail with regard to the three overall research interests that have guided this study (cf. 1.4): interactional processes and patterns in ELF as classroom language (8.3), the impact of time on the dynamic developments in ELF talk in the Classroom Community of Practice (8.4), and the implications of using ELF in tertiary education (8.5).

8.1 On investigating the HMP

As postulated in the Introduction (chapter 1) and expanded on throughout the book, this discourse-pragmatic ethnography has yielded a qualitative, applied linguistic description of the classroom interactional practices of an educational community of practice, engaged in an English-medium, two-year post-secondary Hotel Management Programme (HMP). Since the HMP was set in Vienna and was designed for, and attended by students from many parts of the world, English functioned not only as classroom language, but also as the participants' only common language or their *lingua franca*. Although higher education in Europe has undergone a process of internationalization with an increasing number of educational programmes resorting to the use of English as the participants' *lingua franca*, this is the first in-depth and longitudinal study of ELF as classroom language.

As discussed in detail in chapter 2, this research undertaking has profited considerably from, on the one hand, the well established research literature on classroom discourse, in particular in multilingual settings (see 2.2), and, on the other hand, the recent, but burgeoning investigative efforts on the use of English as a *lingua franca* (see 2.3). The former describes classroom interactions as institutionalized oral practices (Hall 1993), revealing their own patterns and structures (2.2.1). Of the many multilingual educational settings extant at present, the specificities of the HMP facilitate elite multilingualism that is enabled by individually mobile students who act as sojourners, i.e. temporary residents, in the location of the educational programme of their choice. By definition the students have diverse biographies of English language learning and using, and form a multilingual community whose communicational practices depend on English as the only shared language. When combining this complex linguistic situation with the generally acknowledged centrality of classroom discourse for the teaching and learning processes, I have argued that such educational programmes can be expected to undergo some form of integrated content and language learning (ICL) (2.2.2), even if the classroom language is acknowledged and functions as the respective community's *lingua franca*. In view of the partly opaque and/or diverse interpretations of English as a *lingua franca* found in the recent literature, chapter 2.3.1 has taken pains to demarcate this concept as used in the present investigation. As synthesized in chapter 2.3.1.6, ELF is understood here as “refer[ring] to the use of English amongst multilingual interlocutors whose common language is English and who [usually] communicate in a country or area in which English is not used in daily life” (Smit 2005: 67). More precisely, the use of English is seen as relying centrally on the social practice of COMMUNICATING in a fully situated way (cf. Figure 2.1 in 2.3.1.5), realized for and

by the respective multilingual community members, whose diverse (English) language learning and using biographies will come to bear on the ELF interactions, as will the language-scape of the respective setting. In combining the two research areas, multilingual classroom discourse and English as a lingua franca, the present study suggests a conceptual frame of investigating ELF as classroom language (chapter 2.4) that consists of the five complex and interrelated components *multilingual sojourners*, *oral ELF practice*, *institutionalized purposes*, *classroom ELF talk* and *motivation and orientation* (visualized as a 5-point star in Figure 8.1).

The novelty of the research endeavour into ELF as classroom language is also reflected in the research methodology and study design adopted here (see chapter 3). Based on the understanding of the HMP as a community of practice (see chapter 1.3), the investigation fits well into applied linguistic research in that it approaches its object of investigation in a qualitative way (e.g. Davies 2007: 29–41; Seidlhofer, Breiteneder and Pitzl 2006: 21). This has materialized in an ethnographically inspired research perspective, which, as suggested by Rampton et al. (2002: 382), is “synthesized” with detailed discourse-pragmatic analyses of classroom talk. As explicated in chapter 1.2, discourse pragmatics is understood as “integrating insights from pragmatics, discourse analysis and socio-cultural research” (Nikula 2005: 29) in an endeavour to analyse specific language functions and features in their sociocultural and contextual embeddedness. In other words, the present study is applied linguistic in that it focuses on a language issue in the real world – interactions in ELF as classroom language – and qualitative because it is based on an insider or emic perspective nurtured by the community members’ opinions, evaluations and ideas. This implies further that the study is clearly contextualized, naturalistic, long-term and longitudinal and, just like all qualitative research, aims at methodological and analytical *credibility*, *dependable* findings and insights with high *transferability* to comparable educational settings (cf. 3.2). Reflecting this comprehensive approach, the findings and insights are based on diverse kinds of data, the most important of which are 33 audio-taped and transcribed lessons, 49 semi-structured interviews with teachers and students and two student questionnaires, covering all four semesters of the HMP. In view of this strong qualitative element, the study not only features a detailed discussion of the research methodology (3.2) and study design including the pilot phase (3.3), but also a complete chapter dedicated to an ethnographic account of the study site (chapter 4) with special emphasis on the HMP’s Classroom Community of Practice (CCoP). This account allows for a detailed emic description of the specificities and complex dynamics of the CCoP during its four semesters. Additionally, it helps to identify three crucial communicative functions, i.e. co-constructing understanding, co-directing talk and players,

and co-explaining knowledge, which are analysed discourse-pragmatically in chapters 5, 6 and 7 (for a summary of the findings see 8.2).

The underlying structure of this study, and the internal connections between its chapters and subchapters, are visualized in Figure 8.1 (based on Figure 1.1 in chapter 1). The study focuses on the interactional practices of the CCofP (grey cylinder), embedded in the HMP (triangular prism and rounded rectangular label). The actual qualitative, applied linguistic (AL) study (dotted 5-point star, cf. Figure 2.2 in chapter 2.4) is informed by literature-based discussions of community of practice, multilingual classroom talk and ELF (oval labels) and consists of the ethnographic account and discourse-pragmatic analyses (rectangular labels).

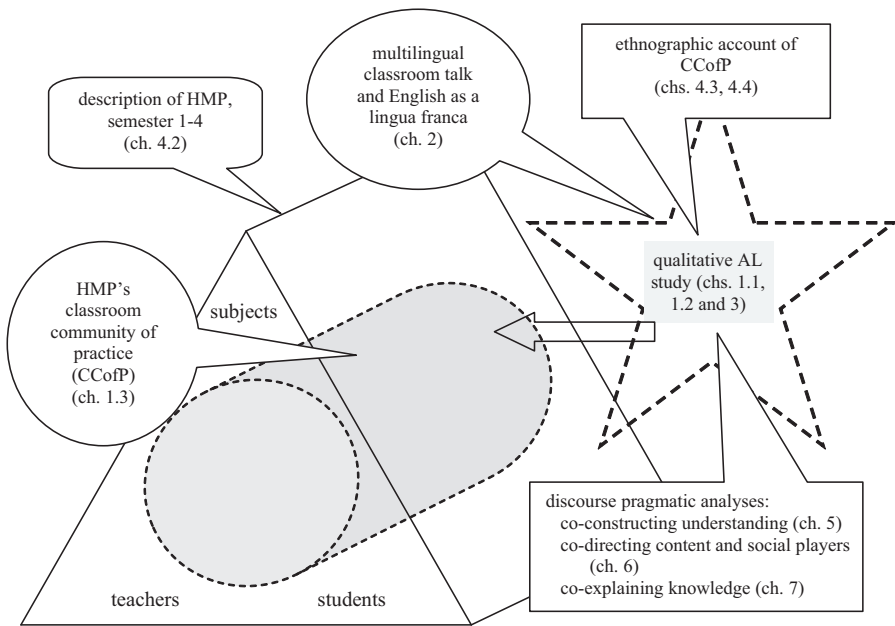


Figure 8.1. Research setting and analytical steps

In view of the investigative focus on what Rampton (2006: 15) so fittingly calls “the lived texture of situated experience”, the following section turns to the HMP’s Classroom Community of Practice, combining and synthesizing the main emic and interactional findings.

8.2 On the HMP's Classroom Community of Practice (CCoP)

As mentioned above (and discussed in chapter 1.3), the aggregate of people investigated here has been conceptualized as a community of practice; a consideration partly inspired by the rich literature on ELF, which convincingly argues that communicating in the lingua franca amounts to the respective community's central practice (e.g. House 2003a). More importantly, the ethnographic account (chapter 4.4) has shown that this conceptual appropriateness extends beyond the researcher's viewpoint. In describing and evaluating their shared undertakings, the students and teachers themselves used the very conceptual dimensions identified as defining communities of practice (e.g. Corder and Meyerhoff 2007; Wenger 1998):

- a 'joint negotiated enterprise' in co-constructing objects of learning (Marton, Runesson and Tsui 2004) during the whole course of studies,
- 'mutual engagement' inside and outside the classroom, with classroom talk being considered particularly important in the joint negotiation process, and
- a 'shared repertoire', first and foremost based on English as the only common language, but continuously developing over time.

The common and developing ground was further put into relief by what could be described as negative evidence: the potentially divisive interactional practice of resorting to first and second languages other than English. As commented on by many participants in partly emotionally laden ways during the initial phases of the HMP, languages other than English and, in particular, German as language of the environment, were not only used regularly by those competent in them, but also partly experienced as exclusive by the others. Since, however, these interactional practices did not play a central role in classroom interaction itself, they were decreasingly perceived as relevant to the CCoP. This implies, firstly, that the time factor played a crucial role in the dynamic processes of CCoP developments and, secondly, that the community members themselves placed decisive emphasis on their shared repertoire with which they engaged in the joint, negotiated enterprise of teaching and learning the varied subjects of their Hotel Management Programme. In other words, the CCoP has emerged as intrinsically intertwined with classroom interaction and, thus, ELF as classroom language (see also 8.3 and 8.4).

Apart from establishing the CCoP as an emic reality, the participants' descriptions and evaluations have helped to identify, as crucial ingredients of their classroom talk, co-constructing understanding (cf. 5.5), co-directing talk and people (cf. 6.5) and co-explaining knowledge (cf. 7.5), each of which has been dealt with in a detailed discourse-pragmatic analysis. The following summaries

will sketch the central findings as the basis of argument for the ensuing discussions.

8.2.1 Co-constructing understanding

Like all studies on communicational (mis)understanding (e.g. Bremer et al. 1996; Tzanne 1999; Stati 2004), the present one had to deal with the potential trap of trying to uncover the undiscoverable in the shape of latent non- or misunderstandings (Dannerer 2004; Linell 1995). What is interactionally invisible can hardly be unearthed by interactional analysis. It can thus be assumed that at least some latent non/miscommunication remains unresolved, especially in the institutionalized oral practice in question. More specific insights could be gained by means of the ethnographic account since students and teachers commented quite freely on their (lack of) success in understanding others and making themselves understood, revealing also longitudinal developments. While the evaluations of the level of understanding achieved were generally positive, some students reported on intelligibility and comprehensibility problems they had either observed or encountered themselves. Interestingly, these reports decreased as the HMP progressed.

These self-reports are also revealing in terms of the discourse-pragmatic analysis of the interactionally salient co-constructions of understanding or, in the conversation analytical terminology chosen in this analysis, of the interactional repair of communicational trouble. The database of nine complete lessons spread over the emically established three crucial phases, viz. T1 (introductory two weeks), T2 (second half of semester 1) and T3 (semester 3), revealed the overall high frequency with which repair was applied and how its use changed with time. In combination with detailed qualitative analyses, insights could be gained into what was repaired, i.e. the repairables, on the speakers' roles in repairing sequences and the textualizations employed. Furthermore, the time-factor was important in tracing dynamic developments. In brief, the CCoP members practically ignored aspects of linguistic form in their repair work. Instead, they focused on repairables that threatened the meaning-making process, be they linguistic, interactional or factual in nature. The three most prominent types of repairables, i.e. mishearings, lexis and instructional facts, revealed a time-dependent inverse pattern, with mishearings as the major cause of repair at T1, but the least relevant one at T3, and the other two steadily increasing in relevance. Intelligibility problems thus lost their initial relevance with increasing familiarity amongst the members; a finding which not only corresponds to the community members' self-reports but also points to their interpretation of non-understanding as mainly revealing difficulties in intelligibility.

As regards the patterns of interactions in repair exchanges, the analysis has shown that the preferred repair trajectories, i.e. turn-by-turn repairing sequences, were repairs initiated or performed by OTHER, but not by SELF, i.e. the interlocutor who had uttered the repairable. While other(-initiated) repair is a typically pedagogical strategy of teachers helping learners along, the present study suggests a different, intrinsically interactional function that allows the interactants to make communication work. As can be expected from the dynamics in the CCofP, the patterns of interaction changed with time. While teachers initiated or performed most repairs at T1, students became more active at T2 and, by T3 at the latest, played the more active role in repairing.

Concerning the third analytical parameter, the verbalizations of repair, the analysis has shown that, overall, most repairs were formulated directly and carried out without modification. Arguably, this hints at a loose relationship, if any, between face-threat and direct repairing, which in turn underlines the conventions of appropriate communicational behaviour as situationally shaped and potentially different from comparable oral practices in non-lingua franca settings (e.g. Dalton-Puffer 2007; McHoul 1990; van Lier 1988).

8.2.2 Co-directing talk and social players

Based on a data set of nine lessons spread over subjects, teachers and the three points in time, this analysis deals with one of the best established research areas in classroom interaction – questions and control acts, i.e. directives aimed at verbal and non-verbal responses (Halliday 2004; Trosborg 1994; Vine 2004). Similarly to the situation in most other formal educational settings, “attempts to get someone to do something” (see Figure 6.1 in 6.2.1) turned out to be the bread and butter of CCofP interaction and, as the ‘doing something’ can be verbal or non-verbal, a combined object of study including questions and control acts has been suggested. This combination proved to be a rewarding one as it offers interactional evidence of, on the one hand, textualizations of different types of directives and, on the other, the clear functional split between questions and control acts.

In their role as classroom managers teachers used control acts directing students through the lesson stages, while all together employed questions in co-directing the respective content. This functional split already hints at one of the findings on patterns of participation. With less than a handful of student-initiated directives for non-verbal acts, control acts are obviously intertwined with the teacher’s role. The controlling considered necessary in the HMP largely focuses on classroom managerial issues and, reflecting the age and kind of learners involved, only a few disciplinary actions. Questions, on the other hand, are

asked by both groups of participants, albeit in a proportion favouring teachers by three to one. Relevant influencing factors on who asks what types of question are the teaching style, the object of the question and the developmental stage of the CCoP (i.e. T1, T2 or T3).

Generally speaking, the later in the HMP, the more actively students pose questions. This tendency becomes more revealing when taking into consideration the types of question regarding register (regulative and instructional), status of knowledge (known or unknown to the questioner) and object of question (e.g. facts, reasons, opinions). While at T1 teachers mostly raise display questions asking for facts, the percentage of referential questions increases after the introductory phase. Apart from students only raising referential questions, what is noteworthy about them is that they shift from predominantly factual questions in the first semester to more questions for reasons and explanations a year later. In combination with the detailed qualitative analysis, the question and response sequences reveal that, at the beginning of the course, it is exclusively the teachers who direct the development of the content as well as the lessons. Two months later, however, individual students raise unprompted questions for facts, thus becoming at least momentarily involved in content development. A year later, this active participatory role in co-directing objects of learning is strengthened considerably in that students ask not only questions for facts, but also for reasons and explanations. In this context, questions for translations should also be mentioned. Although they appear only occasionally, they are revealing of the collaborative nature of CCoP discourse, especially when it comes to language issues that need resolution.

An additional stimulus for active student participation in co-directing talk and thus co-constructing knowledge materialized in the form of scenario-based questions, which invite students to voice their opinions. Their employment is, however, not linked to the developmental processes in the CCoP, but rather depends on teaching style. While the latter is not the main focus of this study, the data reveal that the one teacher who was self-reportedly interested in integrating student ideas and views was also the one whose class features such questions and, in response to them, already triggered extended student contributions in the first semester (at T2).

When turning to the linguistic realizations used for the directives, the results are reminiscent of the preceding analysis: despite obvious differences amongst textualizations of more than 700 directives, they can all be characterized by a high degree of directness with little modification. This is not only true of the questions, where direct formulations (as interrogatives) are to be expected in an educational setting, but also as regards the control acts, which is an unusually clear finding, considering the diversity of (in)directness found in educational

commanding elsewhere (e.g. Iedema 1996; Falsgraf and Majors 1995; Nikula 2002; see 6.2.2). In contrast to Dalton-Puffer's (2005) comparable study which identified control acts as (conventionally) indirect, the preferred construction for control acts in the HMP is the imperative, followed by conventionalized interrogatives (e.g. *can you ... ?*). This pattern furthermore gains in strength towards the third semester. Modification is restricted to a small lexical range, most prominently *please*. Questions come as interrogatives or declaratives with rising intonation. The few indirect formulations are either communicatively unsuccessful or functionally restricted, as is the case with a handful of negated instructional questions which students raised to express their objection or disbelief.

8.2.3 Co-explaining knowledge

While explaining has been recognized as an educational discourse function (e.g. Kidd 1996; Kiel 1999), the research focus chosen here, i.e. interactive explaining or INTEX, is a novel concept. It has been identified as a viable concept in a methodological as well as analytical way. Methodologically, the operationalized definition suggested for INTEX (see Figure 7.2 in 7.2.2) allowed for a comparatively transparent identification of potential instances, which is particularly relevant when dealing with a discourse function so integral to the oral practice in question that it might seem hard to find exchanges not featuring it. Analytically, the concept has shown its worth as it offers a conceptual window on the exchanges of interactive knowledge negotiation, which are so central to integrating new concepts into already known ones, i.e. the learning process itself.

By definition, interactive explaining or INTEX consists of an explanandum and explanantia or the explanation proper, which is also the strongly preferred sequence found in the database of twelve lessons evenly spread over the three time periods (T1, T2 and T3), subjects and teachers. While explananda are rarely specified as such explicitly (e.g. by using *explain/explanation*), the HMP teachers and students show a clear preference for direct textualizations by stating the topic subject and marking the request for explanation as an interrogative either syntactically or prosodically. In line with the preceding analyses, indirectly formulated explananda tend to be communicatively unsuccessful and frequently lead to miscommunication. The fact that such instances are rare can be attributed in part to the teachers who largely enact their role as classroom managers and verbalize topic development. The explanations vary in length and degree of interactivity, but as regards logical relations they mainly rely on elaborations (exposition, exemplification, clarification) and taxonomic relations (glossing, translating). The way in which these logical relations are textualized depends

on a number of factors, the most prominent of which is language proficiency. Less proficient speakers produce syntactically simpler explanantia, relying more on ellipses and deixis, which has turned out to be an, interactionally speaking, constructive strategy as it invites and requires more interactivity, permitting the interlocutors to interfere immediately when they consider further or different explanations relevant to the meaning-making process.

Looked at from a different angle, teachers' language proficiency correlates with the frequency of INTEX in an inverse relationship: the less proficient the teacher, the more interactional space is given to the students to participate in interactive explaining. The other two factors that the analysis singled out as beneficial for students gaining interactional space are less novel. These are teaching style and the time-dependent dynamics of the CCoP. The influence of the former again became apparent in comparing the majority of teachers with the Human Resources Management teacher. By relying in general on students' ideas and opinions as central element of classroom discourse, OPP offers more interactional space to the students, which is also visible in their INTEX activities. The chronological development witnessed in the two preceding analyses is the third beneficial factor as regards student involvement in INTEX. While the quantitative analysis does not provide any statistically significant differences in frequencies, the qualitative analyses underline more complex changes in the INTEX exchange structures and the extent to which they reflect different kinds and degrees of student participation at the three critical periods. As can be expected from the educational setting (e.g. Edwards and Westgate 1994; Lemke 1990; Nassaji and Wells 2000; van Lier 2001; Walsh 2006; Wegerif and Mercer 1999), triadic dialogue (TD) of teacher-student-teacher sequences is wide-spread, amounting to about half of all instances of INTEX, thus apparently confirming the abundant literature on the I:R:F (initiation – response – feedback) sequence (see 7.2.3). When looked at chronologically, however, a process is observable that reveals a dynamic development drawing on more complex structures. Already at T2, INTEX exchange structures become complexified in that they increasingly move from the I:R:F structure to a triadic frame filled by dyadic exchanges (cf. Boulima 1999; Nikula 2007). By the third semester, the triadic structure has lost ground to dyadic or mixed exchange patterns, revealing that student contributions are increasingly relevant in co-constructing explanations.

What has not been touched upon so far in this brief summary are the topics interactionally identified as in need of explanation. Here, the analysis showed that regulative INTEX is rare, but interesting in terms of participation structure as these are the only instances which were constructed in non-TD patterns right from the start. Instructional INTEX, on the other hand, is widespread, focusing mainly on entities + dispositions and lexical items. As the latter group is central

for the conceptual integration of new or unknown lexical items into already familiar structures, it is this one that a large part of the analysis focused on. In this context, the most striking finding was that terms and expressions receive different explanatory treatment depending on the status of the respective term as regards the subject in question, resulting in a distinction between INTEX on subject-specific vs. general lexical items. Basically, this distinction is contingent on the locus of expertise. As regards all subject-specific lexis, expertise lies with the teacher, who is thus in charge of explaining or sanctioning explanations. This contrasts sharply with INTEX on general terms, which lacks any pre-established guardian of correct language use and involves all participants in finding an appropriate explanation, which they do by applying what has been suggested as the principle of joint forces.

Finally, translation appears in INTEX only after the introductory phase and, as with the findings on directives, of all the many languages available only German is featured. It was argued, therefore, that German is increasingly used as a linguistic fall-back option in the case of lexical gaps in CCofP discourse and, to some extent, it enriches that community's language code.

Based on these findings of how the HMP teachers and students co-construct understanding, co-direct content and social players and co-explain knowledge in their temporary and developing Classroom Community of Practice, the following three sections will turn to the original research interests of this study and, in the hope that these findings might be transferable to similar oral practices elsewhere, present first the findings as they pertain to classroom interaction in ELF (8.3), then as they indicate longitudinal developments typical of the Classroom Community of Practice (8.4) and, finally, interpret these findings more generally in terms of tertiary education in English as a lingua franca (8.5).

8.3 On classroom interaction in ELF

This section is concerned with the first of the three research interests specified in the Introduction (cf. 1.4):

- i) *What does the use of ELF as classroom language mean for classroom talk, class participation and culture?*

In other words, the focus here is on the description and interpretation of the interactional and emic findings in terms of the specificities of the HMP classroom discourse. This will be carried out on the basis of all four analysis chapters (chapters 4–7). Before synthesizing the different, but complementary results and insights, however, let me clarify one important conceptual point: neither the

research question nor the analyses have attempted to deal with the relationship between ELF as classroom language and HMP classroom discourse in terms of correlation or potential causation: mainly because both relationships presuppose a theoretical conceptualization of factors and variables which is foreign to a social constructivist and primarily qualitative research methodology. Therefore, instead of attempting to present the reader with neatly proven correlations (or even causations) of what is ELF about the interactional findings, the following explorations will strive for a careful reconstruction of the interactional specificities interwoven with and substantiated by the community members' emic views, opinions and ideas. The resulting account is intended to offer a credible and dependable (Davis 1995) description of the HMP classroom discourse, seen holistically; the internal time-dependent developments will be focused on in the following section.

The etically established function of the classroom language as the participants' lingua franca finds confirmation in the students' and teachers' emic views. Despite different personal perspectives on teaching or studying in such an international hotel management educational programme, a broad consensus emerged on the role and function of English as (a) the only shared language in the multilingual group, (b) the medium through which students became exposed to and familiar with central areas of hotel management and (c) the main language of the international hospitality profession in general. The participants also expressed clear views on the necessity of making communication work out for the community and on their shared will to overcome communicative hurdles and difficulties. The discourse-pragmatic analyses have provided interactional evidence of the concerted efforts taken in this regard. This evidence will be dealt with in the three steps indicated in research interest (i), i.e. according to classroom talk, classroom participation and culture.

The three discourse-pragmatic aspects analysed in detail have been shown to be central to classroom talk as all of them deal with 'sorting out' information perceived as unsatisfactory by some participant(s), be it at the level of intelligibility and comprehensibility (chapter 5), concerning classroom management or the construction of objects of learning (chapter 6) or with regard to explaining topics and thereby constructing knowledge (chapter 7). This concern with facts, content and knowledge are in themselves certainly typical of transactionally motivated, formal tertiary education in general; in order to discover what might be specific to the HMP about them, it is necessary to delve deeper into how these interactional concerns have been verbalized. The repair work undertaken in co-constructing understanding has been identified as a prominent interactional need in the process of aligning speaker intention and listener interpretation, which also explains why formal aspects of language, such as grammar or pro-

nunciation, received attention only when relevant to the meaning negotiation process. Additionally, the pedagogical function of other-initiated repair, reportedly widespread in educational settings, is absent from the HMP data, arguably because of the overarching relevance of the addressees, or OTHER, in indicating when a topic is in need of interactional specification or clarification. Finally, the analysis yielded one more important finding, namely that direct formulations of the repair or its initiation are the clearly preferred option, quantitatively as well as qualitatively. This shows that directly and explicitly formulated contributions to repair come bare of any potential face-threat in the HMP; a finding which is interesting not only in comparison to other repair studies, but also – and even more so as regards the present section – since it has found substantial confirmation in the other two interactional analyses.

Of the many results that the detailed investigation yielded on how HMP teachers and students use directives, i.e. questions and control acts, arguably the most striking one is that explicitness turned out to be integral to the vast majority of instances. While individuals revealed personal preferences for, for instance, specific pre- and post-modifiers or downtoners, the many instances of directives analysed substantiated the argument that the default form of an HMP question is the interrogative and that of a control act the imperative. The latter finding is surprising in that it has previously not been reported, but it provides further evidence of the claim that the default option for HMP talk is for speakers' intentions to be reflected in their propositions, i.e. that they interact explicitly (e.g. Vine 2004: 67–70). This claim finds further substantiation in the way indirectly formulated questions either led to confusion or carried the different, but generally shared pragmatic meaning of raising objections to previous contributions. Further supporting evidence of the interactional centrality of explicitness/directness comes from the third analysis into interactive explaining, which also yielded a clear preference for unmodified, directly formulated contributions. Even if these were rarely explicit in the sense of using the lexemes *explain/explanation*, they drew heavily on direct formulations. Similar to expressing directives, the few instances of indirectly formulated explananda and explanations resulted in vagueness or confusion.

As all three interactional analyses provide evidence of the relevance of direct formulations, it thus seems justified to postulate a principle of explicitness as guiding HMP classroom talk, which, as suggested in 6.5, stands for 'saying what you mean and meaning what you say'. Such a straight-forward description makes sense, I submit, for the underlying principle in view of the oral practice at stake and its specificities. There is, firstly, the negative evidence of the conversationally unsuccessful, indirectly formulated instances, which show that 'not directly saying what you mean' is likely to miss the point. Secondly,

there is the transcultural setting with the relatively limited shared background which the participants are dealing with and are fully aware of. As experience has shown, being explicit in such settings appeals to what is shared between the participants, namely the language in its situatedness (cf. COMMUNICATING in Figure 2.1, chapter 2.3.1.5). This also finds support in the fact that indirectly formulated directives (e.g. strong hints for control acts) are clearly understood only when dealing with generally well established educational activities, such as classroom management or student discipline. Thirdly, there are the transactionally motivated purposes of teaching and learning that all participants have subscribed to whole-heartedly. When considering these factors jointly, it becomes obvious why interactional and illocutionary explicitness is so crucial in the joint endeavour to make classroom talk communicatively successful. How the principle of explicitness is verbalized depends on the respective speech act or function. The strategies recorded here include statements with, if applicable, directly phrased negation for other-repair, imperatives for control acts, interrogatives for questions, repair initiations and identification of explananda. All of these have emerged as preferred strategies for all HMP members, irrespective of their linguacultural background, their hospitality-linked backgrounds or their biographies in English language learning and use; it thus seems justified to postulate the principle of explicitness as contingent on ELF classroom talk.

As far as classroom participation is concerned, the emic and interactional data support the etic identification of the HMP theory lessons as overwhelmingly traditional (Cazden 2001; chapter 2.2.1.1). This means that the generally accepted prototypical roles of teacher and student meet with general acceptance and are largely activated in class, such as the fact that teachers have and take the almost exclusive right to formulate display questions and control acts. At the same time, class participation undergoes changes over time, but this will be dealt with in detail in the following section. Given the frame of traditional educational oral practice and the teachers as turn-allocators and main contributors to classroom talk, it is interesting to note that the analyses provide substantial evidence of the active role of the addressee, listener or OTHER, be they teacher or student. Firstly, it is mainly the OTHER who identifies a contribution as in need of repair; secondly, it is the listener whose (minimal) feedback plays a crucial role in monitoring the level of understanding reached in directive-answer sequences as well as in instances of interactive explaining.

The third finding that underlines the interactionally relevant role of the OTHER materialized mainly in the analysis of INTEX, but can also be traced in the other two interactional analyses: a generally acted upon readiness to collaborate in instances of clarifying, specifying or, most noticeably, explaining, with teachers and students bringing to the respective exchange whatever seems interactionally

necessary, irrespective of participant roles that are otherwise adhered to (chapter 7.5). As this readiness is also reflected in similar comments in the other analysis chapters (e.g. in 6.5), it can justifiably be identified as principled interactive behaviour contingent on the principle of joint forces. In combination with the already established principles for ELF discourse, it should be stressed that the joint-forces principle is seen as complementary to the let-it-pass principle in that it applies when the latter is not acted upon, and vice versa (for a detailed discussion see 7.5).

The principle of joint forces, stating that ‘whoever can, should bring to the exchange whatever is interactionally necessary’, holds an important implication for the HMP classroom discourse: its overarching interactive aim is to reach a fully situated understanding that is locally appropriate to the respective community of practice; more far-reaching understanding, such as might be relevant in wider discourse communities not defined by location, plays a minor communicative role, or none at all. This communicative goal becomes apparent in numerous extracts, especially in those discussed in chapter 7: when dealing with lexical items, the explanantia sought for were considered satisfactory when they led to a fully situated explanation of the respective explanandum within its specific context. Considerations of appropriateness outside this specific situation were rarely verbalized. This finding mirrors and supports the conceptualization suggested for ELF in this study (see 2.3.1.5, 2.3.1.6). Inspired by James’s (2005, 2006) explications of social language, oral ELF practices are understood here as relying centrally on the here and now of the dimension of COMMUNICATING, which stands in complex relations with two further dimensions: INDIVIDUAL REPERTOIRE and ESTABLISHED PRACTICE.

The factor ESTABLISHED PRACTICE adds to the here-and-now of COMMUNICATING the potential relevance of discipline-specific language conventions, norms and genres, integral to the relevant discourse community, i.e. the expert community of the discipline that informs the HMP subject in question.⁹⁴ The ethnographic and interactional data collected in this study have repeatedly pointed to the relevance of this dimension and also to the intricate ways in which it interacts with COMMUNICATING. In commenting on the ease with which they could follow classroom talk, most of the students mentioned the relevance of subject-specific vocabulary and concepts internalized beforehand, which is also mirrored in the interactional analyses. A good part of all instances of directives were formulated precisely to deal discursively with subject-specific linguistic

94. Following Widdowson (e.g. 1990: 8–9), areas of expertise and specialization are referred to as disciplines. Subjects, on the other hand, offer education or training and thus introduce learners to certain disciplines.

or conceptual issues. The analysis of interactive explaining has led to similar results. A case in point is the different participatory roles taken on by teachers and students as regards subject-specific vs. non-specific or general terms. As expounded on in detail in chapter 7.5, the crucial feature is the locus of expertise. As regards the subject-matter, expertise is generally identified with the teacher, who, therefore, has the last and decisive word on what kind of information is to be considered correct; an expertise that extends to subject-specific terms and expressions whose terminological and conceptual appropriateness is subject to the teacher's evaluation. This stands in contrast with the COMMUNICATING dimension, reflected in the joint-forces principle, which vests interactional expertise in the whole community. In other words, the two types of expertise argued for in chapter 7.5 are the classroom discourse realizations of the interplay of the two dimensions COMMUNICATING and ESTABLISHED PRACTICE and illustrate how the overlap between ELF and ESP (English for specific purposes) is realized in actual classroom talk.

The third dimension, INDIVIDUAL REPERTOIRE, refers to the speech communities and linguacultures the teachers and students bring with them and leads the discussion on to the third and final step in describing the HMP classroom discourse, i.e. its cultural specificities. As argued in detail in 2.3.1.3, culture is taken here in its "subjective sense [as] psychological in nature, involving values, beliefs, and expectations" (Meier 2003: 187) and combines products that participants bring with them as well as processes they undergo. The process perspective will be at the forefront in the next section, while the following considerations concentrate on culture as product as it pertains to the HMP.

The one type of culture that all participants shared from the outset is that of formal education. This degree of familiarity, absent as regards all other kinds of culture (e.g. national, professional), was reflected in classroom talk most strikingly in relation to regulative interactions, i.e. the exchanges concerned with classroom management (2.2.1). As all participants were well experienced in educational oral practices, the HMP started off on common cultural ground in this respect. Additionally, teachers and students reported on, and also displayed in class, equal interest in sorting out classroom managerial points. A symmetrical relationship was reflected in the students' readiness to contribute to regulative interactions independently throughout the HMP (cf. 5.4.3, 6.4.3, 7.4.2). At the same time, different educational systems come with different cultures, aspects of which have been highlighted in the ethnographic account. For instance, some (mainly non-European) students were surprised at the ways others addressed the teachers and/or engaged in side talk. Teachers, on the other hand, partly attributed certain student behaviour, such as active participation in class, to differing educational cultures and followed a policy of self selection to the

communicational floor in that they invited student contributions without forcing individuals to deliver.

While the educational cultures are obviously not the only ones to be considered, they illustrate the cultural mix of the HMP quite well in that they contain diverse, partly overlapping ‘products’, but, at the same time, have a clear central European slant. As influenced by the kind of word-of-mouth recruitment policy applied by the HMP administrators (cf. 4.2.2), the dominant educational culture revealed an Austrian or central European bias, as was apparent, for instance, in the system of assessment. A similar influence can be observed as regards the linguacultures present in the HMP. As the ethnographic account has shown, amongst teachers as well as students the Austrian/central European section was the strongest, which, supported by the language-scape (2.3.1.3) of the HMP, materialized also in an overwhelming dominance of the Austrian linguaculture. This became apparent not only in the detailed comments students and teachers made on the ‘Austrian group’, but also in the anger expressed by some non-German speakers when faced by colleagues sometimes using German even in group work (see 4.3.1). In classroom interaction, the dominance of German became visible in the occasional use of German in main talk, but as these instances of code-switching represent a time-dependent development, they will be discussed in more detail below.

In general terms, this study has shown that English as an etically established and emically constructed lingua franca as classroom language is embedded in a community fittingly characterized by a transculturality that integrates diverse linguacultures, a locally rooted educational culture and aspirations to (a) professional culture(s). Furthermore, ELF in the classroom has been described as displaying the principles of explicitness and of joint forces. While not exclusive to ELF communication, these principles arguably play a decisive role in making successful classroom main talk possible in such an ELF educational setting. The data suggest that the principles facilitate the discursive process of constructing shared understanding, firstly, by favouring illocutionary and interactionally transparent contributions and, secondly, by supporting interactional actions from those interactants who either spot and/or clarify potential communicational difficulties.

8.4 On a developing Classroom Community of Practice

The preceding section has interpreted the ethnographic and interactional results of the HMP classroom discourse in respect of its specificities, arguably influenced by the fact that the classroom language was the participants’ lingua

franca. We will continue this discussion by enriching it through the longitudinal perspective chosen in this investigation and thus put into relief the dynamic developments that the Classroom Community of Practice (CCoP) experienced for the duration of its existence. In other words, this section will present the findings as they pertain to the second research interest given in the Introduction (1.4):

ii) What impact does time have on using ELF as classroom language? What dynamic developments are observable in the HMP classroom discourse?

Again, the discussion of the findings will focus on the HMP regarding the three aspects classroom talk, class participation and HMP culture with the intention of offering insights potentially transferable to other situations.

To begin with, the four analysis chapters have provided ample evidence of classroom talk having changed and developed substantially during the four semesters of the HMP. One aspect was so obvious to the participants themselves that they commented on it: the highly welcome improvements experienced in learning to understand each other (cf. Quotes 4.50 and 4.57). In view of the complexity involved in the phenomenon ‘understanding’, it is interesting to find the widely acknowledged relevance of intelligibility (chapters 5.1 and 5.2), also in ELF situations (Jenkins 2000), reconfirmed in the present study. Mishearings, i.e. acoustically based non-understandings, turned out to be a major cause of repair exchanges, but, and this is the new and revealing insight, mishearings were particularly rife during the first two weeks of the HMP. After a few days the students and teachers already encountered significantly fewer problems of intelligibility, and these had dwindled to an almost negligible number a year later. In other words, intelligibility problems decreased markedly with increased familiarity. While this might reflect our everyday experience that unfamiliar accents are so much harder to understand than familiar ones, it is an important insight for ELF research in that it underlines the relevance of the degree of familiarity between interlocutors for discursal processes.⁹⁵ As regards classroom main talk, this study has shown that in the HMP acoustic repairables were momentarily dominant in the initial phase, but temporary in that they lost in relevance as the CCoP got under way. In more general terms, what might be typical of ELF exchanges at first encounters could turn out to be substantially different from those in mid-term or long-term relationships (cf. also Ehrenreich 2010).

While the increasing levels of intelligibility were obviously an interactional process close to the level of awareness, this was not the case with the principle

95. As such, this insight is not new, as for some time already social psychological research has pointed out fundamental differences in communication based on the dimension of familiarity (e.g. Giles and Robinson 1990).

of explicitness (cf. 8.3). Students did comment on the importance of expressing their intentions, but tended to associate this with using the respective terms and expressions which they were exposed to during the HMP. Interestingly, these were also the only linguistic aspects that were repeatedly identified as language learning (for more discussion on language learning see the next section). In addition, explicitness was commented on in the educational cultural sense referring to students expressing their ideas explicitly, which some students found inappropriate to their understanding of the classroom behaviour, at least during the introductory phase. Explicitness as an interactional principle underlying HMP classroom talk, however, remained below the level of awareness: neither teachers nor students referred to it in any of their contributions. But, as so often in interactional processes, a lack of awareness does not mean reduced relevance. On the contrary, all three analyses have pointed out that the teachers and students acted on this principle with increasing intensity:

- at T1, other-repair was undertaken without explicit negation, some teacher control acts were phrased conventionally indirectly and students shied away from initiating instructional INTEX;
- at T2, students initiated other-repair directly, control acts came as generally unmodified imperatives and students started to ask questions and identify explananda with the help of disarmers or apologies;
- at T3, students engaged in directly formulated other-repair, teachers and students raised unmodified questions and added directly phrased contributions to INTEX whenever more information was considered necessary.

Furthermore, the indirect use of student questions to express objections to teacher claims increased over time, thus suggesting, firstly, that indirect speech acts required some time to be recognized in their function and, secondly, that direct questions became linked more strongly with requests for explanations. In sum, these findings underline the increasing relevance of the principle of explicitness to HMP classroom discourse.

The increasing use of direct formulations concerns not only classroom talk, but also the changing patterns of class participation, with students and teachers contributing to talk in changing ways. The dynamics inherent in ‘who speaks when, what and how’ have been analysed in detail, especially as they concern the principle of joint forces. Before the discussion turns to the participatory patterns themselves, however, it is worth noting that the participants revealed awareness of that principle in that they commented on the importance of collaboration for constructing successful communication. More precisely, they stressed the heightened relevance they attributed to carrying out the interactions jointly, precisely because of the multilinguality and transculturality of the community

involved. With the caveat that the interviews and informal talks can only provide glimpses on individual opinions and their changes during the HMP, it is still reasonable to suggest that, with the progress of time, the effort invested in classroom talk was perceived as less strenuous. It thus seems that acting upon the principle of joint forces was experienced as having become easier, most probably reflecting the increasingly shared repertoire that the CCofP was building up.

What reportedly increased at the same time was the degree of awareness of the complex nature of expertise and its relevance in the HMP. Many students went into the programme with a rather monolithic understanding of expertise, including the specific subject area as well as the respective English language proficiency. After some weeks in the HMP, with its diversity of languages and English language proficiency levels, the ethnographic account has shown that the participants had learnt to regard expertise as a complex construct and to accept English language expertise as a relative notion, judging everybody's English as appropriate for what was needed (e.g. Quotes 4.40 and 4.41). The emic data thus point to a different handling of expertise, with subject matter expertise having been taken in rather absolute terms ('good in their fields') and language expertise in relative ones as pertaining to the communicative goal in question (cf. 2.2.2.2).

As mentioned above, the interactional analyses have offered a detailed picture of the changing patterns of classroom participation that serves as a basis for uncovering the workings of the principle of joint forces. While any brief summary must lead to a somewhat reduced representation (but see 5.4, 6.5, 7.5 for detailed descriptions), it seems fair to describe the general process in student contributions as having moved from students largely acting as respondents at T1, to asking more questions and offering more (unprompted) contributions to the teacher topics at T2, and additionally to introducing their own concerns at T3. Furthermore, the detailed analyses and interpretations of the developments as regards repair work, directives and interactive explaining have identified content expertise and language expertise as interrelated and dynamically influencing factors underlying these processes. In combining all three analyses, it is now possible to trace the participatory dynamics in the HMP more comprehensively. Clearly, content expertise and language expertise were both relevant in influencing classroom participation at all times and should also be interpreted as such, even if the following description treats them consecutively for the sake of clarity. A further explanatory note is necessary: despite the metaphorical language use, the following explanations are not intended to imply that either teachers or students decided consciously and knowingly on the participatory roles they would play. While teachers in their role as classroom managers decided on next speakers and, to a certain extent, turn length, and thus influenced the turn-by-turn

developments, it is not assumed that they took conscious decisions on overall patterns reflecting different types of expertise. Rather, the findings are seen as reflecting underlying forces, acting below the level of consciousness. Finally, it needs to be stressed that the following description of the interplay of content expertise and language expertise is not intended to imply that these were the only two influential factors; on the contrary, and as will also be pointed out in the discussion, pedagogically relevant factors, such as teaching approach or teaching style, must not be overlooked in any discussion of classroom discourse.

At the beginning of the HMP, classroom talk revealed that content expertise was firmly placed in the teachers' hands. It was they who structured topic development, offered all important information and occasionally invited student contributions. In this context it is important to specify content expertise as referring to expertise in instructional content only, i.e. the content to be taught, learnt and eventually assessed. This specification is very important, as exchanges on regulative content (i.e. classroom management) revealed different patterns of teachers and students engaging in relatively unchanging and symmetrical ways throughout the whole HMP (see 8.3). The latter finding is actually very helpful, not only because it marks the regulative register as different from the instructional one, but also as it underlines the relevance of locus of expertise to class participation: as the regulative register shows, HMP students acted as experts in this regard right from the outset, which can be explained by their long and successful histories as learners in formal education. Roughly two months later, the situation already looked different in that students revealed more and more independent interactional activities. While instructional content expertise (from now on again referred to as 'content expertise') was still vested mainly in the teachers as providers of almost all content, the students not only instigated more directive or explanatory exchanges, but on request also offered some input to the respective content; it thus seems fitting to describe the students as novices in their CCofP. How active these novices were in strengthening their position as fairly equal partners depended also on the teaching approach followed.⁹⁶ The year between T2 and T3 left noteworthy traces on class participation. While the teachers still acted as default content experts, the students had advanced to what could be referred to as peripheral members (Corder and Meyerhoff 2007; Lave and Wenger 1991). Their interactionally and content-wise much more independent activities reveal their different status, obviously influenced by the content

96. Note in this context the subject Human Resources Management, whose teacher invited more, and more substantial student contributions, reflecting her idiosyncratic understanding of information pertaining to objects of learning (cf. 6.4.4.4 and 7.4.4.2).

knowledge they had acquired during their first year of studies as well as the relevant professional experience they had gained during the summer internship.

The mainly chronological developments associated with content knowledge can be complemented by the more complex developments concerning language expertise, i.e. the expertise assumed in handling language issues in the classroom. As already argued in the preceding section, the joint enterprise of making communication work depended on various factors. Instead of the time factor so important to the students' input to content expertise, their share in language expertise depended largely on the interactional space they could and would take, which in turn was influenced by pedagogical approaches, but also by the teacher's (self-reported) English language proficiency. As argued in all three analysis chapters (see 5.4.3, 6.4.4.4, 7.4.4.2), the less proficient the teachers considered themselves to be, the more interactional space was available to, and taken by, the students.

While language expertise and content expertise have thus been shown to reflect time and other factors in differing degrees, they must not be considered as separate interactional forces. On the contrary, these two types of expertise inter-related in classroom talk, as visualized most pointedly in the discussion of interactive explaining of terms and expressions. In a nutshell, general lexical items apparently associated with language expertise were explained collaboratively as appropriate to the Classroom Community of Practice, while the explanations of subject-specific terms required the teacher's explicit acceptance, thus stressing the close link between content expertise and content-specific vocabulary.

So far, this process-oriented discussion has described the interactional developments of the CCofP and the changing strategies used to realize the principles of explicitness and joint forces as integral to ELF classroom talk. What still remains is to elucidate the developing 'HMP culture'. By definition, a community of practice undergoes cultural processes in that its members are mutually engaged in their joint enterprise (cf. 1.3). What these processes meant for the community members has been described as four chronological phases in chapter 4.3. As the final phase was evaluated differently by the participants and not included in the interactional analyses, I will focus on the first three phases in reconstructing the cultural processes of the CCofP:

- T1. During the introductory phase, the participants got to know each other and, across their linguacultural diversity, found common ground in their shared educational interests and aims as well as aspects of shared youth culture. Additionally, classroom talk was possible because of English as a common language, the wide-spread readiness to accept communicational problems and willingness to help each other in overcoming them.

- T2. The next phase amounted to developing the Classroom Community of Practice. In that period, the participants became familiar with what their joint enterprise would entail for the various subjects. They furthermore found their places in the community, and engaged increasingly in classroom talk, thus developing their shared repertoire, which is also reflected in the increasing realizations of the principles of explicitness and joint forces. Additionally, this stage was marked by emotionally laden experiences of (not) belonging to small linguacultural groups and, additionally, of having to deal with the multiplicity of languages not necessarily part of one's own repertoire. These languages were initially experienced as potentially at odds with English as the basis of the CCofP's shared repertoire; with time, however, the co-existence of both smaller and larger communities found wide-spread acceptance. The only language that caused disagreement was German. As the language of the environment, in which, furthermore, a majority of the HMP were proficient to a certain degree, it began to play a role that was experienced as too dominant by those not proficient in it. The increasing use of German seems to have been considered as potentially threatening the shared repertoire of the CCofP, which at that stage relied exclusively on English in classroom main talk.
- T3. The third phase captured the Classroom Community of Practice starting into its second year. After their internship, the students returned with a broader base of shared work experience and more proficiency in German: two factors which arguably played a role in weakening the smaller linguacultural communities to the benefit of the CCofP. Regarding the community's shared repertoire this phase can be characterized not only by the strong reliance on the two interactional principles (explicitness and joint forces), but also by the use of specific German terms and expressions that had been integrated into the CCofP code, thus revealing the language-scape of the setting. Additionally, the interactional analyses have put into relief the developing interactive practices. With students taking a more active role in the shared enterprise of knowledge construction, they enlarged their role in establishing joint language expertise by an admittedly small, but nonetheless increasing share in content expertise.

Overall, the longitudinal research methodology has unveiled the time-dependent developments and processes integral to forming such an educational community and how they were dynamically interrelated with classroom talk, participatory patterns and the community's culture. Furthermore, these findings highlight the specificities of using English as a lingua franca in one specific Classroom Community of Practice, which will be substantiated by relating the findings to the

definition of ELF adopted in this study (chapter 2.3.1.6). The facts that the interactional principles established here were acted upon throughout the HMP, and that linguistic expertise was experienced as residing with the CCofP, support the assumption that COMMUNICATING in the lingua franca in relation to the local, fully situated needs remained the central interactional goal for the CCofP from beginning to end. At the same time, the professional world ‘out there’ also played an important role. In other words, the respective discourse communities and their semi-situated ESTABLISHED PRACTICES impacted on classroom discourse as well, as has become apparent in the complex role of content expertise, including subject-specific vocabulary. The third dimension, finally, also made its mark. First, the INDIVIDUAL REPERTOIRES consisted of the participants’ pre-HMP biographies on language learning and using: in the course of the HMP the INDIVIDUAL REPERTOIRES developed through the shared discursive practices, as reflected in the integration of Austrian notions, but also in the variously interpreted realizations of having accommodated to each other.

In conclusion, the ethnographic and interactional analyses taken together have not only yielded a detailed description of what this specific ELF classroom discourse looked like and how it developed, but they have also pointed out the methodological relevance of a longitudinal point of view in throwing light on and describing the long-term effects of using ELF as classroom language.

8.5 On tertiary education in ELF

With the main findings on HMP classroom discourse and its longitudinal developments summarized and interpreted, what still remains to be considered is the third and final research interest of this study (chapter 1.4):

- iii) *What implications might the use of ELF as classroom language have for the teaching and learning processes in class? If any, what kinds of influence can be detected?*

The hedged formulation chosen for these questions, as well as their position as third research interest, are not accidental, but underline the fact that the concerns dealt with are, although central to classroom discourse analysis, at a level once removed from the present investigation. As the study has not focused on learning processes themselves, respective claims can only be based on interpretations and must thus be regarded as tentative. Since, however, the interpretations presented below have been reached not only by the observer-analyst, but also the participants, they can reasonably be regarded as *credible* (chapter 3.2). On the other hand, how *dependable* they are remains open to discussion. More research

focused on the learning processes in ELF higher education would definitely be helpful in this regard.

On this cautionary note, this section will attempt to offer a credible account of what the present investigation offers in terms of potential implications for the use of ELF as classroom language in higher (hospitality) education. For the sake of clarity, these implications must be understood as intricately linked and related to the investigative frame: based on the concepts of English as a *lingua franca*, community of practice and classroom discourse (cf. Figure 8.1; chapters 1.3, 2.4), at stake here are

- a. multilingual sojourners in a
- b. transcultural setting
- c. mutually engaging in their
- d. joint educational enterprise through
- e. classroom oral practices in their
- f. shared and developing repertoire based on
- g. English as their *lingua franca*.

As the preceding analyses have shown, classroom ELF discourse reflects ELF talk more generally in that the overarching and most prominent communicational endeavour remains to achieve subjectively perceived, successful exchanges and to overcome potential problems of communication. The longitudinal perspective has thrown more light on this commonly accepted finding in that it has specified that subjectively perceived communication problems change with time. Problems of intelligibility, while rife in the initial phase, dissipate with time, thus identifying pronunciation as a temporary communicational hurdle. The predominant goal of making communication work remains, however, as the discussions of the increasing relevance of the principles of explicitness and joint forces have clarified. The communicational strategies resulting from acting on those two principles have been argued to reflect, firstly, community-specific appropriateness, used here in lieu of linguistic politeness (cf. Meier 1995; chapter 6.2) in direct verbalizations of speech acts and interactional functions. Secondly, at stake here is also interactional symmetry in otherwise typically asymmetric classroom main talk when dealing with referential gaps, viz. difficulties in verbalizations. Thus linguistic expertise is identified as shared practice of the classroom community. Apart from specifying the community's shared repertoire, these classroom discursual findings show that expertise is handled in a differentiated way by all community members. In contrast to the joint handling of linguistic expertise, content expertise, considered crucially relevant for directing the joint educational enterprise remains associated with the primary knowers, i.e. largely the teachers, but occasionally and increasingly also the students.

The latter point directly addresses the question at stake here, namely the impact that ELF as classroom language might have on the teaching and learning processes. In this context it is important to remember that the present study has focused on traditional lessons largely consisting of teacher-directed whole class interactions developing the respective new information, which is mainly selected by the teacher alone as object of learning. The resulting traditional institutionalized setting and transactional purposes are thus prototypically teacher-centred and generally well documented; the differentiated handling of expertise is not. In contrast to the well established assumption that teachers (but occasionally also students) as primary knowers represent their subject or respective topic comprehensively, i.e. in terms of established knowledge as well as its discourse, the employment of a lingua franca clearly splits these two sides of what might often be considered one coin into two discipline- and subject-dependent practices that often coincide, but do not necessarily have to. Reflecting their English language biographies, teachers span a range of English (and other) language proficiencies, skills and abilities, concerning general communicational purposes, those relevant to their disciplines as well as to teaching them as school subjects. By using an additional language, it is conceivable and, as the analyses have shown, also sometimes the case that some disciplinary experts might have to rely on an English language proficiency with some limitations in order to enact discursively their content expertise and/or to mediate their disciplinary knowledge to learners. Such differentiated language abilities have become visible in the participants' self- and other-evaluations, the interactional patterns they engaged in, but also in the interactional space given, and taken up by students in developing and explaining objects of learning. In general, the teachers whose English was less proficient were also the ones in whose lessons students engaged in more other-(initiated) repair, raised more questions and contributed more independently to instances of interactive explaining.

While these considerations clearly focus mainly on the teachers, students' diverse English language abilities are also a relevant factor in classroom discourse and thus knowledge construction; with the one major difference that their status as learners specifies the process they are meant to undergo in terms of enacted objects of learning as well as (discursive) access to the respective subjects. So, while teachers act as experts from the first day of the educational programme, students are meant to acquire a certain expertise in due course. Furthermore, there are many students, but only one teacher per lesson who, additionally, has a distinct and leading classroom managerial role to fulfil. It is thus understandable that the teacher's input to classroom talk plays a much more important role proportionally than that of the students'. This contrasts sharply with situations of testing or assessment, where the students are required to play the more active

role. Interestingly, written tests in the HMP were consciously structured in a way that minimized the students' linguistic input and thus accommodated all levels of (written) language proficiency (Smit 2007b; see also Quote 4.36 in 4.3.2.1).

As regards the research interest at stake here, the important issue surely is what impact (if any) such different interactional behaviour related to levels of (teacher) language proficiency might have on the learning process. Potentially, the impact could be large and detrimental, especially if the content experts' English language abilities were so limited that no interactive support offered by students would help unravel the particular topics; or, on the other hand, if the students' English language skills thwarted their endeavours to access the discursive construction of knowledge. Fortunately for the HMP, however, such an extreme situation was neither observed nor reported. Rather – and this is also a much more likely situation to encounter in fee-carrying higher educational programmes – the students were screened for English language proficiency and the teachers' English was considered to be good enough for their instructional and interactional needs. As an attribute, good enough acknowledges the relevance of various factors, such as the subject matter, the group of learners as well as the pedagogical aims and approaches pursued: a complexity, which was also evident in the interactional analyses. The analysis of semantic relations employed in explanations (chapter 7.4.3) revealed that limited proficiency coincided with semantico-syntactically restricted realizations, but that the latter sufficed for classroom talk on concrete topics, such as discussing the ins and outs in a professional kitchen. Additionally, not only did HMP teachers help the students, but they could also rely on full student support. Reflecting the maturity of the HMP students, they expressed their willingness to make classroom discourse work, which was also deducible from their readiness to fill the interactional space available in respective lessons by, for instance, initiating or performing other-repair or asking more, and more detailed questions for facts and explanations. In sum then, the interactional analyses arguably confirm the participants' evaluations of language abilities being appropriate to the respective needs and requirements.

This generally reassuring interpretation of using English as a lingua franca for further education must be relativized somewhat, in relation to the findings on explaining subject-specific terms and expressions. As discussed previously (see 7.4.5 and 8.4), general lexical items received linguistic-expertise treatment in the sense that the jointly constructed explanations were established as fully situated. INTEx on subject-specific lexical items, on the other hand, reflected content expertise in that the explanations established required the teacher's approval. While motivated by the teacher's expert role, this claim to English language proficiency for discipline-specific purposes was also observed in cases where the

specific terms suggested quite obviously do not correlate with the established terminology. As illustrated, for instance, in the introduction of *testimony* as a legal term denoting the agent rather than the target (cf. 7.4.5.1), teachers relying on an additional language which is not (one of) their professional languages might mistake their COMMUNICATING in English within the Classroom Community of Practice for the ESTABLISHED PRACTICE of the respective discourse community. Since students fully accept the teacher's expertise, it is to be expected that they take over their teachers' suggestions for subject-specific terms and expressions. If employed outside the CCofP, this might lead to potentially confusing situations in subject-related conversations elsewhere, thus revealing one potential danger inherent in using ELF as classroom language. Its narrow focus on the community of practice in question can result in a degree of situatedness in classroom talk that has the potential of leading to misinterpretations, mistaking English in the local context for its ESTABLISHED PRACTICE in a wider discourse community.

As regards content learning, the admittedly limited findings seem to support the participants' evaluations that generally the HMP participants "got on [well] in class" (Quote 4.38 in 4.3.2.2). With the help of using English as their lingua franca, teachers and students managed to develop their shared repertoire and, overall, reached satisfactory levels of understanding in their joint enterprise of meeting the educational aims of the HMP. While this might have resulted in locally focused, highly situated communicational conventions with a few misguided normative expectations, it has allowed the Classroom Community of Practice mutually to engage in the teaching and learning practices and bring them to fruition with all students passing the final exams. To put this differently, the content side of the institutionalized oral practice seems to have worked well, as far as this is discernable from the classroom talk, grades and participants' comments.

Given that content learning implicates language learning (see chapter 2.2.2.2), what kind(s) of language learning could be detected in the CCofP? Based on the emic perspectives, English language proficiency levels and changes therein played a constant role, although, reflecting the generally shared understanding of the classroom language as lingua franca, they were not considered a central concern. More precisely, English language learning was explicitly denied as happening in HMP lessons in general. Instead, students and teachers agreed on the interpretation of learning being restricted to the English language classes in the first year of studies and the many subject-specific terms and expressions required for the various subjects. Language learning was thus seen as a separate undertaking from content learning, as happening exclusively in the classes reserved for that endeavour and/or as relating to lists of necessary

vocabulary. So from an emic perspective, the HMP did not function as a site of integrating content and language (ICL). This understanding has also surfaced in classroom interactions. Whenever the interaction turned to a language issue, it concerned the introduction or explanation of mainly subject-specific terms or expressions. Other aspects of language use were not topicalized in any of the 33 lessons analysed in detail, or, if identified as an issue at all, were relegated to the English language classes. At the same time, however, the participants acknowledged developments in using English in the HMP. There was the strongly held belief that community members developed linguistically towards each other, which finds support in some of the interactional findings, such as the increase in intelligibility after the first weeks, the slow, but shared, integration of German into the CCofP repertoire in the second year of studies, or the increased use of communicational strategies realizing the principles of explicitness and joint forces throughout the HMP. Interestingly, these classroom-based interactional processes were not identified as signs of language learning, but of developing the CCofP shared repertoire. At an individual level, most students and also some teachers reported on their own English proficiency as having changed with the unfolding of the HMP, albeit in different ways. Depending on their personal English language biographies, the two years of the ELF educational programme were experienced as having had a positive or negative influence, either towards more fluency or some (stylistic) limitations.

In sum then, the oral ELF practice of the HMP (cf. 2.4) seems to have had a strong and definitive impact on the perceptions of language learning or development: language *learning* can be equated with the semi-situated ESTABLISHED PRACTICES associated with the English for specific purposes (ESP) of the respective discourse communities; self-assessed proficiency improvements or deterioration is understood to refer to the individual multilingual English speaker's (MuES) INDIVIDUAL REPERTOIRES; and language *development* covers the long-term implications for COMMUNICATING in English as the CCofP's shared repertoire and, more generally, the lingua franca of the HMP. This complex practice of language learning and/or using underlines the assumption made earlier in this study (cf. 2.2.2.2) that the HMP integrates content and language learning, but depicts specific characteristics because of the classroom language functioning as the participants' lingua franca. While all higher educational programmes and specifically those involving MuESs imply that content learning involves language learning as well, it has been argued on the basis of the ethnographic and interactional analyses that the complexity involved in lingua franca usage finds its reflection in complex language developmental processes, involving the development of the community's repertoire, learning specific language use and also changing individual repertoires.

To bring this investigation to a close, this extensive synthesis has argued that the research methodology employed has made it possible to breach uncharted territory in ELF investigations in that it has allowed for a longitudinal, qualitative, applied linguistic investigation of English as a lingua franca as the classroom language in a specific higher educational programme, offering detailed, ethnographic insights into the teachers' and students' opinions and evaluations of their Hotel Management Programme as well as multi-layered and complex discourse-pragmatic findings on the interactional dynamics in the temporary Classroom Community of Practice.

As intrinsic to all, especially novel, investigative areas, many more research questions can and should be attended to. There are, firstly, those that would fall within the limits of the present study, such as the role and function of writing in the HMP (cf. Smit 2007b for initial considerations) or the developments in language use and learning for specific individual students. More widely and varied are the second type of ensuing research questions, namely those that fall outside the present study. Here, comparative research would be more than welcome in that it would allow for comparisons between different educational settings in ELF or between the present study and other longitudinal ELF studies. It would be highly gratifying if the present study were to motivate one or the other investigation along such lines.

Appendix A. Transcription conventions

based on the transcription system version 0.2, April 2003 of VOICE, the Vienna Oxford International Corpus of English (<http://www.univie.ac.at/voice/>)

(.)	pause shorter than a second
(2)	pauses, timed in seconds
<1> </1>, etc	overlapping speech
text=	latching utterances
=text	
<GERMAN> or <FRENCH>	German or French words or expressions with English translation
Text </GERMAN> or </FRENCH><translation>	
<SOFT> text</SOFT>	text spoken in a soft voice
<HIGH> text </HIGH>	text spoken in a high voice
<SLOW> text </SLOW>	comparatively slower speech
<QUOTATIVE> text </QUOTATIVE>	speaker quoting somebody else
exte:nsion	noticeable extension of a syllable or sound
cut off wo-	cut off word or truncated speech
(text)	unclear speech
(xxx)	inaudible speech, 'x' stands for approximately one syllable
CAPITALS	stressed syllables, words
. / ? / ,	falling / rising / level intonation
@	laughter
<@> text </@>	speaking with laughter
<text>	added explanations
[...]	deletion of text
[text]	anonymised reference to person, place or institution
[text] (in Quotes)	English translation from German original
text (in Excerpts)	material which is currently under discussion

Speakers:

3-letter pseudonyms for teachers (all in capitals)

4-letter pseudonyms for identified students (start with a capital)

US: observer-analyst

SX: unidentified student

SX-f: unidentified female student

SX-m: unidentified male student

SS: group of students

Appendix B. Questionnaires and guidelines for interviews

1st questionnaire (abridged); handed out on the first day of classes

Dear HMP-student,

As part of my research project on classroom interaction, I would need to learn now, at the beginning of the course, a little bit about you and your motivations for coming here. I will treat the information you give me as **STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL**. This means that neither your teachers nor any other people will get access to these questionnaires, and whenever I use some of the data, I will anonymise them by changing your names and other details that could reveal your identity. So, please:

- feel free to answer **EVERY** question as honestly as possible,
- try to **ANSWER ALL THE QUESTIONS** in English, but if you should have difficulties expressing yourself, you can, of course, use another language, too; and,
- if you have any questions, **ASK ME** for help!

Many thanks in advance for your co-operation, Ute Smit

Personal information:

Name (first name and surname); male / female; age; nationality

Place and country of birth:

Places where I've stayed for longer periods (i.e. a few months or more):

Educational background (highest educational level achieved and when):

Work experience: temporary and permanent jobs (*specify* what, when, for how long and where)

Home language(s):

Language proficiency (please indicate G for good, A for average, or P for poor with regard to 'understand', 'read', 'speak' and 'write')

Why have you decided to start a hotel management course?

And why the HMP?

What do you expect to be able to do after finishing the HMP?

What do you expect from the course itself?

2nd questionnaire (abridged); handed out in the last month of classes

Dear HMP student,

Just as on your first day when I asked you to fill in a questionnaire for me (which all of you were so friendly to do!), I would like to get some input from you now, at the end of the course. Most of the topics are the ones I've already talked about with you before – your evaluations of your own English, your future and the course in general. The final point – some personal information on your parents – most likely comes fairly unexpectedly. With it I don't want to probe too deeply into your personal backgrounds. My aim is rather to find out more about the different kinds of “internationality” found in your group and see in how far that goes back to your parents already.

As before, I will treat the information you give me as **STRICTLY CONFIDENTIAL**. This means that neither your teachers nor any other people will get access to these questionnaires, and whenever I use some of the data, I will anonymise them by changing your names and other details that could reveal your identity. So, please, feel free to answer **EVERY** question as honestly as possible! Many thanks in advance for your co-operation, Ute (Smit)

Your English: After two years of learning about hotel management (and all the other subjects) in English, do you think that your own English has improved?
yes/no

Or would you say it has changed? yes/no; Why? Please explain:

How do you feel about your English at present?

Your future: What are your work-related expectations and plans for the coming months and years?

The HMP: Now that you have almost finished HMP, what has the course prepared you for?

If you could go two years back in time, would you do HMP again? yes/no; Why? Please, explain:

Some personal information on your parents:

[If the information you give is true for only one parent, please indicate that with 'M' or 'F']

Nationality/-ies; country/-ies of birth; places where your parents stayed for longer periods (i.e. one or more years); educational background (highest educational levels achieved); occupational background (most important professions or jobs held); home language(s); other language(s):

Guidelines for one-on-one interviews

conducted in the semesters 1–2 (with students) and 2–3 (with teachers)

General assumptions (summarised by the interviewer)

The HMP is offered in English and it is also meant to, and does, attract students from all over the world. As almost none of the participants are, therefore, L1 speakers of English, it is unlikely that the English used in class is mother-tongue English; rather, it is English in its function as world language or (global) lingua franca. For any educational course, it is obviously very important which medium of instruction (or learning and teaching) is chosen because it makes a big difference for the learners (but also the teachers) whether they can learn in their L1s or in another language. So far, so good.

What we don't know is in how far using a lingua franca (i.e. L2 to all) influences teaching and learning. What we do know, though, is that, at least in previous years, lecturers as well as students quite often questioned whether the English used by the participants was actually 'good enough'; we hear that they can't express themselves or make themselves understood. Such evaluations show that the people involved have quite clear ideas of what is acceptable and/or necessary.

And I think we need to push these opinions and ideas to the front, if we want to know more about what actually happens in such ELF classrooms and how the participants handle it.

Aim of interview

In this interview I would like to get your ideas about English as classroom language of the HMP, the participants' English and how they're getting on. In other words, it is your ideas, opinions and experience that I would like to learn from.

So, you are the expert fully in charge of what is said. I'll be the interviewer who'll give the exchange its structure.

<i>Questions for students</i>	<i>Questions for teachers</i>
General information	General information
Your (language) background:	Your (language) background; What do you teach ?
<u>Subtopic 1: lecturers' English</u>	<u>Subtopic 1: the students' English</u>
What's the lecturers' English like? How do they get on in class? (differences, changes)	What's the students' English like? How do you see it? (examples where possible); in general, in class, out of class
What are the reasons for difference X or problem Y?	differences: spoken-written, personality types, cultural background, changes in the course of studies, in terms of success
How do you experience the lecturers' English?	What are the reasons for the difference X or problem Y?
	How do you experience the students' English?
<u>Subtopic 2: students' English</u>	<u>Subtheme 2: lecturer's teaching style</u>
What's the students' English like? How do they get on in class? (differences, changes)	How would you describe your way of teaching at the HMP?
What are the reasons for difference X or problem Y?	in general; differences between classes; relation topic/subject – language; multicultural student body
How well do the students cope in class?	Why have you adopted this teaching style? changes past – present – future
	How do you evaluate your teaching style?
	Which alternative approaches do you see for the future?
<u>Subtopic 3: your English</u>	<u>Subtheme 3: classroom interaction</u>
What's your English like? How do you see it? (differences, changes)	Could you describe what the interaction in your classes looks like? (examples)
What are the reasons for difference X or problem Y?	Who speaks when, how much, how often; draw links to teaching approach and/or kinds of activities
How well do you cope in class? How do you feel about your English? (reasons, changes)	Please describe how you experience this interaction?
How well do you feel about using English as medium of instruction?	What are the reasons for interaction pattern X? (examples)
If necessary, what could be changed / could you change?	How do you evaluate the interactional patterns you find in your classes?
	What could be changed about the present interaction? What would make such a different approach (im)possible?

Guidelines for small-group interviews

conducted in the first month of the 4th semester (with groups of 3–4 students)

General assumption:

You know that my concern with your group has been the use of English as medium of instruction in this international setting. I asked you questions on that topic right at the beginning (in the questionnaire I handed out) and in one-on-one interviews I was so lucky to do with each of you. Quite some time has gone passed since then and, quite clearly, things have changed: you've successfully done 3 of the 4 semesters of the course; you've done your internship last summer, maybe you've gained more work experience during the semesters, too. And at the moment you're most likely getting prepared for the time after HMP (work or further studies). This means that your insights into the programme, but also into the hospitality industry have grown rapidly, which most likely means that some of your ideas, evaluations and opinions have developed since I last spoke with you.

Aim of interview

It is for this reason that I'm asking you now for some more of your time to get your present opinions about and evaluations of 2 issues [*either A and B or A and C*] linked to English as medium of instruction (and learning). In other words, it is your experience and expertise that I would like to benefit from. So, similar to the interviews last year, you are the experts fully in charge of what is said. I'll be the interviewer who'll give the structure to the exchange.

For each topic, I first summarise what you (i.e. the whole group) said a year ago, and I'll ask you then how you see the matter nowadays.

A) Improving one's English

A year ago: In describing your expectations of the HMP, the following points were raised: preparation for a good job; gaining new and interesting insights into the field; learning relevant skills, incl. improving one's own English.

Questions:

Do you think your and/or other students' English has improved or changed?

Could you describe the present situation? (explain reasons, express evaluations, indicate changes)

B) English as medium of instruction

A year ago: All students valued English as medium of instruction very highly, either because that's what they were used to or because they wanted to experience it once. At the same time, many of you felt that doing a course in English made studying harder and more time-consuming.

Questions:

In which ways is English, or aspects of it, talked about in class (by teachers and/or students)?

Do you think having English as medium of instruction has become easier since then?

Could you describe the present situation please? (explain reasons, express evaluations, indicate changes)

A) Improving one's English

A year ago: In describing your expectations of the HMP, the following points were raised: preparation for a good job; gaining new and interesting insights into the field; learning relevant skills, incl. improving one's own English.

Questions:

Do you think your and/or other students' English has improved or changed?

Could you describe the present situation? (explain reasons, express evaluations, indicate changes)

C) Language use in class

A year ago: The multicultural character of the HMP was mentioned repeatedly and judged as relevant. Generally, it was seen as an asset, something valued positively. It was also observed that:

- (a) the class was split up in language-based subgroups;
- (b) German proficiency split the class in two groups; and
- (c) English was usually, but not always used as only common language.

Questions:

Are these three points still true or, if at all, what has changed since then?

Could you describe the present situation please? (explain reasons, express evaluations, indicate changes)

Appendix C. Overview of transcribed lessons

Table C.1. Lessons of phase T1 (first two weeks of HMP)

Subject	Abbrev.*	Teacher	Mins	Turns	T turns	Words	T words
Financial	1fin1	TON	49	369	164	5146	4060
Management	1fin2		39	199	90	4408	4011
Hotel	1hop1	OUL	49	424	200	4933	4040
Operations	1hop2		47	439	199	6532	5758
Front Office	1fom1	AKL	47	266	126	5432	5027
Management	1fom2		41	204	96	7022	6456
Hotel	1hom1	LER	50	153	65	7017	6538
Management	1hom2		47	387	164	8669	5077
Marketing	1mar1	NER	50	406	173	8919	8133
	1mar2		47	576	239	10306	9078
Austrian Law	1law1	XEN	43	202	96	5855	5546
	1law2		45	379	184	6064	5362
Total T1			554	4004	1796	80303	69086

* abbreviations consist of: '1' for T1, abbreviation of subject, number of lesson

Table C.2. Lessons of phase T2 (well into the first semester)

Subject	Abbrev.*	Teacher	Mins	Turns	T turns	Words	T words
Financial	2fin1	TON	43	372	140	6575	4900
Management	2fin2		41	452	188	5610	4430
Hotel	2hom1	LER	46	288	108	8160	5533
Management							
Austrian Law	2law1	XEN	45	401	192	5985	4728
	2law2		49	258	122	6963	6098
Cooking	2cook1	RER	41	564	253	6500	5260
	2cook2		42	726	346	7423	5827
Service	2serv1	FER	40	370	150	5340	4300
Human	2hr1	OPP	48	241	108	7856	5619
Resources	2hr2		41	381	168	7728	4441
Total T2			436	4053	1775	68140	51136

* abbreviations consist of: '2' for T2, abbreviation of subject, number of lesson

Table C.3. Lessons of phase T3 (third semester)

Subject	Abbrev.*	Teacher	Mins	Turns	T turns	Words	T words
Financial	3fin1	TON	45	365	146	5991	4151
Management	3fin2		39	246	107	6015	4561
Hotel	3hom1	LER	45	148	57	7550	4658
Management	3hom2		45	93	36	6823	5885
F&B	3fbm1	AKL	44	349	143	5935	4700
Management	3fbm2		34	313	128	6622	4516
Marketing	3mar1	NER	37	141	66	8108	7789
	3mar2		45	52	25	6993	6940
Service	3serv1	FER	40	196	89	6910	6130
Public	3pr1	MER	50	370	160	9347	7709
Relations	3pr2		45	240	107	8928	7956
Total T3			469	2513	1064	79222	64995

* abbreviations consist of: '3' for T3, abbreviation of subject, number of lesson

References

- Abuja, Gunther (ed.)
1998 *Englisch als Arbeitssprache: Modelle, Erfahrungen, Lehrerbildung*. Graz: Zentrum für Schulentwicklung, Bereich III (Bericht Bundesministerium für Unterricht und kulturelle Angelegenheiten, Zentrum für Schulentwicklung, Bereich 3: Reihe 3).
- Ahvenainen, Tarmo
2005 Problem-solving Mechanisms in Information Exchange Dialogues with English as a Lingua Franca. Unpubl. M.A. thesis, University of Jyväskylä, Finland.
http://thesis.jyu.fi/05/URN_NBN.fi-jyu-2005219.pdf
(accessed 23 August 2005).
- Aijmer, Karin (ed.)
2004 *Dialogue Analysis VIII: Understanding and Misunderstanding in Dialogue. Selected Papers from the 8th IADA Conference. Göteborg 2001*. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Airey, John
2004 Can you teach it in English? Aspects of the language choice debate in Swedish higher education. In: Robert Wilkinson (ed.), *Integrating Content and Language. Meeting the Challenge of a Multilingual Higher Education*, 97–108. Maastricht: Universitaire Pers.
- Airey, John
2009 *Science, Language and Literacy. Case Studies of Learning in Swedish University Physics*. Acta Universitatis Upsaliensis: University of Uppsala.
- Alcón Soler, Eva and Maria P. Sofart Jordà (eds.)
2007 *Intercultural Language Use and Language Learning*. Berlin: Springer.
- Ammon, Ulrich and Grant McConnell
2002 *English as an Academic Language in Europe. A Survey of its Use in Teaching*. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Antaki, Charles
1994 *Explaining and Arguing: the Social Organization of Accounts*. London: Sage.
- Antor, Heinz
2006 Multikulturalism, Interkulturalität und Transkulturalität: Perspektiven für interdisziplinäre Forschung und Lehre. In: Heinz Antor (ed.), *Inter- und transkulturelle Studien. Theoretische Grundlagen interdisziplinärer Praxis*, 25–39. Heidelberg: Winter.
- Aston, Guy
1988 *Learning Comity. An Approach to the Description and Pedagogy of Interactional Speech*. Bologna: Editrice CLUEB.

- Aston, Guy
1993 Notes on the interlanguage of comity. In: Gabriele Kasper and Shoshana Blum-Kulka (eds.), *Interlanguage Pragmatics*, 224–250. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Auer, Peter and Li Wei (eds.)
2007 *Handbook of Multilingualism and Multilingual Communication*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Austin, John
1962 *How To Do Things With Words*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Backhaus, Peter
2007 *Linguistic Landscapes: a Comparative Study of Urban Multilingualism in Tokyo*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Badertscher, Hans and Thomas Bieri
2009 *Wissenserwerb im Content and Language Integrated Learning. Empirische Befunde und Interpretationen*. Bern: Haupt.
- Bailey, Kathleen M. and David Nunan (eds.)
1996 *Voices from the Language Classroom*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Baker, Colin
2006 *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. 4th edition, Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Bamgbose, Ayo
1998 Torn between the norms: innovations in World Englishes. *World Englishes* 17 (1): 1–14.
- Bannink, Anne and Jet van Dam
2006 A dynamic discourse approach to classroom research. *Linguistics and Education* 17: 283–301.
- Bardovi-Harlig, Kathleen and Beverly S. Hartford
1996 Input in an institutional setting. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 18: 171–188.
- Barnard, Roger and María E. Torres-Guzmán (eds.)
2009 *Creating Classroom Communities of Learning. International Case Studies and Perspectives*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Barrow, Clayton W. and Novie Johan
2008 Hospitality management education. In: Roy C. Wood and Bob Brotherston (eds.), *The SAGE Handbook of Hospitality Management*, 146–162. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Bartlett, Frederic C.
(1932/re-issued 1995) *Remembering*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Barwell, Richard
2005 Critical issues for language and content in mainstream classrooms: introduction. *Linguistics and Education* 16: 143–150.
- Basturkmen, Helen
2006 *Ideas and Options in English for Specific Purposes*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Baumann, Gerd
1999 *The Multicultural Riddle: Rethinking National, Ethnic and Religious Identities*. London: Routledge.
- Bazerman, Charles
1988 *Shaping Written Knowledge*. Wisconsin: University of Wisconsin Press.
- Benson, Carol, Sandra Brunsberg, Rosalind Duhs, David Minugh and Philip Shaw
2008 Preparing for international masters degrees at Stockholm University and the Royal Institute of Technology in Sweden. In: Immaculada Fortanet-Gómez, and Christine A. Räisänen (eds.), *ESP in European Higher Education. Integrating Language and Content*, 267–282. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Berns, Margie
2009 English as a lingua franca and English in Europe. *World Englishes* 28 (2): 192–199.
- Berns, Margie, Marie-Therese Claes, Kees de Bot, Riet Evers, Uwe Hasebring, Ineke Hubregtse, Claude Truchot and P.J. van der Wijst
2007 English in Europe. In: Margie Berns, Kees de Bot, Uwe Hasebring (eds.), *In the Presence of English: The Media and European Youth*, 15–42. New York, Springer.
- Berry, Margaret
1981 Systemic linguistics and discourse analysis: a multi-layered approach to exchange structure. In: Malcolm Coulthard (ed.), *Studies in Discourse Analysis*, 120–145. London: Routledge.
- Bex, Tony and Richard J. Watts (eds.)
1999 *Standard English. The Widening Debate*. London: Routledge.
- Bhabha, Homi
1990 *Nation and Narration*. London: Routledge.
- Bhatia, Vijay K.
1993 *Analysing Genre: Language Use in Professional Settings*. London: Longman.
- Bhatia, Vijay K.
1997 Introduction: genre analysis and World Englishes. *World Englishes* 16 (3): 313–319.
- Bhatia, Vijay K.
2004 *Worlds of Written Discourse. A Genre-based View*. London: Continuum.

- Biber, Douglas, Stig Johansson, Geoffrey Leech, Susan Conrad and Edward Finegan
1999 *Longman Grammar of Spoken and Written English*. London: Longman.
- Björkman, Beyza
2008 'So where we are?' Spoken Lingua Franca English at a technical university in Sweden. *English Today* 24 (2): 35–41.
- Björkman, Beyza
2009 From code to discourse in spoken ELF. In: Anna Mauranen and Elina Ranta (eds.), *English as a Lingua Franca: Studies and Findings*, 60–83. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishers.
- Block, David
2006 *Multilingual Identities in a Global City*. London: Palgrave.
- Bloome, David, Stephanie Power Carter, Beth Morton Christian, Sheila Otto and Nora Stuart-Faris
2005 *Discourse Analysis and the Study of Classroom Language and Literacy Events – a Microethnographic Perspective*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum
- Blum-Kulka, Shoshana
1997 Discourse pragmatics. In: Teun A. van Dijk (ed.), *Discourse as Social Interaction. Discourse Studies: a Multidisciplinary Introduction. Volume 2*, 38–63. London: Sage.
- Blum-Kulka, Shoshana, Juliane House and Gabriele Kasper (eds.)
1989 *Cross-Cultural Pragmatics: Requests and Apologies*. Norwood, New Jersey: Ablex.
- Bochner, Stephen
2003 Culture shock due to contact with unfamiliar cultures. In: Walter J. Lonner, Dale L. Dinnel, Susanna A. Hayes and David N. Sattler (eds.), *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture* (Unit 8, Chapter 7), Center for Cross-Cultural Research, Western Washington University, Bellingham, Washington USA. <http://www.wvu.edu/~culture> (accessed 12 May 2008).
- Bohnsack, Ralf
2004 Group discussions and focus groups. In: Uwe Flick, Ernst van Kardorff and Ines Steinke (eds.), *A Compendium to Qualitative Research*, 214–221. London: Sage.
- Boulima, Jamila
1999 *Negotiated Interaction in Target Language Classroom Discourse*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Bouman, Monica
2006 The assessment of English as language of instruction. Talk given at "ICLHE Conference", Maastricht, 1 June.
- Bourdieu, Pierre
1991 *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Breiteneder, Angelika
2009 English as a lingua franca in Europe: an empirical perspective. *World Englishes* 28 (2): 256–269.
- Bremer, Katharina, Celia Roberts, Marie-Therese Vasseur, Margaret Simonot and Peter Broeder
1996 *Achieving Understanding: Discourse in Intercultural Encounters*. London: Longman.
- Brizič, Katharina
2006 The secret life of languages. Origin-specific differences in L1/L2 acquisition by immigrant children. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 16 (3): 339–362.
- Brown, Gillian and George Yule
1983 *Discourse Analysis*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brown, Penelope and Stephen C. Levinson
1987 *Politeness. Some Universals in Language Usage*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Brumfit, Christopher J.
1997 How applied linguistics is the same as any other science. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 7 (1): 86–94.
- Bruna, Katherine Richardson and Kimberley Gomez, (eds.)
2009 *The Work of Language in Multicultural Classrooms*. New York: Routledge.
- Bruthiaux, Paul
2003 Squaring the circles: issues in modelling English worldwide. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 13 (2): 159–178.
- Brutt-Griffler, Janina
2002 *World English. A Study of its Development*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Bublitz, Wolfram
1988 *Supportive Fellow-Speakers and Cooperative Conversations. Discourse Topics and Topical Actions, Participant Roles and 'Recipient Action' in a Particular Type of Everyday Conversation*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Bublitz, Wolfram and Uta Lenk
1999 Disturbed coherence: 'Fill me in'. In: Wolfram Bublitz, Uta Lenk and Eija Ventola (eds.), *Coherence in Spoken and Written Discourse*, 153–174. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Bühlig, Kristin and Jan D. ten Thije (eds.)
2006 *Beyond Misunderstanding: Linguistic Analyses of Intercultural Communication*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Byram, Michael
1997 *Teaching and Assessing Intercultural Communicative Competence*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

- Canale, Michael and Merrill Swain
1983 Theoretical bases of communicative approaches to second language teaching and testing. *Applied Linguistics* 1: 1–47.
- Candela, Antonia
1999 Students' power in classroom discourse. *Linguistics and Education* 10 (2): 139–163.
- Capucho, Maria Filomena
2005 Read me that sentence. From social and methodological conceptions to the real exercise of power relations in the classroom. In: Eric Grillo (ed.), *Power Without Domination. Dialogism and the Empowering Property of Communication*, 139–160. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Carder, Maurice
2007 *Bilingualism in International Schools. A Model for Enriching Language Education*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Caspari, Daniela, Wolfgang Hallet, Anke Wegner and Wolfgang Zydati (eds.)
2007 *Bilingualer Unterricht macht Schule. Beitrge aus der Praxisforschung*. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Cazden, Courtney
2001 *Classroom Discourse: The Language of Teaching and Learning*. 2nd edition. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Cazden, Courtney and S.W. Beck
2003 Classroom discourse. In: A.C. Graesser, M. Gernsbacher and S. Goldman (eds.), *Handbook of Discourse Processes*, 165–198. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Cenoz, Jasone
2005 From bilingualism to multilingualism. Basque, Spanish and English as languages of instruction. (Presentation given at the conference "Bi- and multilingual universities – challenges and future prospects", Helsinki, 3–5 Sept. <http://www.palmenia.helsinki.fi/congress/bilingual2005/presentations/JCenoz.pdf> (accessed 28 March 2007).
- Cenoz, Jasone
2006 Across the assessment gap: challenges for practice and research. In: Robert Wilkinson and Vera Zegers (eds.), *Bridging the Assessment Gap in English-Medium Higher Education*, 281–291. Nijmegen: AKS-Verlag Bochum.
- Cenoz, Jasone and Ulrike Jessner (eds.)
2000 *English in Europe. The Acquisition of a Third Language*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Chaudron, Craig
1983 Foreigner talk in the classroom – an aid to learning? In: Herbert G. Seliger and Michael H. Long (eds.), *Classroom Oriented Research in Second Language Acquisition*, 127–143. Rowley: Newbury House Publishers.

- Chaudron, Craig
1988 *Second Language Classrooms. Research on Teaching and Learning.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chaudron, Craig
2000 Contrasting approaches to classroom research: qualitative and quantitative analysis of language use and learning. *Second Language Studies* 19 (1): 1–56.
- Chick, J. Keith
1995 Interactional sociolinguistics and intercultural communication in South Africa. In: Rajend Mesthrie (ed.), *Language and Social History*, 230–241. Cape Town: David Philip.
- Christie, Frances
2000 The language of classroom interaction. In: Len Unsworth (ed.), *Researching Language in Schools and Communities. Functional Linguistic Perspectives*, 184–203. London: Cassell.
- Christie, Frances
2002 *Classroom Discourse Analysis.* London: Continuum.
- Christie, Frances and J.R. Martin. (eds.)
1997 *Genre and Institutions. Social Processes in the Workplace and School.* London: Cassell.
- Clear, John
2005 The problems a German higher education institution faces when offering courses conducted in English. In: Markus Motz (ed.), *Englisch oder Deutsch in Internationalen Studiengängen?*, 193–202. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Cogo, Alessia and Martin Dewey
2006 Efficiency in ELF communication: from pragmatic motives to lexicogrammatical innovation. *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 5 (2): 59–93.
- Cohen, Andrew D. and Carol Hosenfeld
1981 Some uses of mentalistic data in second language research. *Language Learning* 31: 285–313.
- Cohen, Louis, Lawrence Manion and Keith Morrison
2007 *Research Methods in Education.* 6th edition. London: Routledge.
- Collins Cobuild English Dictionary*
1998 London: Harper Collins.
- Cook, Vivian
1999 Going beyond the native speaker in language teaching. *TESOL Quarterly* 33 (2): 185–209.
- Corder, Saskia and Miriam Meyerhoff
2007 Communities of practice in the analysis of intercultural communication. In: Helga Kothoff and Helen Spencer-Oatey (eds.), *Handbook*

- of Intercultural Communication*, HAL 7, 441–461. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Coulmas, Florian
2005 *Sociolinguistics. The Study of Speakers' Choices*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Coulthard, Malcolm and David Brazil
1979 *Exchange Structure. Discourse Analysis*. University of Birmingham.
- Coupland, Nikolas, John W. Wiemann and Howard Giles
1991 Talk as “problem” and communication as “miscommunication”: an integrative analysis. In: Nikolas Coupland, John W. Wiemann and Howard Giles (eds.), *“Miscommunication” and Problematic Talk*, 1–17. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Creese, Angela
2005 *Teacher Collaboration and Talk in Multilingual Classrooms*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Crystal, David
2003 *English as a Global Language*. 2nd edition. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Csomay, Eniko
2005 Linguistic variation within university classroom talk: a corpus-based perspective. *Linguistics and Education* 15: 243–274.
- Cutting, Joan
2000 *Analysing the Language of Discourse Communities*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.
- Dafouz Milne, Emma and Begoña Núñez Perucha
2009 CLIL in higher education: devising a new learning landscape. In: Emma Dafouz Milne and Michele C. Guerrini (eds.), *CLIL across Educational Levels*, 101–112. Madrid: Richmond.
- Dafouz Milne, Emma, Begoña Núñez Perucha and Carmen Sancho Guinda
2007 Analysing stance in a CLIL university context: non-native speaker use of personal pronouns and modal verbs, *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 10 (5): 647–662.
- Dalton-Puffer, Christiane
2005 Negotiating interpersonal meanings in naturalistic classroom discourse: directives in Content and Language Integrated classrooms. *Journal of Pragmatics* 37: 1275–1293.
- Dalton-Puffer, Christiane
2007 *Discourse in Content and Language Integrated (CLIL) Classrooms*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Dalton-Puffer, Christiane and Ute Smit (eds.)
2007 *Empirical Perspectives on CLIL Classroom Discourse*. Frankfurt: Lang.

- Dalton-Puffer, Christiane, Taria Nikula and Ute Smit (eds.)
2010 (forthc.) *Language Use in Content-and-Language Integrated Learning (CLIL)*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Danet, Brenda and Susan C. Herring (eds.)
2007 *The Multilingual Internet: Language, Culture, and Communication Online*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dannerer, Monika
2004 Misunderstandings at work. In: Karin Aijmer (ed.), *Dialogue Analysis VIII: Understanding and Misunderstanding in Dialogue. Selected Papers from the 8th IADA Conference Göteborg 2001*, 103–117. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Dascal, Marcelo
1999 Introduction: Some questions about misunderstanding. *Journal of Pragmatics* 31: 753–762.
- Dauer, Rebecca M.
2005 The Lingua Franca Core: a new model for pronunciation instruction? *TESOL Quarterly* 39 (3): 543–550.
- Davies, Alan
2003 *The Native Speaker – Myth and Reality*. 2nd edition. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Davies, Alan
2007 *An Introduction to Applied Linguistics*. 2nd edition. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Davis, Kathryn A.
1995 Qualitative theory and methods in applied linguistics research. *TESOL Quarterly* 29 (3): 427–453.
- De Cillia, Rudolf and Teresa Schweiger
2001 English as a language of instruction at Austrian universities. In: Ulrich Ammon (ed.), *The Dominance of English as a Language of Science. Effects on Other Languages and Language Communities*, 363–387. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- De Gaulmyn, Marie Madeleine
1986 Apprendre à expliquer. *TRANEL (Travaux neuchateloise de linguistique)* 11: 119–139.
- De Graaff, Rick, Gerrit Jan Koopman and Gerard Westhoff
2007 Identifying effective L2 pedagogy in Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL). *Vienna English Working Papers (VIEWS)* 16 (3): 12–19. www.univie.ac.at/Anglistik/ang_new/online_papers/views.html (accessed 3 May 2008).
- De Mejía, Anne-Marie
2002 *Power, Prestige and Bilingualism. International Perspectives on Elite Bilingual Education*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

- Dewey, Martin
2009 English as a lingua franca: Heightened variability and theoretical implications. In: Mauranen, Anna and Elina Ranta (eds.), *English as a Lingua Franca: Studies and Findings*, 60–83. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing
- Dillon, James T.
1988 *Questioning and Teaching*. London: Croom Helm.
- Dörnyei, Zoltán
2001 *Teaching and Researching Motivation*. Harlow, England: Longman.
- Dörnyei, Zoltán
2007 *Research Methods in Applied Linguistics. Quantitative, Qualitative and Mixed Methodologies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dresemann, Bettina
2007 Ensuring understanding in ELF (English as a lingua franca) business communication. Presentation given at the “DGFF Conference”, Gießen, 3–6 October.
- Drew, Paul and John Heritage
1992 Analyzing talk at work: an introduction. In: Paul Drew and John Heritage (eds.), *Talk at Work: Interaction in Institutional Settings*, 3–65. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dudley-Evans, Tony and Maggie Jo St. John
1998 *Developments in English for Specific Purposes*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Duff, Patricia A.
1995 An ethnography of communication in immersion classrooms in Hungary. *TESOL Quarterly* 29 (3): 505–537.
- Duff, Patricia A.
2002 The discursive co-construction of knowledge, identity, and difference: an ethnography of communication in the high school mainstream. *Applied Linguistics* 23 (3): 289–322.
- Eckert, Penelope
2000 *Linguistic Variation as Social Practice*. Malden, Mass: Blackwell.
- Edmondson, Willis
1981 *Spoken Discourse. A Model for Analysis*. London: Longman
- Edmondson, Willis and Juliane House
1981 *Let's Talk and Talk About It. A Pedagogical Interactional Grammar of English*. München: Urban and Schwarzenberg.
- Edwards, A.P. and D.P.G. Westgate
1994 *Investigating Classroom Talk*. 2nd edition. London: Palmer Press.
- Eggs, Suzanne and Diana Slade
1997 *Analysing Casual Conversation*. London: Continuum

- Ehlich, Konrad and Jochen Rehbein
1986 *Muster und Institution. Untersuchungen zur schulischen Kommunikation*. Tübingen: Narr.
- Ehrenreich, Susanne
2009 English as a lingua franca in multinational corporations. An exploration of business communities of practice. In: Anna Mauranen and Elina Ranta (eds.), *English as a Lingua Franca. Studies and Findings*, 126–151. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.
- Ehrenreich, Susanne
2010 (forthc.) Lingua Franca Englishes in internationalen Unternehmen: Stand der Forschung und Zwischenbilanz eines Forschungsprojekts. *Arbeiten aus Anglistik und Amerikanistik* 35 (1): PAGES.
- Eik-Nes, Nancy L.
2004 Academic writing in English: students' motivations and progress in a scientific writing course. In: Robert Wilkinson (ed.), *Integrating Content and Language. Meeting the Challenge of a Multilingual Higher Education*, 466–477. Maastricht: Universitaire Pers.
- Ellis, Rod
1992 Learning to communicate in the classroom: a study of two learners' requests. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 14: 1–23.
- Ellis, Rod and Gary Barkhuizen
2005 *Analysing Learner Language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press
- Erickson, Frederick
1986 Qualitative methods in research on teaching. In: Merlin C. Wittrock (ed.), *Handbook of Research on Teaching*, 119–161. 3rd edition. New York: Macmillan.
- Ervin-Tripp, Susan
1976 Is Sybil there? The structure of some American English directives. *Language in Society* 5: 25–66.
- Ervin-Tripp, Susan, Jiansheng Guo and Martin Lampert
1990 Politeness and persuasion in children's control acts. *Journal of Pragmatics* 14: 307–331.
- Esser, Hartmut
2006 *Migration, Sprache und Integration (AKI-Forschungsbilanz No. 4)* Berlin: Arbeitsstelle Interkulturelle Konflikte und gesellschaftliche Integration (AKI)/Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung (WZB).
- Eurobarometer
2005 Europeans and languages. European Commission. http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_237.en.pdf (accessed 11 October 2007).

European Commission

- 2003 Communication from the Commission to the Council, the European Parliament, the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the regions. Promoting Language Learning and Linguistic Diversity: An Action Plan 2004–2006. Brussels. http://ec.europa.education/doc/official/keydoc/actlang/act_lang_en.pdf (accessed 29 May 2007).
- Eyseneck, Michael W.
2004 *Psychology. An International Perspective*. London: Psychology Press.
- Fairclough, Norman
2001 *Language and Power*. 2nd edition. Harlow: Pearson Education.
- Falsgraf, C. and D. Majors
1995 Implicit culture in Japanese immersion classroom discourse. *Journal of the Association of Teachers of Japanese* 29: 1–21.
- Fernández Agüero, María
2003 Analysis of topicality in classroom discourse: topic switch and topic drift in conversations in EFL contexts. *Estudio Ingleses de la Universidad Complutense* 11: 73–89.
- Fetzer, Anita
2004 Infelicitous communication or degree of misunderstanding? In: Karin Aijmer (ed.), *Dialogue Analysis VIII: Understanding and Misunderstanding in Dialogue. Selected Papers from the 8th IADA Conference Göteborg 2001*, 57–67. Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Firbas, Jan
1999 *Functional Sentence Perspective in Written and Spoken Communication*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Firth, Alan
1990 ‘Lingua franca’ negotiations: Towards an interactional approach. *World Englishes* 9 (3): 269–280.
- Firth, Alan
1996 The discursive accomplishment of normality: on ‘lingua franca’ English and conversation analysis. *Journal of Pragmatics* 26: 237–259.
- Firth, Alan and Johannes Wagner
1997 On discourse, communication, and (some) fundamental concepts in SLA research. *The Modern Language Journal* 81 (3): 285–300.
- Firth, Alan and Johannes Wagner
2007 Second/foreign language learning as a social accomplishment: elaboration on a reconceptualised SLA. *The Modern Language Journal* 91: 800–819.
- Fishman, Joshua A., Robert L. Cooper and Andrew W. Conrad (eds.)
1977 *The Spread of English: the Sociology of English as an Additional Language*. Rowley: Newbury House.

- Flechsigt, Karl-Heinz
 2000 Transkulturelles Lernen. <http://www.user.gwdg.de/~kflechs/iikdiaps2-00.htm> (accessed 3 March 2008).
- Flick, Uwe
 2004 Triangulation in qualitative research. In: Uwe Flick, Ernst van Kardorff and Ines Steinke (eds.), *A Compendium to Qualitative Research*, 178–183. London: Sage.
- Flick, Uwe, Ernst van Kardorff and Ines Steinke
 2004 What is qualitative research? An introduction to the field. In: Uwe Flick, Ernst van Kardorff and Ines Steinke (eds.), *A Compendium to Qualitative Research*, 3–12. London: Sage.
- Flowerdew, John and Lindsay Miller
 1995 On the notion of culture in L2 lectures. *TESOL Quarterly* 29 (2): 345–373.
- Flowerdew, John and Lindsay Miller
 1996 Lectures in a second language: notes towards a cultural grammar. *English for Specific Purposes* 15 (2): 121–140.
- Fortanet Gómez, Inmaculada and Christine Räisanen (eds.)
 2008a *ESP in European Higher Education. Integrating Language and Content*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Fortanet-Gómez, Inmaculada and Christine Räisanen
 2008b State of the art of ESP teaching in Europe. In: Inmaculada Fortanet Gómez, and Christine Räisanen (eds.), *ESP in European Higher Education. Integrating Language and Content*, 11–52. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Foster, Pauline
 1998 A classroom perspective on the negotiation of meaning. *Applied Linguistics* 19 (1): 1–23.
- Freeman, Rebecca
 1998 *Bilingual Education and Social Change*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Gal, Susan
 2006 Contradictions of standard language in Europe: implications for the study of practices and publics. *Social Anthropology* 12 (2): 163–181.
- Gallois, Cindy, Tania Ogay and Howard Giles
 2005 Communication accommodation theory. In: William B. Gudykunst (ed.), *Theorizing About Intercultural Communication*, 121–148. Thousand Oaks: Sage.
- García, Ofelia, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and María E. Torres-Guzmán
 2006 Weaving spaces and (de)constructing ways for multilingual schools: the actual and the imagined. In: Ofelia García, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and María E. Torres-Guzmán (eds.), *Imagining Multilingual Schools*.

- Languages in Education and Globalization*, 3–47. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Gardner, Rod and Johannes Wagner (eds.)
2004 *Second Language Conversations*. London: Continuum.
- Gass, Susan M. and Alison Mackey
2006 Input, interaction and output: an overview. *AILA Review* 19: 3–17.
- Gavioli, Laura
2005 *Exploring Corpora for ESP Learning*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Gee, James Paul
2005 *An Introduction to Discourse Analysis. Theory and Method*. 2nd edition. London: Routledge.
- Geertz, Clifford
1973 *The Interpretation of Cultures. Selected Essays*. New York: Basic Books.
- Geluykens, Ronald
1999 It takes two to cohere: The collaborative dimension of topical coherence in conversation. In: Wolfram Bublitz, Uta Lenk and Eija Ventola (eds.), *Coherence in Spoken and Written Discourse*, 35–53. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Gerstner, Hansjürgen
1986 Zur sprachlichen Realisierung des Kommunikationsverfahrens (KV) ‚Begründen‘. *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Ernst-Moritz-Arndt-Universität Greifswald*. 35 (1–2): 54.
- Giles, Howard and Nikolas Coupland
1991 *Language: Contexts and Consequences*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Giles, Howard and W. Peter Robinson (eds.)
1990 *Handbook of Language and Social Psychology*. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons.
- Glesne, Corrine and Alan Peshkin
1992 *Becoming Qualitative Researchers: An Introduction*. White Plains, NY: Longman.
- Gnutzmann, Claus
2005 ‘Standard English’ and ‘World Standard English’. Linguistic and pedagogical considerations. In: Claus Gnutzmann and Frauke Intemann (eds.), *The Globalisation of English and the English Language Classroom*, 107–118. Tübingen: Narr.
- Gnutzmann, Claus (ed.)
1999 *Teaching and Learning English as a Global Language*. Tübingen: Narr.
- Gnutzmann, Claus and Frauke Intemann
2008 Introduction: The globalisation of English. Language, politics and the English language classroom. In: Claus Gnutzmann and Frauke

- Intemann (eds.), *The Globalisation of English. Language, Politics and the English Language Classroom*, 9–24. Tübingen: Narr.
- Goffman, Erving
1967 [2005] *Interaction Rituals. Essays on Face-to-Face Behaviour*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
- Goffman, Erving (ed.)
1981 *Forms of Talk*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Good, David A.
1999 Communicative success vs. failure. In: *Handbook of Pragmatics Online*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. www.benjamins.com/online/hop/ (accessed 26 January 2006).
- Gorter, Durk (ed.)
2006 *Linguistic Landscape: A New Approach to Multilingualism*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Govier, Trudy
1987 *Problems in Argument Analysis and Evaluation*. Dordrecht, Holland: Foris Publications.
- Grabe, William and Fredericka L. Stoller
1997 Content-based instruction: research foundations. In: Catherine E. Snow and Donna M. Brinton (eds.), *The Content Based Classroom. Perspectives on Integrating Language and Content*, 5–21. White Plains, NY: Longman.
- Graddol, David
2006 *English Next. Why Global English Might Mean the End of 'English as a Foreign Language'*. British Council: The English Company (UK) Ltd. <http://www.britishcouncil.org/learning-research-english-next.pdf> (accessed 13 November 2009).
- Gramkow Andersen, K.
1993 *Lingua Franca Discourse: an Investigation of the Use of English in an International Business Context*. Unpubl. M.A. thesis, University of Aalborg.
- Grice, Paul
1975 Logic and conversation. In: P. Cole and J. Morgan (eds.), *Syntax and Semantics, Volume 3: Speech Acts*, 113–128. New York: Academic Press.
- Grin, François
2001 English as economic value: facts and fallacies. *World Englishes* 20 (1): 65–78.
- Guido, Maria Grazia
2008 *English as a Lingua Franca in Cross-Cultural Immigration Domains*. Bern: Lang.

- Gumperz, John J. (ed.)
1982 *Language and Social Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Haegeman, Patricia
2002 Foreigner talk in lingua franca business telephone calls. In: Karlfried Knapp and Christiane Meierkord (eds.), *Lingua Franca Communication*, 135–162. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Hall, Joan Kelly
1993 The role of oral practices in the accomplishment of our everyday lives: the sociocultural dimension of interaction with implications for the learning of another language. *Applied Linguistics* 14 (3): 145–166.
- Hall, Joan Kelly
2007 Redressing the roles of correction and repair in research on second and foreign language learning. *The Modern Language Journal* 91 (4): 511–526.
- Halliday, Michael
2004 *An Introduction to Functional Grammar*. 3rd edition. London: Arnold.
- Halliday, Michael and Rugaiya Hasan
1989 *Language Context and Text: Aspects of Language in a Social-Semiotic Perspective*. 2nd edition. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hartmann, Reinhard (ed.)
1996 *The English Language in Europe*. Oxford: intellect.
- Hasanova, Dilbaron
2007 Broadening the boundaries of the Expanding Circle. *World Englishes* 26: 276–290.
- Hatch, Evelyn
1992 *Discourse and Language Education*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- He, Agnes Ewiyun
2000 The grammatical and interactional organization of teacher's directives: implications for socialization of Chinese American children. *Linguistics and Education* 11 (2): 119–140.
- Hellekjær, Glenn
2010 (forthc.) Assessing Lecture Comprehension in English-Medium Higher Education: A Norwegian Case Study. In: Dalton-Puffer, Christiane, Nikula, Tarja and Smit, Ute (eds.), *Language Use in Content-and-Language Integrated Learning (CLIL)*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Heller, Monica
1990 French immersion in Canada: a model for Switzerland? *Multilingua* 9 (1): 67–85.
- Hellermann, John
2003 The interactive work of prosody in the IRF exchange: teacher repetition in feedback moves. *Language in Society* 32: 79–104.

- Heras, Ana Inés
1994 The construction of understanding in a sixth-grade bilingual classroom. *Linguistics and Education* 5: 275–299.
- Herdina, Philip and Ulrike Jessner
2002 *A Dynamic Model of Multilingualism. Perspectives of Change in Psycholinguistics*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Hermanns, Harry
2004 Interviewing as activity. In: Uwe Flick, Ernst van Kardorff and Ines Steinke (eds.), *A Compendium to Qualitative Research*, 209–213. London: Sage.
- Heyman, Richard D.
1986 Formulating topic in the classroom. *Discourse Processes* 9: 37–55.
- Hinnenkamp, Volker
2003 Misunderstandings: interactional structure and strategic resources. In: Juliane House, Gabriele Kasper and Steven Ross (eds.), *Misunderstanding in Social Life. Discourse Approaches to Problematic Talk*, 57–81. London: Pearson Education.
- Holmes, Janet
1983 The structure of teachers' directives. In: J.C. Richards and R.W. Schmidt (eds.), *Language and Communication*, 89–115. London: Longman.
- Holmes, Janet and Miriam Meyerhoff
1999 The community of practice: theories and methodologies in language and gender research. *Language in Society* 28: 173–183.
- Holmes, Janet and Maria Stubbe
2003 *Power and Politeness in the Workplace. A Sociolinguistic Analysis of Talk at Work*. London: Longman.
- Hopf, Christel
2004 Qualitative interviews – an overview. In: Uwe Flick, Ernst van Kardorff and Ines Steinke (eds.), *A Compendium to Qualitative Research*, 203–208. London: Sage.
- House, Juliane
1996 Developing pragmatic fluency in English as a foreign language. Routines and metapragmatic awareness. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 18: 225–252.
- House, Juliane
1999 Misunderstanding in intercultural communication: interactions in English as lingua franca and the myth of mutual intelligibility. In: Claus Gnutzmann (ed.), *Teaching and Learning English as a Global Language*, 73–89. Tübingen: Narr.
- House, Juliane
2000 Understanding misunderstanding: a pragmatic-discourse approach to analysing mismanaged rapport in talk across cultures. In: Helen Spen-

- cer-Oatey (ed.). *Culturally Speaking. Managing Rapport through Talk across Cultures*. London: Continuum, 145–164.
- House, Juliane
2003a English as a lingua franca: a threat to multilingualism? *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 7 (4): 556–578.
- House, Juliane
2003b Misunderstanding in intercultural university encounters. In: Juliane House, Gabriele Kasper and Steven Ross (eds.), *Misunderstanding in Social Life. Discourse Approaches to Problematic Talk*, 22–56. London: Pearson Education.
- House, Juliane
2008 (Im)politeness in English as Lingua Franca discourse. In: Miriam A. Locher, Jürg Strässler (eds.), *Standards and Norms in the English Language*, 351–366. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- House, Juliane and Gabriele Kasper
1987 Interlanguage Pragmatics: requesting in a foreign language. In: Wolfgang Lörcher and Rainer Schulze (eds.), *Perspectives on Language in Performance. Studies in Linguistics, Literary Criticism and Language Teaching and Learning. To Honour Werner Hüllen on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*, 1250–1288. Tübingen: Narr.
- House, Juliane, Gabriele Kasper and Steven Ross (eds.)
2003 *Misunderstanding in Social Life. Discourse Approaches to Problematic Talk*. London: Pearson Education.
- Huisman, J. and M. van der Wende
2004 The EU and Bologna: are supra- and international initiatives threatening domestic agendas? *European Journal of Education* 39 (3): 349–357.
- Hüllen, Werner
1982 Teaching a foreign language as ‘lingua franca’. *Grazer Linguistische Studien* 16: 83–88.
- Hüllen, Werner
1992 Identifikationssprachen und Kommunikationssprachen. *Zeitschrift für Germanistische Linguistik* 20 (3): 298–317.
- Hulstijn, Jan
2003 Incidental and intentional learning. In: Catherine Doughty and Michael Long (eds.), *The Handbook of Second Language Acquisition*, 349–381. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Hüttner, Julia Isabel
2005 Extended Genre Analysis: Exploring Student Academic Writing. Unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Vienna, Austria.
- Hüttner, Julia Isabel
2007 *Academic Writing in a Foreign Language. An Extended Genre Analysis of Student Texts*. Frankfurt: Lang.

- Hyland, Ken
2006 *English for Academic Purposes. An Advanced Resource Book*. London: Routledge.
- Hymes, Dell
1972 Models of the interaction of language and social life. In: John Gumperz and Dell Hymes (eds.), *Directions in Sociolinguistics: the Ethnography of Communication*, 35–71. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- Iedema, Rick
1996 ‘Save the talk for after the listening’: the realisation of regulative discourse in teacher talk. *Language and Education* 10 (2 & 3): 82–102.
- Jakobson, Karen Sonne
1992 Handlungsmuster und Interaktionsform: Sprachunterricht an der technischen Schule. In: Annette Grindsted and Johannes Wagner (eds.), *Communication for Specific Purposes. Fachsprachliche Kommunikation*, 227–242. Tübingen: Narr.
- James, Allan
2005 The challenges of the Lingua Franca: English in the world and types of variety. In: Klaus Gnutzmann and Frauke Intemann (eds.), *The Globalisation of English and the English Language Classroom*, 133–144. Tübingen: Narr.
- James, Allan
2006 Lingua Franca English as chimera: sociocultural and sociolinguistic perspectives. In: Werner Delanoy and Laurenz Volkmann (eds.), *Cultural Studies in the ELF Classroom*, 221–232. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter.
- James, Allan
2007a Exploring the generic nature of international English. In: Uroš Mozetič and Smiljana Komar (eds.), *English Language Overseas. Perspectives and Enquiries (ELOPE) III*, 75–84. (Special Issue). http://www.sdass.edu.si/index_files/elope.htm (accessed 2 November 2009).
- James, Allan
2007b Language acquisition and language use: towards the Anglistic mediation of an applied linguistics dialogue. In: Werner Delanoy, Jörg Helbig and Allan James (eds.), *Towards a Dialogic Anglistics*, 105–118. Wien: LIT-Verlag.
- Jaworski, Adam and Nikolas Coupland
1999 Introduction: perspectives on discourse analysis. In: Adam Jaworski and Nikolas Coupland (eds.), *The Discourse Reader*, 1–44. London and New York: Routledge.

- Jenkins, Jennifer
2000 *The Phonology of English as an International Language: New Models, New Norms, New Goals*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jenkins, Jennifer
2005a Implementing an international approach to English pronunciation: the role of teacher attitudes and identity. *TESOL Quarterly* 39 (3): 535–543.
- Jenkins, Jennifer
2005b Teaching pronunciation for English as a lingua franca: a sociopolitical perspective. In: Claus Gnutzmann and Frauke Intemann (eds.), *The Globalisation of English and the English Language Classroom*, 145–158. Tübingen: Narr.
- Jenkins, Jennifer
2006 Global intelligibility and local diversity: possibility or paradox? In: Rani Rubdy and Mario Saraceni (eds.), *English in the World. Global Rules, Global Roles*, 32–39. London: Continuum.
- Jenkins, Jennifer
2007 *English as a Lingua Franca: Attitude and Identity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jenkins, Jennifer
2009 *World Englishes. A Resource Book for Students*. 2nd edition. London: Routledge.
- Jenkins, Jennifer, Marko Modiano and Barbara Seidlhofer
2001 Euro-English. *English Today* 17 (4): 13–19.
- Jessner, Ulrike
2006 *Linguistic Awareness in Multilinguals. English as a Third Language*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Johnson, Donna M.
1992 *Approaches to Research in Second Language Learning*. New York: Longman.
- Johnson, Donna M. and Muriel Saville-Troike
1992 Validity and reliability in qualitative research on second language acquisition and teaching. Two researchers comment. . . *TESOL Quarterly* 26 (3): 602–605.
- Johnson, Robert Keith and Merrill Swain (eds.)
1997 *Immersion Education: International Perspectives*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Jones, Jeremy F.
1999 From silence to talk: cross-cultural ideas on students' participation in academic group discussion. *English for Specific Purposes* 18 (3): 243–259.

- Jones, Kimberly
1992 A question of context: directive use at a morris team meeting. *Language in Society* 21: 427–445.
- Kachru, Braj B. (ed.)
1992 *The Other Tongue: English Across Cultures*. Urbana, Illinois: University of Illinois Press.
- Kachru, Braj B.
1996 English as lingua franca. In: Hans Goebel, Peter H. Nelde, Zdenek Stry and Wolfgang Wölck (eds.), *Kontaktlinguistik. Contact Linguistics. Linguistique de contact*, 906–913. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
- Kasper, Gabriele
1985 Repair in foreign language teaching. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition* 7: 307–312.
- Kasper, Gabriele
1996 Politeness. In: *Handbook of Pragmatics Online*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. www.benjamins.com/online/hop/ (accessed 26 January 2006).
- Kasper, Gabriele
2001 Classroom research on interlanguage pragmatics. In: Kenneth R. Rose and Gabriele Kasper (eds.), *Pragmatics in Language Teaching*, 33–60. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kasper, Gabriele
2006 Beyond repair: conversation analysis as an approach to SLA. *AILA Review* 19: 83–99.
- Kasper, Gabriele and Shoshana Blum-Kulka
1993 The scope of interlanguage pragmatics. In: Gabriele Kasper and Shoshana Blum-Kulka (eds.), *Interlanguage Pragmatics*, 3–17. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kaur, Jagdish
2009 *English as a Lingua Franca Co-constructing Understanding*. Saarbrücken: VDM Verlag Müller.
- Kelly-Holmes, Helen
2006 Multilingualism and commercial language practices on the internet. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 10 (4): 507–519.
- Kidd, Richard
1996 Teaching academic language functions at the secondary level. *The Canadian Modern Language Review/La Revue canadienne des langues vivantes* 52 (2): 285–303.
- Kiel, Ewald
1999 *Erklären als didaktisches Handeln*. Würzburg: Ergon.
- Klaassen, Renate
2006 Content and language integrated teacher training for university lecturers. Talk given at “ICLHE Conference”, Maastricht, 1 June.

- Klein, Josef
1987 *Die konklusiven Sprechhandlungen. Studien zur Pragmatik, Semantik, Syntax und Lexik von Begründen, Erklären-warum, Folgern und Rechtfertigen.* Tübingen: Niemeyer.
- Knapp, Karlfried
1987 English as an International lingua franca and the teaching of intercultural communication. In: Wolfgang Lörcher and Rainer Schulze (eds.), *Perspectives on Language in Performance. Studies in Linguistics, Literary Criticism and Language Teaching and Learning. To Honour Werner Hüllen on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday, 1022–1039.* Tübingen: Narr.
- Knapp, Karlfried
2002 The fading out of the non-native speaker. Native speaker dominance in lingua-franca-situations. In: Karlfried Knapp and Christiane Meierkord (eds.), *Lingua Franca Communication*, 217–244. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Knapp, Karlfried and Christiane Meierkord (eds.)
2002 *Lingua Franca Communication.* Frankfurt: Lang.
- Koester, Almut J.
2002 The performance of speech acts in workplace conversations and the teaching of communicative functions. *System* 30 (2): 167–184.
- Köpke, Barbara and Monika S. Schmid
2007 Language attrition: the next phase. In: Barbara Köpke, Monika S. Schmid, Merel Keijzer and Susan Dostert (eds.), *Language Attrition: Theoretical Perspectives*, 1–45. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Kordon, Kathrin
2006 “You are very good” – establishing rapport in English as a lingua franca: the case of agreement tokens. *Vienna English Working Papers (VIEWS)* 15 (2): 58–83. www.univie.ac.at/Anglistik/ang_new/online_papers/views.html (accessed 3 May 2008).
- Kortmann, Bernd and Edgar Schneider
2004 *A Handbook of Varieties of English: a Multi-Media Reference Tool.* Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Kramsch, Claire
1993 *Context and Culture in Language Teaching.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kuo, I-Chun (Vicky)
2006 Addressing the issue of teaching English as a lingua franca. *ELT Journal* 60 (3): 213–221.
- Labov, William
1972 *Sociolinguistic Patterns.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

- Lakoff, Robin T. and Sachiko Ide (eds.)
2005 *Broadening the Horizon of Linguistic Politeness*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Larsen-Freeman, Diane
1996 The changing nature of second language classroom research. In: Jacquelyn Schachter and Susan Gass (eds.), *Second Language Classroom Research: Issues and Opportunities*, 157–173. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Larsen-Freeman, Diane and Michael H. Long
1991 *An Introduction to Second Language Acquisition Research*. New York: Longman.
- Lasagabaster, David
2008 Foreign language competence in content and language integrated courses. *The Open Applied Linguistics Journal* 1: 31–42.
- Lave, Jean and Etienne Wenger
1991 *Situated Learning. Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lazarton, Anne
1995 Qualitative research in applied linguistics: a progress report. *TESOL Quarterly* 29 (3): 455–472.
- Lea, Mary R.
2005 ‘Communities of practice’ in higher education. In: David Barton and Karin Tusting (eds.), *Beyond Communities of Practice. Language, Power and Social Context*, 180–197. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lee, Yo-An
2007 Third turn position in teacher talk: contingency and the work of teaching. *Journal of Pragmatics* 39: 180–206.
- Leech, Geoffrey N.
1983 *Principles of Pragmatics*. London: Longman.
- Lemke, Jay L.
1989 *Using Language in the Classroom*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Lemke, Jay L.
1990 *Talking Science. Language, Learning and Values*. Norwood, N.J.: Ablex Publ.
- Lenz, Friedrich
1989 *Organisationsprinzipien in mündlicher Fachkommunikation: zur Gesprächsorganisation von „Technical Meetings“*. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Lesznyák, Ágnes
2002 From chaos to the smallest common denominator. Topic management in English lingua franca communication. In: Karlfried Knapp and Christiane Meierkord (eds.), *Lingua Franca Communication*, 163–193. Frankfurt: Lang.

- Lesznyák, Ágnes
2004 *Communication in English as an International Lingua Franca*. Nor-derstedt: Books on Demand.
- Liebscher, Grit and Jennifer Dailey-O'Cain
2003 Conversational repair as a role-defining mechanism in classroom interaction. *The Modern Language Journal* 87 (3): 375–390.
- Linell, Per
1995 Troubles with mutualities: towards a dialogical theory of misunderstanding and miscommunication. Ivana Markova, Carl Graumann and Klaus Foppe (eds.), *Mutualities in Dialogue*, 176–213. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Linell, Per and Margareta Bredmar
1996 Reconstructing topical sensitivity: aspects of face-work in talks between midwives and expectant mothers. *Research on Language and Social Interaction* 29 (4): 347–379.
- Locher, Miriam A. and Watts, Richard J.
2005 Politeness theory and relational work. *Journal of Politeness Research* 1: 9–33.
- Lochtman, Katja
2002 Oral corrective feedback in the foreign language classroom: how it affects interaction in analytic foreign language teaching. *International Journal of Educational Research* 37: 271–283.
- Lochtman, Katja
2007 Die mündliche Fehlerkorrektur in CLIL und im traditionellen Fremdsprachenunterricht: ein Vergleich. In: Christiane Dalton-Puffer and Ute Smit (eds.), *Empirical Perspectives on CLIL Classroom Discourse*, 119–138. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Long, Michael
1981 Questions in foreigner talk discourse. *Language Learning* 31: 135–157.
- Long, Michael and Charlene J. Sato
1983 Classroom foreigner talk discourse: forms and functions of teachers' questions. In: Herbert G. Seliger and Michael H. Long (eds.), *Classroom Oriented Research in Second Language Acquisition*, 269–286. Rowley: Newbury House Publishers.
- Lörscher, Wolfgang and Rainer Schulze
1988 On polite speaking and foreign language classroom discourse. *IRAL (International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching)* 26: 183–199.
- Louhiala-Salminen, Leena, Mirjaliisa Charles and Anne Kankaanranta
2005 English as a lingua franca in Nordic corporate mergers: two case companies. *English for Specific Purposes* 24 (4): 401–421.

- Lyster, Roy
1998 Negotiation of form, recasts, and explicit correction in relation to error types and learner repair in immersion classrooms. *Language Learning* 48 (2): 183–218.
- Lyster, Roy
2002 Negotiation in immersion teacher-student interaction. *International Journal of Educational Research* 37: 237–253.
- Macbeth, Douglas
2004 The relevance of repair for classroom correction. *Language in Society* 33: 703–736.
- Mair, Christian (ed.)
2003 *The Politics of English as a World Language: New Horizons in Post-colonial Cultural Studies*. Amsterdam: Rodopi.
- Margutti, Piera
2006 “Are you human beings?” Order and knowledge construction through questioning in primary classroom interaction. *Linguistics and Education* 17: 313–346.
- Mariotti, Christina
2007 Negotiated interactions and repair. *Vienna English Working Papers (VIEWS)* 16 (3): 33–39. www.univie.ac.at/Anglistik/ang_new/online_papers/views.html (accessed 3 May 2008)
- Markee, Numa
2000 *Conversation Analysis*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Marsh, David and Dieter Wolff (eds.)
2007 *Diverse Contexts – Converging Goals. CLIL in Europe*. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Martin, J.R.
1997 Analysing genre: functional parameters. In: Frances Christie and J.R. Martin (eds.), *Genre and Institutions. Social Processes in the Workplace and School*, 3–39. London and Washington: Cassell.
- Marton, Ference, Ulla Runesson and Amy B.M. Tsui
2004 The space of learning. In: Ference Marton and Amy Tsui (eds.), *Classroom Discourse and the Space of Learning*, 3–40. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Marton, Ference and Amy B.M. Tsui
2004 *Classroom Discourse and the Space of Learning*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Mauranen, Anna
2003 The corpus of English as lingua franca in academic settings. *TESOL Quarterly* 37 (2): 513–27.
- Mauranen, Anna
2006a A rich domain of ELF – the ELFA corpus of academic discourse. *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 5 (2): 145–159.

- Mauranen, Anna
2006b Signalling and preventing misunderstanding in English as lingua franca communication. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 177: 123–150.
- Mauranen, Anna and Elina Ranta
2008 English as an Academic Lingua Franca—The ELFA Project. *Nordic Journal of English Studies* 7 (3): 199–202.
- Mauranen, Anna and Elina Ranta (eds.)
2009 *English as a Lingua Franca: Studies and Findings*. Cambridge: Cambridge Scholars Publishing
- Mazeland Harrie and Minna Zaman-Zadeh
2004 Pursuit of understanding: rethinking ‘negotiation of meaning’ in view of projected action. In: Rod Gardner and Johannes Wagner (eds.), *Second Language Conversations*, 132–156. London: Continuum.
- McArthur, Tom
2002 *The Oxford Guide to World English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- McCarthy, Michael
1991 *Discourse Analysis for Language Teachers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McCormick, Dawn and Richard Donato
2000 Teacher questions as scaffolded assistance in an ESL classroom. In: Joan Kelly Hall and Lorrie-Stoops Verplaetse (eds.), *Second and Foreign Language through Classroom Interaction*, 183–201. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- McHoul, A.W.
1990 The organization of repair in classroom talk. *Language in Society* 19: 349–377.
- McKay, Sandra Lee
2002 *Teaching English as an International Language: Rethinking Goals and Approaches*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- McKay, Sandra Lee
2003 Toward an appropriate EIL pedagogy: re-examining common ELT assumptions. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 13 (2): 1–22.
- Meeuwis, Michael
1994 Nonnative-nonnative communication: an analysis of instruction sessions for foreign engineers in a Belgian company. *Multilingua* 13 (1–2): 59–82.
- Mehan, Hugh
1979 *Learning Lessons*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

- Mehan, Hugh
1985 The structure of classroom discourse. In: Teun van Dijk (ed.), *Handbook of Discourse Analysis. Vol. 3: Discourse and Dialogue*, 119–131. London: Academic Press.
- Meier, Ardith J.
1995 Passages of politeness. *Journal of Pragmatics* 24: 381–392.
- Meier, Ardith J.
2003 Posting the bans: a marriage of pragmatics and culture in foreign and second language pedagogy and beyond. In: Alicia Martínez, Esther Usó and Ana Fernández (eds.), *Pragmatics Competence and Foreign Language Teaching*, 185–210. Castelló: Universitat Jaume I.
- Meier, Ardith J.
2004 Has ‘politeness’ outlived its usefulness? *Vienna English Working Papers (VIEWS)* 13: 5–22. www.univie.ac.at/Anglistik/ang_new/online_papers/views.html (accessed 3 May 2008).
- Meierkord, Christiane
1996 *Englisch als Medium der interkulturellen Kommunikation. Untersuchungen zum non-native- / non-native-speaker Diskurs*. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Meierkord, Christiane
2000 Interpreting successful lingua franca interaction. An analysis of non-native/non-native small talk conversations in English. *Linguistik online* 1/00 (13 pp.). http://viadrina.euv-frankfurt-o.de/~wjournal/1_00/MEIERKOR.HTML (accessed 28 Aug. 2001)
- Meierkord, Christiane
2002 ‘Language stripped bare’ or ‘linguistic masala’? Culture in lingua franca communication. In: Karlfried Knapp and Christiane Meierkord (eds.), *Lingua Franca Communication*, 109–133. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Meierkord, Christiane
2004 Syntactic variation in interactions across international Englishes. *English World Wide* 25 (1): 109–131.
- Meierkord, Christiane
2006 Lingua franca communication past and present. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 177: 9–30.
- Meierkord, Christiane and Karlfried Knapp
2002 Approaching lingua franca communication. In: Karlfried Knapp and Christiane Meierkord (eds.), *Lingua Franca Communication*, 9–28. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Mesthrie, Rajend and Rakesh M. Bhatt
2008 *World Englishes. The Study of New Linguistic Varieties*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Mewald, Claudia
2007 A comparison of oral foreign language performance of learner in CLIL and in mainstream classes at lower secondary level in Lower Austria. In: Christiane Dalton-Puffer and Ute Smit (eds.), *Empirical Perspectives on CLIL Classroom Discourse*, 139–177. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Mey, Jacob L.
1993 *Pragmatics: an Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Meyerhoff, Miriam
2002 Communities of practice. In: Jack K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill and Natalie Schilling-Estes (eds.), *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*, 521–548. Malden, M.A.: Blackwell.
- Meyerhoff, Miriam
2006 *Introducing Sociolinguistics*. London: Routledge.
- Modiano, Marko
2009 EIL, native-speakerism and the failure of European ELT. In: Farzad Sharifian (ed.), *English as an International Language: Perspectives and Pedagogical Issues*, 58–77. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Mohan, Bernard
2001 The second language as a medium of learning. In: Bernard Mohan, Constant Leung and Chris Davison (eds.), *English as a Second Language in the Mainstream*, 107–126. Harlow, England: Longman.
- Mohan, Bernard, Constant Leung and Chris Davison (eds.)
2001 *English as a Second Language in the Mainstream*. Harlow, England: Longman.
- Mohan, Bernard and Tammy Slater
2005 A functional perspective on the critical ‘theory/practice’ relation in teaching language and science. *Linguistics and Education* 16: 151–172.
- Mollin, Sandra
2006 *Euro-English: Assessing Variety Status*. Tübingen: Narr.
- Morell, Teresa
2004 Interactive lecture discourse for university EFL students. *English for Specific Purposes* 23: 325–338.
- Motz, Markus
2005a *Ausländische Studierende in Internationalen Studiengängen: Motivation, Sprachverwendung und sprachliche Bedürfnisse*. Bochum: AKS-Verlag
- Motz, Markus
2005b Internationalisierung der Hochschulen und Deutsch als Fremdsprache. In: Markus Motz (ed.), *Englisch oder Deutsch in Internationalen Studiengängen?*, 131–152. Frankfurt: Lang.

- Musumeci, Diane
1996 Teacher-learner negotiation in content-based instruction: communication at cross-purposes? *Applied Linguistics* 17: 286–325.
- Nassaji, Hossein and Gordon Wells
2000 What's the use of 'Triadic Dialogue'? An investigation of teacher-student interaction. *Applied Linguistics* 21 (3): 376–406.
- Nastansky, Heinz.-L.
2004 National strategy in the internationalisation of higher education: the German perspective. In: Robert Wilkinson (ed.), *Integrating Content and Language. Meeting the Challenge of a Multilingual Higher Education*, 49–54. Maastricht: Universitaire Pers.
- Nikula, Tarja
2002 Teacher talk reflecting pragmatic awareness: a look at EFL and content-based classrooms. *Pragmatics* 12: 447–468.
- Nikula, Tarja
2005 English as an object and a tool of study in classrooms: interactional effects and pragmatic implications. *Linguistics and Education* 16 (1): 27–58.
- Nikula, Tarja
2007 The IRF pattern and space for interaction: comparing CLIL and EFL classrooms. In: Christiane Dalton-Puffer and Ute Smit (eds.), *Empirical perspective on Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL)*, 179–204. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Nunan, David
1992 *Research Methods in Language Learning*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ochs, Elinor K. and Bambi B. Schieffelin
1976 Topic as a discourse notion: a study of topic in the conversations of children and adults. In: Charles N. Li (ed.), *Subject and Topic*, 337–384. New York: Academic Press.
- OECD
2007 *PISA 2006: Science Competencies for Tomorrow's World Executive Summary*. <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/15/13/39725224.pdf> (accessed 25 January 2008).
- Pakir, Anne
2009 English as a lingua franca: analyzing research frameworks in international English, world Englishes, and ELF. *World Englishes* 28 (2): 224–235.
- Parekh, Bhikhu
2000 *Rethinking Multiculturalism: Cultural Diversity and Political Theory*. London: Palgrave.

- Paribakht, T. Sima and Marjorie Wesche
 1997 Vocabulary enhancement activities and reading for meaning in second language vocabulary acquisition. In: James Coady and Thomas Huckin (eds.), *Second Language Vocabulary Acquisition*, 174–199. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Pavlenko, Aneta (ed.)
 2006 *Negotiation of Identities in Multilingual Contexts*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Pennycook, Alastair
 1994 *The Cultural Politics of English as an International Language*. London: Longman.
- Pennycook, Alastair
 2007 *Global Englishes and Transcultural Flows*. London: Routledge.
- Phillipson, Robert
 1992 *Linguistic Imperialism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Phillipson, Robert
 2003 *English-Only Europe: Challenging Language Policy*. London: Routledge.
- Phillipson, Robert
 2006 Figuring out the Englishisation of Europe. In: Constant Leung and Jennifer Jenkins (eds.), *Reconfiguring Europe: The Contribution of Applied Linguistics*, 65–86. London: Equinox.
- Pica, Teresa
 1983 Second-language acquisition, social interaction, and the classroom. *Applied Linguistics* 8 (1): 3–21.
- Pitzl, Marie-Luise
 2004 “I know what you mean” – ‘Miscommunication’ in English as a lingua franca: the case of business meetings. Unpub. M.A. thesis, University of Vienna.
- Pitzl, Marie-Luise
 2005 Non-understanding in English as a lingua franca: examples from a business context. *Vienna English Working Papers (VIEWS)* 14 (2): 50–71. <http://www.univie.ac.at/Anglistik/Views0502ALL.pdf> (accessed 1 April 2008).
- Pözl, Ulrike
 2003 Signalling cultural identity: the use of L1/Ln in ELF. *Vienna English Working Papers (VIEWS)* 12 (2): 3–23. [www.univie.ac.at/Anglistik/ang_new/online_papers/ views.html](http://www.univie.ac.at/Anglistik/ang_new/online_papers/views.html) (accessed 3 May 2008).
- Pözl, Ulrike
 2005 Exploring the Third Space: Negotiating culture in English as a lingua franca. Unpub. Ph.D. thesis, University of Vienna.

- Pözl, Ulrike and Barbara Seidlhofer
 2006 In and on their own terms: the “habitat factor” in English as a lingua franca interactions. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language* 177: 151–176.
- Poole, Deborah
 1991 Discourse analysis in ethnographic research. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 11: 42–56.
- Poole, Deborah
 2002 Discourse analysis and applied linguistics. In: Robert Kaplan (ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Applied Linguistics*, 74–84. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Potowski, Kim
 2007 *Language and Identity in a Dual Immersion School*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Poulisse, Nadja
 1997 Compensatory strategies and the principles of clarity and economy. In: Gabriele Kasper and Eric Kellermann (eds.), *Communication Strategies*, 49–64. London: Longman.
- Prodromou, Luke
 2006 Defining the ‘successful bilingual speaker’ of English. In: Rani Rubdy and Mario Saraceni (eds.), *English in the World. Global Rules, Global Roles*, 51–70. London: Continuum.
- Prodromou, Luke
 2007 Bumping into creative idiomaticity. *English Today* 89 23 (1): 14–25.
- Prodromou, Luke
 2008 *English as a Lingua Franca. A Corpus-Based Analysis*. London: Continuum.
- Quirk, Randolph and Henry G. Widdowson (eds.)
 1985 *English in the World: Teaching and Learning the Language and Literatures; Papers of an International Conference entitled “Progress in English Studies” held in London, 17 – 21 September 1984 to Celebrate the 50th Anniversary of The British Council and its Contribution to the Field of English Studies over 50 Years*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rampton, Ben
 1990 Displacing the ‘native speaker’: expertise, affiliation, and inheritance. *ELT Journal* 44 (2): 97–101.
- Rampton, Ben
 2006 *Language in Late Modernity. Interaction in an Urban School*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Rampton, Ben, Celia Roberts, Constant Leung and Roxy Harris
 2002 Methodology in the analysis of classroom discourse. *Applied Linguistics* 23 (3): 373–392.

- Ranta, Elina
2009 Syntactic features in spoken ELF—learner language or spoken grammar?. In: Anna Mauranen and Elina Ranta (eds.), *English as a Lingua Franca: Studies and Findings*, 84–106. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishers.
- Richard, Jack C. and Charles Lockhart
1994 *Reflective Teaching in Second Language Classrooms*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ridley, Julia, Julie Radford and Merle Mohan
2002 How do teachers manage topic and repair? *Child Language Teaching and Therapy* 18 (1): 43–58.
- Riley, Philip
2007 *Language, Culture and Identity: an Ethnolinguistic Perspective*. London: Continuum.
- Risager, Karen
2006 *Language and Culture: Global Flows and Local Complexity*. Cleveland: Multilingual Matters.
- Romaine, Suzanne
1995 *Bilingualism*. 2nd edition. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Rubdy, Rani and Mario Saraceni
2006 Introduction. In: Rani Rubdy and Mario Saraceni (eds.), *English in the World. Global Rules, Global Roles*, 5–16. London: Continuum.
- Rubdy, Rani and Mario Saraceni (eds.)
2006 *English in the World – Global Rules, Global Roles*. London: Continuum.
- Sacks, Harvey, Emanuel Schegloff and Gail Jefferson
1974 A simplest systematics for the organization of turn-taking in conversation. *Language* 50: 697–735.
- Samarin, William J.
1987 Lingua Franca. In: Ulrich Ammon, Norbert Dittmar and Klaus J. Mattheier (eds.), *Sociolinguistics: an International Handbook of the Science of Language and Society. Volume 1*, 371–374. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Sarangi, Srikant
1996 Culture. In: *Handbook of Pragmatics Online*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. www.benjamins.com/online/hop/ (accessed 26 January 2006).
- Saville-Troike, Muriel
1982 *The Ethnography of Communication. An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Schachter, Jacquelyn and Susan Gass (eds.)
1996 *Second Language Classroom Research: Issues and Opportunities*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.

- Schaller-Schwaner, Iris
2008 ELF in academic settings: working language and edulect, prestige and solidarity. Paper presented at the "ELF Forum, First International Conference of English as a Lingua Franca", Helsinki University, March.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A.
1992 Repair after next turn: the last structurally provided defense of intersubjectivity in conversation. *American Journal of Sociology* 97: 1295–1345.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A.
2000 When 'others' initiate repair. *Applied Linguistics* 21 (2): 205–243.
- Schegloff, Emanuel A., Gail Jefferson and Harvey Sacks
1977 The preference for self-correction in the organization of repair in conversation. *Language* 53 (2): 361–382.
- Schiffrin, Deborah
1994 *Approaches to Discourse*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Schleppegrell, Mary J.
2004 *The Language of Schooling. A Functional Linguistic Perspective*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Schneider, K.P.
1987 Topic selection in phatic communication. *Multilingua* 6: 3247–3256.
- Scollon, Ron
1995 Methodological challenges in discourse analysis. From sentences to discourses, ethnography to ethnographic: conflicting trends in TESOL research. *TESOL Quarterly* 29 (2): 381–384.
- Scollon, Ron and Suzanne Wong Scollon
2001 *Intercultural Communication: A Discourse Approach*. 2nd edition. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Searle, John
1969 *Speech Acts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Searle, John
1976 A classification of illocutionary acts. *Language in Society* 5: 1–23.
- Seedhouse, Paul
1997 The case of missing "no": the relationship between pedagogy and interaction. *Language Learning* 47: 547–583.
- Seedhouse, Paul
1999 The relationship between context and the organisation of repair in the L2 classroom. *IRAL (International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching)* 37 (1): 59–80.
- Seedhouse, Paul
2005 Conversation analysis as research methodology. In: Keith Richards and Paul Seedhouse (eds.), *Applying Conversation Analysis*, 251–266. London: Palgrave.

- Seidlhofer, Barbara
 2001 Closing a conceptual gap: the case for a description of English as a lingua franca. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 11 (2): 133–158.
- Seidlhofer, Barbara
 2004 Research perspectives on teaching English as a lingua franca. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 24: 209–239.
- Seidlhofer, Barbara
 2005a Standard future or half-baked quackery? Descriptive and pedagogic bearings on the globalisation of English. In: Claus Gnutzmann and Frauke Intemann (eds.), *The Globalisation of English and the English Language Classroom*, 155–169. Tübingen: Narr.
- Seidlhofer, Barbara
 2005b Englisch als Lingua Franca und seine Rolle in der internationalen Wissensvermittlung. Ein Aufruf zur Selbstbehauptung. In: Sabine Braun and Kurt Kohn (eds.), *Sprache[n] in der Wissensvermittlung*, 27–45. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Seidlhofer, Barbara
 2006 English as a lingua franca in the expanding circle: what it isn't. In: Rani Rubdy and Mario Saraceni (eds.), *English in the World. Global Rules, Global Roles*, 40–50. London: Continuum.
- Seidlhofer, Barbara
 2010 (forthc.) *Understanding English as a Lingua Franca*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Seidlhofer, Barbara and Margie Berns (eds.)
 2009 Perspectives on English as a lingua franca: Introduction. *World Englishes* 28 (2). (Special Issue)
- Seidlhofer, Barbara, Angelika Breiteneder and Marie-Luise Pitzl
 2006 English as a lingua franca in Europe: challenges for applied linguistics. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 26: 3–34.
- Seidlhofer, Barbara and Henry Widdowson
 2007 Idiomatic variation and change in English. The idiom principle and its realization. In: Ute Smit, Stefan Dollinger, Julia Hüttner, Gunther Kaltenböck and Ursula Lutzky (eds.), *Tracing English Through Time. Explorations in Language Variation*, 359–374. Vienna: Braumüller.
- Seliger, Herbert W. and Elena G. Shohamy
 1989 *Second Language Research Methods*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sercu, Lies, Ewa Bandura, Paloma Castro, Leah Davcheva, Chryssa Laskaridou, Ulla Lundgren, María del Carmen Méndez García and Phyllis Ryan (eds.)
 2005 *Foreign Language Teachers and Intercultural Competence. An International Investigation*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

- Sigurbjörnsson, Börkur, Jaap Kamps and Maarten de Rijke
2005 Blueprint of a cross-lingual web retrieval collection. *DIR 2005*.
[http://staff.science.uva.nl/~mdr/Publications/ Files/
dir2005-webclef.pdf](http://staff.science.uva.nl/~mdr/Publications/Files/dir2005-webclef.pdf) (accessed 22 March 2007).
- Sinclair, John
1991 *Corpus, Concordance, Collocation*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Sinclair, John and Malcolm Coulthard
1975 *Towards an Analysis of Discourse. The English Used by Teachers and Pupils*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Singh, Rajendra (ed.)
1998 *The Native Speaker. Multilingual Perspectives*. New Delhi: Sage.
- Skarup, Terkel
2004 Brokering and membership in a multilingual community of practice. In: Rod Gardner and Johannes Wagner (eds.), *Second Language Conversations*, 40–57. London: Continuum.
- Skovholt, Karianne and Jan Svennevig
2005 The methodology of conversational analysis. Paper given at the “9th International Pragmatics Conference”, Riva del Garda, 10–15 July.
- Smit, Ute
2003 English as Lingua Franca (ELF) as Medium of Learning in a Hotel Management Educational Program: an applied linguistic approach. *Vienna English Working Papers (VIEWS)* 12 (2): 40–75.
www.univie.ac.at/Anglistik/ang_new/online_papers/views.html
(accessed 3 May 2008).
- Smit, Ute
2005 Multilingualism and English. The lingua franca concept in language description and language learning pedagogy. In: Renate Faistauer, Chantal Cali, Isolde Cullin, and Keith Chester (eds.), *Mehrsprachigkeit und Kommunikation in der Diplomatie. Favorita Papers* 4, 66–76. Vienna: Diplomatic Academy.
- Smit, Ute
2007a ELF (English as a lingua franca) as medium of instruction – interactional repair in international hotel management education. In: Christiane Dalton-Puffer and Ute Smit (eds.), *Empirical Perspectives on CLIL Classrooms*, 227–252. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Smit, Ute
2007b Writing in English as a lingua franca (ELF) in international higher education. In: Robert Wilkinson and Vera Zegers (eds.), *Researching Content and Language Integration in Higher Education*, 207–222. Maastricht University Language Centre.
- Smit, Ute
2008 “‘What I think is important [is] to know how to explain it.’ Explaining lexical items in English as a lingua franca in international higher edu-

- cation. In: E. Burwitz-Melzer, W. Hallet, M. K. Legutke, F.-J. Meißner & J. Mukherjee (eds.), *Sprachen lernen – Menschen bilden. Dokumentation zum 22. Kongress für Fremdsprachendidaktik der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Fremdsprachenforschung (DGFF) Gießen, Oktober 2007. BFF – Beiträge zur Fremdsprachenforschung, Band 10*, 279–288. Hohengehren: Schneider Verlag.
- Smit, Ute
2009
Emic evaluations and interactive processes in a classroom community of practice. In: Anna Mauranen and Elina Ranta (eds.), *English as a Lingua Franca: Studies and Findings*, 200–224. Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishers.
- Smith, Kari
2004
Studying in an additional language: What is gained, what is lost, what is assessed. In: Robert Wilkinson (ed.), *Integrating Content and Language. Meeting the Challenge of a Multilingual Higher Education*, 78–93. Maastricht: Universitaire Pers.
- Smith, Larry E.
1984
Teaching English as an international language. *Studium Linguistik* 15: 52–59.
- Smith, Larry E.
1992
Spread of English and issues of intelligibility. In: Braj B. Kachru (ed.), *The Other Tongue. English Across Cultures*. 2nd edition, 75–90. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press.
- Smith, Larry E. and Cecil L. Nelson
1985
International intelligibility of English: directions and resources. *World Englishes* 4 (3): 333–342.
- Snow, Catherine E. and Donna M. Brinton (eds.)
1997
The Content Based Classroom. Perspectives on Integrating Language and Content. White Plains, NY: Longman.
- Snow, Marguerite Ann
1998
Trends and issues in content-based instruction. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 18: 243–267.
- Spencer-Oatey, Helen
2002
Rapport management: a framework for analysis. In: Helen Spencer-Oatey (ed.), *Culturally Speaking: Managing Rapport Through Talk Across Cultures*, 11–47. London: Continuum.
- Spolsky, Bernard
1998
Sociolinguistics. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Stati, Sorin
2004
Misunderstanding – a dialogic problem. In: Karin Aijmer (ed.), *Dialogue Analysis VIII: Understanding and Misunderstanding in Dialogue. Selected Papers from the 8th IADA Conference Göteborg 2001*, 49–56. Tübingen: Niemeyer.

- Statistik Austria
2009 *Volkswirtschaftliche Gesamtrechnungem 1976–2008. Hauptergebnisse.* Bundesanstalt Statistik Österreich. www.statistik.at (accessed 16 October 2009).
- Stegu, Martin and Barbara Seidlhofer
2003 Planlos. Sprachenlernen an Universitäten. In: Brigitta Busch and Rudolf de Cillia (eds.), *Sprachenpolitik in Österreich. Eine Bestandsaufnahme*, 136–150. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Stohler, Ursula
2006 The acquisition of knowledge in bilingual learning: an empirical study on the role of language in content teaching. *Vienna English Working Papers (VIEWS)* 15 (3): 41–46. www.univie.ac.at/Anglistik/ang_new/online_papers/views.html (accessed 3 May 2008).
- Stotz, Daniel
1991 *Verbal Interaction in Small-Group Activities.* Tübingen: Narr.
- Strodt-Lopez, Barbara
1991 Tying it all in: asides in university lectures. *Applied Linguistics* 12 (2): 117–140.
- Suh, Joowon
2007 Organization of other-initiated repair in English lingua franca business negotiation. *Dissertation Abstracts International, A: The Humanities and Social Sciences* 68 (04): 1440.
- Sunderland, Jane
2001 Student initiation, teacher response, student follow-up: towards an appreciation of student-initiated IRFs in the language classroom. Centre for Research in Language Education Working Paper 54, Department of Linguistics and Modern English Language, Lancaster University.
- Suvinity, Jaana
2008 The good, the bad and the excellent. Students' perceptions of lecturers' English. Presentation given at "The ELF Forum – The First International Conference of English as a Lingua Franca", Helsinki, 6–8 March.
- Svennevig, Jan
2008 Trying the easiest solution first in other-initiation of repair. *Journal of Pragmatics* 40: 333–348.
- Swales, John M.
1990 *Genre Analysis.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Swales, John M.
2004 *Research Genres. Exploration and Application.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Ten Have, Paul
1999 *Doing Conversation Analysis.* London: Sage.

- Thomas, Jenny
1995 *Meaning in Interaction. An Introduction to Pragmatics*. Harlow, Essex: Longman.
- Thornborrow, Joanna
2002 *Power Talk: Language and Interaction in Institutional Discourse*. Harlow: Pearson Education.
- Thurlow, Crispin
2000 Transcultural communication: a treatise on *trans*. <http://faculty.washington.edu/thurlow/research/transculturalcommunication.html> (accessed 3 March 2008).
- Todd, Richard W.
1998 Topic-based analysis of classroom discourse. *System* 26: 303–318.
- Trosborg, Anna
1994 *Interlanguage Pragmatics. Requests, Complaints and Apologies*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Trudgill, Peter and Jean Hannah
2002 *International English. A Guide to Varieties of Standard English*. 4th edition. London: Arnold.
- Tsui, Amy B.M., Ference Marton, Ida A.C. Mok and Dorothy A.C. Ng.
2004 Questions and the space of learning. In: Ference Marton and Amy B.M. Tsui (eds.), *Classroom Discourse and the Space of Learning*, chapter 5. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum.
- Tzanne, Angeliki
1999 *Talking at Cross-Purposes*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Van de Craen, Piet, Evy Ceuleers, Katja Lochtman, Laure Allain and Katrien Mondt
2007 An interdisciplinary research approach to CLIL learning in primary schools in Brussels. In: Christiane Dalton-Puffer and Ute Smit (eds.), *Empirical Perspectives on CLIL Classroom Discourse*, 253–275. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Van Leeuwen, Charles
2006 From assessment anecdotes to learning practices. In: Robert Wilkinson and Vera Zegers (eds.), *Bridging the Assessment Gap in English-Medium Higher Education*, 11–22. Nijmegen: AKS-Verlag Bochum.
- Van Leeuwen, Charles and Robert Wilkinson (eds.)
2003 *Multilingual Approaches in University Education. Challenges and Practices*. Nijmegen: Valkhof Pers.
- Van Lier, Leo
1988 *The Classroom and the Language Learner*. London: Longman.
- Van Lier, Leo
2001 Constraints and resources in classroom talk: issues of equality and symmetry. In: Christopher N. Candlin and Neil Mercer (eds.), *English Language Teaching in its Social Context. A Reader*, 90–107. London: Routledge.

- Varonis, Evangeline Marlos and Susan Gass
1985 Non-native/non-native conversations: a model for negotiation of meaning. *Applied Linguistics* 6 (1): 71–90.
- Vine, Bernadette
2004 *Getting Things Done at Work. The Discourse of Power in Workplace Interaction*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.
- Vollmer, Helmut Johannes and Eike Thürmann
2009 Zur Sprachlichkeit des Fachlernens: Modellierung eines Referenzrahmens für Deutsch als Zweitsprache. In: Bernd Ahrenholz (ed.), *Fachunterricht und Deutsch als Zweitsprache*, 107–132. Tübingen: Narr.
- Völzing, Paul-Ludwig
1979 *Begründen, Erklären, Argumentieren: Modelle und Materialien zu einer Theorie der Metakommunikation*. Heidelberg: Quelle and Meyer.
- Vygotsky, Lev S.
1978 *Mind in Society* (ed. by Michael Cole). Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press.
- Wagner, Johannes and Alan Firth
1997 Communication strategies at work. In: Gabriele Kasper and Eric Kellerman (eds.), *Communication Strategies. Psycholinguistic and Sociolinguistic Perspectives*, 323–344. London: Longman.
- Wajnryb, Ruth
2005 More scope for scape. *The Sydney Morning Herald* April 23. <http://www.smh.com.au/news/Words/More-scope-for-scape/2005/04/21/1114028473080.html> (accessed 28 March 2007).
- Walenta, Andrea
2007 Backchannelling in English as a lingua franca: the listener's contribution to collaborative interaction. Unpub M.A. thesis, Department of English Studies, University of Vienna.
- Walker, Robin
2005 Using student-produced recordings with monolingual groups to provide effective, individualized pronunciation practice. *TESOL Quarterly* 39 (3): 550–558.
- Walsh, Steve
2006 *Investigating Classroom Discourse*. London: Routledge.
- Wardhaugh, Ronald
2002 *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. 4th edition. Malden, Mass: Blackwell.
- Watson-Gegeo, Karen A.
1997 Classroom ethnography. In: Nancy H. Hornberger and David Corson (eds.), *Encyclopaedia of Language and Education. Vol. 8: Research Methods in Language and Education*, 135–144. Dordrecht, The Netherlands: Kluwer Academic Publishers.

- Watterson, Matthew
2008 Repair of non-understanding in English in international communication. *World Englishes* 27 (3+4): 378–406.
- Watts, Richard J.
2003 *Politeness*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Wegerif, Rupert and Neil Mercer
1999 Language for the social construction of knowledge: comparing classroom talk in Mexican preschools. *Language and Education* 13 (2): 133–150.
- Weizmann, Elda
1993 Interlanguage requestive hints. In: Gabriele Kasper and Shoshana Blum-Kulka (eds.), *Interlanguage Pragmatics*, 123–137. New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wells, Gordon
1993 Reevaluating the IRF sequence: a proposal for the articulation of theories of activity and discourse for the analysis of teaching and learning in the classroom. *Linguistics and Education* 5: 1–37.
- Welsch, Wolfgang
1999 Transculturality – the puzzling form of cultures today. In: Mike Featherstone and Scott Lash (eds.), *Spaces of Culture: City, Nation, World*, 194–213. London: Sage.
- Wenger, Etienne
1998 *Communities of Practice. Learning, Meaning, and Identity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- West, Candace and Richard M. Frankel
1991 Miscommunication in medicine. In: Nikolas Coupland, Howard Giles and John M. Wiemann (eds.), *“Miscommunication” and Problematic Talk*, 166–194. Newbury Park: Sage.
- Wetherell, Margaret, Stephanie Taylor and Simeon J. Yates (eds.)
2001 *Discourse as Data. A Guide for Analysis*. London: Sage Publication.
- Widdowson, Henry
1983 *Language Purpose and Language Use*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Widdowson, Henry
1990 *Aspects of Language Teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Widdowson, Henry
1994 The ownership of English. *TESOL Quarterly* 28 (2): 377–381.
- Widdowson, Henry
1996 *Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Widdowson, Henry
1998 Communication and community: The pragmatics of ESP. *English for Specific Purposes* 17 (1): 3–14.

- Widdowson, Henry
2003a *Defining Issues in English Language Teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Widdowson, Henry
2003b *Text, Context, Pretext. Critical Issues in Discourse Analysis*. Malden, MA, Blackwell.
- Wilkinson, Robert
2004 Integrating content in language and language in content: conclusions from two experiences. In: Robert Wilkinson (ed.), *Integrating Content and Language. Meeting the Challenge of a Multilingual Higher Education*, 453–465. Maastricht: Universitaire Pers.
- Wilkinson, Robert and Vera Zegers
2006 The eclectic nature of assessment issues in content and language integrated higher education. In: Robert Wilkinson and Vera Zegers (eds.), *Bridging the Assessment Gap in English-Medium Higher Education*, 25–39. Nijmegen: AKS-Verlag Bochum.
- Wilkinson, Robert and Vera Zegers
2007a Introduction. In: Wilkinson, Robert and Vera Zegers (eds.), *Researching Content and Language Integration in Higher Education*, 11–16. Maastricht: Universitaire Pers.
- Wilkinson, Robert and Vera Zegers (eds.)
2007b *Researching Content and Language Integration in Higher Education*. Maastricht: Universitaire Pers
- Williams, Jessica, Rebecca Incoe and Thomas Tasker
1997 Communication strategies in an interactional context: the mutual achievement of comprehension. In: Gabriele Kasper and Eric Kellerman (eds.), *Communication Strategies. Psycholinguistic and Sociolinguistic Perspectives*, 304–323. London: Longman.
- Wolff, Dieter
2007 CLIL: bridging the gap between school and working life. In: David Marsh and Dieter Wolff (eds.), *Diverse Contexts – Converging Goals. CLIL in Europe*, 15–25. Frankfurt: Lang.
- Wray, Alison, Kate Trott and Aileen Bloomer
1998 *Projects in Linguistics. A Practical Guide to Researching Language*. London: Arnold.
- Zuengler, Jane and Donna M. Brinton
1997 Linguistic form, pragmatic function: relevant research from content-based research. In: Marguerite A. Snow and Donna M. Brinton (eds.), *The Content Based Classroom. Perspectives on Integrating Language and Content*, 263–273. White Plains: Longman.
- Zydati, Wolfgang
2007 *Deutsch-Englische Zge in Berlin: Eine Evaluation des bilingualen Sachfachunterrichts an Gymnasien. Kontext, Kompetenzen, Konsequenzen*. Frankfurt: Lang.

Subject index

- CCoFP (Classroom Community of Practice) 11–13, 66, 131–132, 146, 151, 223–225, 265, 298, 368, 375, 384
- classroom discourse/interaction
- as institutional talk 12, 21–23, 27–28, 158, 372
 - ancillary vs. constitutive 26, 82, 110
 - group/pair work 27, 30, 83, 165, 176, 197, 396
 - main vs. parallel/side talk 30, 126, 197, 395
 - questions 239–243
 - transactional vs. interactional 13, 22, 57, 80, 201, 211, 224, 230, 391, 393
 - whole-class interaction 30, 83, 167–168, 187, 234, 258, 286, 295, 305
- classroom discourse research
- historical sketch 22–23
 - mutual understanding 157–158
- classroom language 4, 33, 58, 80, 91–92, 132–133, 149, 297
- classroom registers
- instructional and regulative/procedural 31, 237, 244–246, 261, 274–275, 277, 301, 328, 335, 341, 376
- CLIL (content and language integrated learning)
- classroom discourse 39, 41–42, 169, 184, 210, 236–237, 242, 249, 264, 318, 321
 - relationship between content and language 42–43, 241–242, 309
 - CLIL vs. ICL 43–44
- code switching 44, 242, 396
- community of practice
- definition 8–11, 26–27, 102–103
 - and the HMP 9–11, 122, 131–132, 146, 149–150, 384
 - peripheral members 26, 66, 198, 400
- comprehension check 176, 195, 294
- constructing knowledge 14, 43, 196, 205, 218, 329, 371–372
- control act
- definition 232, 234
 - speaker roles 266
 - strategies 250, 273
- conversation analysis 159, 162
- culture
- general characteristics 12, 54, 395
 - in education 152–153, 236
 - in the HMP 395–396, 401–402
- data
- emic and interactional 100, 102
 - video vs. audio taping 95
- definition (as discourse function) 347, 363
- directive
- definition 14, 231–232, 247, 299–300
 - main uses in the HMP 298–299, 386–388
- discourse community 56, 64–65, 67–68, 394, 407
- discourse pragmatics 6–7, 382
- discourse-pragmatic ethnography 8, 87, 101, 379, 382
- educational ethnography 86–87, 89, 188
- ELF (English as a lingua franca)
- and communicational success 58–59, 76–77, 141–144, 156–158
 - and culture 54–55, 69, 73
 - and English language teaching 70–72
 - and English for specific purposes 147, 401, 407–408
 - and ethnographic research 77, 80–81
 - and writing 139–140

- as classroom language 12, 78–81, 297, 382, 404
- conceptualization as ‘social language’ 61–68, 109, 120, 137, 322, 365, 379, 381, 394
- definitions 48–49, 59–60, 68–69
- in tertiary education 3–5, 17–19, 379, 405–406
- pragmatic principles 74–75, 145, 156, 303, 359, 378
- terminology 46–47
- ELF research
 - discourse pragmatics 74–76, 171–172, 191, 237–238
 - lexicogrammar 71, 74
 - pronunciation 73–74, 147
- elite multilingualism 37, 381
- English as a global language 2, 45, 46
- English in tourism education 1–2, 82
- English speakers
 - monolingual, bilingual, multilingual 51–53, 69
- ESP (English for specific purposes) 56, 321, 395
- ethnography 5, 7, 86
- expertise
 - role in CLIL/ICL 43, 63
 - role in the HMP 121, 225, 280–281, 290, 296, 359, 365, 367, 373–374, 399–400
- explaining
 - and other discourse functions 313
 - definition 14, 306, 308, 310–312
 - didactic explaining 309–310
 - functions in education 306
 - interactive explaining *see* INDEX
- explicitness 185, 211, 224–225, 267, 273, 300
- face
 - definition 171
 - threat and want 172, 177, 184, 221, 224, 230, 253, 277, 392
- genre analysis 55–56, 64
- German
 - as language of the environment 92, 120, 127–129, 242, 282, 369, 377
- globalization 16, 45
- grounded theory 84, 87
- habitat factor 55, 64, 377
- hospitality 1–2, 37, 82, 91, 105–106
- HMP (Hotel Management Programme)
 - brief description 1, 4–14, 26–28, 379, 381
- ICL (integrating content and learning in higher education)
 - in general 38–44, 309, 374–375
 - language proficiency 133–136, 196, 274, 297–298, 321
- implicit learning theories 113–114
- (in)directness
 - general characteristics 184–186, 218–221, 224–225, 229–230, 235, 248, 303, 342–343, 392
 - hints 210–271, 273, 303
 - questions 263–264, 270, 276–277, 278–280, 300
 - strategies 185, 212–213, 229, 249–250, 300–301
- institutional talk 21–23, 31, 80
- intelligibility 58, 73, 76, 139, 156, 170, 182, 203, 218, 223, 380, 397
- interactional space 241, 317, 355, 361, 401
- intercultural learning and teaching 16, 21, 71
- internationalisation and higher education 16, 18, 44–45, 82, 105, 381
- intersubjectivity 154, 158, 181, 224, 226
- interviews: small groups vs. one-on-one 93, 98–99
- INDEX (interactive explaining)
 - definition 310, 314–316, 323, 371
 - exchange patterns 326–327, 335–336, 354, 372

- linguistic realization 330, 349, 373
- main uses in the HMP 338, 370–371, 388–390
- topics 329, 337
- I:R:F *see* triadic dialogue

- knowledge structure 23, 27, 309, 319, 362

- L1, L2, FL (first, second and foreign language) 50–52
- language learning and language use 4, 44, 57–58, 69, 146, 162, 235, 381, 407–17, 21, 34, 37, 408
- language policies in education 33–34
- language-scape 49, 53–55, 79, 109, 176, 242, 377, 396
- learning and classroom talk 21–22, 241–242, 309
- learning and language proficiency 40–41, 106–107, 405–407
- lesson
 - activity types 30
 - structure 28–29
 - traditional vs. non-traditional 27, 82, 141, 226–227, 319
- let's* 268
- linguaculture 49, 54–55, 64, 73, 79, 131, 237, 396
- logical relation *see* semantic relation

- medium of instruction 16–17, 33–35, 40, 80, 99, 109, 322, 379
- minimal feedback/response 186, 192, 203, 212, 283–284, 286–288, 354, 360, 393
- miscommunication/misunderstanding
 - general characteristics 153, 155, 158, 180, 198–199, 221–222, 342
 - research approaches 159–161
- mishearing 181–182, 204–205, 208, 214–215, 223, 397
- model of communication 160–161

- modification
 - of directives 235, 247, 249–252, 268–269
 - of repairs 157, 184, 211, 218–219, 224
- motivation (language learning and using) 35, 124
- multiculturalism/ism 37, 54, 91, 118, 234, 242
- multilingual education
 - general characteristics 20–21, 32–33, 37–38, 40–41
 - tertiary 34–36

- native vs. non-native speakers 50–52, 109, 236
- negotiation of meaning 74, 153, 159–162, 189, 196
- non-understanding *see also* understanding 143–144, 147, 155, 170, 214, 218, 291, 385, 397

- object of learning 22, 30–31, 38, 99, 181, 227, 244, 295, 305, 405
- observer's paradox 94
- okay* 355
- oral ELF practice
 - and the HMP 150, 223, 394–395
 - conceptualisation 63–68, 72, 79, 381–382
- oral practice
 - and the HMP 25–28, 93
 - description 24–25, 31, 232

- participant roles
 - in general 27, 30, 121–122, 266, 286, 302, 350, 353, 393–394
 - classroom manager 27, 30, 179, 182, 302, 386, 405
 - and questions 226, 286, 290
 - and repair 201, 216
- performative 249–250, 266–267, 274
- politeness 211, 228–230, 235, 244, 404
- politeness marker 251–252, 268–269

- power (in classroom discourse) 27–28, 68, 127, 158, 162, 233–236, 317
- primary and secondary knowers 27, 30, 254, 290, 321–322, 365, 404–405
- principle of explicitness 303–304, 380, 392–393, 398
- principle of joint forces 359, 363, 368, 377, 380, 394, 398
- question
 - definition 227, 238
 - blank-filling 283, 289
 - display vs. referential 254–256, 262, 282, 286, 296
 - objects asked for 255–257, 262–263, 282, 292, 296
 - open vs. closed 253–254
- questionnaire 94, 97–98
- repair
 - definition 13, 153, 158, 163–164, 222
 - linguistic realization 170–171, 185–186, 218
 - main uses in HMP 222–224, 385–386
 - trajectories 173–174, 190–191, 210–211, 222
- repairable
 - definition 169–170
 - description 181–183
 - distribution 202, 210–211
- research diary 99–100
- research methodology
 - emic 85–86, 90–91, 96, 115, 148, 308
 - longitudinality 12, 85–86, 92–93, 148, 375, 397
 - qualitative 4–7, 87–88, 102, 188, 258–259, 333, 382
 - qualitative, quantitative, mixed methods 83–85
- scaffolding 282, 297
- semantic relation 320–321, 330–331, 345–347, 356
- situatedness 24, 41, 63–64, 77, 81, 182–183, 223, 365, 373, 393, 403, 407–308
- social practice 13, 59, 121, 309–311, 381
- social roles *see* participant roles
- socialization 31, 51, 234–235, 322
- sojourner 37, 55, 79, 381
- speaker roles 165, 200, 260, 284, 328
- speech act 7, 229, 233, 236, 247
- speech community 61, 64, 66–68
- speech event 24–25
- speech functions 227–228, 231–232, 310, 313
- teacher questions 226, 240–241, 254, 290
- technical terms 182, 321, 331, 363–365
- third space 54, 69, 73, 155
- Three Circles model of World Englishes 49, 53, 55
- topic
 - discursive definition 315–316, 320, 323
 - management 27, 316, 320
- transculturality/ism 16, 54, 73, 148, 189, 237, 396, 404
- triadic dialogue 28–29, 316–318, 324–325, 350, 354, 372
- turn at talk (in class) 165–166
- turn taking (in class) 23, 95, 167, 183, 312, 316, 353, 357
- understanding 13, 76, 81, 141–144, 152–153, 287, 303, 330, 372, 385